The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico, 1850-1900

William J. Parish
At mid-nineteenth century in Taos and Santa Fe, when the German Jewish merchant took his place alongside the American- and Mexican-born storekeeper, a commercial revolution had begun. There can be no doubt that the German Jew was the moving force in this change of pace.

It is true that one can find an occasional non-Jew who made his contribution, and Franz Huning was one such person—although even he was a German immigrant.1 Miguel Desmarais, a French Canadian, established his store in Las Vegas before Kearny made his entry. His enterprise was carried on by a nephew, Charles Blanchard, with branches in Socorro, Carthage, and San Pedro, and perhaps these businessmen should receive credit in this regard.2 Trinidad Romero of Las Vegas was an in-and-out, not very successful merchant who played a minor part.3 Peter Joseph of Taos, who founded his store in 1840, an enterprise that was continued by his son, Antonio, for ten years the Territorial Delegate to Congress,4 has obscure beginnings and perhaps he was not an exception to our theme after all.

The more one seeks out the non-Jew who came to New
Mexico before or during the eighteen-fifties, and who settled down to deal successfully in the regular imports of finished goods and in the exports of Territorial commodities, the more it becomes apparent that there were few of him, indeed. In fact, if one holds strongly to the word “success,” one can say that Franz Huning, the German Lutheran who arrived in Santa Fe in 1849 and who established his general merchandise store in Albuquerque in 1857,5 may have been the only non-Jew to have contributed significantly to the early commercial revolution in New Mexico.

Before we describe the pervasiveness of the German Jewish merchant in the urban centers of Territorial New Mexico, or express the credit and gratitude due him for his contributions to the growth of the economy and for his catalytic influence in the linking of our several cultures, it would be well to make clear that his coming did constitute a spectacular change in the conduct of this frontier business.

Prior to the Mexican War, the traveling merchant from the States found little encouragement in his efforts to sell wares in the Mexican domain. Heavy taxes, the amount generally unknown until he arrived at Santa Fe or Taos, added financial risk to his enterprise and discouraged many who otherwise would have dared the dangers of thirst and death. This impediment to trade was fostered through the corrupting of public officials, principally by the merchants of Chihuahua who brought American goods through Vera Cruz and then on to Santa Fe, selling them at rather high prices. The traders from Franklin, Missouri, and later Independence, even without government protection on the Santa Fe Trail, gradually broke down this monopoly when they learned the corrupt, or perhaps just needy, Mexican officials were subject to influence.6

At the time of Mexico’s independence from Spain in 1821, the storekeepers of Santa Fe represented a rather immature development of retail trade. Pattie’s 1827 reference to merchants can be interpreted as meaning there were a few petty capitalists, or storekeepers, operating at minor stands for the sedentary retailing of sparse goods.7 Gregg found mer-
chants with a variety of wares in 1831. 8 Allison in 1837 also wrote of the Santa Fe storekeepers, including a Louis Gould. 9

It is apparent, however, that these storekeepers could not rely on the traveling merchants for their inventories. The early records describe the trading of the traveling merchant as having been done directly with the people with no need for wholesaling. The exception was Céran St. Vrain who, on one occasion in 1830, was forced to sell to a storekeeper because his goods were moving too slowly at his temporary stand at the customhouse. 10

When the adventurer-merchant, James Webb of Connecticut, was in and out of Santa Fe from 1844 to 1847, he described the store of Don Juan Sena, on the southeast corner of the Plaza, as being the second best store. Mr. John Scolly had the best because its floor was planked— the only one in the Territory so equipped, he thought, except, perhaps, one or two in Taos. 11 It is interesting that soon after making this observation, and being forced to leave his goods with others to be sold on a ten per cent commission, Webb chose not to deposit his goods with the first or second best store. Rather he made his arrangement with Eugene Leitsendorfer, a German Jew, 12 whose location has been described as the “headquarters for all American traders for social and business conversation and for plans for promoting their general interests.” 13 One of the reasons he chose this merchant is significant. Webb could not speak Spanish, as indeed few English-speaking people did or still deign to do. The Jewish merchant was cosmopolitan in his outlook, experienced in languages, and not in the least inhibited by the social restrictions of economic strata.

Among the traveling merchants on the Santa Fe Trail was a Prussian Jew of some prominence and ability. His name was Albert Speyer and he was related, probably, to the Frankfort Speyers whose international banking house (with a branch in New York City) 14 was flourishing about this time. He and Webb traveled together on occasion and sometimes extended their Santa Fe trips to Chihuahua. Speyer, according to Webb, bought out the merchandise stock of
General Manuel Armijo when the General apparently had expected Kearny of the United States forces to arrive sooner than he did.\textsuperscript{15}

In spite of this commercial activity involving traveling and sedentary merchants, there are several reasons why we should be cautious in imagining the character of this early trade to have been much above the level generally attained by the beginning petty capitalist who deals in the products of the local countryside, supplemented on an unplanned basis by the imports of the traveling merchant. The traveling merchant—not the sedentary storekeeper—was the one who dominated the scene. This adventurer is epitomized by the names of Charles Bent and Céran St. Vrain; by Patrick Rice, James Collins, and Jesse Sutton; by the Magoffins—Samuel, James, and William with their respected Susan; by Henry Connelly, Alexander Majors, James Webb, and Albert Speyer. These merchants usually brought their goods to Taos or Santa Fe, sold what they could at retail, and then, if a balance remained, started south, retailing in small villages along the way. They would extend their tour, if necessary, and often if not necessary, to Chihuahua. When the trip was thus prolonged, they usually acquired silver bullion and gold dust as their reward and seldom took produce back with them to the States. In 1825, a Chihuahua merchant and legislator, Manuel Escudero, passed through Santa Fe on his way to the States as one of the first of his countrymen to add to this dominantly one way volume of trade. He returned the following spring with “six or seven new and substantial wagons” laden with goods.\textsuperscript{16}

A second reason for not exaggerating this commercial development was the psychology of the traders. Almost entirely, these petty capitalists had no thought of a permanent business in Santa Fe or New Mexico. Like James Webb, who wrote, “there is nothing to induce me to entertain a desire to become a resident or continue in trade except as an adventurer and the possible advantages the trade might afford of bettering my fortune,”\textsuperscript{17} these merchants disappeared grad-
ually from the scene with their wealth or lack of it, as the case might have been.

A third reason for keeping in perspective our thinking on the character of this early trade is the nearness, from the point of view of time, of the old Fair which had been the dominant institution for the distribution of goods. Barter, except for strictly local currencies that sometimes existed, and which had no value outside the locale, was the chief form of trade prior to 1821.18 Taos Fairs were being held each July almost as late as this time and the trade there has been described as that in which "no money circulates—but articles are traded for each other."19 It should be remembered, too, that society in New Mexico prior to 1821, and even to a greater extent later, was essentially feudalistic with large numbers of people living as peones in commissary fashion, constantly in debt to the large landowners or ricos. In such an atmosphere, surpluses of goods were not consistent enough to encourage many storekeepers to ply their enterprise.

Only an occasional adumbration of the new era to come can be discovered. Manuel Alvarez had a store in Santa Fe for more than thirty years after 1824, and the tendency is to judge him as a precursor of the larger mercantile capitalist. His ledgers, however, show but three Eastern trips, some bartering in Taos and Abiquiu, but no signs of imports and exports on any scale.20

Henry Connelly, having been a traveling merchant while keeping a store in Chihuahua, later established branches in Santa Fe, Las Vegas, Albuquerque, and Peralta. He became too involved in political affairs, however, to have permitted himself the opportunity of becoming a successful mercantile capitalist. His death in 1866 snuffed out even the possibility.21

Eugene Leitsendorfer, who appeared as a Santa Fe trader in 1830, opened his store on the Plaza with his brother Thomas and partner Jacob Houghton in 1844. He tried to conduct a typical frontier, general merchandise business by bringing finished goods from the East and returning the produce of the countryside in payment. He failed in 1848, an
event that may be taken as some evidence that his efforts were premature. The Goldstine Brothers was a merchant house in Santa Fe as early as 1847 but it disappeared. The Leitsendorfers and Goldstines, however, were a foreshadowing of the German Jewish mercantile capitalist who, in increasing numbers, came to stay after the mid-point of the century.

The commercial revolution that was born in New Mexico following the American Occupation in which the German Jew played so large a part, cannot be thought of as a distinguished or isolated development in the far western or southwestern areas of the United States. It took place in an environment possessing a longer and more romantic history than in neighboring areas, to be sure, and it had its beginnings almost as early as other similar developments in the general region. It was similar, also, in most respects, to the observable effects of the whole German immigration wave that filtered throughout the United States following its forceful beginnings out of the European depression of 1836.

For that portion of the German immigrants who were of Jewish persuasion—roughly seven per cent between 1840 and 1880—the United States generally was as fertile a soil for their peculiar talents and training as could be imagined. As summary background for this statement we need only explore a few of the broader reasons.

The western Jew, more completely than his eastern European counterpart, had been confined in his business activities to commerce and banking. The causes of this are not particularly pertinent here, but, in passing, we should mention the intellectual aversion of Greek and Christian civilizations to the profit that arose from trading or money-lending. It was, of course, the great scarcity of and need for both goods and credit in a growing economy that offered opportunities for abusive tactics and that placed this aversion in western philosophy and within its dominant theology. Thus the Jew, a man apart, was called upon to carry these burdens to satisfy the needs of a Christian market.

Closely confined to these narrow fields of endeavor, the western Jew became expert and often wealthy in his perform-
ance of these scorned but necessary economic functions. De­spised for the work he performed and for the success he achieved, continuously persecuted and frequently driven from his native land, the Jew, as a matter of economic survival, sharpened his talents for converting merchandise into money and money into more money: in short, for becoming the world's expert in the managing of mobile capital. When the Western World awakened to its commercial revolution in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the Jew was generations ahead in the quality of talents most in demand.

A change occurred in the organization of business in the nineteenth century throughout western Europe, and in Germany this change received emphasis. The commercial revolution had given away to industrial capitalism and with it, particularly after 1812, the lot of the Jew improved significantly. The need for Jewish capital was so great that one authority has written: "the economic development actually dictated equal rights for Jews." Yet industrial capitalism, dominated by large corporate and impersonal enterprises, found the Jew declining in influence although he had been instrumental in the founding of railroad and shipping companies, electric manufacturing firms and chemical enterprises. Monopoly increasingly excluded him by convention. The Jew excluded himself by choice.

In the wealthier provinces of Germany, largely to the south and west, the Jew remained in the smaller towns and villages where the family commercial enterprises were the center of rural activity and where the ancestors of these people had founded, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, whole Jewish towns along the Rhine and Moselle Rivers. In Wurtemburg, in 1846, eighty-one per cent of the Jews lived in villages. In Bavaria approximately the same percentage were domiciled outside the five largest communities. It was from these provinces, including Baden and Westphalia, that a heavy concentration of German Jews departed for the United States. They possessed a fair education and a reasonable amount of capital, either of their own or to which they had access. Although the depression beginning in 1836
had brought with it some political and social reaction against them, it was the loss of economic hope in Germany and the promise of economic success in America, spurred on by agents of the new Cunard, and Hamburg-American lines, and later the American railroads, that sent them on their way.

A large percentage of them were single with more than a few dreaming of the day they could return under favorable economic circumstances to marry a German girl and then to take her back to the States. These immigrants had borne far greater political and social restrictions in years past, yet they had not left their homeland. It took a higher standard of living, contributing the wherewithal to move, and the opportunity to emigrate to a growing economy of thousands of small villages and towns, each dominating an agricultural hinterland, to move them en masse. As one business historian has written of these same migrants, “it was to the blandishments of an economic rather than a political Utopia that the common man succumbed.”

This was the supply side of the equation for the years of the nineteenth century following 1836. The demand side, on the other hand, was most absorbent and strong. By 1840 there were hundreds of small and growing centers stretching from New England through the South and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. The United States was figuratively crying for humanity to man its towns. Furthermore, the traditional methods of wholesale and retail distribution were being strained to the limit and were in need of supplement. As we learn in the principles of economics: when such a demand schedule intersects with such a supply schedule, something is compelled to happen. Something did.

The German Jew, happy to work for himself—even to be permitted to observe his holidays if he wished, though diet was another problem—took his limited capital, turned it into merchandise and, with pack on back, trudged out across the countryside. When he had gained more than a pittance—and with his training and new environment there were few who failed to do so—he chose a small town of promise in which to establish his general merchandise store. Soon this store be-
came a temporary training ground for relatives or Jewish friends who needed some capital sustenance before seeking independent enterprise. In many cases these newcomers drummed the hinterland using their benefactor's base as a source of supply. Scarcely a town of any importance in the eastern United States was without its German Jewish merchant by mid-century.

In the 1850's these people were beginning to repeat in the western states the same encouragement to commercial development that prior to the Mexican War and the California Gold Rush had extended itself solidly into Missouri. The Jewish movement into Texas preceded those into the Territories by a few years, although there is little evidence that the German Jew came in any numbers until after the Mexican War. In the next few years significant settlements of these people were made along the Gulf Coast, principally in the towns of Victoria and Galveston.

The California Gold Rush attracted a number of German Jews who in the years 1849 and 1850 were making the trip around the Horn, or by pack and mule across the Isthmus, and then to San Francisco. In the early 'fifties they were converging from the west and the east on Salt Lake City where the Mormons, following the historical antipathies to trade, had left a near-vacuum for the Jewish Gentiles.

The movement into Colorado did not occur with any force until the 1860's when similar trends can be seen to have begun in Arizona and Nevada. When the German Jewish merchant came to New Mexico at the close of the 1840's, his bed already had been made for him by an enterprising, free-lance American trader who in a decade and a half had come to dominate the market from Independence to Chihuahua. This adventurous trader had found a hole in Mexican business enterprise, and had quickly poured his efforts into it. He had found the Mexican merchant, with few exceptions, to possess little drive for material productiveness. With little surprise he had discovered the market, that had been served so ineffectually, to have been strongly materialistic on the consumption side. To this trav-
eling merchant it had been worth braving the Indian, breaking the tariff wall, and bribing officials—not alone for the potential profit involved, but also for the spirit of adventure that was part and parcel of it all.

If this adventurous traveling merchant had made a bed for the German Jew, it was the more comfortable because of the military intervention that quickly followed the economic spearhead. To the Mexican nation that succumbed to this display of force, there probably seemed to be no ring of equity in it. There never is in any time or climate for those of us who seek comfort behind intellectual and economic tariff walls. It is a lasting truth that such protective complacencies are weakening to those within and strengthening to those without. The inevitability of this crumbling effect in New Mexico to the year 1846 has been described by Charles and Mary Beard, whose economic interpretations of history may be closer to the truth than many present-day historians are wont to admit: "Without capital and without stability, harassed by revolutions and debt, Mexico could not develop the resources and trade of the northern empire to which she possessed the title of parchment and seals. More than that . . . she did not have the emigrants for that enterprise." 43

Even though the traveling merchant and the United States military had made and smoothed a bed for the German Jew, it is doubtful that this bachelor alien came to Santa Fe to contemplate the comforts that had been prepared. In an atmosphere that later, and after some desirable changes, could be described as "no life for a lady," 44 there were some domestic comforts for which contemplation would be the only proper word.

Into this land of hope and promise came Jacob Solomon Spiegelberg. Whether or not he came with the thought of settling down in New Mexico we do not know, for evidently he came as part of the manpower of a supply train for Kearny's troops. When Colonel Doniphan's regiment went on to Chihuahua, Spiegelberg accompanied him. It was not until he returned to Santa Fe with the regiment that, upon receiving an appointment as sutler to Fort Marcy, he established his
general merchandising firm. The date is generally thought to have been 1848, the same year that Brewerton described the Santa Fe Plaza as a “very babel [of] French, English, German, and Spanish. . . .”

A year later, or perhaps even sooner, there came to Taos another German Jewish merchant—Solomon Beuthner—although records are not available to fix the beginnings of the sizeable mercantile house that bore his family name in that town. By 1852, the merchant house of Seligman in Santa Fe was founded when Sigmund Seligman joined with his partner for the next decade, Charles P. Clever. Perhaps the latter was not of Jewish extraction although he had earlier Jewish associations.

One of the first Jewish merchants in Santa Fe was Jacob Amberg, whom we find earlier as a partner of Henry Connelly and as a prospector among some silver claims in Pinos Altos, New Mexico. In 1855, he joined with Gustave Elsberg in a mercantile partnership, Elsberg and Amberg, in Westport, Kansas, and a year later the firm moved to Santa Fe. Toward the end of the 'fifties, Zoldac and Abraham Staab established their firm.

It was not long after these pioneer firms were founded that the relatives began to arrive from Germany. The Spiegelberg brothers, Bernard, Elias, Willi, Emanuel, Levi and Lehman, together with their nephew Abraham (a New Yorker by birth), one by one, dropped into town to add to the manpower of the firm. Then a cousin, Aaron Zeckendorf, came in 1853 and clerked in the store until the Spiegelberg’s financed his start in Albuquerque, in 1863. This favor appeared not to be a deterrent to the establishment by the Zeckendorf brothers of a competing branch to Spiegelberg in Santa Fe by 1865.

When we first find evidence of the Beuthner Brothers firm in Taos, Joseph had joined his brother Solomon and, perhaps, his brother Samson. Joseph and Solomon had enlisted in the Union forces—Joseph attaining the rank of captain and Solomon that of colonel.

The other houses enlarged, too. Sigmund Seligman was
followed by his brothers Bernard and Adolph. Albert Elsberg and Moses Amberg joined the firm of Elsberg and Amberg as did Herman Ilfeld, a cousin of the two families, and the first of the Ilfeld brothers to come to the United States and New Mexico.

Charles Ilfeld came into the fold shortly after Herman. A lad barely turned eighteen, he put in a very short stint with his older brother, and then went to Taos as clerk for Adolph Letcher to open a new firm financed by Elsberg and Amberg. Letcher and Ilfeld stuck it out in Taos for almost two years before the blossoming town of Las Vegas beckoned and enticed them off with their merchandise on muleback across the Sangre de Cristo mountains. Wending their way through the town of Mora, where three years before a traveling reporter of the Santa Fe New Mexican had described the larger portion of the merchants as German, the retinue reached Las Vegas and draped itself around the Plaza. This young firm had now become A. Letcher and Company, with Charles Ilfeld as partner, and its new abode was in the old store of Frank Kihlberg, a much traveled German Jew. This was early May, 1867. In September, 1874, Charles bought the interest of his partner and the proprietorship of Charles Ilfeld began, a firm that subsequently grew into the largest general merchandise wholesaler in the state of New Mexico.

The new firm of Charles Ilfeld had good cultural company on the Plaza. Emanuel Rosenwald, who had opened his general merchandise business in 1862, was across the unimproved core of the quadrangle with his brother Joseph. Marcus Brunswick, who became Charles’ closest friend, and who is now buried in the Ilfeld plot in Las Vegas, had a mercantile establishment with Ben Hecht. Other Jewish merchants of Las Vegas in 1870 were: May Hays, N. L. Rosenthal, Philip Holzman, and one of the Jaffa Brothers.

A large number of the clerking and drumming brothers, sons, cousins, and family friends of the major Jewish mercantilists soon found their way into proprietorships or partnerships of their own—sometimes through their hard-gained resources, but usually through the capital of their sponsors.
Spiegelberg, alone, must have been responsible for a dozen or more of these new stores throughout the urban centers. Henry Biernbaum was one of these protégés. He came to Santa Fe in 1851 and subsequently moved about; first with a store in San Juan, then Pueblo, Colorado, then San Miguel, southeast of Santa Fe, and then Mora, before he finally established a large mercantile store in Trinidad.66

We have already mentioned the Zeckendorfs who followed Biernbaum by two years. In the 'sixties there were Nathan and Simon Bibo, sons of a Westphalian Rabbi who, first, with Spiegelberg capital and then with their own, established stores at Laguna, Fort Wingate, Cebolleta, Bernalillo and Grants. Later they were joined by their brother Solomon.67 Nathan Bibo, with Sam Dittenhofer, another Spiegelberg protégé, started a store in the little stagecoach town of Tecolote.68 This was in 1873, and when Charles Ilfeld decided to have his own wayside store and corral there for the Barlow and Sanderson Stage Lines, he rented the building from Willi Spiegelberg and placed David Winternitz, later a charter member of the Congregation Montefiore69 in Las Vegas, as his partner-manager.70

In the 'seventies and 'eighties the Spiegelberg brothers kept up their commercial proselyting through the Grunsfelds (Alfred, Albert, and Ernest) who first managed and then bought the Spiegelberg branch in Albuquerque,71 evidently after the Zeckendorfs had decided to embark in their own enterprise. In the 'nineties, the Grunsfeld brothers established a branch in Santa Fe72 after the Spiegelbergs had chosen to retire, one by one, to New York City. Two other clerks of the Spiegelbergs, Henry Lutz73 and Morris J. Bernstein,74 had moved on to Lincoln, New Mexico.

Other sponsoring firms also did their bit. The Seligman brothers gave Bernard Ilfeld his first employment in New Mexico.75 Later this brother of Charles had his own store in Albuquerque.76 Herman Ilfeld, upon the failure of Elsberg and Amberg, revived the enterprise as a proprietorship77 and soon took in as partners his brothers Noa and Louis. Louis founded a branch of the firm in Alcalde, and with Noa, estab-
lished another outlet on the Plaza in Old Albuquerque in the 
'seventies. 78

By way of further illustration of this moving, pervasive 
force of new German Jewish mercantile firms following short 
training periods with older established houses, we need men-
tion but a few. Alexander Gusdorf, successful merchant of 
Taos, received his first training with C. Staffenberger of 
Santa Fe. 79 His brother Gerson, who followed Alexander, 
worked for Z. Staab and Company. 80 Carl Harberg, 81 Sig-
mund Nahm, 82 Simon and Adolph Vorenberg 83 all owed al-
egiance to the successful Mora firm of Lowenstein and 
Strausse. Herman Wertheim, 84 Solomon Floersheim, the 
Goldenberg (Alex, Hugo and Max) and many others were 
originally or later employed in New Mexico by Charles 
Ilfeld. 85

We could go on and on. What the Jaffas and Pragers of 
Roswell, or the Price brothers of Socorro may have done in 
furthering new proprietorships and partnerships we do not 
know. Yet a similar story could be told of the launching of 
enterprises by Henry Lesinsky whose prominent firm in Las 
Cruces gave Phoebus Freudenthal 86 and others their start. 
Charles and Morris Lesinsky played similar roles. In Silver 
City the firms of Cohen and Lesinsky and Weisl, Lesinsky 
and Company 87 appear. The Freudenthals, solid in Las Cru-
ces, also had commercial interests in Silver City, Clifton, Ari-
zea, and El Paso, Texas. 88 Isador Solomon, brother-in-law of 
Phoebus Freudenthal, went on from Las Cruces to found 
Solomonville, Arizona, where he built a mercantile firm and 
where, with help from the Freudenthals and others, incor-
porated the Gila Valley Bank, a forerunner of the Valley Na-
tional Bank of Phoenix. 89

We have not mentioned the Kahns 90 and the Cohns, 91 the 
Eldodts 92 and the Eisemanns, 93 or the Seligmans of Berna-
lillo. 94 There were the Golds 95 and the Rosenthals, 96 the Neu-
stadts 97 and Hirsches. 98 We should not overlook the Jacobs 99 
and the Sterns; 100 the Lohmanns, 101 Lessers 102 and Levys, 103 
or the brothers Schutz 104 and the brothers Spitz. 105 To close 
the century we must include Julius and Sigmund Moise, born
in Oberstein, Germany, who founded a mercantile firm in Santa Rosa. Without laying any claim to exhaustion of opportunities, and only including those who became proprietors, partners or managers of retailing or wholesaling firms handling goods of one kind or another, three hundred sixty-six have been documented over the period 1850 to 1900. If separate establishments are counted without regard to duplication of personnel, there were more than five hundred. (See Table I.)

The German-born residents of New Mexico made up approximately six-tenths of one per cent of its total population

### TABLE I

A Tabulation of Jewish Merchants in New Mexico (1845-1900)

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<th>Location</th>
<th>1845-50</th>
<th>1850-59</th>
<th>1860-69</th>
<th>1870-79</th>
<th>1880-89</th>
<th>1890-99</th>
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<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>87 Centers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>514²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minus duplication of individuals who had multiple domiciles during the period 148

Total individuals in sample 366

---

1. By observation, the sample obtained for the nineties is not as full as for earlier decades.
2. The difference between 734 and 514 is accounted for by the appearance of many merchants in two or more decades.
according to the census figures of 1860, 1870, and 1880. In 1870, slightly less than one-fourth of the Germans who were occupied in one business or another were listed in trade. Nearly one-third were so listed in 1880. Inasmuch as Jewish businessmen were predominantly in trade, we might conclude from these data that the German Jewish population grew substantially faster in the decade of the 'seventies than the total German population, but that by 1880 the German Jewish people, obviously less than one hundred per cent of all Germans, probably comprised less than one-half of one per cent of the inhabitants.

However, unless the birthrate for the Jewish population greatly exceeded that of the Territory—and this is not probable—the proportion of German Jews must have been considerably less than one-half of one per cent. Even at three-eighths of one per cent, the apparent rate of German Jewish immigrants, relative to total German immigration, would have been three times the national average.

However small the proportion of these people may have been, they had a tendency to spread themselves throughout the Territory. A sample of more than three hundred and fifty merchants known to have been in New Mexico at various specific dates and periods between 1850 and 1900 indicates that the concentration of these people in the larger towns fell sharply as the century progressed—a pattern quite contrary to the experience of total Jewry for the nation where heavy concentrations occurred in the larger metropolitan centers, particularly in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

Sixty-five per cent or more of the German Jewish population in New Mexico was concentrated in Santa Fe before 1860. In the next decade this percentage fell to fifty per cent and declined further to about fifteen per cent by the end of the century. In total, the three largest cities, Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and Albuquerque, as well as the ten largest, showed a steady decline in percentages of the German Jewish population from 1850 to 1900. At the end of the period approximately forty per cent of these people lived in the more rural communities. (See Table I.)
This small group of people was a ubiquitous lot. Howard W. Mitchell's 1877 journal describes Las Vegas as "made up chiefly of Mexicans although quite a number of Americans and Jews." Santa Fe he found to have "mostly general stores kept by Jews." Ex-Governor Arny in a public speech in Santa Fe in 1876 described that town as of two classes—Mexican or Spanish-speaking and American or English-speaking. The latter class he described as being composed "really of a majority of foreign born persons, among them a large proportion of Jews."

_The Illustrated History of New Mexico_, published in 1895, made the following comment: "The merchants of New Mexico at the time of the advent of the railroad were largely composed of [the Hebrew] nationality, and this ancient people still hold their own in all mercantile concerns. There is scarcely a village having any trade at all in which they will not be found." Our sampling of the Territory, principally through newspapers and the invaluable correspondence and records of Charles Ilfeld, prove this statement to have been quite accurate.

In plotting eighty-seven New Mexico communities in which one or more German Jewish merchants resided at one time or another during the last half of the nineteenth century, we find these urban centers to have been concentrated in that larger half of the Territory from the Rio Grande eastward. The heaviest grouping, of course, was in the northeastern part and west to the San Luis Valley. Most of the balance were strung out along two river routes: The Pecos from Bado de Juan Pais through Anton Chico, Puerto de Luna, Fort Sumner, and Roswell, and the Rio Grande from Albuquerque through Los Lunas, Socorro and Las Cruces. A few centers fell between these strings, but these were largely to be found in the Lincoln, White Oaks, Tularosa area. A number of these towns are located west of the Rio Grande along the route to Arizona through Deming, the mining district around Silver City, and the settlements between Albuquerque and Gallup. Those areas where settled Jews do not appear are found in the northwest quadrant and most of the southwest, where
few commercial centers would have existed anyway because of Navajo lands in the northern part and difficult terrain to the south together with sparse population throughout.

It is worth noting, however, that even after Farmington began to grow in the rich agricultural region of the San Juan River, German Jewish merchants were not to be found there. A heavy concentration of them, however, served this area out of Durango as, indeed, from Trinidad they also held much of the trade of Raton and Cimarron.

The fewness of Jewish merchants in the western part of the Territory did not mean that these people were ignoring the trade that was to be found there. Willi Spiegelberg had a Navajo Trading Agency. The Bibos specialized in commerce at Acoma and other Indian pueblos. The Seligmans of Bernalillo did the same. Louis and Noa Ilfeld dealt with the Indians extensively but concentrated on the Zuñis.

Magdalena was an outpost for the Price Brothers of Socorro, as it later became for Charles Ilfeld, for the trade to the west along and around the route to Springerville, Arizona. The Jewish drummers from the Spiegelberg and Staab houses of Santa Fe, and the Ilfeld and Grunsfeld brothers of Albuquerque, left little of the Territory untouched.

Thus, a relatively small group of German Jewish merchants permeated the Territorial economy with their influence by no later than the last two decades of the century. They shared it not at all with the eastern European Jews who did not come to the United States in any numbers until the 'nineties and rarely, prior to 1900, to New Mexico.

It is evident, therefore, that a great change took place in business capitalism in New Mexico after the American Occupation, and that the German Jew was the key man in encouraging and developing its growth. How, in general terms, would we describe this commercial revolution?

The traveling merchant, who was almost always on the move, was replaced by the sedentary merchant who sat down in administration. In the sitting-down process he became dependent on regular deliveries, ordered ahead of time, from distant areas. In New Mexico this meant the East—first Bal-
timore, then Philadelphia and New York, and for heavier bulky goods that needed to be moved cheaply, St. Louis.\textsuperscript{120}

We are picturing, too, an economy with a strongly unfavorable balance of trade that resulted in money being a scarce commodity—an economy that placed the merchants under great pressures to acquire monetary exchange. The most important single factor giving the initial momentum to sizable amounts of monetary exchange in New Mexico was the public works project of the day: the army forts. These institutions not only had payrolls that had a way of being spent, but they had great need for supplies of local produce. Solomon Spiegelberg, as we mentioned earlier, was encouraged to start his Santa Fe mercantile business upon his appointment as sutler to Fort Marcy. In later years Marcus Brunswick, almost an \textit{alter ego} of Charles Ilfeld, tapped the trade of Fort Stanton with a store in Lincoln.\textsuperscript{121} Other Jewish merchants who were sutlers in New Mexico were Nathan Bibo at Fort Wingate,\textsuperscript{122} Arthur Morrison at Fort Union,\textsuperscript{123} Ferdinand Meyer at Fort Garland,\textsuperscript{124} and William Gellerman at Fort Bascom.\textsuperscript{125}

When a close connection with an army fort existed, cash sales to military personnel were high. Adolph Letcher found this to be true in Taos where his store was a convenient stopping place for the traffic between Fort Marcy and Fort Garland.\textsuperscript{126} The cash could then be converted into Federal drafts on Eastern banks which were deposited with wholesaling houses in New York City. These Eastern drafts could also be obtained, and in larger amounts, by filling supply contracts for the forts and for the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. These contracts were particularly valuable to the merchant because they meant the purchase of local produce—corn, wheat, lumber, and meat—which permitted the merchant's customers to reduce their balances with him.

It was this latter source of exchange that further encouraged the large mercantile houses to establish branches in small rural towns in order to gain access to the produce of the countryside. Elsberg and Amberg had sent Letcher and Ilfeld to Taos for just this purpose.\textsuperscript{127} Spiegelberg sent the Ditten-
hofer brothers to Anton Chico and later, Sam Dittenhofer and Nathan Bibo to Tecolote. Abraham and Zoldac Staab used Gerson and Alexander Gusdorf in Taos, Arroyo Hondo, and Red River. Charles Ilfeld had this in mind in financing William Gellerman in La Junta (now Watrous), William Frank in El Monton de los Alamos, David Winternitz in Tecolote, the Goldenbergs in Tularosa and Puerto de Luna, and Philip Holzman in Fort Sumner, and later in Pastura and Corona.

Much of the monetary exchange could be gained by freighting raw materials to the eastern markets. Metal ores and Mexican silver dollars, the latter bought at a discount and sold in the east to help replenish the shortage of silver money, were prominent items. The basic export, however, was sheep and wool. In this trade Jews and non-Jews were prominent. Those who specialized in the raising of sheep with a small store on the side, like the Bond brothers, were more likely to be non-Jews. Those who specialized in merchandise with sheep on the side were more likely to be Jews, although Jacob Gross of Gross, Blackwell, and later Gross, Kelly, was content that this activity became the province of Harry Kelly. However, Meyer Friedman of Las Vegas and the Ilfeld Brothers of Albuquerque became specialists in sheep and wool after ventures in mercantile trade, and Louis Baer and the Eisemanns started as wool merchants. The big Jewish houses, however, kept their investments in this activity in reasonable proportion to their merchandise business.

The firms of Rosenwald and Ilfeld of Las Vegas were among those mercantile houses who put the greatest emphasis on the sheep and wool trade. In fact, they found it advantageous, in order to guarantee an adequate supply of these exportable goods, to subsidize many of their customers through a substantial expansion of the old Spanish partido system where the partidarios paid a rent on a flock of sheep in either a fixed amount of wool per head or through a percentage of the flock's increase. Although, contrary to belief, this was not a very profitable investment for the merchant, it did succeed in carrying many a Spanish-speaking customer
through the difficult days of the depression of the 'nineties. It also, of course, permitted a greater extension of credit to these customers than could otherwise have been granted prudently.\textsuperscript{136}

It took more than the export of sheep and wool, however, to pay the current bills of the merchants, especially in the early development of this system and in the depression of 1893 to 1897. Sources of credit for the merchant were all important. In this respect the German Jew had no peer. His connections were far and wide and the non-Jewish merchant must have found it extremely difficult to duplicate this advantage.

Many of these Jewish merchants in New Mexico may not have been as fortunately situated as Charles Ilfeld in this regard, but it is doubtful if the other leading ones were far behind. In the beginning, Ilfeld had a direct connection with Adolph Letcher's brother in Baltimore who had an established wholesale mercantile firm and who could serve as his agent for the purchase of any eastern goods. Actually before this, when Elsberg and Amberg was still a going concern in Santa Fe, Gustave Elsberg remained in New York at the purchasing agent for his firm as well as for Letcher and Ilfeld. After a short time of dependence upon a Samuel Rosenthal of Baltimore, Charles Ilfeld switched his allegiance to Solomon Beuthner who had chosen to specialize in New York City as a purchasing agent for firms in New Mexico. Beuthner, too, had excellent family connections in Germany and on the Continent that could have been of real help to Ilfeld if needed.\textsuperscript{131}

The credit terms available to Ilfeld through such agents were fairly liberal but, of course, they did not match the credit extensions of one year or more that he was forced to give to his New Mexico customers. High profit margins on merchandise sales helped to keep many merchants in a profitable position. Yet when slow times came, as they did frequently, he needed credit to tide him over. This the Jewish merchant often received through Jewish merchant bankers in New York City. Ilfeld relied heavily during the depression
of the 'nineties upon his cousin Emil Wolff, of the substantial firm of Einstein and Wolff, for this aid. There can be little doubt that ready access to credit, once the Jewish merchant proved he was worthy, was one of the contributing factors to his successful dominance in the mercantile trade in New Mexico prior to 1900.

The commercial revolution in New Mexico, as elsewhere, always carried with it another aspect—the bringing of greater liquidity into the economy. Here again the Jewish merchant had a distinct talent. Several of them naturally turned toward banking as was the case of the Spiegelbergs, Jaffas, and Freudenthals. Generally, however, these merchants held exclusively to their own merchant credit system. Having sent many a trained relative or friend into the hinterland to found a "branch" and to gain access to produce, he also used this outlet, in many cases, as a kind of branch banking device. New Mexico lost a productive branch credit system when the commercial bank, operating under an unfortunate unit banking law, took over. Ilfeld, for instance, kept these satellite stores on the lookout for new business—principally in the sheep and cattle industry—which in those days offered the brightest hope for economic expansion. In effect he made these people loans by giving reliable ranchers check books which they could use up to reasonable amounts to pay their labor and operating costs. Labor then could buy merchandise with these checks in Ilfeld-appointed stores.

The banking function expanded into attraction of savings deposits at interest. Even when the establishment of commercial banks became general—and except for Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and Albuquerque this was after the coming of the railroad and principally after 1900—the bankers found continuing reason to complain that people were entrusting their savings in disappointingly large amounts with the merchant. Yet neither a highly restrictive law in 1902 nor a special gubernatorial message in 1909 could curb the flow of these funds to the merchant who was an integral part of the lives of the customers he served.

It was the larger general merchant who conducted this
intimate trade with the hinterland in a two-way flow of im­
ports and exports with the financing mechanism built in. With some notable exceptions, like John Becker of Belen, and Harry Kelly of Las Vegas, it was the German Jewish mer­
chant who, in competition with his own immigrant people, had risen to a pre-eminent economic position. He was the commercial revolution.

It would be wrong, however, to drop him so summarily and thereby imply that his contributions were limited to trade and capital formation. Just possibly he was also the most significant catalytic agent in the reasonably peaceful convergence of New Mexico’s three cultures and other ethnic groups. Of one culture he was a part, though an independent, eclectic, and adaptable part. These qualities were peculiarly fortunate for New Mexico.

It might be argued that the term “catalytic agent” is too weak; that his force in fusion of the cultures would be more appropriate. The inter-faith marriage between the newly­
arrived bachelors and native girls has received prominence in stories of frontier phenomena. The pictured loneliness of these young male immigrants and the difficulties of distance and cost in returning to the fatherland for purposes of wed­
lock have lent credence to these romantic tales. The United States census of 1880 could be interpreted as supporting these stories for it enumerates that forty-two per cent of the off­
spring of German-born fathers had native-born mothers—a figure, of course, that is applicable to both Jewish and non-Jewish fathers. The marriages of such prominent mer­
chants as Henry Biernbaum, Louis Kahn, and Solomon Bibo to New Mexican women of Mexican-Spanish descent, and of Simon Bibo to the daughter of a Pueblo Indian official, also serve as basis for the generalization.

(To be continued)
NOTES


3. Helen Haines, op. cit., p. 356. Charles Ilfeld bought Romero's home in Las Vegas and Marcus Brunswick was a receiver for Romero's Old Town store for a period of time. Charles Ilfeld materials, University of New Mexico library.


6. Much research needs to be done on this phase of Mexican-United States relations. James Wiley Magoffin, several times American Consul at Chihuahua, went ahead of Kearny in the conquest of New Mexico with Kearny's emissary, Captain Cooke, to soften the way. (See R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail*, Longman's, Green & Co., N. Y., 1931, pp. 199-200. Also William A. Keleher, *Tumult in New Mexico*, Rydal Press, Santa Fe, 1952, p. 122, fn. 37 and other indexed items.) José (Jesse) Sutton, a one-time partner of Josiah Gregg at Chihuahua as early as 1839 (Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road, Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1968, p. 144, fn. 591, evidently had loaned money several times to the Mexican government. (See Land Office Records, Report 45, File 61, Microfilm Reel, No. 17.)

7. Timothy Flint, Ed., *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky*, Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., Chicago, 1930, p. 206. Pattie's narrative is thought to be authentic in spite of its inaccuracies. His statement—"with sufficient money to pay for the goods, consigned to merchants in Santa Fe, to be purchased there, provided a sufficient quantity had recently arrived from the United States to furnish assortment"—adds credence to the general picture of a still weak transition toward established retailing practices.


23. *Santa Fe Republican*, Microfilm, University of New Mexico library, Oct. 16, 1847. (Adv.)


32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Supple, *op. cit.*, p. 147. The remark appears to have been a synthesis of the conclusions of Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1949, Chapter VII. Hansen cites a number of causes, but typical of his dissertation is: "To many, probably the majority, economic freedom made an even greater appeal than political freedom." p. 160.


37. American Jewish names in early Texas are not apparent. See Biesele, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 and 79.


41. An observer from the House of Representatives in 1865 commented: "In this strange community all the brethren are Saints, all the outsiders are sinners, and all the Jews are Gentiles." *Ibid.*, p. 5. Of course, there was also a certain sympathetic reception for these people that was tied closely to the Mormon's tenth article of faith: "We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes. That Zion will be built upon this (i.e. the American) continent...." B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Century 1, Vol. II, Church Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, 1933, p. 132.
42. American Jewish Archives, op. cit., pp. 87, 94, 103-104.
44. Agnes Morely Cleaveland, No Life for a Lady, Houghton-Mifflin, N. Y., 1941.
47. A traveling reporter of the Santa Fe New Mexican wrote of this house as "one of the largest if not the largest in all the northern portions of New Mexico. . . . One of the brothers is in Europe, another in New York [Solomon] and Joseph remains in Taos. . . . I am informed that Lucien B. Maxwell is connected with the business and interests of this company." May 21, 1854.
52. Gustave Elsberg v. Jacob Amberg et al., Bill in Chancery, First Judicial District of Territory of New Mexico, July 29, 1869.
53. Illustrated History of New Mexico, p. 634.
56. Zeckendorf was closing out March 11, 1865. Santa Fe Gazette (microfilm).
58. Santa Fe New Mexican, Aug. 12, 1864 (microfilm).
60. Gustave Elsberg, Bill in Chancery, op. cit.
62. Santa Fe New Mexican, April 30, 1864, New Mexico Historical Society, Santa Fe.
64. Brunswick and Hecht Ledger, University of New Mexico library.
65. These names were included among 15, including the Rosenwalds and Ilfeld, who signed a published agreement to close their respective stores at one o'clock on Sunday afternoons to give their employees some leisure time. Las Vegas Gazette, Sept. 12, 1874, Keleher library.
68. Ledger A, A. Letcher Company, Charles Ilfeld Collection, University of New Mexico library. Later Charles Ilfeld rented this store from Willi Spieglberg. Parish, op. cit., Chap. IV.
70. Parish, op. cit., Chapter V.
75. "another Ifield brother arrived . . . employed by Seligman and Bro." Weekly New Mexican, Sept. 29, 1872, New Mexico Historical Society.
76. Charles Ifield Company records, University of New Mexico library.
77. Ibid., Ledger B, p. 129, Aug. 1, 1871.
85. Charles Ifield Company records, op. cit. Solomon Floersheim was Ifeld's collector of ranch accounts in the early '80's; Max Goldenberg was Ifeld's sheep manager for many years; the Wertheims and Max and Alex Goldenberg were aided financially by Ifeld at both Liberty and Tucumcari; Max and Hugo Goldenberg were so aided at Puerto de Luna.
86. Haines, op. cit., p. 485.
87. Grant County Herald, Jan. 4, 1879. I. N. Cohen, Morris Lesinsky, and B. Weisl. Last-named was a brother-in-law of Charles Lesinsky. Ibid., July 12, 1879, Microfilm, University of New Mexico library.
90. B. Kahn (Santa Fe), Rocky Mountain Sentinel, 1878, and Military Review, 1881, Microfilms, University of New Mexico library; Louis Kahn, freighter between Santa Fe and Leavenworth, 1849—; Sapello merchant, 1867—; Mora, 1874. History of New Mexico, p. 657; Coan, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 432.
91. Charles L. and George (El Cuervo and La Cinta), Charles Ifeld, op. cit., letters, July 13, 1884 and Dec. 12, 1886; also a Cohn of Cohn and Gottlieb of Costilla, Ibid., Oct. 30, 1869, and Howard Cohn (Kohn) at El Cuervo and La Cinta, Ibid., July 13, 1884; Samuel Kohn (Las Vegas), Las Vegas Gazette, Sept. 12, 1874, Keleher library; Herman Cohn, Las Vegas Daily Optic, Feb. 3, 1880, Office of Publisher.
95. Abe, Jacob, Louis, M. Aaron, and Ned. M. Aaron were in Pecos in the 1870's (Sheldon H. Dike, "New Mexico Territorial Post Offices," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 34, No. 3, July 1959, p. 214); at Albuquerque, 1872 (Raton Range, microfilm, University of New Mexico library); in Santa Fe, 1880's (Secorro Sun, microfilm). The rest were in Santa Fe in the 1890's (various sources including the First National Bank of Santa Fe records, University of New Mexico library).
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in Los Lunas before 1871 (Twitchell, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 84); in Albuquerque as Vice-Pres. of B'naı' B'rith, Albuquerque City Directory, 1897.


102. Louis and David, Albuquerque 1880's to 1900 (Albuquerque Opinion, microfilm and Albuquerque City Directories 1896-1901); Sussman Lewinson had become a partner to Louis Lesser by 1895 in a dry goods store doing business as The Economist. By 1927 David Wehnman left the Golden Rule Dry Goods Company of Albuquerque to join this partnership, leaving his brother Jacob as proprietor of the Golden Rule. By 1901 the Lessers were no longer in Albuquerque and The Economist became the style name for Wehnman and Lewinson. Sussman Lewinson retired to Philadelphia by 1910 and Seymour Lewinson had joined the firm (Albuquerque City Directories).


107. Population German Born %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>95,516</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>91,874</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>119,565</td>
<td>729</td>
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</table>

108. In the 1870 census, 201 soldiers of German extraction were recorded in that occupation. In 1880 this category was not given. If the "soldier" occupation of 1870 is eliminated the business occupation figures were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Occupations</th>
<th>Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

109. German Jewish immigration to the U. S. 1840-1889, amounted to nearly 200,000 people (see note 25) or slightly more than 2% of total immigration (9,485,480) and almost 7% of German immigration (2,891,348). In N. M., in 1880, if the German Jew comprised % of 1% of total population (119,565) this portion would have amounted to 448 individuals or % of the total foreign born (8,081). On such a comparison we might estimate that the German Jew in N. M. represented almost three times as great a concentration in the population as for the nation. Admittedly this is a tenuous estimate
and yet, if Mexican-born nationals are excluded (5,173) the % of 1% portion of the population would comprise 15% of the other foreign born. In contrast to the 7% portion of German Jewish immigrants to German immigrants nationally. 448 German-Jewish-born individuals in N. M. would have been 60% of the German-born of 1880.


111. U. S. Surveyor-General, New Mexico: Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, Report 88, microfilm reel 21, University of New Mexico library, July 4, 1876 (Speech prepared by David J. Miller, Land Office translator).


119. Parish, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIV; *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 474.

120. Parish, *op. cit.*, Chapter V.

121. Account book of Brunswick’s Lincoln store, University of New Mexico library.


123. Actually operated out of Las Vegas as sutler before the troops were moved from that town to Fort Union. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 316.


126. Parish, *op. cit.*, Chapter II.

127. *Ibid*.


Charles Ilfeld rented the Tecolote store from Willi Spiegelberg after Dittenhofer and Bibo left. Parish, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV.


130. Parish, *op. cit.*, Chapters V, IX, and XV.


132. *Ibid.*, Chaps. IX and X.


134. Meyer Friedman had traveled for Otero, Sellars, early commission house, as early as 1874 and later had a store and warehouse for groceries in Las Vegas. Ilfeld Brothers, Louis and Noa, of Albuquerque, went wholly into sheep and wool after their general merchandise business burned down in 1897.


136. Parish, *op. cit.*, Chap. XI.

137. *Ibid.*, Chap. V.


139. For all practical purposes branches of banks are confined to the home office county.

140. Parish, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIII.


142. Of 598 persons born in the United States of German extraction and living in New Mexico, 250 had native born mothers.


144. *History of New Mexico*, p. 651.
