

SOUTHERN NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW



El Adelantado don Juan de Oñate, c. 1598

Doña Ana County Historical Society
Volume V, No. 1 Las Cruces, New Mexico January 1998

PUBLISHER

Doña Ana County Historical Society

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TYPOGRAPHY, DESIGN, PRINTING

Insta-Copy Printing/Office Supply
Las Cruces, New Mexico

COVER DRAWING BY

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The *Southern New Mexico Historical Review* (ISSN-1076-9072) is published by the Doña Ana County Historical Society for its members and others interested in the history of the region.

The opinions expressed in the articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Doña Ana County Historical Society.

Articles may be quoted with credit to the author and the *Southern New Mexico Historical Review*. The per-copy price of the *Review* is \$5.00. If ordering by mail, please add \$2.00 for postage and handling.

Correspondence regarding articles for the *Southern New Mexico Historical Review* may be directed to the Editor at the Doña Ana County Historical Society (P. O. Box 16045, Las Cruces, NM 88004-6045). Inquiries for society membership also may be sent to this address.

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ABOUT THE COVER

El Adelantado Don Juan de Oñate, c. 1598 When permission was given by the crown to make new conquests of unknown regions, the title of *Adelantado* was often granted to the person in command of the expedition. The title meant that the king recognized that individual as governor of the territory even before it was conquered. Don Juan de Onate was one of the few to bear that title. Pedro de Alvarado in Guatemala, Francisco de Montejo in Yucatan, and Nuno de Guzman in Michoacán, shared the same privilege.

The *Adelantado* reached the Rio Grande on April 29, 1598. Although tired and weary after the long journey, the next day he traveled up the river where, after mustering his entire company, he executed, with the pomp and dignity that was customary on such occasions, the *toma de posesiOn*. This was a legal, elaborate and very formal ceremony, executed upon taking possession of a new territory.

From the area around what was later to become El Paso, Onate proceeded with a band of selected men to secure the obedience of the Indians farther up river before they took fright or organized for war. Answering his summons, the Indian chiefs met at the pueblo that the Spaniards named Santo Domingo, the same Santo Domingo that may be visited today, located north of Albuquerque, New Mexico. It was there that the ceremony took place, the ceremony of accepting Spanish vassalage as well as the Christian faith.

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Incident at Columbus

by William B. Lumb

In the spring of 1946, shortly after the end of World War II, I was in the U.S. Army Veterinary Corps, stationed at Fort Bliss, El Paso, Texas. My commanding officer was a crusty old Colonel whose wife had left him and whose doctor had ordered him to quit drinking. He was overweight and smoked incessantly. Needless to say, he was like a bear with a sore paw.

One afternoon the Colonel announced, “Captain, tomorrow you’re going to Columbus, New Mexico, and pick up a war dog that’s jumped off the train and is wandering around loose.

“While Fort Bliss had been a cavalry post prior to the war, there were only a handful of horses left, and my regular duties as a veterinary officer were to do sanitary inspections in two dairy processing plants in El Paso. Routine and boring. The prospect of getting out in the country was more than welcome. I had no idea where Columbus was located, but the Colonel obligingly pointed it out on the large topographical map in his office. It was approximately 60 miles more or less due west of El Paso as the crow flies, and on the main line of the Southern Pacific Railroad heading toward the sunset. However, there was nothing on the map to indicate a road accompanying the rails, which meant that — barring a horseback or tank expedition — the only access was to go north to Las Cruces, New Mexico, then west 65 miles to Deming. From there, it was another 30 miles south to Columbus, only three miles from the Mexican border.

Columbus’ claim to fame is that Pancho Villa’s soldiers crossed the border from Mexico and raided the town in 1916. That was the first and last time an invading force had killed U.S. civilians since the War of 1812. President Wilson sent General John “Blackjack” Pershing to Columbus in pursuit of Villa in the first mechanized operation the Army had undertaken — complete with trucks and airplanes. Although they never caught Villa, the campaign served as a “tune up” for the Army about to engage in World War I.

I had a little experience in treating war dogs at another post, but they were always under control of their handlers. Even then, I approached them about as eagerly as I would a rattlesnake. Like today’s drug sniffers or police attack K-9 forces, they were highly trained, super sensitive, and fanatically devoted to their handlers. Some in World War I allegedly performed suicide missions carrying explosives under enemy tanks. I had heard numerous tales of their ferocity, so I asked the Colonel, “Aren’t there any trained dog handlers on the Post who could go along?”

“No,” he replied, “they all left on the train with the dogs.” “If he’s roaming around over there, he’ll be hard to handle. How am I supposed to catch him?”

“Take a rope,” said the crotchety Colonel, who probably relished the thought of feeding me to the lions, or to the dog, in this case.

“What about offering him some water laced with pentobarbital? He’s probably going to be thirsty.”

“No!” declared the Colonel decisively. “He might drink too much and die.”

“What about taking a carbine?” I asked finally, wondering about my personal plans not to die young.

“Dammit, no!” he thundered. “This is a valuable animal and the Army wants him back. Don’t come back without him.” That ended the conversation. I still hadn’t answered in my mind what I’d do if I came across a hungry, heat-crazed, salivating, killer dog on the open desert.

The following morning, a sergeant from the motor pool picked me up. He was driving a weapons carrier with no weapons and no top — obviously not the most desirable vehicle for our mission to capture a trained homicidal maniac creature in the sun-baked desert.

Southern New Mexico is part of the Chihuahuan desert, much of which is barren sandy wasteland where little grows except for occasional creosote bushes, untamed cacti and other named and unnamed wild desert plants. The road south from Deming was “natural gravel,” dusty and washboarded. We passed *las Tres Hermanas* (the Three Sisters) peaks, which rise as landmarks to the northwest of the village of Columbus, and descended the modest incline into Columbus. Its equally small and remote “sister village” across the border, Palomas, Chihuahua, Mexico, and miles more of the rain-deprived desert were visible in the distance.

Columbus, a village of perhaps 200 persons, looked like a movie set of the Old West. There were vestiges of the Villa raid 30 years previously; old foundations attested to the location of buildings that were burned. The railroad station, gleaming yellow in the bright sun, was the most prominent building in town. It is still there, housing the Columbus Historical Society’s museum and gift shop.

We pulled up in front of the railroad station where a couple of ancient locals looked us over suspiciously, as though we might be some of Pershing’s stragglers. The station telegraph operator claimed little knowledge of the dog: “Only that he broke his chain and jumped from the baggage car.” I had an electrifying vision of a dog-headed Herculean figure bursting through the roof of a boxcar into the sky while emitting an earsplitting roar. We continued south to the U.S.-Mexico line and the Customs House, which today has been moved to the Pancho Villa State Park in Columbus. At the border, the Customs Officer declared he had reports the dog was west of town, somewhere along the tracks toward Arizona.

Thanking him, we headed our blistering hot weaponless weapons carrier through the undulating heat waves in the direction of New Mexico's "boot heel" and the dreaded encounter with the potentially deadly war dog.

The landscape as far as Columbus had been desolate; the onward journey was moonscape miserable red dirt where hardly anything grew except yellow-green long-lived creosote bushes; yet today, thanks to irrigation, cultivation, and New Mexico State University's agricultural development programs, there are productive fields of prize-winning onions in what is called the Carzalia Valley. The road, not much more than a trail,

upon a monstrous machine, possibly designed for moving

mountains, and a shack on wheels — a cross between a shepherd's wagon and today's travel trailer. They were pulled about 50 yards off the road and the top half of a Dutch door in the wheeled shack's side was open. A man appeared at the door as we approached and I inquired innocently, "Have you seen a big German Shepherd anywhere around here?" I had a fleeting anticipation of the dog responding to my command of "Hup," by docilely jumping into the weapons carrier and riding in the back seat to Fort Bliss where



Columbus Depot, 1987. Pen and ink drawing by John McClure. Reproduced with permission of the artist, and through courtesy of the current owner, Jean Miles

snaked along the south side of the tracks toward the ghost town of Hachita and the Pacific Ocean. As far as the eye could see, nothing was visible except the dirt road, the shining rails, the punctuating telegraph poles, an occasional dust devil, and mountains somewhere in the far distance, maybe Japan.

After traveling in the broiling sun forever, or for maybe 10 or 15 miles, we saw a handcar approaching us on the tracks. The single occupant/operator ceased his seemingly mechanical up-and-down pumping when I waved frantically. He was an Hispanic who didn't speak a word of English and seemed mystified and somewhat frightened by the only Spanish I could muster, which I repeated often and loudly — perro, the word for dog. After a short verbal impasse, much shouting, arm flailing, charades-type miming, and considerable other attempts at communication on both sides, he waved his arm to the west and disappeared eastward on the tracks toward Columbus.

The sergeant and I in our not so pleasant topless vehicle, which we fortunately did not have to pump, continued west for another 10 miles until we came

the Colonel would beam benevolently and pin a medal on my chest.

"Seen him?" he replied. "Look what the bastard did to me!" He unwound a dirty tattered flour sack from his left arm. The limb was red and swollen from hand to shoulder and covered with festering bite wounds. It looked as though it had been thoroughly pounded with a meat tenderizer mallet.

After unaccountably flapping his arm about while obviously incurring much more than minor pain, he explained: "It's my job to grade the road through here, and I came home one noon to find this big dog sitting in front of my trailer. He sat there while I got out of my grader and went inside. I felt sorry for him. I knew he didn't belong to anyone around here and there's very few people come by here — so I mixed up a dishpan of food and carried it out to him. I got about 15 feet from the trailer, and as I set it down, he jumped me. He knocked me down and I threw up my arm to protect my throat. He started chewing on it, and I yelled everything I could think of at him to get him to quit. After what seemed like an hour, he backed

off and sat down — I think I must have yelled “Sit!”

He continued, “I managed to crawl up the steps into the trailer and fell into bed; then I passed out. When I finally got up the next morning, he was sitting at the foot of the steps waiting for me. I didn’t dare go out, so, even though my arm was terribly swollen, I managed to tie an old rag on the end of a broomstick to signal anyone passing. It wasn’t until noon that a car came by. The driver was a government trapper. As he pulled up to the trailer I yelled, “Don’t get out, just shoot that dog!”

“Oh, I couldn’t,” he yelled back. “He’s a beautiful animal and he obviously belongs to someone.”

“You shoot him and I’ll take the responsibility — he’s a killer!”

“Finally, after showing him my arm, I persuaded him to shoot and he killed the dog with one shot from his rifle. When we were sure the dog was dead, we looked him over and found a leather collar around his neck which said ‘Property of the U.S. Army.’ When we saw that we got the wind up and decided to hide the carcass, so we took it to a ranch up the road and threw it in an arroyo.”

Needless to say, I was greatly relieved to hear that the War Dog had “bit the bullet and passed to the great beyond.” I said, “Well, the Colonel threatened me not to come back without the dog. I’ll need the collar to prove he’s dead, so we need to find him.”

“I’ll give you directions to the ranch, but I can’t go with this arm. I’ve been soaking it in Epsom salts and its better, but I don’t feel well enough to go.”

“Take care of that arm!” I called, as the sergeant headed the weapons carrier even further west on the road toward California. By the time we reached the ranch turnoff, I estimated we were almost in Arizona.

The ranch was on a hillside south of the road. A mob of ranch dogs started barking and a weather-beaten rancher exited the house. At first, he was unwilling to admit he knew anything about the incident, but after my

assurances that all we needed was proof that the dreaded dog was absolutely, undeniably dead, he reluctantly agreed to guide us to the aforementioned arroyo in a 4,000 acre pasture stretching for miles along the Mexican border. He boarded the sun-baked vehicle and directed us across the parched desert for about 20 minutes to where the carcass was located.

The dog had been dead several days and the relentless New Mexico sun had caused the hapless canine to expand to the size of a small steer. The collar was embedded about an inch in the grossly swollen neck. Fearing a monumental explosion, I borrowed the rancher’s knife to cut the constricting collar from the bloated remains. Briefly, I hallucinated that the powerful, larger than life, beast was attacking us as we tried to escape by gunning a pitifully underpowered open-top weapons carrier down the road.

The rancher invited us to stay for supper, but both the sergeant and I were more interested in civilization as we knew it with a shower and a cold beer. We headed east toward Columbus and eventually Fort Bliss.

The next morning, collar in hand, I reported to the Colonel.

“You should have brought the carcass back for proper burial,” he informed me.

I could almost see us bringing the steaming, deteriorating dead dog back to be buried behind the Veterinary Station Hospital while the Colonel stood at attention and a bugler played taps. “I should have brought it back and piled it on your desk,” I thought to myself; but, discretion being the better part of valor, I saluted about as sharply as a not particularly military-minded veterinarian could and said, “Yes, Sir! Sorry Sir!”

WILLIAM V. LUMB is a Professor Emeritus of Veterinary Surgery. He served in the Armed Forces from 1943 to 1946 and has taught veterinary surgery and medicine at Texas A&M University, Michigan State University and Colorado State University. He has written extensively in the professional literature and is author of several textbooks.

A Meeting at Apache Pass - The Bascom Affair

by Thomas D. Gilbert

On Monday, February 4, 1861, three separate meetings took place within the United States of America, each with its own awful portent for the nation. In Montgomery, Alabama, 37 delegates from six southern states convened to begin the first session of the Provincial Congress of the Confederate States of America. Washington, D.C. was the site for the first meeting of the Peace Convention, attended by 131 delegates from 21 states. Far to the west, Cochise and Second Lieutenant George N. Bascom met for the first time. Within the week, the Confederate Congress had drafted a constitution and elected a president. In less than a month, the Peace conventioners would admit failure and go home.¹ Over 25 years of almost continual warfare would pass before the dust and blood stirred up by that western meeting would settle: the American-Apache Wars were begun.

The scene of that third meeting was Apache Pass, in what is now southeastern Arizona's Chiricahua Mountains, site of a way station for the Butterfield State Line since 1858. The mountains through which Butterfield's Overland Mail Road passed had been, for at least two centuries, the winter home of a band of Apaches known to themselves as Chokonen, to the Americans as Chiricahua. The region had once been part of the northern frontier of New Spain. Then the land belonged to Mexico; the Gadsden Purchase in 1853 brought it into the United States' Territory of New Mexico.

In August 1861 the Confederacy proclaimed a Territory of Arizona, which included Apache Pass. The victorious Union retained the Arizona designation, though with considerable differences in geographical boundaries. In 1912, Arizona became the 48th state of the Union. Apache Pass is within the southernmost county of Arizona: Cochise County.²

It is an appropriate name. It was Cochise's country in the mid-1800s. About forty years old in 1861, he has been described as the "greatest Apache of his day." His people called him Cheis, meaning "oak," referring to the strength and quality of that wood (Anglos added the prefix, rendering his name Cochise). He had inherited the leadership of the Chiricahuas from his father, Nachi. Regarded with fear and awe by his own people, he was likewise respected by other Apache groups, especially the Warm Springs Apaches to the northeast (southwestern New Mexico by today's reckonings). The chief of the Warm Springs band, Mangas Coloradas, said to be the "greatest Apache war leader of the nineteenth century," showed his admiration for Cochise by giving him a daughter in marriage. Prior to 1861, Anglo travelers through Cochise's territory considered him an intelligent, friendly, and trustworthy Indian. While perpetually at war with the Mexicans south of the border (a tradition that seems to have begun with the Spanish in the 1600s), the Chiricahuas displayed little

hostility for the white newcomers due largely to respect for the American military, based at Fort Buchanan, eight miles to the west, and to Indian agent Dr. Michael Steck, who had arranged government rations in exchange for peaceful coexistence. Cochise supplemented the rations with a contract to provide wood and hay for the Butterfield station.³

Other Apaches in the area were not as inclined toward peace, however. On January 21, 1861, a small band of Pinal Apaches, who resided along the Gila River to the north, conducted a raid on a ranch about thirteen miles south of Fort Buchanan. This "squalid" ranch was owned by John Ward, who had come into the area in 1857 from San Francisco and was described as "in all respects, a worthless character." Living with Ward were his common-law wife, Jesusa Martinez and her twelve-year-old son Felix. According to one account, Jesusa had been captured several years before by the Pinals, and Felix had been sired by a Pinal warrior. They later escaped, and in 1860 moved in with Ward. Ward was away on business when the Apaches struck. During the raid, they grabbed Felix and twenty herd of cattle and, according to the neighbors, headed east. One of the neighbors alerted the post commander at Fort Buchanan, who immediately dispatched a squad of dragoons to pursue. The dragoons returned after a four-day scout, having found nothing, but reporting that all signs seemed to indicate that the raiders had disappeared in the direction of Apache Pass (unbeknownst to the Americans, civil and military alike, the Pinals had returned to their own area, and after some trading, Felix was soon in the custody of the White Mountain Apaches, about a hundred miles north of Apache Pass). The leader of the scout had been Second Lieutenant George Nicholas Bascom.⁴

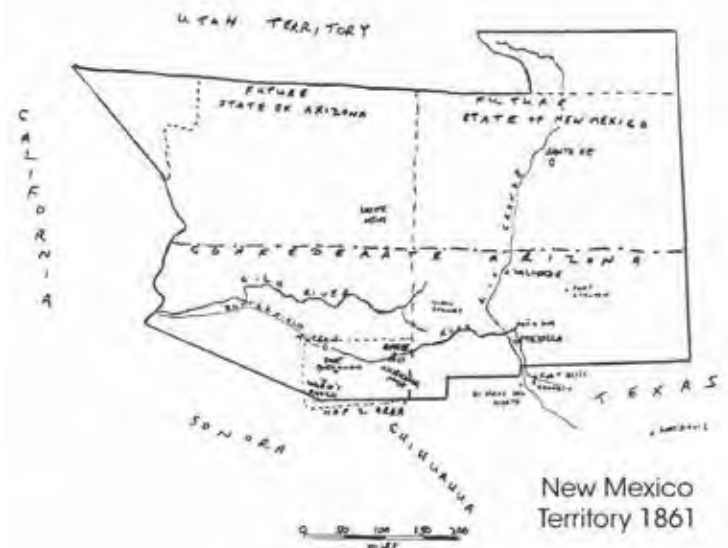
Bascom had been at Fort Buchanan since October. A Kentucky native, he had been graduated from West Point in 1858, after a one-semester suspension for excessive demerits. He came close to earning a second suspension for like reason, but managed to graduate 27th in his class of 28. As a novice second lieutenant, Bascom spent a year on recruiting duty in New York, then was reassigned to Company C, Seventh Infantry, in Utah Territory. In 1860, his unit was ordered to Fort Buchanan, which was regimental headquarters. In November, 1860, the captain of Company C took a leave of absence, and Bascom was left in command. At the time of the Apache raid, Bascom was twenty-four years old.⁵

Upon the return from the unsuccessful scout, John Ward appeared at the fort demanding further action. Some believed that he was more concerned about the loss of the cattle than about Felix. Ward was convinced that the Chiricahuas at Apache Pass were responsible, and since the trail seemed to have disappeared in that direction, the post commander ordered Bascom to take most of Company C

to Apache Pass to investigate, while a smaller command was sent to the site of the raid to look for more evidence. On January 28, 1861, Bascom and 54 men departed Fort Buchanan, accompanied by Ward; 90 miles of desert later, they entered the Pass on February 3. Here the company was augmented by a supply train manned by a sergeant from Company C and twelve privates. The combined party advanced to the Butterfield Station. There the supply sergeant advised two Apache women that Bascom had come to talk with Cochise, while Bascom himself and the rest of the command set up camp in Siphon Canyon about a mile past the station and awaited Cochise's arrival.⁶

The next afternoon Cochise and several members of his family appeared at the camp. The lieutenant received them cordially enough, offering dinner to his guests, as the soldiers began to quietly surround Bascom's tent. As coffee was served, Bascom, through an "interested interpreter," possibly Ward, informed Cochise that he had come to retrieve Ward's stepson. Cochise replied that his band had nothing to do with the raid, but he suspected that some of the Apaches to the north might be guilty, and he promised to use his influence to find and recover the boy. Bascom refused to believe Cochise's denial and ordered the Indians held hostage until Felix was brought forward. Cochise then drew his knife and slashed his way out of the tent. The soldiers opened fire, but he broke through them and escaped, suffering a slight leg wound. His six companions (his wife, his two children, his brother, and two nephews) were not fast enough and were captured. About an hour later, Cochise, coffee cup still in hand, appeared on a nearby hilltop, inquiring about his relatives. He was answered by more rifle shots. Swearing revenge, he again disappeared.⁷

Before dark, Bascom broke camp and moved his command and his hostages to the stoutly built stage station, which, featuring stone walls over six feet high and protected firing ports, had been designed to act as a fortress should the need arise. It appeared to Bascom that the need had indeed risen. Sure enough, early the next morning, Cochise returned with a large band of warriors. Among these was one of his lieutenants, a warrior in his thirties by the name of Goyahkla, better known by now as Geronimo. Instead of the expected attack, Cochise produced a white flag and asked for a parley with Bascom. The American consented and came forward with two sergeants and an interpreter (again, possibly Ward). Cochise requested the release of his family, which Bascom promised to do, as soon as the white boy was returned. Cochise again professed his innocence, but to no avail. At this juncture, James Wallace, a veteran Butterfield driver who knew Cochise and could speak his language, approached the group with two station employees to try to intercede and break the stalemate before the situation escalated beyond repair. As he neared the gathering, two warriors seized him, and as shots broke out from all directions, the remaining white men ran for safety. One of the station employees



was killed and two other whites were wounded during the exchange. A steady volume of fire continued between the station and the surrounding hills for the rest of the day. As night fell, campfires could be seen all around the area, and sounds of war dances were heard in the darkness.⁸

At daylight, February 6, Cochise once again appeared on a nearby hilltop. This time he had his own hostage, Wallace, whom he offered in exchange for the captives. Bascom again refused. Meanwhile, Cochise's scouts reported the approach of an eastbound wagon train. Frustrated, Cochise ordered its capture in hopes of increasing his bargaining power. The five wagons were attacked, and three more white hostages were presented to the chief. Nine Mexican teamsters suffered the fate of any of their kind who fell into Apache hands. They were lashed to the wagons which were then set afire. Geronimo, who had a special hatred for Mexicans (his mother, wife, and three children had been among victims of a massacre in Mexico several years before), participated and possibly led the attack.⁹

That night Cochise forced Wallace to write a note in English for Bascom advising him of the additional hostages and adding: "Treat my people well, and I will do the same by yours." The note was attached to a stake and placed in clear view of the station. Cochise then withdrew into the hills to await Bascom's response. The note was ignored. Bascom took advantage of the respite to send couriers into the night for help. On February 8, after almost two days with no signs of Indian activity, some soldiers ventured out to water the herd of army mules only to be attacked by a large party of Apaches. The soldiers managed to return to safety, but all of the mules were lost. After a brief exchange of fire with the station, the warriors once again withdrew.¹⁰

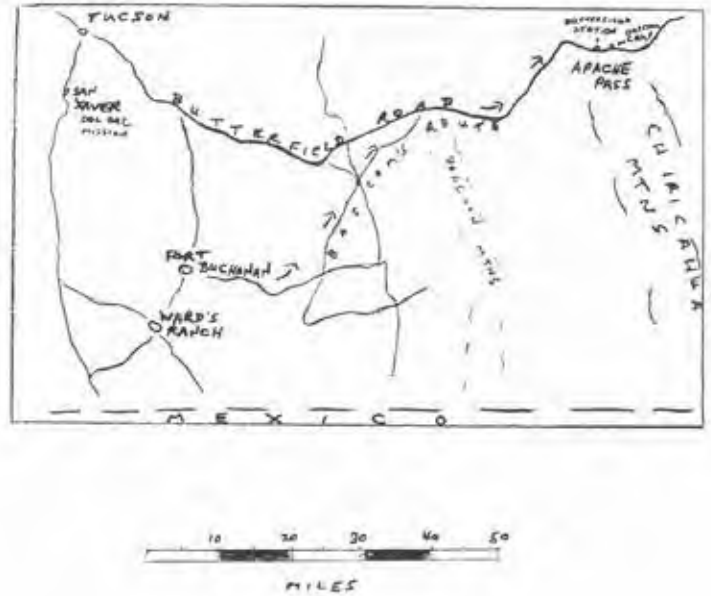
On the same day, February 8, Bascom's messengers arrived at Fort Buchanan, and a relief column was quickly organized to raise the siege. Early the next morn-

ing, an army surgeon left for the pass escorted by fourteen soldiers and former cavalryman James “Paddy” Graydon, who often served the army as a guide and scout. After struggling through a snowstorm and capturing enroute three Coyotero Apaches, Graydon’s party reached Apache Pass on February 10. Four days later, First Lieutenant Isaiah Moore and seventy dragoons arrived. The pass had been quiet since the attack of February 8.¹¹

Moore took command and ordered an extensive search of the mountains. No Indians were found, but on February 18, a search party came upon the mutilated remains of Wallace and the wagoners. They had been lanced repeatedly, which was an Apache custom, and Wallace could only be identified by the gold fillings in his teeth. According to Geronimo, the Apaches had been watching developments at the station, including the arriving reinforcements. Cochise believed that the Americans were about to begin a campaign against him, so, again according to Geronimo, “We killed our prisoners, disbanded, and went into hiding in the mountains . . . while they searched we watched them from our hiding places and laughed at their failures.” After burying the bodies, Moore ordered the execution of the adult male captives, including the three brought in by Graydon. The six Apaches were led to four large oak trees near the site of the killings and were hanged. Their bodies were left for all passersby to see, and they were not removed until General Carleton and the California Column passed through the next year. Cochise’s wife and children were spared this fate and were later taken to Fort Buchanan and released (one of the children was Naiche, who would become the last chief of the free Chiricahuas and a close associate of Geronimo).¹²

Cochise and his band observed from afar and then withdrew deep into the mountains to plan revenge. Reports of the incident, which the Apaches called the “cut through the tent” affair, spread from band to band and was long remembered (in the 1970s, more Apache descendants knew about Bascom’s treatment of Cochise than knew of the much more recent bombing of Pearl Harbor). “After this trouble,” Geronimo recalled, “all of the Indians agreed not to be friendly with the white men any more.” Within weeks of the Bascom Affair, Apache raids around Fort Buchanan increased tenfold, as Cochise laid waste to the area between Tucson and the pass. His close ally Mangas Coloradas (who had similarly been mistreated by white miners in New Mexico a few months before and whose daughter and grandchildren were Bascom’s hostages) likewise terrorized the region to the east of the pass as far as Mesilla, on the Rio Grande, 200 miles away. Within 60 days of the incident, 150 whites had reportedly been killed.¹³

Complicating matters were events much further to the east. The Civil War was beginning, and white soldiers were choosing sides and leaving the frontier in large numbers, closely followed by terrified civilians. Among other southwestern posts, Fort Buchanan was evacuated, and the Butterfield stage service was suspended. Many Indians believed that their intensified operations had caused the



exodus, while others, more knowledgeable, saw in the distant war an opportunity to drive the remaining white men away for good.¹⁴

Into this situation marched the vanguard of a Confederate New Mexico invasion force, a regiment of Texas Mounted Rifles under Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor, which arrived in the region in July, 1861. The first steps were soon taken with the capture of a Union garrison near Mesilla and Baylor’s declaration of his governorship of Confederate Arizona (the southern half of the U.S. Territory of New Mexico). Most of “Arizona,” however, was now under the control of Cochise and Mangas Coloradas. Baylor soon found that, with his claim, he had inherited a full-scale Indian war.¹⁵

He was soon calling for help. On August 25, he wrote to his department commander, “I can’t hold the United States troops in check and operate against the Indians with the limited number of men under my command.” Subsequent reports illustrate his problems: “A party of 14 men from Fort Davis went in pursuit of Indians . . . after a desperate fight were all killed;” a party of four scouts on the lookout for Federal troops “were assailed by a shower of arrows” — one “escaped to tell the fate of the horrible massacre of his three comrades;” “the Indians are exceedingly troublesome . . . I have been compelled to abandon Fort Stanton.” In October, Baylor appealed again for help describing “the critical condition of the citizens and miners of Arizona . . . under the sway of Indians.” To augment his beleaguered regiment which suffered far more casualties from Apaches than from Yankees, he raised a militia company, the “Arizona Guards,” and charged it with keeping the road to Tucson clear and the miners safe. Despite Baylor’s efforts, over 100 citizens were killed during the latter part of 1861.¹⁶

Reinforcements arrived in December in the form of Brigadier General Henry H. Sibley’s Texas Brigade of 3,000. Sibley, however, came to deal with Federals, not

Indians, and was soon gone, up the Rio Grande to conquer all of New Mexico and then push on to the Pacific. Baylor was left behind to cope with the Apaches. In March, he issued an order to the commander of the Arizona Guards to “use all means to persuade the Apaches or any tribe to come in for the purpose of making peace, and when you get them together, kill all the grown Indians and take the children prisoners and sell them.” When President Jefferson Davis was informed of Baylor’s extermination order, he removed him from his governorship. Meanwhile, Sibley, after a victory upriver at Valverde ford (where George N. Bascom, now a captain died defending a Union battery), was decisively defeated at Glorieta, near Santa Fe. After a long retreat, he returned to Texas in May. Among the many reasons cited for the Confederate failure in New Mexico was “the chaos caused by the Apaches.”¹⁷

In the wake of the departing Confederates came the “California Column,” a command of 2,350 men under Brigadier General James H. Carleton. Its purpose was to prevent an invasion of California and expel the enemy from New Mexico. The only engagement it had with the Confederates, however, was a brief skirmish on April 15, 1862, at Picacho Pass near Tucson.

In July, Carleton and his men were given a preview of who their real enemy would be. Cochise had been watching and waiting. As an advance unit of 126 men under Captain Thomas L. Roberts entered Apache Pass, it was ambushed by 200 Apaches under the direct command of Cochise and Mangas Coloradas. The resulting three-hour battle was decided by two American howitzers which finally forced the Indians to flee (“We would have done well enough if you had not fired wagons at us, “a prominent” Apache later told participant John C. Cremony). After completing his journey from California, Carleton was placed in command of the Department of New Mexico. For four years he and his command would fight Indians. He would successfully end for all time hostilities with the Navajos, and he would for a short time control the Kiowas and Comanches as well as the Mescalero Apaches east of the Rio Grande. By treachery his soldiers would murder Mangas Coloradas. But he could not defeat Cochise and his Chiricahuas.¹⁸ The Chiricahuas would continue their war with the white man for more than two decades.¹⁹ After the death of Cochise in 1874, Geronimo would continue the fight until his final surrender in 1886.²⁰ Twenty-five years of incessant warfare would be the result of the stubbornness of one

white man who refused to believe the word of an Indian.

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- 9 Mill, p. 18; Roberts, p. 26; Debo, p. 35; Barrett, p. 116.
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- 11 Jerry D. Thompson, *Desert Tiger: Captain Paddy Graydon* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1992), pp. 20-21; Thrapp, p. 18; Mill, p. 19.
- 12 Thompson, p. 21; Mill, pp. 19-20; Barrett, pp. 116-117; Roberts, pp. 28-29.
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- 15 Frazier, pp. 48, 54, 72; Debo, pp. 64-65.
- 16 U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. 4*, 24, 25, 26, 30, 109, 120; Frazier, 56, 116; Ray C. Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 23.
- 17 Thompson, pp. 27-28; Colton, pp. 25, 34, 79, 95; Thrapp, p. 16; Frazier, p. 291.
- 18 Roberts, pp. 37-38; Colton, pp. 101, 104, 114, 118; John C. Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches* (New York: Indian Head Books, 1991 (18681)), p. 164.
- 19 Among the participants was a white man who had been raised among the Apaches, and, fluent in their language, had become a prominent, if controversial, interpreter for the army; he called himself Mickey Free, but years before, he was Felix, the stepson of John Ward.
- 20 Debo, pp. 62, 91, 293.

Down the Rio Grande, 1859

by Galen Stover Berry

This record of a trip from Colorado to Texas gives a firsthand view of New Mexico as it was in the fall of 1859.

When Jacob Allen Stover, my great-grandfather, died in 1875, his grieving wife and four sons inherited debts from his nursery business. They also inherited three small journals that Jacob had written in Pittman shorthand, which no one could read. His widow unsuccessfully attempted to maintain his peach orchards but the family had hard times thereafter. The journals were put away, then passed from generation to generation, ignored and unread. After 1928, two journals came into my possession and I found a lady who had learned Pittman. Thus we have been able to reconstruct his life and his travels west.

Jacob Allen Stover was born in 1837 on the family farm near Greencastle, Pennsylvania. He and eleven brothers and sisters came from four generations of deeply religious German Baptist Brethren, a small, solid sect allied to the Quakers and the Mennonites. Family life revolved around the farm, their church, and community activities of a small town. Jacob read widely. He taught classes in a one-room school, was a member of a debating society, and learned the new shorthand.

When Americans headed to California in the 1849 Gold Rush, young Jacob watched their wagons roll west. One of his brothers and his wife joined them. Ten years later, in 1859, reports of a new gold strike in Colorado circulated and an estimated 200,000 headed west. Jacob, now 20, said goodbye to his parents and went by train to Illinois where he joined an older brother, David, and other gold-seekers. Their “company” — varying in size between 12 and 20 men or more — spent several months crossing what is now Iowa and Nebraska in ox-drawn wagons.

Every evening Stover recorded details in his journal — weather conditions, road problems, missing cattle, encounters with Indians, decisions made around campfires. He wrote in the ‘chicken scratches’ of shorthand, except for some place names and an occasional intriguing sentence such as “Today there was five dead men in the valley.” Translation of his shorthand proved difficult, especially when he gave the phonetic spelling of mispronounced Spanish place names.

Reaching the Gregory Mines in the Rockies, the miners dug for gold, but were disappointed with rough conditions, poor findings and high prices. An early snowfall came in August. On Sept. 14, their group of 12 prospectors divided about \$1100 in gold from the claim. They then split up: some headed east, some west, and the Stovers and their group headed south, going 15-20 miles per day. Their “guns were loaded to defend ourselves if Indians did appear.” By the end of September, they were in southern Colorado, and by mid-October

they were approaching Albuquerque, New Mexico.

As they passed through Raton Pass, Fort Union, Sapio (*Sapello*), Los Bagos (*Las Vegas*), San Antone Sheik (*Anton Chico*), and other settlements, men and cattle occasionally went missing, temporarily or permanently. The travelers’ days were usually monotonously repetitive; however, there were instances of wonderful discovery. There was the introduction to locust wood and to pine (*piñon*) nuts in southern Colorado; the sighting of antelope, but wild turkey and squirrels for meals; “plums, grapes and cherries . . . all better than the same in the east”; and gifts of corn, beets and onions from local farmers. There were intriguing glimpses of rural life — men who “were making hay for Fort Union, for which they got 5 dollars a ton”; a group of all-women pallbearers at the funeral of a child; Mexican women balancing items on their heads; a “woman plastering the outside of a house and a man tinting mortar.”

There were encounters with domesticated animals — a saddled mule which joined the travelers until its owner caught up with them; flocks of as many as 1,000 sheep; larger herds of cattle; chickens atop a house and “pigs tied with a string to keep them out of mischief.” They stayed on the lookout for good grass and running water for camp each night. There were days with no water and one in which they crossed the same stream 22 times in one day. And through it all, there were reports that “the Mexicans were learning us to talk their language,” and periodic updates of Jacob’s progress in constructing “a new pair of pantaloons.”

The Journal of Jacob Allen Stover

October 17 - November 21, 1859

Oct 17 (Mon) — This morning we drove down the canyon dreading the mountain running north and south, and there came to the first running stream, making a distance of about 70 miles without running water. The longest distance without any water was 30 miles. When we got to the mountain, one road went to the left to Albuquerque (*Albuquerque*) and the other to the right to a small stream. We then passed some little settlements and then a little town in which there was an adobe Catholic Church with two little adobe bells. We went on down and at noon camped at the head of a gorge which leads through the mountain toward Albuquerque. After noon we went on down the canyon which sometime was very deep. The road was very good being made like a pike. We saw the Rio Grande. We camped in the mouth of the canyon where the grass was pretty good. We drove today about 15 miles.

Oct 18th (Tu) — We drove on this morning and soon came into the Rio Grande valley which is level and nice, but covered with poor grass. We got to Albuquerque

A sample of the journal in Pittman shorthand.

a little after noon and camped near town and bought fodder to feed the cattle, grass being scarce. Albuquerque is quite a nice place considering that it is built of adobe houses. We got our Spanish teacher and a bag of onions, which were two cents apiece. There are some other good stores in the place and things so high. They have to bring the wood to this place from the mountain which is about 20 miles distant. We drove today about 15 miles.

Oct 19th (W) — We came to some conclusion of sailing from here, going on boats down the river from this place and therefore are trying to sell our things today, but not being in too great a hurry. I was learning Spanish. In the evening some of us went to a Fandango (*Spanish dance party*) uptown which was the most amusing thing I saw for a long time. People there were 80 years of age down to infancy. Women smoking and talking and laughing while in the dance. The men playing the guitar was making the head go as fast as the fingers. Near the ballroom was a room for drinking and gambling. One of the boys got miserably drunk.

Oct 20th (Th) — This morning two of our men went along with the team which was going to the mountain to get lumber to make our boats and will not likely get back for several days. I finished my new pantaloons. It was very pleasant. We have had several offers for our wagons and cattle but have not sold them yet. In the evening we went to a silly ball to which we had an invitation. It was much better than the one before; no gambling but good dancing. After each dance they would all take a drink. Some of the most vulgar talk I ever heard in (mixed) company was there by the men. Some of the women were good looking, but we found out afterward that they were all whores.

Oct 21st (Fr) — Today we sold a wagon for 43 dollars: it cost us 15 dollars. The camper (*meaning unclear*) which passes here every day had been drinking but one time yet since we came here.

Oct 22nd (Sat) — Nothing of much importance today. Sold another wagon for 60 dollars. The mill does not run but a few hours in the day now. Days here are warm, but nights cool.

Oct 23rd (Div) — This morning the Mexicans were going to town with many things for sale. All things in the open. I went up town and found quite a crowd selling,

buying and waiting until church. Went to a Catholic meeting, but found no seats and soon got tired. After noon, here was a horse race.

Oct 24th (Mon) — I was washing all day. In the evening we sold all our shovels, picks and other things which we do not need any longer. A man was to come after the cattle today, but didn't.

Oct 25th (Tu) — I wrote a letter to the "Transcript" (*a Chambersburg, PA, newspaper*) today about the territory mines, arguing (*about*) some things in the "New York Herald" about the mines. There was a woman near here today plastering the outside of a house.

Oct 26th (W) — Last night and today we were looking for the lumber for our boats but they did not come. We sold the cattle today for 40 dollars and the cow, and they were taken away. Were glad that they were gone for we were tired of watching them. David went along to help the men here when they stayed all night. After noon, the wind rose and got higher until night when it was so high that we could hardly keep the tent from blowing over. The sand flew at a great rate. In the morning our things were all covered with sand.

Oct 27th (Th) — It was windy and cold today. We're in the tent trying to keep warm, but not much use. David came back today and said that he got very good treatment where he was all night, and thinks the people are clever. I had the diarrheas and felt chilly and sore all day. There is snow on the mountain near here.

Oct. 29th (Sat) — We were all day looking for our boys with the lumber, but they did not get back until evening. This evening six of Captain McKay's (*sp?*) company camped near us; they are on their way to Texas. They have to travel a little on the sly order, for one of them killed a Mexican up at Taos at a dance. He did it in selfdefense and therefore did right. They thought he had money with him and tried to kill him, but with his revolver he cleared one and cleared himself.

Oct 30th (Div) — This morning, though Sunday, we went to work at our boats, and were making them all day. We felt better satisfied today, and though it was a custom of the people here (*to work on Sunday*), we did contrary to right, every way. There was a horse race nearby us today on which 30 dollars was bet.

Oct 31st (M) — We were all busy today working at the oars and boats. Over here a great many coming to see us make the boats and asking questions. Nice today.

(*Monthly summary in readable English*) At the beginning of this month we were at Fort Union; went from thereto Los Bagos and sold a wagon & had a yoke of oxen stolen, & from there went Albuquerque by way of San Antone Sheik & other small towns. It rained some about the middle of the month.

November, 1859

November 1st (Tu) We were building at the boats today and got one nearly done. (*Stover uses the term 'boat' throughout his journal but it is more likely that they were barges*

or rafts.)

Nov. 2nd (W) Building all day and got the “sneon” or “sinew,” (*meaning unclear*) nearly done. Two men near here built a boat from a bulhide and got it in the river and there they went. We called it the “Hurricane.”

Nov 3rd (Th) We today built the boats and got them nearly finished. We cleaned and patched them all.

Nov 4th (F) This being Friday, some bent to go on that account and so we did every little thing to leave early in the morning. I was all day making a flag for our boat; it is about six feet long.

Nov 5th (Sat) This morning we were up early and getting ready to leave. We had quite a time getting down the millrace and had to take the boats by hand and walk by the side for more than a mile. After carrying our things quite a distance, we got them to the river. Then getting the boats there, we loaded up again and started our new way of traveling, which we found hard in places on account of the sand bars. We had then to get out and draw our boats over them and then get in again. It was tiresome yet we went about 20 miles. Wild geese are plenty and we shot three. We passed several little towns today along the river. Some places, the river was narrow and nice for traveling, but other places, wide and shallow. In the evening, we passed in Indian town with some nice houses for Indians. They are civilized. This evening we camped on the bank.

Nov. 6th (Div) This morning we went on boating and had many sand bars to cross, but not as many as Saturday. We saw any amount of wild geese, ducks and brants today, but being too windy had poor success in shooting them. After noon, the wind was against us and therefore could not make great speed. We passed several little towns but there was not much farming done. This evening, we camped on the western side of the river, where wood was not plenty. Boating today was better than Saturday.

Nov 7th (M) This morning we left early and made good time until the wind rose against us and all afternoon then was hard. The river was pretty good but for a few places, and had to get out. Shot two pheasants and a goose today. There is little farming done along the river. In the evening, we had quite a nice place for camping; put the boats in a little reef where all was right and nice.

Nov. 8th (Tu) The wind was right today and we made good speed. The river was clear with hills on both sides. In the evening, we came to a little town that we thought was Secoro (Socorro), and on going there we found that it was not. We saw there a Mexican woman spinning wool with a little stick which was on a little ball and that she ran around with her fingers. We had a nice place for camping in the evening.

Nov 9th (W) This morning we went on and got to Secorro at nearly noon, not much of a place with a few houses on it and all adobe. There are apple, pear, quince trees and grapevines in the town. I talked to a man there who saw gold taken from the mines there, but he says it does not amount to much. We had to pay 8 dollars a hundred (*pounds*) for flour. We went on about 8 miles to camp.

Nov 10th (Th) The river today was not very good being quite crooked and wide with sand bars in it. The wind was against us, which made it hard. There is plenty of good cottonwood along the river now, but not a great many settlements. This evening, we camped early on account of the wind being against us.

“Hor Nathes Mountains

(*Jornada del Muerto*)

on the Rio Grande.”

Nov 11th (Fr) The wind was against us today, but the river was good. There are some nice bottoms of the river now with some holes. We got to Fort Gregory (*Fort Craig*) at noon. We went up on the hills to see it and found it to be a quite nice fort but all adobe. It stands on a hill not far from the river. In the morning we saw a woman near the river with her face daubed white with dough. In the evening we camped on the bank of the river where the deer was quite plentiful. In the night they shot at one but missed it. Some of the boys thought they had a bear in a hole and digging it out, found a skunk.

Nov 12th (Sat) This morning we were up early and ready to leave by sunup and on our way. The river for a distance was narrow and swift, but we got along well. We then came to a cow that had gone in the river to drink and then got in the sand and could not get out. We tried to get her out, but after more than an hour all 12 of us could not get her out. We had to go on and leave her to die in the sand. The wind was good and we had sails and made good speed. A little after noon we came to the rapids and had five rapid places to cross, but we got over safely. At one time we ran our boat on a snag, but no trouble. In the evening we got to the new settlement and there camped. It was windy all night.

Nov 13th (Div) This morning it was quite cold and we were not very early. We went on down the river with good speed and got nearly through the mountains. We passed one rapid today, but it was not very bad. We had good river today with not many sand bars. No settlement today. There were some high mountains today by the river but not much good land. There was not much timber on the river, some white ash. In the evening we camped in a grove of cottonwood.

Nov 14th (Mon) — We made good speed today and in the evening got out of the mountains. The river was not very crooked and we rode nearly all the time. The hills were getting further back and some nice bottoms. We passed another rapid, quite long, but not dangerous. In the evening, David fell off the boat into the river.

Nov 15th (Tu) — This morning after going a few miles we got opposite to Fort Saltine (*Fort Thorn?*) which stands on the hill off to the right of the river. It has a nice appearance. The river was very crooked today, and though we traveled about 40 miles, we came but about 15. In many places the river ran more crooked than the letter S. Nice bottoms with plenty of wood today.

Nov 16th (W) — The river was more straight today, some more mountains on both sides. Some timber and some nice bottoms. We crossed another rapid today worse than any we had yet passed, the waves running higher than the boats, and we got a little wet. After noon, got snow and hailed some. In the evening, wind.

Nov 17th (Th) — Mesilla, Arizona. This morning after traveling a few miles we saw quite a number of Mexicans going up the river for wood. We were so glad to see them that we ran to shore, got out and climbed up a steep hill to have a talk with them. They told us that we were yet about 45 miles from El Paso. We then met quite a number of people near the river, and in the evening got to Mesilla. The river was very crooked today and therefore we did not make much speed. Wood was plentiful today. Nice bottoms near the river and hills further on. We are now with Texas on one side and Mexico (*on the other*).

Nov 18th (Fr) — This morning after going a few miles we came to a rope ferry where an American was leaving; he told us that we were yet 50 miles off of El Paso. A few miles brought us to Fort (*Fillmore, probably*) which we did not see on account of the hills. The river was very crooked until noon, and after that was pretty straight. The mountains are on either side, high on the east with no timber on them of any account. There are some people living on both sides of the river now.

Nov 19th (Sat) — This morning was a little cold. Two of the boys went on shore to walk while the boats went on. That was the last that we saw of them today. In the evening, we put the flag up about 30 feet so that they might see it, but of no use; they can not find their way in. The river was crooked and we could not make very good speed. Wind in our favor part of the time.

Nov 20th (Div) — This morning we soon came to where the mountains came to the river on both sides. We put on a lot of wood for burning at El Paso and then went on and soon came to where there was a white (*flag?*) on the top of a high hill and another near the river which we found to be the boundary line between Mexico and the Gadsden treaty, in Arizona. A few miles further brought us to the rapids. There we saw the boys coming; they had been down to El Paso. We had to put the boats over a little place at the mill dam, and then load up again and go down the rapids, and over safely. We got some flour at the mill for which we paid six dollars a hundred (*pounds*). After going about a mile further, we camped between El Paso (*Ciudad Juarez, Mexico*) and Franklin (*El Paso, Texas*), one on either side of the river. Hert's (Harts') Mills is quite a nice mill, and well filled with flour. The mill cost 8,000 dollars. The news of our arrival in this place raised quite a stir among the people, and when (*we were*) ready for our (*departure*), all (*of*) them came.

Nov 21st (Mon) — We were out one place and another today, some to the Fort, some to El Paso, some to Franklin. El Paso is an adobe town about 7 miles long with they say 17,000 inhabitants. Some Americans in it, but nearly all Mexicans. The Fort is down the river a mile, and is a



Jacob A. Stover and Mollie Leshor Stover, Parents of Wilbur Stover.

nice place. There is any amount of fruit frees in El Paso, but they say that fruit missed this year. Franklin is a nice place with several good stores in it. The people in business are American. We put on a lot of wood for burning at El Paso and then went on and soon came to where there was a white (*flag?*) on the top of a high hill and another near the river which we found to be the boundary line between Mexico and the Gadsden treaty, in Arizona. A few miles further brought us to the rapids. There we saw the boys coming; they had been down to El Paso. We had to put the boats over a little place at the mill dam, and then load up again and go down the rapids, and over safely. We got some flour at the mill for which we paid six dollars a hundred (*pounds*). After going about a mile further, we camped between El Paso (*Ciudad Juarez, Mexico*) and Franklin (*El Paso, Texas*), one on either side of the river. Hert's (Harts') Mills is quite a nice mill, and well filled with flour. The mill cost 8,000 dollars. The news of our arrival in this place raised quite a stir among the people, and when (*we were*) ready for our (*departure*), all (*of*) them came.

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The people in business are American.

End of Journal Translation

El Paso was pleasant, with some evening clouds and rain. Stover sent letters to his father in Pennsylvania and his brother in California. Mail either way took about ten days. The boats finally sold for \$50 each. A 21 wagon mule train came in with supplies, and after a few days, copper was loaded on the wagons for the trip back. The mule train went east two miles to Ft Bliss, "which is nice place, but not well fortified." In Ft. Quitman, about 500 bales of corn were loaded aboard for mule feed.

The Stover brothers traveled across Texas with the mule train. They cut timber to earn some money, skirted Indian territory, and homesteaded near Jasper, Missouri. Jacob built small house, farmed, and began teaching school. In 1861, he recorded increasing strife between proUnion and proSecessionist groups, culminating in July when "there was a battle where I was teaching school and from there south to Carthage." The farms and homes of the Stover brothers and their friends were raided by Confederate sympathizers, who confiscated their weapons, provisions, and livestock. David, who rode with Union troops, was "threatened to be hanged." Disheartened, they

returned to Pennsylvania and farmed. After the Battle of Antietam in 1862, Jacob married his sweetheart Mollie Leshner, a former student whom he had corresponded with while in the west. He joined the Union army and served in North Carolina. After the war, he became a horticulturist, bought land, built a home, and set out peach orchards. He sired six sons, was a good father to the four who survived, taught school and singing school, and was a well-liked lay minister when he cut his thumb pruning and died of lockjaw.

Jacob's oldest son, my grandfather Wilbur B. Stover was only nine and lived to 65 knowing only that his father "went west." The reader now knows more than Wilbur ever did of his father's travels in Colorado and New Mexico.

GALEN STOVER BEERY attributes a love of history to eight generations of ancestors who wrote biographies or were written about. This article comes from a Stover family history which he is completing. Beery graduated from LaVerne College in 1959 with a B.A. in History and spent several years in Washington with the organization on which the Peace Corps was based. He worked in Laos 1962-1972 with the U.S. government, in rural development and with Hmong refugees, and wrote a text on learning Lao. In 1975, he secured an M.A. in Public Administration and directed a refugee resettlement office in Arkansas. From 1977-1980 he set up and directed the U.S. interviewing office in Malaysia for "Boat case" refugees who fled VietNam: he saw 50,000 refugees sent to the U.S. from Malaysia during his tenure. Now in LaVerne, California, he acts as court interpreter for Laotian refugees and is President of the LaVerne Historical Society.

The Bar V Ranch: Cattle Empire on the Pecos

by Elvis E. Fleming

The Bar V Ranch was an important influence on cattle ranching in the Pecos Valley of New Mexico for twenty-five years, 1884-1909. The ranch was originally known as the Cass Land and Cattle Company Ranch, from the name of the corporation in Pleasant Hill, Cass County, Missouri, that owned it. In late 1883, W.G. Urton, J.D. Cooley, and several others of Cass County created the company with a capital stock of \$100,000. Another stockholder was W.C. Urton, Sr.; George R. Urton bought into the company later.

J.D. Cooley, W.G. Urton, and prospective employee Lee Easley visited New Mexico in January, 1883, and chose the location for the ranch headquarters. The place they purchased was located in present De Baca County, about sixty miles northeast of Roswell on Cedar Canyon.

The company acquired some 1,600 acres of land scattered along the east side of the Pecos River for about ninety miles between Fort Sumner and Roswell. All of the tracts were either on the river or had springs or other water sources.

Easley was designated as ranch manager and was sent to New Mexico to begin preparations. In the spring of 1884, the Cooley and Urton families traveled by train to Las Vegas. They acquired wagons and teams to haul the families and their household effects, together with building materials and a stock of food. They arrived at the ranch on May 1, 1884.

There was already an adobe ranch house on the location, so the Urton family moved into it and started right away on construction of a house for the family. William G. Urton and Maria Worrell had married in Missouri in 1875. When they moved to New Mexico, their sons, William Cooley and Benjamin Worrell, were 6 and 4, respectively.

Cooley, Urton, and Easley, together with hired cowpunchers, went to Fort Griffin, Texas, to buy 3,000 young cows and trail them across the plains to the ranch. When the herd arrived on the Pecos, the cowboys immediately held a competition to brand the new calves that were born on the trail. The cows were also branded and turned loose on their new range.

For the first five years or so, the Cass Co. ranch used the "7HL" brand and was sometimes referred to as the "7HL Ranch." In those days, ranchers in southeast New Mexico engaged in "open-range ranching" and had no fences. They used the public domain as well as the land each ranch owned or leased. The 7HL cattle were free to roam over a very large range. The "Missourians," as the Cass Co. folks were known locally, presently discovered that the cost of operation was determined not by the size of the herd but by the size of the range.

J.D. Cooley soon took Easley's place as ranch manager, and his family arrived at the ranch in the fall of 1884. J.D. and his wife, Laura, had two young sons, Ben and Boude, and two infant daughters, Mary and Laura Belle.

(William) Cooley Urton related a story in 1936 about how the Urton family was short on supplies not long after they reached the ranch. They heard of a wagon load of buffalo jerky on a trail close to the ranch.

It was night when they bought some of the dried meat, and they enjoyed a meal of it by candlelight. When they looked at it by daylight the next morning, they discovered that all of the meat was crawling with hide bugs! The family's food and supplies were ordered from Las Vegas, and sometimes it took a long time for the ox wagons to make delivery.

Off-ranch services could be as slow as supplies in the coming. The Missourians received their mail through the post office at Sunnyside (Ft. Sumner). Typical was the arrival of the letter telling W.G. Urton of his mother's terminal illness, three weeks after she died. When Maria Urton was bitten by a rabid dog, she was transported by buckboard wagon for the 60 miles to Roswell; the wound almost healed on the way. According to later records, that drive in a buggy took between twelve and thirteen hours.

In the spring of 1886, J.D. Cooley, for unknown reasons, gave up the position of manager of the Cass County land and Cattle Co. Ranch and the Cooley family moved back to Missouri. W.G. Urton assumed the role of manager.

Across the Pecos west of the Cass operation was the ranch of J.J. Cox. Since both ranches had to contend with rustlers, Indian raids, and other common problems, they made an agreement to watch out for each other's interests. This not only cut down on the rustler problem, but it also reduced the costs of operating the ranches.

An incident of violence took place on the Pecos in 1884, when brothers Charles and James White moved cattle from Texas into the Cedar Canyon area. Other ranchers resented the newcomers and "black-balled" them, refusing to help them or allow them to participate in the roundup. The next year, the Whites leased school land and moved to La Mora Creek on the west side of the Pecos.

The other ranchers voted to accept the Whites, but Cox resented their presence on land that he considered his range. Cox and his foreman, George Peacock, refused to stop harassing the Whites. In October 1886, when the roundup was on the Whites' land, where they had claim to maverick (unbranded orphan) calves, Peacock continued to gather the mavericks into the Cox herd. George Urton, Cass Co. range boss, was there to represent

the company ranch, and was an eye-witness to the events that transpired.

Writer Jack Potter was also present as a “rep” of the New England Cattle Company. “About the third time it happened, he (Jim White) says, ‘Peacock, if you cut out one more of my calves, I’ll kill you!’ Peacock pretended not to hear. The next maverick to come up was a little white heifer about a year old. ‘Put her with our bunch, boys,’ Peacock says. Them was the last words he ever spoke. Jim’s first shot knocked him off his horse, but Jim kept right on shooting. He emptied one gun and started on another before he stopped — nine shots in all.”

White hurriedly returned to Texas, got his affairs in order, then fled to Mexico — a fugitive wanted for murder. After a while his family heard from him no more. His brother, dreams of a New Mexico ranch shattered, returned with his cattle to Texas.

As a result of Peacock’s death, Cox, Urton, and several other ranchers joined together in 1887 to form the Cedar Canyon Cattle Pool. The pool hired Tom Baldwin, a newcomer, as range boss. Baldwin faced a lot of “hard knocks” from outsiders, so he lasted only a year. B.W. Moss took his place.

Everything went well until the spring of 1889 when Cox died. Mrs Cox had no desire to operate the ranch herself, so she sold it to the Cass Land and Cattle Co. for \$100,000. With the purchase of the Cox ranch, the Cass L&C Co. acquired Cox’s “Bar V” brand. The now-doubled operation became the “Bar V Ranch,” a major player in the cattle business of Southeast New Mexico.

The Bar V put two wagons (“outfits”) on the range, one under former trail boss George Urton and the other under Moss. Within three years, the operation had cleared enough from the sale of steers to pay off the Cox place. The Cass Co. also bought several smaller neighboring ranches in the early 1890s. The Bar V started a joint operation with John Shaw of the X Bar X brand which continued until January 1904. The two outfits combined their range work, but were separate otherwise.

Shaw was an expert in range management. The Bar V had winter camps at La Mora Springs (near present Dunlap), Sunnyside (near Ft. Sumner), and Billy the Kid Spring on the west side of San Juan Mesa. The winter horse camp was just south of Tolar (east of Ft. Sumner). Shaw and the Bar V built the first drift fence in that part of the cattle country in 1895, and other ranchers soon did likewise. The drift fences kept the cattle more on their home ranges, thereby cutting operational costs. However, the fences were on federal land, so the government inspector directed that they be removed.

A school district, “Cedar Canyon School, District No. 4” was established at the Bar V Ranch in the early 1890s. The Territory paid a teacher for only three months per year, so the school term was extended at the expense of the Urtons and others on the ranch and nearby ranches who had children of school age.

One of the teachers at Cedar Canyon was a young

Pennsylvanian named Charlie Van Sickle. He taught at the Bar V and on the Yeso in 1893. In February 1894, he was employed as a construction supervisor at the Zuber ranch. He was murdered there by Eugenio Aragón and Antonio Gonzales. Urton and Shaw were members of the posse that captured the killers; they also took responsibility for burying Van Sickle. Aragón eventually took his own life in the Chaves County jail; Gonzales was hanged in September 1896 in Chaves County’s only legal hanging.

A post office called “Glen” was established on April 12, 1899, with Maria Urton as the postmaster. This post office was at the Bar V headquarters and became a major center of activity for ranch folks in the area.

The Bar V used about five hundred saddle horses and employed up to forty cowpunchers at times. Cooley Urton stated that some cowboys “... were called by new names, selected by them, when they came to the new clean country, where they wished to start with a slate wiped clean. According to the well-known tradition of the West, no questions were ever asked at the Bar-V Ranch.” Some of those with shady pasts reformed, but others never did. Cooley Urton claimed that Tom “Black Jack” Ketchum and his brother, Sam, worked on the Bar V for two years. In fact, the mounts they were riding when they robbed their last train at Folsom in 1900 were stolen from the Bar V.

While W.G. Urton was running the Bar V Ranch, J.D. Cooley was operating a livery stable back in Pleasant Hill, Missouri. According to Cooley’s daughter, Laura Belle Cooley Wright, “Mr. (Perry) Craig went to see Papa at his Livery Stable one day in Jan. 1900. He told Papa that Mr. Urton said he didn’t want to manager of -V Ranch anymore, and that if Papa would like the position he tho’t. he’d get it if he’d put in his application.” Cooley was elected manager at the stockholders’ meeting; he left immediately for New Mexico with Urton and John C. Knorp (a stockholder) to return to the job he had given up fourteen years earlier.

W.G. Urton built a fine house on the Rio Berrendo just northeast of Roswell. The two-story, Queen Anne house is still occupied and well-maintained. The Urtons moved to the new house on their farm in 1900. He continued to be involved in the operation of the ranch, but the family was now able to become much more integrated into the Roswell community. Urton was one of the first Chaves County commissioners after New Mexico attained statehood in 1912.

J.D. Cooley’s son, Ben, sold the livery stable in Pleasant Hill and went to New Mexico in March 1900. J.D. went back to Missouri in May to move the rest of the family. Besides Laura Belle, 16, and Mary, 19, there were three other children: Julia (teenager, exact age unknown), Jim, 4; and Willie, 2.

In 1950, Laura Belle Cooley Wright wrote her memoirs of the first years on the Bar V (1900-1902). She made some interesting observations of ranch life from the perspective of an educated young lady from the Middle West.

“When we arrived at the Ranch, of course we ate supper at the Ranch house. ‘Twas our first taste of frijoles . . .,” Laura Belle wrote about this first experience with ranch life on the New Mexico frontier: “Julia and I walked down to the River. When we were told that people drink that water, we didn’t believe them. We had so much to learn . . . I went for my first horse back ride with Mike Lyles, Mr. (Ed) Settle (the range boss), and Annie Bowman. I rode ‘Minnie,’ wore a long black riding skirt. We went to the Cedar Canyon. The steepness scared me, much to the delight of the others. The black riding skirt made very few appearances after that.”

Laura Belle mentions a number of prominent neighbors and other visitors in her account, as well as some visitors that were not so desirable: “Our first ‘walker’ came . . . How he did eat. Mama suggested that the boys help him over the river, but they said it was good for him, would wash his feet. This same time Mike Lyles, outside man, and George Littlefield came in. They had come so far without water, were very dry. George had two locoed horses. They had quite a time with them . . .

On another subject, Laura Belle states, “We were entitled to a teacher at the Ranch so Papa wrote to Tot [relationship not identified] and offered her the place. Judge Stimson I think OK’ed her certificate. County paid for three months.” Tot not only taught the ranch children but was quite involved in the life of the ranch. Laura Belle writes, “Tot and I went with Bob Vaughn riding, saw calf unbranded. Tot and I branded it.”

The houses at the Bar V were originally built without porches. Laura Belle states, “Papa had a porch built in the back and front of our house, using lumber from the old Cox place. The first morning after the floor to the back porch was fixed, he killed two skunks under it. When we went to call Tot to breakfast, she said she knew they were under her bed.

At Christmas of 1900, Cooley invited the cowboys from the winter camps to join the family for dinner. Several of them had other plans, such as “Rod,” who, according to Laura Belle, “. . . had planned to go to Texas to visit his family, he sent some whiskey to the boys at the ranch.” Only three punchers showed up for dinner. Laura Belle writes, “The boys got quite drunk Christmas Eve. We were quite mad. About bedtime they got out and went to shooting. [We were] some scared girls!” In February, 1901, the Bar V hands made plans to throw a big dance. Cooley approved “. . . if they would be sure there was no whiskey brought. Everybody for miles were asked . . . The men came to Mama’s house and carried the piano to the ranch house and Tot played most of the time . . . The dance was held in the north room of the ranch house. Somebody did bring some whiskey, but nobody got drunk . . . We had baked so many cakes (15) and served cake and coffee.”

Mrs. Cooley’s cakes and pies were favorites with the Bar V ranch hands. When the roundup came close enough to headquarters, she always took desserts out to the men.



Mr. & Mrs. J.D. Cooley at the Bar V. Note the porch that was added in 1900. (Photo #1422-C, Archives, Historical Center for Southeast New Mexico, Roswell)

On one occasion, Laura Belle states in her memoirs, her mother made lemon pies and took them to the chuck wagon for lunch. The boys asked her to leave one for an afternoon snack. C.D. “Tom” Burge, the “ranch man,” came by the wagon in the afternoon looking for something to eat. “Mike and somebody else were being polite by talking a bit. Mother told Mr. Burge about the pie; he started off with it. The boys from the wagon met him. Rather a melee. Ol (Lewis) said he got the ‘calf slobbers’ (meringue).”

An item in the *Roswell Record* in October 1901 notes that J.D. Cooley and one of his sons had come down from Glen to Roswell “looking after the shipment of about a 1,000 head of mixed stuff. They left today for the ranch, taking with them Miss Lena Hon, who will teach school at the ranch this winter.” Laura Belle writes that Miss Hon not only taught school, but she also taught music to her and her sister Julia. She also states, “Lena got sick, and Ol (Lewis) went to Roswell for her Father and Sister.” No further mention is made of Miss Hon, but apparently she did not teach a second term.

Laura Belle writes, “Julia went to Pleasant Hill Mo. to go to school. Mary is to teach our school.” Mary Cooley evidently taught the school as long as they lived on the ranch. In the later years Mary taught only her younger brothers, Jim and Willie. She frequently took them walking to Cedar Canyon, and they never ceased to marvel at the wonders of the natural setting in which they lived.

The Cooley sisters, Mary, Laura Belle, and Julia, kept journals at the Bar V Ranch which cover the period from



The Bar V gang went to Mora Spring on a fishing trip, July 4, 1903. The twenty-five people in the party represented fourteen states - none natives of New Mexico. (Photo #1428-B, Archives, Historical Center for Southeast New Mexico, Roswell)

April 27, 1903, through January 24, 1908, with daily entries and very few gaps. Much interesting and important information can be extrapolated from the journal entries, although most of them are too brief to have historical relevance. Certain themes tend to recur throughout the five-year period covered by the daybooks.

To a great extent, the journals are a record of the comings and goings at the Bar V of ranch hands, neighbors, relatives, mail and freight haulers, travelers, peddlers, and job-seekers. June 17, 1903: "Outfit (roundup wagon) pulled out about eight o'clock, went below the pasture to work the horses." January 30, 1904: "Earl commenced working for the -V's Friday."

Much space is devoted to notes about where the roundup wagon was located. Many camp locations are mentioned, some of which are difficult to find on modern maps. The headquarters compound was on the Pecos and just south of Cedar Canyon, about twenty-five miles south of Ft. Sumner. Cedar Canyon and the Bar V headquarters were originally in Lincoln County and then Chaves County after 1889. The area was transferred to Roosevelt County in 1903 when that county was organized. The Bar V range was spread over parts of both counties; and they had camps on several other canyons, draws, creeks, or springs: Salado, Taiban, Cibola, Yeso, Conejos, La Mora, Wiley, Huggins, and Five Mile. Urton Lake, several miles east of headquarters, and Cooley Lake, farther north, are mentioned frequently. Both of the lakes were intermittent, depending upon rainfall.

At the end of the roundup each fall, there occurred "the great scatterment" (Oct. 23, 1906) or "annual separation" (Nov. 26, 1907), when ranch hands went their separate ways for the winter. Yet chuckie or rider, by name Vic Anaya or Cort Marley — or, as in the earlier times, "Drift Fence Johnson" or some other innovation — all knew from past experience, that they would see each other again come spring.

The Bar V folks went to La Mora Spring rather often on fishing trips. One memorable trip was on the Fourth

of July in 1903. Mary made an entry in the journal about it: "Julia and I rode horseback, Laura, Mr. Huston, Hurd and McIntyre in the hack. Ben and Boude horseback and the rest in the 'jolt wagon.' We had a good time, a good dinner and our pictures taken. There were twenty-five people there representing fourteen states and not one native."

The sisters usually noted who came for dinner or super and who came to "stay all night." There typically were a few extras at the table and in the house. The four women took turns cooking and assisting for one-week shifts. Every Saturday it was duly recorded that "Mama (or one of the girls) is cook, Laura Belle (or one of the others) is flunkey."

Much time was devoted to cooking, cleaning, and scrubbing floors. In addition, the weekly laundry and ironing chores were major concerns. The journals usually mention how long it took to wash and iron and who did the work. A major theme of the journals is a daily progress report on the various sewing projects of each of the four women. They were constantly making clothes for themselves (dresses, "waists," corset covers, etc.) as well as darning and mending their own and the men's and boys' clothes.

Some afternoons were devoted to reading, and the journals mention books that came in the mail such as *Quo Vadis* and *Mississippi Bubble*. A good deal of time was spent visiting with neighbors who came for their mail or with others who came to buy tobacco or other items at the ranch commissary. When neighbors had sick folks in their families, one of the Cooley women would go stay with them sometimes for several days until they recovered.

One subject is very clear in the journals: the Pecos River loomed large in the lives of the Bar V people and those passing through the area. Much of the time during the years recorded, rainfall was plentiful and the Pecos was frequently high, sometimes flooding out of its banks. Even in normal times, quicksand made crossing the river in wagons or buggies a dangerous, major undertaking that might take hours or all day if wagons bogged — which they frequently did. Many times people bypassed the hospitality of the Bar V because they were afraid to ford the river. The entry for June 12, 1903, says, "The U.S.G.S. (surveyor) man was afraid to tackle the river. The mail sack was just soaked, letters and all."

The mail was a subject of great interest in the chron-

icles. When J.D. Cooley arrived at the Bar V, he was appointed postmaster of the Glen post office on Feb. 2, 1900. In the very first journal entry, April 27, 1903, Mary noted, "I am assistant postmaster." The mail arrived every Thursday, and neighbors came from miles around to pick up their mail or do other business at the post office. Glen post office was on a route between Roswell and Sunnyside (later a part of Ft. Sumner). To some extent because of the mail route, the Bar V men had to maintain the roads. Mostly, this was done with a disc harrow.

The headquarters was to a considerable degree a self-sufficient unit, with hogs, chickens, turkeys, guineas, and a large garden. The garden, as well as "cane" (African millet) and alfalfa fields, were irrigated by a canal carrying water from the river. Naturally, they butchered beeves on a regular basis but had pork and fowl meats as well. In addition, wild game frequently graced the Bar V table: ducks and fish from La Mora Spring, rabbits, quail, an occasional pronghorn, and soup from Pecos River turtles.

Not all of the wild animals that the Bar V folks encountered were of the edible varieties. The journals often mention problems with skunks and sightings of coyotes, lobo wolves, centipedes, rattlesnakes, and "wildcats."

The journals are at times confusing and a bit amusing when the writers mention names of horses, milk cows, dogs, and turkeys — because most of the names are human names. What may appear to the reader as a death in the household turns out to be that of a horse, or cow! Even those destined for butchering had names: December 2, 1905: "We killed Grover and Chris today."

Since some of the Cooleys were musicians, piano music was no doubt an important pastime, although music is not mentioned much in the journals. The games of "Flinch," "Carrom," and "Pit," as well as cribbage and other card games, were played frequently. In the equestrian economy, mounts were easily available for pleasure as well as labor, to the Cooley family and their employees. Their leisure excursions usually took them to the nearby canyons, to a place referred to as "the gold mine," or another place where they found petrified logs. Oftentimes work and pleasure could be combined, as when the women and others visited the roundup wagon to deliver supplies or treats and to enjoy a meal.

Some events at the Bar V Ranch were worthy of a "B" Western movie. Of one such incident on May 13-14, 1907, Mary wrote: "Monday. The outfit came. They had a free-for-all fight after supper. Everyone seems to have taken part . . . Tuesday. another fight this morning, with only Milt and Sam Carr taking part. The ranch house chairs are broken up some, a few eyes blacked, and some faces bruised and skinned, otherwise no damage done ."

Another script possibility came in December 1905, when the boss' daughter married the range boss. Journal entries made by the Cooley sisters frequently note that Walter and Laura Belle went riding together, but they never quite call it a romance. Walter S. Wright had been

promoted to range boss on April 15, 1901 (he continued in that position until the ranch was closed out in 1908. Perhaps the couple had to go riding to get any privacy around the busy ranch.

At any rate, the journal entry for December 2, 1905, states. . . "Saturday. Mama and Mary made the 'Bride's Cake' today . . ." On Monday, December 4, Julia wrote that she, Lulu, Ben, and Will went after cedar to make strings. She and Lulu made the cedar strings to decorate the house for the wedding. That evening, "Cousin" Maria Urton and her two sons, Ben and Cooley, came out from Roswell. Wright also arrived with the Rev. C.E. Lukens, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Roswell.

Julia's entry for December 5 indicates that the men from town took advantage of the wedding to get in a bit of hunting: "Walter & Dr. Lukens went hunting this morning . . . Ben, Cooley, and Ben Cooley went hunting this afternoon. Afterwards Ben & I froze the cream. Laura Belle & Walter were married at half past five this evening. Things were very exciting."

They spent their wedding night at the Bar V ranch house, then went to Roswell the next morning with Dr. Lukens and Boude. The Urtons stayed around a couple of days for more hunting. There is no report on the results of the hunts.

Scant financial records of the Bar V's last years of operation show that wages paid usually totaled around \$6,000 per year, reaching a high of \$7,137 in 1907. Total expenses averaged around \$15,000 per year, with a high in 1907 of \$20,777.

There were an estimated 20,000 cattle on the ranch in 1900 when Cooley assumed the management. The number of calves branded each year varied considerably, from a high of 8,041 in 1901 to a low of 2,904 in 1904. For most of the other years recorded, calves branded averaged between 6,000 and 7,000 per year. The numbers of cattle sold are recorded for only four of the eight years, and they range from 4,486 in 1902 to 1,904 in 1906.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the open range in Southeast New Mexico was beginning to disappear as settlers moved into the area. Entries in the Cooley sisters' journals provide a hint as to what was going on: March 20, 1907: "The nesters are coming"; April 3: "Some more nesters came through"; December 7: "The nesters are going by in bunches"; January 24, 1908 (last journal entry): "Eight wagons camped at the canyon."

The owners of the Cass Land and Cattle Co. were divided over what course to take: sell the ranch, lease rangeland, or attempt to continue in the same manner of operation. W.G. Urton and Zenas Leonard purchased the controlling stock in the company in 1908 and decided to go out of business.

During 1908 and 1909, the Bar V gathered and sold some 33,000 head of cattle plus another 4,000 to 5,000 calves that were not counted. From the time the ranch began operating in 1884 until 1909, the Bar V had

estimated natural losses and theft of cattle at 5% to 20% per year. They were surprised to find about 10% more cattle than their estimates indicated, and even that didn't count some that were missed by the roundup. The Bar V headquarters was acquired by the Walker Brothers Ranch, which used it for several years. The former Bar V soon lost its identity. The headquarters area became part of De Baca County when that county was organized in 1917.

The Glen post office was discontinued on March 15, 1908. The school at the Bar V was also terminated. The Cooley family eventually all moved into Roswell (not all at once). By about 1912, 313 N. Kentucky had become the Cooley family home and remained so for as long as J.D. and Laura lived.

Although there is much research yet to be done on the Bar V Ranch and the Urton and Cooley families, this brief look at the Bar V Ranch shows that it was one of the earliest, largest, and most important cattle ranches in the Middle Pecos Valley for a quarter-century.

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Fleming has written or co-written six books on the local history of Southeast New Mexico and West Texas, as well as some twenty magazine articles. He holds

bachelor's and Master's degrees in Education from Texas Christian University and a Master's in History from Southern Methodist University. He and his wife, Menza, have been married forty-two years and have two children and four grand-children. Elvis Fleming is now retired and is "Professor Emeritus."

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The Two Goddards of Southern New Mexico

by Richard E. Magee, Jr.

In an isolated location in the Chihuahuan Desert somewhere near Las Cruces, Lowell Randall, who, at the age of 82 is the oldest living member of Dr. Robert H. Goddard's Roswell rocket team, periodically conducts "static" (non-launch) tests on the rocket motor he has built. He is trying to duplicate a phenomenon the Goddard team observed in the 1940s that involved the use of water along with the usual mix of gasoline and liquid oxygen as the rocket's fuel. At six feet two inches with a shock of white hair, he has the air of an exuberant child about to go on a field trip when he discusses or prepares to do his research. To examine the phenomenon that has thus far eluded him, he must effectively duplicate the past, traveling back in time and space to the 1940s and Robert Goddard's test site just north of Roswell, Lowell's home town.

Hired by Dr. Goddard in the early 1940s as a mechanic, Lowell Randall is largely self-taught in science. He has been patient as this writer has tried to keep up with his intense, rapid fire explanations of the theory underlying his effort. He is included in a photograph of Goddard's 1942 Roswell rocket team on display in the Roswell Museum and Art Center.

While Robert H. Goddard achieved international fame for his pioneering rocket research, his distant relative, Ralph Willis Goddard, gained a great measure of recognition in the State of New Mexico for his pioneering work in radio broadcasting. Just as Robert H. Goddard is the eponym for NASA's Goddard Spaceflight Center and Goddard High School in Roswell, so is Ralph W. Goddard the eponym for New Mexico State University's Goddard Hall; and his initials are the last three letters of the Las Cruces public radio and television stations: KRWG.

The story of the two Goddards begins in England in the period 1664-1666.

These were, as the English might say, unpleasant times. In 1664-65, the Plague once again returned (as it had, intermittently, from 1348) killing 75,000 Londoners. What finally brought the Plague to an end was another catastrophe. In 1666, the Great London Fire raged from September 2 to September 5, destroying 80% of the City. One of those who lost almost everything during the conflagration was a grocer, William Goddard. All that he had left when the fire finally spent its course was a small warehouse on the Thames embankment at Wapping. He sold this to finance passage to America, first for himself, then for his wife, Elizabeth Miles, and their four sons. He settled in Watertown, Massachusetts.¹

It was from William Goddard and his wife, Elizabeth Miles, that both Ralph Willis Goddard and Robert Hutchings Goddard were descended: Ralph from Joseph Goddard (1655-1728), the second son of William

and Elizabeth; and Robert from two of William's and Elizabeth's sons: Benjamin (1668-1748) and Edward (1675-1754). Robert Goddard was six generations removed from William and Ralph seven generations.² Although Robert Goddard denied being related to Ralph,³ they were in fact distantly related.

Robert Hutchings Goddard

Robert Goddard was born on October 5, 1882, in Worcester, Massachusetts. He was in poor health for much of his life, necessitating extended absences from school. (He was diagnosed in 1913 with tuberculosis from which he suffered for the rest of his life). The time he missed out on being in formal classes was spent reading in the physical and chemical sciences. A person of bold imagination, he would read H.G. Wells' novel, *The War of the Worlds*, many times during his lifetime.

On October 19, 1899, he climbed a cherry tree in his backyard in order to prune it. It was there, at the age of 17, that he was struck with a vision of the future:

. . . an image sharp enough to shut out the surrounding scene. A mechanical device materialized from nowhere, functioning perfectly. Faster and faster it whirled until it began to lift, twirling and spinning above Worcester . . . Goddard marked the day, October 19, in his diary every year thereafter, referring to it as "Anniversary Day."⁴

Although Robert didn't finish high school until 1904 at age 21, he was class valedictorian.

Robert obtained his BS degree from Worcester Polytechnic Institute in 1908; his MA from Clark University in 1910 for his thesis, "Theory of Diffraction"; and his Ph.D. from Clark University in 1911 for his dissertation: "On the Conduction of Electricity at Contacts of Dissimilar Solids." This work "involved an advanced view of solid state physics ... and form[ed] the basis of mid-twentieth century radio. His tangential study touched an area that a generation later included the development of the transistor and other related devices."⁵ On August 1, 1912, he filed a patent for a vacuum oscillator tube, which, though it played a key role in the development of radio and electronics, was considered by Goddard as "one of his less important inventions."⁶ The patent was granted November 2, 1915. In 1920, Robert started a radio club at Clark University (as his distant cousin, Ralph Willis Goddard had already done in 1919 at New Mexico Agricultural and Mechanic Arts College — NMA & MA — in Las Cruces). The radio club became one of the pioneer radio stations in New England, WCUW. Like the station

started by Ralph at NMA & MA, it broadcast music, and crop and weather reports. Both stations provided coverage of the 1920 presidential election returns.

Some of his notable early achievements included: describing a method for “balancing aeroplanes”; anticipating the gyrostabilizer used extensively in his later experiments (1907); proposing the use of liquid oxygen and liquid hydrogen as the ideal fuels (1909); patenting the idea of multi-stage rockets (1914); and developing a tube-launched rocket for the Signal Corps (1918) that became the bazooka of World War II.

In 1919 he submitted a seminal paper entitled, “A Method for Reaching Extreme Altitudes,” to the Smithsonian Institution. The Smithsonian’s press release about Goddard’s “moon rocket” drew great publicity and was the subject of uninformed criticism in a *New York Times* editorial on January 13, 1920, in which the writer asserted that Goddard’s notion of rocket flight outside earth’s atmosphere would violate the laws of physics. The editorial infuriated Goddard, who endeavored throughout the remainder of his life to keep his research under cover and out of the reach of the press.

In 1924 Robert Goddard married Esther Kisk, who became an extraordinarily important source of support, often assisting him in rocket launches by filming them. They were never to have children.

In the years 1920-25, he developed the first rocket motor using liquid propellants: liquid oxygen and gasoline; in 1926, he launched the first liquid-fuel rocket.

In 1929 the publicity resulting from the smoke and noise of one of Goddard’s rockets caught the attention of Charles A. Lindberg. On his recommendation in June of 1930, the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation of New York began a series of research grants to Goddard which underwrote the construction of facilities near Roswell, New Mexico. Goddard chose Roswell for his rocket research after a professor of meteorology at Clark University recommended the southwestern portion of the Great Plains around Roswell, New Mexico, “because it was least subject to wind and dust storms.”⁷ He arrived in Roswell in July of 1930. The work in Roswell lasted from 1930 to 1941, except for 1932-34, when the Great Depression forced the Guggenheim Foundation to temporarily suspend its support.

In Roswell, Goddard’s research program involved the design and testing of liquid propellant rockets. In all, 31 flights were made⁸ and included were some of his most significant accomplishments, such as the first gyro-stabilized flight apparatus and first-used deflector vanes to direct the blast and to stabilize and guide the rocket. Unlike the German V-2 vanes which were actually set into the blast, Goddard’s vanes extended the lie of the rocket hull and cradled the blast.⁹

In 1935, he launched the first liquid-fuel rocket that exceeded the speed of sound.

During the Roswell years Dr. Goddard occasionally

indulged his love of nature by painting landscapes. He was accompanied by his friend Peter Hurd, the widely known New Mexico artist. Three of his paintings are on display at the Roswell Museum and Art Center. They are all of the same vista, but each one is different from the others — reflecting an emotional rather than a scientific response to the land. As Peter Hurd put it, “What mattered most to him was not what he drew, but what happened inside him — that deep, almost religious feeling that touches every artist . . .”¹⁰

Hurd recalled yet another incident that exemplified Goddard’s constant dream of space travel:

He was standing with the quiet, reflective scientist one night on his father’s front lawn in Roswell. The New Mexican skies that evening were astonishingly clear. Goddard suddenly pulled a flashlight from his pocket and began to point out planets in the skies, lecturing his younger friend on the ways of the sun’s satellites.”

Years later Hurd recalled: “I realized what he was doing there. He was pointing out landing fields in the solar system.”¹¹

Despite his distrust of the press, Dr. Goddard had an excellent working relationship with Roswell newspapers. “They promised to respect his privacy on condition that he advise them of newsworthy developments. He agreed. The working relationship lasted throughout his residence at the Mescalero Ranch.”¹²

Just before World War II erupted, Dr. Goddard was given approval by the federal government to conduct research on “jet-assisted take-off” (J.A.T.O.) for U.S. war planes. In 1942, over Esther’s objections, he closed his Roswell research facility and moved to Annapolis, Maryland. Although the J.A.T.O. contract was not awarded to Dr. Goddard’s team, he remained in Maryland. In 1945 a captured V-2 was flown to Maryland for his study. The similarities between this German piece and his own rockets of the Roswell years convinced him that the Germans had infringed on his patents.

The truth in this matter remains unclear. Shortly after the war, the German rocket scientists were asked about the V-2. One, unnamed, member of the German delegation is reputed to have responded, “Why ask us those questions? Ask your own rocket pioneer, Dr. Robert Goddard. We learned from him. We read his reports.”¹³ Similarly, Lt. General Wernher Kreipe, the last Chief of the Luftwaffe Air War College, is reported to have asked, “Why don’t you ask your own Dr. Goddard?”¹⁴ What makes these quotations suspect is Goddard’s habit of securing patents instead of publishing his findings; the reports of his work in Roswell were prepared exclusively for the Guggenheim Foundation — with only one exception. At Charles Lindbergh’s insistence, Goddard published a report on March 16, 1936, entitled, “Liquid Rocket Propellants.” Although it consisted of ten pages of text and twelve more pages of

illustrations, Goddard “did not release a comprehensive record of his latest rocket designs.”¹⁵ Although the paper caused quite a stir in the U.S. and abroad, he was careful to avoid divulging too much.

In 1945, *Time Magazine* stated, “Because Goddard has published little on his findings and has experimented mostly in the privacy of a New Mexican desert, fellow rocketeers consider him a mystery man.”¹⁵ And Wernher von Braun, the German V-2 rocket scientist for whom Goddard was “my boyhood hero,”¹⁶ denied lifting the patents of Goddard. He said that the Germans could not have known of them because Goddard kept his work so secret. He also asserted that he didn’t learn about them until 1950.¹⁷

Goddard’s secrecy, his penchant for obtaining patents instead of publishing, and the subtle differences between the V-2 and that of his own rockets as identified by Woody Crane, Guest Curator of the Robert Hutchings Goddard Collection at the Roswell Museum and Art Center, strongly suggest independent development rather than patent infringement.¹⁸

Although known for his passion for secrecy, Dr. Goddard is remembered by Lowell Randall as being very open and communicative with his rocket team. He was also acknowledged to be an outstanding teacher.

In June of 1945 Dr. Goddard underwent surgery for a growth on his throat; On August 10, 1945 — four days before the Japanese surrender ended World War II — Dr. Robert Hutchings Goddard died. Ironically, his untimely death at 62 was caused, not by the tuberculosis from which he had suffered since age 13 but by throat cancer.

As Lowell Randall stated in his tribute to Dr. Goddard as part of the “Congressional Recognition of Goddard Rocket and Space Museum” in Roswell:

I will always remember Dr. Goddard as an inspiring teacher and a generous employer with the courage of his own conviction to press toward an impossible dream.¹⁹

Randall also recalls how much latitude Dr. Goddard gave the members of his rocket team. He has provided this author with an extensive list of technical contributions that he personally made during his work with Dr. Goddard from 1941 to 1945.

Thanks to the efforts of his widow, Esther, an additional 131 patents were granted posthumously to Dr. Goddard, bringing the total for his life’s work to 214. In 1951 Esther filed suit against the government for infringement on Goddard’s work. In 1960, she settled out of court for \$1,000,000.

Ralph Willis Goddard

Ralph Willis Goddard was born in Waltham, Massachusetts, on April 20, 1887, and grew up in nearby Worcester. His parents were Frederic Emmons Goddard and Kate Perry Woodbury Goddard.

Ralph developed an early interest in things electrical.

In 1904, at the age of 17, he caught the attention of *The Worcester Evening Post*, which carried the following item on December 31, 1904:

Worcester boy of 16 owns and runs an electric road. Built it himself — Ralph W. Goddard is a Wizard when Doing Things with Electricity²⁰

Ralph’s early years in Worcester, a scant 42 miles from the Atlantic Ocean, made boating an easily available activity. His love of the sea consumed many of his hours and led directly to his initial interest in wireless telegraphy, something of great value to seamen. In 1901, he began to keep a personal list of new developments in the progress of wireless transmission. They were mostly accounts of calls for help from ships at sea.

In 1906, the year before he graduated from Worcester High School, Ralph had invented a motor tricycle; in 1907 he formed the “R.W. Goddard Co.” One of its products was the Goddard Motor Cycle Stand, “an accessory attachable to the cycle, which folded up behind the rear wheel while on the road, and down and under the wheel as a stationary prop. Price of the stand, complete, \$1.00.”²¹

In 1907, Ralph entered Worcester Polytechnic Institute (WPI) to study electrical engineering. His distant cousin, Robert, was a senior that year at WPI; the distance between them remained unremarked.

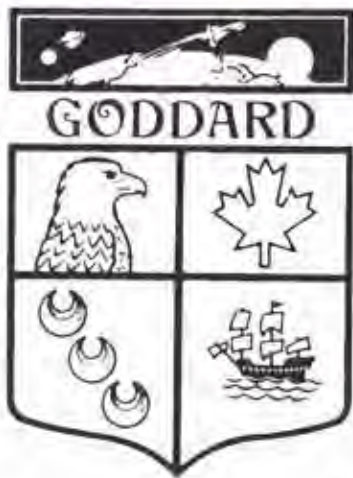
Ralph’s first year was one of financial difficulty. To help defray costs, he found a part time job as picture machine operator at a local theater. One evening the machine jammed and while replacing it, Ralph touched the hot carbon-arc contact. He was knocked across the operations booth, shaken up and a bit bruised, yet far luckier than he would be in 1929.

In 1911 Ralph Willis Goddard graduated from WPI. His senior thesis was titled, “The Construction and Test of a Windmill Electrical Lighting Plant.” On August 14, 1911, he and Frances Gascoigne, his high school sweetheart, were married.

After a brief period from 1912-1914 at the University of Nebraska, Ralph accepted an offer to head the electrical engineering division of the School of Engineering at New Mexico College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts (NMA & MA) just south of Las Cruces. He, Frances, and their son Kenneth settled in Mesilla in August of 1914, just as war was breaking out in Europe and revolution was brewing in Mexico.

The Mexican Revolution was a cause of concern, given the 1933-mile-long border separating the United States and Mexico. Successful patrolling of such an expanse called for wireless communication, and Professor Goddard assisted by helping establish a wireless system between the border patrols.

When he returned to the College, he asked the question that would guide his pioneering work in radio broadcasting: “If radio communication could be quickly set up among temporary border patrols, wouldn’t a similar system be a boon to New Mexico’s isolated residents . . . ranchers, farmers, miners, and lumbermen?”²² This



The Goddard Shield, the official emblem or symbol of the Goddard Association of America, which is dedicated to the preservation of Goddard and Goddard-related family history. Shield reproduced with the permission of the Goddard Association of America, located in Wichita, KS.

reflected his belief that the engineer's purpose was to benefit society.

He served as civilian director of instruction in electricity for the training detachment of the United States Army at the College during the First World War, later receiving a Reserve Commission in the Signal Corps of the U.S. Army.

In 1920 Ralph was named Dean of the School of Engineering and served in that role until his death in 1929. The period of Goddard's work as Engineering Dean was considered one of "consolidation and formalization of the engineering program," and he has been credited with "beginning a program of development which would later lead to the School's accreditation."²³

On October 11, 1919, Professor Goddard had invited interested students to his home and let them listen to the receiving set he had made in his basement. The Radio Club was formed that evening. The club's initial equipment was cadged from the Army training school: a receiving set and a wood building that became known as the "Radio Shack." Many devices that would be used by the club were of Goddard's own design. The most notable of these was the "heterodyne wavemeter," a device used to measure a known radio frequency in a vacuum tube oscillatory circuit. An article on this device was published in *The Wireless Age*, February 1920. The "Radio Shack" was moved to the rear of the Engineering Building (now Goddard Hall). The tower of the Engineering Building was used to support a sixty-foot mast, giving it a total height of 120 feet. Another mast was set in the ground near the Radio Shack. The mast on the tower was destroyed by wind shortly after construction but was quickly replaced by a 133-foot tower. The concrete base of one of the towers used by the Radio Club remains just southwest of the Goddard Hall tower on the pedestrian walkway.

The club received experimental radio license 5XD on June 3, 1920, and quickly became of service to the larger community, using portable radio equipment to provide communication for the relief and rescue efforts after a flood destroyed much of the towns of Hatch and

Santa Teresa in 1921. The Radio Club had become a full fledged "voice" station and was assigned the call letters KOB on April 5, 1922. The broadcasts initially provided agricultural information, later including public health information, highway condition reports, and travelogues.

On October 14, 1922, KOB provided coverage of the football game between the Aggies and the Albuquerque Indians (The Aggies won 56-0). Victrola music was added, and by the spring of 1924 headline news was offered at noon, along with alumni news bulletins and live programming that included concerts, lectures, and sports events. With a daytime range estimated to be one thousand miles, KOB received cards from throughout the United States; one was sent from the Samoan Islands nearly 5000 miles away. It is no wonder that in 1925 Dean Goddard offered a course over KOB in international telegraph code.

KOB received permission to operate at 5,000 watts in May of 1927 and permission to increase its power to 10,000 watts in 1929. In 1928 it broadcast the World Series to the Southwest; more than 500 headsets were distributed to the VA Hospital at Ft. Bayard so that patients could listen to the game.

Although Dean Goddard had personally equipped and paid for much of the station, it had still been something of a financial burden as the College paid the utilities and student employee salaries. A decision was thus made to separate KOB from NMA & MA, and Dean Goddard was chosen to dispose of the station. However, until it was sold, he was resolved to make the final broadcasts memorable. So it was that on December 31, 1929, he went to the station to prepare the special New Year's Eve program.

It had been a rainy day. His shoes and the yardstick with a pencil attached to the end that he used to make adjustments on the high-voltage generators must have been wet. When he touched the yardstick to the generators, he was electrocuted by a force of 12,000 volts. "The imprint of his feet was burned into the concrete floor."²⁴

Earlier in the year Dean Goddard had been one of two advanced electrical engineering degree recipients at his alma mater, Worcester Polytechnic Institute. He had received a degree of Professional Engineer for his thesis, "The Development of the Southwest's Broadcasting Station KOB." It had become, at the time of his death, the largest college radio station in the world, ranked with the thirteen largest stations in the United States of any classification.

The license for KOB was sold to NBC on June 15, 1937, and NMSU did not have a station again until the fall of 1964 when the campus station received a Federal Communications Commission license, becoming KRWG.

Legacy

Identical twins, separated at birth yet living on remarkably congruent courses can be found in the annals of psychology and the pages of literature alike, their identical

genes making such coincidence easy to understand. But what are the chances for two distant cousins having so many coincidences in their lives?

Both individuals grew up in Worcester, Massachusetts, early demonstrating evidence of great technical aptitude. Not surprisingly, then, both attended Worcester Polytechnic Institutes earning graduate degrees based on work in the relatively new field of radio. Each man came to New Mexico to further his scientific career.

As scientists, both men would doubtless dismiss idle speculation as to the causes of such coincidences. So we will simply affirm New Mexico's good fortune in their presence, and their legacy, in our midst. Robert Hutchings Goddard gave Roswell spaceage cachet long before the 1947 UFO incident. Ralph Willis Goddard has had a lasting impact on electronic broadcasting in this state.

As a New Mexico State University Museum volunteer, DICK MAGEE helped research, write, and edit an architectural walking tour of the original NMSU campus designed by Henry C. Trost. He also served briefly as the Museum's Volunteer Coordinator. He is developing a slide presentation of Henry C. Trost's architecture and is President of the Doña Ana Archeological Society.

ENDNOTES

- 1 John W. Harms, Ed., *The Goddard Book*, Vol. II (Gateway Press, Inc. 1990), p. 608.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 979, 982, 1108. Robert's great-grandfather, Danford Goddard, was the great-grandson of Benjamin Goddard. Danford married Elvira Goddard, the great-great-granddaughter of Edward Goddard. At the time of this marriage Danford and Elvira were distantly related.
- 3 Lowell Randall (personal interviews, March-May, 1997).
- 4 Milton Lehman, *Robert H. Goddard: Pioneer of Space Travel* (New York, N.Y.: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1963), p. 26. This article's major source of biographical information on Robert H. Goddard. Only direct quotes are cited.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 360.
- 7 Harry Wulforst, *The Rocketmakers* (New York, N.Y.: Orion Books, 1990), p. 28.
- 8 F.C. Durant III, *Robert H. Goddard — The Roswell Years* (Prepared for Presentation at the Seventh International History of Astronautics Symposium of the International Academy of Astronautics, October 1973, Baku U.S.S.R.), p.2.
- 9 Woody Crane (Guest Curator of the Robert Hutchings Goddard Collection of the Roswell Museum and Art Center), personal interview, March 3, 1997. Crane also attended WPI but got his degree in physics from MIT.
- 10 Lehman, p. 227.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 227-8.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 13 "Dr. Goddard at Roswell," *New Mexico Magazine* (Sept., 1960): 4-7, 34.
- 14 Lehman, p. 389.
- 15 Wulforts, p. 149.
- 16 "Von Braun Tribute to Goddard," *Astronautics* (June 1959): 36.
- 17 Wulforst, p. 263.
- 18 Crane.
- 19 United States Senate, Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, *Congressional Recognition of Goddard Rocket and Space Museum, Roswell, New Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 60.
- 20 Ann M. Velia, *KOB: Goddard's Magic Mast — 50 Years of Pioneer Broadcasting* (Las Cruces, N.M.: New Mexico State University, 1972), p. 9. This article's major source of biographical information on Ralph Willis Goddard. Only direct quotes are cited.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 135.
- 23 Linda Blazer, *Building the Future — A History of Engineering at NMSU 1888-1988* (Las Cruces, N.M.: New Mexico State University College of Engineering, Publishing Concepts, Inc., not dated (c. 1989)), p. 16.
- 24 Velia, p. 135.

Behold! The Tubeless Tire

by Alfonso P Guzman

Other than ensuring that they are sound and properly inflated, the average automobile driver (AAD) rarely gives tires a thought. When tires require replacement the AAD buys the cheapest available if he plans to sell the car in the near future, and the best radials he can afford if he intends to keep the car a few more years. Automobile tires are serviceable, utilitarian consumer goods that are not cause for wonder or amazement. Such was not always the case. There were revolutionary developments in the evolution of the modern tire.

Early vehicles had wooden wheels banded with steel “tires.” In 1844 Charles Goodyear, an American inventor, developed the vulcanization process for rubber. In 1845 Robert William Thompson, an engineer in Stonehaven, Scotland, patented a rubber tire described as a “hollow belt.” In 1888 John Boyd Dunlop, a veterinarian in Belfast, Ireland, placed a hollow rubber tube in a casing of Irish linen which he laced to the wheel of his son’s tricycle. By 1895 single air-filled (pneumatic) tubes began to appear as automobile tires. As automobiles became heavier and were driven faster, the need for tires to hold more pressure for an extended period of time led to the development of the two-part tire. In the early 1900s tires consisted of a heavy rubber casing holding a flexible inflatable rubber tube. First there were high-pressure tires with tubes holding from 55 to 75 pounds per square inch (ppsi) air pressure. By 1922 there were low-pressure “balloon” tires with tubes holding from 30 to 35 ppsi air pressure.

Roadside billboards depicted a pajama-clad young boy with a lighted candle and a Fisk tire along with the advice “Time to Retire”; a strong young man with sleeves rolled above the elbows proclaimed “Kelly’s are Tough”; and the “world’s most perfectly developed man,” Charles Atlas, touted Atlas tires. The hydraulic jack, the scissors jack, the bumper jack, flat tire repair kits and air tire hand pumps were indispensable parts of life. Service stations sold “retreads” and advertised “flats fixed, \$1.00” to the tune of clanging tire tools on concrete floors. The outside casings of tires beyond repair were suspended by ropes from tree limbs for backyard swings; the inner flexible rubber tubes were patched again and again and inflated for use as floats for children playing in the Rio Grande or in *acequias*.

And so it was until I finished high school and determined to make my fortune as a salesman. I was convinced I could sell anything and after several hours seriously studying B.F. Goodrich brochures, I convinced Mr. F. B. “Bill” Chilton that I would be a crackerjack field sales representative for B.F. Goodrich tires. Bill was the managing partner for Shurley Motor Company, the local Studebaker automobile dealer and franchise holder for B.F. Goodrich tires. He was a lanky, bespectacled young

man whose management skills and work ethic inspired employees and customers alike. He took to heart the Studebaker family’s business philosophy, “more than you promise.” The motto was a precept of the Dunkard religious sect, of which the five Studebaker brothers were devout members. That customer service practice helped create the Studebakers’ great industrial empire centered in South Bend, Indiana. Also helpful was J.M. Studebaker’s advice, “. . . you can accomplish a whole lot by persistently, consistently and insistently keeping your line before your customers.” It was and still is good advice.

Shurley Motor Company fronted North Main Street at the intersection of East Lucero Avenue, on what is now the northeast corner of the Downtown Mall. One crisp October evening in 1947, after a day in the “field,” I returned to my desk at the dealership to find Bill conferring with mechanics, thanking customers, receiving parts and service managers’ reports, and trying to conquer end-of-the-day paperwork. Sybill Schatzabel, our young and pretty receptionist and bookkeeper, motioned me to approach a well groomed, well dressed, intelligent-looking, businessman type who was waiting patiently. His smile, voice and manner were as smooth as his appearance and his handshake was firm and confident. He was Sid (Sydney) Terrell, a B.F. Goodrich automobile tires representative for the Southwest region.

I was a little in awe of this “real” professional salesman who looked steadily into my face at he extolled the merits and expounded on the attributes of the pioneer B.F. Goodrich Tire Company. In a cool, reasoning manner, he thoroughly engaged my attention — he was treating this dusty amateur would-be-salesman as an equal. His voice was at times low and almost conspiratorial, at times rising in near excitement as he related milestones in the company’s history, recent growth and sales figures. He talked of tread design, Malaysian rubber trees, and modern synthetic substitutes. He proudly announced Goodrich production statistics and charitably shook his head sorrowfully while noting the inferior statistics of competitor companies.

Mesmerized, I found myself listening intently, nodding affirmatively, gaping in amazement, and otherwise indicating extreme interest in the unreeling information concerning automobile tires. I had a premonition that Mr. Terrell was on a mission of enormous importance and I fervently wished that Bill would hurry up and join us. It seemed important that whatever grand revelation would be made, should be made to the managing partner, not just to the recently hired, inexperienced, commission-based, would-be-crackerjack salesman. My mind wandered briefly from Mr. Terrell’s spiel, but snapped back to hear him firmly invite me outside. What had I missed? Had I

offended this epitome of salesmanly excellence? Should I apologize? Excuse myself and go interrupt Bill? What was going on?

I followed Mr. Terrell through the door to his non-Studebaker car, on the side of which were three-inch high gold-leaf letters proudly proclaiming B.F. Goodrich Tire Company. Now that was a real salesman's car. Pointing to the right front tire, he asked in a seriously teacherish tone, "Do you see anything different about that tire?" Although it was dusk, sufficient light streamed through the large glass-paned windows of Shurley Motor Company for me to see the tire quite well. I looked at the tire then crouched down and peered closely at it. Clearly, it was just a tire and this was a test for the green new field representative who had not had the benefit of company training. This was a practical examination to find out how carefully I had studied the catalogues and brochures. Just so he would know that I did not take the question frivolously, I frowned, wrinkled my forehead, ran my palms over the tire's tread, and knocked the sidewall with my fist. Was this a trap, or had I failed the test? I shook my head in bewilderment and gazed anxiously at the all-knowing company representative.

He smiled beatifically, "What would you say if I told you this tire has no inner tube?"

I murmured "Preposterous!" Was the all-knowing company representative a crackpot? Still, he was the company representative, so I thought I'd best humor him. I tried to look enlightened and went through the frowning, crouching, peering, rubbing, knocking routine again. As I must have been exuding signs of obvious skepticism, he graced me with another beatific smile and suggested we return to the office. There he opened two expensive leather briefcases and started removing and stacking pamphlets, brochures, catalogues, and an array of slick printed flyers, all with large brilliantly colorful type boasting, "TUBELESS!"

Amazing! Mr. Terrell pointed to illustrations and explanatory paragraphs in the promotional material. With a flourish that would have befitted an accomplished sleight-of-hand magician, he pulled from his pocket a valve stem with an inside core similar to the sort on regular inner tubes, the valve being a device that allows air to pass through in one direction only. However, this one had a ridge of rubber and a groove between the inner side and the outside that was designed to be forced into place on the tire in the wheel rim, affording a very tight fit. Of course, the tight fit would have been of no great significance if laboratory research had not developed a method of making an inner liner for the tire, making its casing airtight. A layer of rubber around the tire edges makes an airtight seal against the metal wheel flanges, preventing air escape. Tubeless tires are lighter, better balanced, and run cooler. With today's modern manufacturing materials and processes these tires are less likely to rupture suddenly if they are punctured. The newest ones are self-sealing so they can run for a time even when punctured.

About the beginning of the next year, 1948, the tubeless tire was introduced nationally and internationally. By 1954, most new cars were equipped with them. Now the AAD takes tubeless tires for granted, but it was an amazing revelation for this fledgling Las Cruces tire salesman a half-century ago.

ALFONSO P. GUZMAN is a longtime Las Cruces resident and businessman. He has had guest columns published in the Las Cruces *Sun-News* and is recording some of his more vivid memories for chapters in his planned publication, tentatively titled *Main Street Las Cruces, Revisited*.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Smallzried, Kathleen Ann and Dorothy James Roberts, *More Than You Promise: A Business at Work in Society* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942), p. 183.

Two families' Stories of the Japanese-American Experience in the Mesilla Valley: 1915-1945

by Jane Loy O'Cain

"I don't know how she did it!" exclaimed Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama, sitting in the comfortable kitchen of her rural Las Cruces, New Mexico farm home. "I just can't imagine someone coming from altogether a different culture; coming to a place where you're not familiar with the food, the weather, the people, where you don't know the language."¹ More than 80 years after the fact, Toshi struggles to convey the essence of her mother's immigration to the Mesilla Valley, a valley watered by the Rio Grande and located in southern New Mexico, in the early years of the 20th century. When Riuhei and Koharu Yabumoto left their home in Santa Ana, California, on their eastward immigration, little had prepared them for the lives of agriculturists,² although it is likely that they would have already experienced culture shock, and the societal hostility that was directed at "Orientals" during this time period.³ The relatively few Japanese-Americans who immigrated to the Mesilla Valley would face unique challenges, but some would also be richly rewarded, not only materially, but in terms of the strong relationships they forged in their local farming communities.

Their experience in the Valley is examined largely through the memories of the Yabumoto and Nakayama families, part of the earliest immigration and present today. Oral history was relied upon at the fullest source of information, because other documentation is sparse, in no small measure due to the Japanese-Americans' peculiar "alien" status; as such, some of the usual records and documents related to land ownership and political party affiliation do not exist. The lack of evidence can also be attributed to the fact that they, like many minorities and immigrants, did not leave many written records, journals or diaries.

THE EARLY YEARS: 1915 THROUGH 1920

The first evidence of persons of Japanese descent in the Mesilla Valley was found in the Census of 1910. In April of that year, B.K. Matsu, a single male, age 37, was employed as a cook in the home of P.W. Barker, an English immigrant gardener and farmer. Mr. Matsu's only compatriot residing in the Mesilla Valley during April of 1910 was J. Hiyide. Mr. Hiyide, a single man, age 30, was employed in the home of Oscar Lohman as a cook. It is safe to assume that Mr. Hiyide was kept quite busy, cooking as he was for a family of seven.⁴ What became of Mr. Matsu and Mr. Hiyide is not known; it can only be said with certainty that neither of them resided in Doña Ana County when the next census was taken in 1920.⁵

However between 1910 and 1920, the number of peo-

ple of Japanese descent in the Mesilla Valley increased significantly.⁶ An intriguing question is why these families and individuals chose to settle in an area so remote from the Japanese population centers of the West Coast. One possible explanation is that with the completion of the Elephant Butte Dam in 1916, the availability of irrigated farm land made the area attractive to Japanese-American farmers, accustomed to the irrigated farm lands of California.⁷ However, in the case of the Nakayama family, the choice of a new home in the Mesilla Valley was accidental. While living in Scottsbluff County, Nebraska, in 1918, John Nakayama was injured while riding a horse. He thought a more salubrious climate would aid his recovery, so he along with his wife and two-year old son, Carl, set off by train for southern Texas where Mr. Nakayama's business partner owned some land. The Nakayama family made it no further than El Paso, Texas, due to the illness of Mrs. Nakayama then expecting their second child. Mr. Nakayama heard of farm land for rent near the village of Doña Ana and decided to settle there. A deciding factor in the Nakayamas' decision to remain in the Mesilla Valley appeared to have been that there were about "fifteen Japanese families in Las Cruces and about twelve Chinese families."⁸

In the case of the Yabumoto family, Mr. Riuhei Yabumoto decided it was time to move his family from Santa Ana, California, because "too many Japanese situated in one small area led to problems," particularly because so many of the Japanese were "single men."⁹ Mr. Yabumoto knew of a Japanese-American family living in Anthony, New Mexico, and so in 1915, he boarded a train with his wife and three children, and moved to the Mesilla Valley where he purchased a small 25-acre farm.

The 1920 Census demonstrates that the household composition of Japanese-Americans living in the Valley was diverse; of the thirteen households enumerated in the Fourteenth Census of the United States, four were headed by single men (three recorded as single and one as divorced). There were five male laborers enumerated, three who lived with Japanese-American families, and two, who were employed by European-Americans. Of the eight family households, three consisted of the family group and single male "partners." One household is comprised of a family group and two single male laborers, while another household is comprised of a single male head of household and a single male laborer. Four of the eight family groups are recorded as a husband and a wife who are both of Japanese ancestry. The other family households consist of a Japanese-American husband

forms.¹⁰ Only four of the households contained children, and all of the children were born in the United States. As of the Fourteenth Census, the Japanese-American community was officially enumerated as consisting of 33 people. Of these, the enumerators recognized six children as having Japanese ancestry, and 27 adults.¹¹

The majority of Japanese-Americans in Doña Ana County settled in and around the village of Mesilla. Two households settled in the southern end of the county, and three resided in northern Doña Ana County.¹² The 20 miles separating Chamberino from the Las Cruces/Mesilla area seemed a great distance for the Yabumoto family in the 1920s. Communication was primitive and the family living and working on the farm felt isolated from the outside world. Transportation could also be unreliable, and in 1924 the Yabumoto family did not own an automobile. The Nakayama family, living in northern Doña Ana County, also experienced feelings of isolation due to problems with communication and transportation. Mr. Carl Nakayama summed up his view on the reliability of the transportation of the day: "Those cantankerous old Model Ts, they just ran when they felt like it."¹³

Despite the difficulties posed by a primitive communication system and unreliable transportation, there were at least two occasions in the 1920s when the Japanese-American families in Doña Ana County gathered to celebrate the Emperor's Birthday. These celebrations included a picnic, games and races.¹⁴ These limited contacts, however, were not enough to foster a real sense of community among the Japanese-American population in the Mesilla Valley, and an attempt to start a Japanese language school was not successful.

In 1920, all of the Japanese-American households in the Mesilla Valley were employed in agriculture. Among the male Japanese-Americans, nine listed their occupation as "farm laborer." Of those nine, two were employed by European-American farmers, and three were employed by Japanese-American farmers. The place of employment of the remaining four was not documented by the census takers. Interestingly, five male Japanese-Americans were listed as "partners" in a farming enterprise, four gave their occupation as farmer and one as a mechanic.¹⁵ One Japanese-American male recorded his occupation as "farm manager." Seven of the household groups listed their occupation as "farmer"; however, of this number only the Yabumoto family is recorded as owning their farm, and the others are listed as renters.¹⁶

The Yabumoto family was able to purchase their small farm in 1915 when they arrived in Chamberino. The farm was purchased from the proceeds of the sale of Riuhei Yabumoto's boarding house and pool hall in Santa Ana, California. Mr. Yabumoto was, in comparison to other Japanese-Americans in the Mesilla Valley, an early Japanese immigrant to the United States, having arrived at the port in Seattle in 1896.¹⁷ He had been able to purchase property in California prior to the 1913 legislation

which barred aliens from owning property in the state,¹⁸ and consequently had capital for the purchase of a farm when the family moved east.

The Nakayama family's start in Doña Ana County was probably more typical of other Japanese-Americans immigrating to the Mesilla Valley. When they arrived in the area in 1918, they rented their farm land. They were not able to purchase land in Doña Ana County until 1928, and by that time New Mexico had passed legislation excluding aliens from owning property. Consequently, the Nakayama farm was purchased in Carl Nakayama's name. Carl was then twelve years of age, and a citizen of the United States, having been born in Nebraska. The farm was held in trust for Carl by Pat Campbell of the Mesilla Valley Bank.¹⁹ Through this method the dream of owning a farm was partially realized by the Nakayama family, but in the Mesilla Valley, as elsewhere, it would take the effort of the entire family to establish a viable family farm.

The establishment of Japanese-American farms in the Mesilla Valley was cause for concern for some members of the dominant culture in Doña Ana County. A front page headline of the *Las Cruces Citizen* for February 22, 1919, declared "Japanese Problem A Grave One." It was the contention of the author of the news article, W.T. Scoggins, that "Japs are in the Mesilla Valley in numbers," and that this represented a threat to European-American farmers of the Mesilla Valley. Mr. Scoggins alleged that the Japanese-American farmer engaged in unfair competition through over production, failure to reclaim land, low standards of living, the use of "Mexican" labor for the hard work, and the formation of a "separate and secret" crop marketing organization. In Mr. Scoggins' opinion, the "Japs are fast grabbing the markets and organizing the farm labor for their own race." Although the author of the article does not indicate what he feels should be done about the Japanese-American "problem," he does question whether the "banks and the merchants [can] afford to let the Jap win."²⁰

The following week, the *Las Cruces Citizen* carried the banner headline, "Jap Answers Scoggins." In this article, Ben Shimada, a Japanese-American farmer, stated that it was his "duty to answer and refute all the charges, lest the public may be misled." In regard to the charge that Japanese-Americans were maintaining a "secret organization and selling agency in exclusion of American farmers," Mr. Shimada stated that the same companies, Crombie, Gerad [*sic*], and Weaber, who handled American growers were also handling Japanese-American growers. The author elaborated by stating that due to the failure of the Crombie Company to advance operating costs to hard pressed Japanese-American cabbage producers, some had turned to the Loretts Peagram Company, who were able to advance the necessary funds. According to Mr. Shimada, those Japanese-Americans in "better circumstances" continued to market their product through the Crombie Company. The remainder of Mr. Scoggins' charges were



Koharu Yabumoto (standing), Riuhei Yabumoto (seated)
and son Riuyi. CA 1906.

answered in a similar manner, by offering evidence that refuted the expressed concerns. Mr. Shimada completed his statement with an eloquent plea: “in behalf of the Japanese [*sic*] let me appeal to the broadminded [*sic*] people of the valley to recognize their [the Japanese-American farmers] big economical factor in making a greater Rio Grande Valley and not to allow them to suffer humiliation and hardships by the hands of those who have personal grudges against them.”²¹ It is of interest to note that no European-American farmer or merchant offered a similar defense of their Japanese-American neighbors.

GETTING ESTABLISHED: THE 1920s

During the 1920s, the Yabumoto family raised cotton

on their 25-acre farm. For the growing season of 1927-28, the average price of cotton (as measured in 10 markets) was 19.72 cents per pound. At an average yield per acre of 161.7 pounds,²² the gross income on 25 acres would have been \$797.18. From this gross receipt, all expenses would be paid first; whatever was left from paying for irrigation water, farm labor and taxes would have to cover the family’s needs. The Yabumotos milked 12-13 dairy cows, with the sale of the milk supplementing the family income and indeed, as for so many small family farms, proving a financial mainstay. Significantly, the Yabumoto children were responsible for the herd. In near assembly-line precision, the three older children, Ayako, Jodo and Yuki, milked the cows, while the younger children, Katsumi and Toshi, watered them. As the children grew older, they were expected to graduate from watering the cows to milking them. After milking, morning and evening, the milk was poured into five gallon cans and lugged down to the road, where it was picked up by Price Dairy of El Paso, Texas on their twice daily milk run through the Valley.

In addition to their work caring for and milking the dairy cows, the Yabumoto children contributed to the family economy in a variety of other ways: all had to take turns “bringing in wood, cleaning kerosene lamps, cutting wicks, and getting kindling.” Meanwhile, Mrs. Koharu Yabumoto was, for all intents and purposes, managing the farm.

Miss Koharu Higashi, age 18, arrived in the United States in 1906 to marry Mr. Riuhei Yabumoto, who had “sent for her,” in what appears to be a marriage arranged by the Higashi and Yabumoto families in Japan.²³ Koharu was sadly ill-prepared for the life that awaited her in the United States, as she had been reared in a home where servants performed the household labor, and had been “finished” at a school for young ladies.²⁴ In addition to the hardships faced by all immigrants to the United States, Koharu endured the loss of her oldest child, Riuyi, shortly after her marriage, to complications from the measles. Mrs. Yabumoto next faced the uncertainty and hardships of moving from California to a sparsely settled area in the new state of New Mexico, where she and her husband would begin farming, an occupation totally foreign to both of them.

The Yabumotos’ home in Chamberino was a four-room adobe without benefit of running water, indoor plumbing or electricity. Fortunately, some improvements had been made to the farm; a small orchard had been planted, and irrigation ditches dug. Not all of the farm land had been leveled, however, and this was a task undertaken by Koharu Yabumoto, as she increasingly assumed the management of the farm. Initially, Koharu was in charge of overseeing the farm and the farm laborers, Hispanic workers from the old town of Chamberino,

due to the frequent absences of her husband, who was traveling to California to “settle his business.” However, in 1926, with the weight of the business business fell almost completely on her shoulders, when her husband became ill with what was diagnosed first as throat cancer, and later as tuberculosis. When Mr. Yabumoto died in 1929, after an eight or nine month stay in the El Paso Sanatorium, Koharu Yabumoto was left at age 45 with six children to support and a farm to run. Koharu’s day began at 4:00 a.m., when she would bring the work horses in for water and feed, in order that they would be ready for the day’s farm work when the laborers arrived. Following this she would build a fire in the wood stove, and prepare biscuits for the children’s breakfast and lunch. In addition to working in the fields, overseeing the planting, irrigating, weeding and picking of the cotton, Koharu also contributed to the family economy by raising chile, tomatoes, onions, and fruit for family consumption. She canned food in the summer for use in the winter months, and made clothing for the children from flour sacks. These chores were added to the daily round of tasks faced by most housewives of the day: cooking, baking, washing, ironing and cleaning.²⁵

In all of Mrs. Yabumoto’s labors, she was handicapped by her difficult struggle to learn English. She learned to speak Spanish, the language spoken by the farm laborers, but never gained a real proficiency in English. Partly because of this, and partly due to the exigencies of the family’s existence, Mrs. Yabumoto turned for support and assistance to her oldest living child, Ayako, a daughter, who was born in 1908. Ayako graduated from high school in 1926, about the time her father became ill. Through determination and ingenuity, she continued her education at the El Paso Business School. Ayako caught a ride to El Paso each morning on the Price Dairy milk truck and returned home in the evening in the same manner. After business college, Ayako found work with Standard Oil of California in El Paso. By the age of 21, when her father died, Ayako was responsible for mediating between her mother and the outside world. Ayako turned to her employer for advice and would in turn advise her mother on business. To cite one example, acting on the advice of Ayako’s employer, the family moved their money from a bank in Anthony, New Mexico, to a bank in El Paso, Texas, just days before the Anthony bank failed at the beginning of the Depression. Ayako also provided the younger children with clothing and opportunities for recreation, and spent weekends at the farm assisting her mother. In the view of her younger sister, Toshi, “she sacrificed a lot for us.”

Despite the difficulties, the Yabumoto family prospered during the 1920s through dint of hard work and thrift, although they were unable to add any additional acres to their small farm. They were, however, able to purchase a new automobile in 1928, in order to have reliable transportation during Mr. Yabumoto’s illness.

The family also had the wherewithal to add two rooms to their four-room adobe house. Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama credits her family’s success to her parents’ thrift. They were “very, very thrifty; they had to be to survive. This was altogether a new life.”²⁶

Although much credit must be given to the Yabumoto family for their self-reliance and perseverance, there is also evidence of a strong community support network in the farming village of Chamberino during the 1920s. This community support network took many forms; from that which could be seen as “neighborliness,” to the type of support that might be offered to the closest friend or relative. To cite a practical example of neighborliness, when Koharu Yabumoto arrived in the Mesilla Valley, one of her many challenges was learning to cook with the provisions available to her locally. The farm workers and neighbors taught Koharu to cook the staples of the Mesilla Valley: tortillas, beans and chile. In times of crisis, the community also rallied to support the Yabumotos. Sometime after Mr. Yabumoto became ill in 1926, Ayako Yabumoto also became very ill with typhoid fever, contracted while swimming in contaminated water. Three of the family’s closest neighbors, Mrs. Chloe Donaldson, Mrs. Tom Ansley, and Mrs. Margarita Taylor took turns spending the night with Koharu, while her daughter was gravely ill. The Donaldsons also provided another form of support, when they twice daily milked the Yabumoto’s cows and sold the milk, as the family was under quarantine due to the typhoid outbreak. Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama’s recollection is that this sense of community enveloped both European-Americans and the Hispanic population, and also included labor exchange, the loaning of farm equipment, and the loan of small amounts of money. Mrs. Nakayama recalled a few occasions when she saw her mother take small amounts of money from her “KC Baking Powder can” to lend to neighbors in need.

Neighbors also played a role in the acculturation of the Yabumoto children. The Yabumoto girls, Ayako, Yuki, Toshi, and little Nannako, attended the Anthony Methodist Church each Sunday with the Marston family. The boys, Jodo and Katsumi, in the meantime, attended the Baptist Church with the Donaldsons. Mr. and Mrs. Yabumoto were Buddhists and in Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama’s view did not have enough information to make a decision about which Christian church the children should attend, and consequently allowed the children to decide for themselves.²⁷

Neighbors also baked birthday cakes and involved the Yabumoto family in Fourth of July celebrations, all of which fostered the family’s Americanization. Although Japanese was spoken at home, it was liberally sprinkled with Spanish and English words, and the children quickly learned English after starting school. The only Japanese tradition observed by the Yabumoto family at home was the New Year’s celebration for which Koharu Yabumoto prepared special foods, including “osushi”

and chicken with Japanese vegetables.²⁸ Koharu also continued a Japanese tradition when she visited her son's grave in California, as frequently as she could. However, by the time of the Depression years of the 1930s, the Yabumoto family viewed itself as fully American.

THE DEPRESSION YEARS: THE 1930s

The Fifteenth Census of the United States in 1930 recorded 64 individuals of Japanese ancestry residing in Doña Ana County.²⁹ By 1940 that number had decreased to 27.³⁰ Nationally, between 1930 and 1940, the population of Japanese-Americans "fell by about 9 percent,"³¹ from a total population in the continental United States in 1930 of 138,834 to 126,947 in 1940.³²

For at least one Japanese-American family, the Nakayamas, the 1930s were a time of significant expansion in their agricultural enterprises.³³ Born in 1916, Carl Nakayama completed high school and college during the decade of the Depression. As noted earlier, the Nakayamas' first agricultural property was purchased in Carl's name in 1928, and held in trust for him by the Mesilla Valley Bank. Nine years later in 1937, when Carl was 21, the Nakayamas' family and business organization in the 1930s will illuminate how this advancement in the family's fortune was possible despite the economic conditions of the time.

During the 1930s the Nakayamas grew fruit and vegetables. Their primary cash crop was cantaloupe, with approximately three hundred acres planted in this fruit. The Nakayamas also produced green peas, cabbage, and spinach. The prices paid for the vegetables were extremely depressed. Fifty years after the fact, Mr. Nakayama could quote the prices paid for several vegetable crops: "I remember four dozen heads of lettuce selling for ninety cents . . . packed in a wooden box with ice. I remember sweet potatoes selling for ninety cents to a dollar and a quarter a fifty pound basket. I remember onions selling . . . a hundred pound sacks [sic] of onions selling for about two dollars."³⁴ Despite the wretched prices, the Nakayamas were able to market their products. They contracted their cantaloupe with the S.A. Gerrard Company, which was "at that time the single biggest distributor of vegetables in the United States." The Nakayamas had also developed a market for their truck produce in Socorro, Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and Santa Fe, New Mexico; and in Pueblo and Trinidad, Colorado.³⁵

The Nakayamas' success seems to have been predicated on crop and market diversity, careful and calculated family organization of the business, a stable local agricultural work force, and a tremendous work ethic. Mr. Nakayama related that the entire family was employed in their farming enterprise, including his mother, who helped in packing and sorting fruits and vegetables, in addition to "cooking and washing and baking" for a family of ten.³⁶ The labor involved in truck farming was often tedious

and time consuming. For example, in the production of cabbage, all of the plants were started from seed in hot beds. Then from November to February, the beds were covered each evening and uncovered each morning. Finally, in late February, the cabbage plants were set by hand in the fields. Carl Nakayama related that in his junior and senior years at university, 1935-1937, he attended classes during the morning, and then would hurry home to work on the farm from 1:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.³⁷

In addition to family labor on the farm, the Nakayamas also employed from twenty to fifty laborers. The laborers were Hispanic people from the nearby village of Doña Ana. Mr. Nakayama stated that during the Depression years, "about half of that little town worked for my dad."³⁸ The Nakayamas paid their farm laborers seventy-five cents a day for a nine hour day. However, the wages were supplemented with "all the vegetables you want to eat."³⁹ The Nakayama's labor force remained stable and reliable throughout the Depression, until the advent of World War II.⁴⁰

The elder Mr. Nakayama made plans for the continued prosperity of the family's agricultural enterprise by orchestrating his sons' university education. Carl Nakayama, who attended the New Mexico Agriculture and Mechanic Arts College in Las Cruces from 1933-1937, pursued a degree in Business Administration. He stated that his father "wanted me to take business so I could run the family farm." Carl's next older brother was expected to take a degree in agronomy in order that he could manage the "farming end of it." Carl Nakayama recalled, "my dad had it figured out because there were five of us boys," and although he didn't tell them in a "commanding" way, the Nakayama sons were, nevertheless, cognizant of their obligations to the family business.⁴¹

In 1937, Carl Nakayama was graduated from college and reached the age of majority. The original farm purchased in his name in 1928, was signed over to him at the Doña Ana courthouse. The same year, Carl, his brother, and his father purchased an additional 100 acres of land at \$175.00 per acre. The down payment of \$3000.00 was difficult to obtain: "my dad scraped up all the money he could get and my brother and I had some money in postal savings and we drew all that and finally came up with the down payment."⁴² The purchase of this farm in 1937, given the economic conditions of the time, was a testament to the family's diligence and persistence. Unlike other farmers in Mesilla Valley, who were growing cotton as a cash crop, the Nakayamas were not eligible for price supports. Roosevelt's New Deal Programs, while providing relief for livestock producers and for wheat, rice, corn, and cotton farmers, did not provide any price support for vegetable crops.⁴³

While the struggle continued for economic survival, the farming community that surrounded the Nakayama family continued to be a source of support and comfort, as well as a vehicle for acculturation and assimilation into

the dominant culture. Carl Nakayama remembered that during the Depression era, neighbors were close as were families. He recalled that the church and school became a focal point for the family's involvement in the community, and that he and his brothers were in Boy Scouts and attended summer camp, even though this posed a "hardship" for his father." Whether consciously or not, the Nakayama family was committed to adopting some of the values of the dominant culture in the Mesilla Valley. Compliance, if not acceptance, with the values of the dominant culture can be glimpsed in the following remarks made by Carl Nakayama:

In 1924, there was what you call the Oriental Exclusion Act in which persons of Oriental descent could not become citizens and could not own land . . . Now my dad died in 1943, and he never did become a citizen, and he would have liked to; he couldn't vote, he couldn't own land and, uh, talking about, y'know, that's something that, uh, I have no feelings about it. I know it wasn't right but that was the law, but we lived through it.⁴⁵

The 1930s had proven to be a difficult time in the history of the Mesilla Valley, and for the Japanese-Americans living in the Valley. The period 1940 through 1945, would, however, prove to be an even more challenging time.

THE WAR YEARS: 1940 THROUGH 1945

By the time the census was taken in 1940, of the 27 individuals of Japanese ancestry remaining in Doña Ana County, 19 were American citizens, having been born in the United States, and eight were foreign-born with alien status. The Nakayama and Yabumoto children accounted for two-thirds of the United States citizens.⁴⁶ Thus it was difficult for Toshi Yabumoto to believe that she would be able to honor her mother's wish that she "marry within our own race." Fate intervened, however, when Carl Nakayama and Toshi Yabumoto met at gathering of the "people" in El Paso, Texas, who had congregated to meet the Japanese Ambassador to the United States. Following this chance meeting, the couple were married in 1940, and moved to the Nakayama farm, and into a four-room adobe house that Carl Nakayama had built in 1937.

Although living conditions were similar to what Toshi Yabumoto had experienced as a young woman, the scale and pace of the Nakayama agricultural enterprise was not. By 1940, the Nakayamas were farming on a "large scale," while the Yabumotos had not yet been able to add any additional acreage to the farm purchased in 1915. Toshi Nakayama found that while the work required of her had changed, the amount of work had not. On the Nakayama farm she was responsible for farm records and payroll for the workers, as well as for ordering supplies, checking deliveries, and assisting her husband in marketing the crops. Along with these duties and managing a household, Mrs. Nakayama had two baby daughters, Jane, born in 1941, and Peggy, born in 1943 (a third daughter,

Mary Anna, was not born until 1951). Despite the worry and stress of farming and establishing a family, nothing in Carl and Toshi Nakayamas' lives had prepared them for what was to come.

In 1941, the United States declared war on Japan following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. This event was to have immediate and long-term consequences for Carl and Toshi Nakayama. Because the Nakayama farms were owned by a company, J.K. Nakayama and Sons, and J.K. Nakayama was an alien under United States law, the family's business assets were frozen. And although the Nakayamas were soon allowed access to their funds, other traumatic events would soon engulf their families; their parents, Koharu Yabumoto and Mr. and Mrs. J.K. Nakayama, were particularly affected owing to their alien status. The Federal Bureau of Investigation searched both the Yabumoto and J.K. Nakayama residences, looking for "guns, Japanese language text books, and pictures of the Emperor." The searches were by no means cursory; in Koharu Yabumoto's home, "they turned everything upside down and went through everything" in the search. Added to these threats and indignities, was the fear that they would be deported to "concentration camps" as other members of their families had been.⁴⁷

During this same time period, Carl and Toshi Nakayama became aware that there was a faction of the population in the Mesilla Valley which was encouraging businesses to boycott the Nakayama's farm. They were also the victims of a whispering campaign. The Nakayamas owned a large barn where all the "packing, shipping, and loading" for the farm was done. There were outside water faucets on each end of the barn, where vegetables were cleaned. Lights were placed above the faucets and were often lit during harvest. These lights were rumored by some Mesilla Valley residents to point directly at Fort Bliss, Texas, to provide a target for "somebody and whatever they wanted to do."⁴⁸ Mrs. Nakayama reported that they dealt with these allegations by believing that "our consciences are clear. We haven't done anything to hurt our government, and we love our country as much as anybody." Significantly, the Nakayamas became major vegetable suppliers for the United States Army, and this may have served as a deterrent to official forms of harassment or punitive measures.⁴⁹

While the Nakayamas were privately enduring the anxieties and uncertainties of the war years, there were public reactions which must have added to the family's discomfort. In August 1943, the Doña Ana County Labor Advisory Committee, "charged with the responsibility of securing agricultural labor," resolved that they were opposed to even the temporary relocation of Japanese-Americans to the Mesilla Valley following their release from War Relocation Authority Camps. The committee was apprehensive that the newly-released Japanese-Americans, "privileged to locate in any State of the Union they desire except in the Pacific Coast states . . . may locate in New Mexico . . . (and) might especially desire to locate in

the Valleys below Elephant Butte Dam because of fertile land and adequate water supply.”⁵⁰

The concerns expressed by the Doña Ana County Labor Advisory Board in 1943, continued to be expressed in the Mesilla Valley at the war's end in 1945. In October, 1945, the Las Cruces Sun News reported that 400 “leading valley farmers, business, and professional men” met in “one of the largest public gatherings ever held in the history of the county ... (and) the largest ever in the county courthouse” to form a “permanent organization” to bar “further expansion of Japanese land owning in the valley.” In the course of the meeting on October 1, 1945, Mr. W.T. Scoggins declared that “infiltration and colonialization [sic] by Japanese unless immediately blocked would end by the Japanese getting complete control of American agriculture.” To stem this expected expansion by Japanese-Americans, 1000 Valley land-owners signed a pledge which bound them not to sell land to Japanese-Americans. This group of Mesilla Valley residents then officially adopted the name, the Doña Ana Anti-Jap Association.⁵¹ The aims of this group fell into three general classifications: to compile and maintain a census of all Japanese in the county, to prevent further Japanese-American immigration to the county, and the establishment of a legal office to secure evidence of law violations relative to aliens acquiring lands or other property in the county.⁵²

Although the group declared that it was not a “race prejudice meeting,” and that they had “nothing to say against the Japanese-Americans now living in the valley,”⁵³ the meeting and the subsequent formation of the “Doña Ana Anti-Jap Association,” nevertheless, represented yet another occurrence of prejudice and discrimination against Japanese-Americans in the Mesilla Valley.

Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama appeared to have reacted to the stresses of the war years in a characteristic manner: by working hard in the family business, and keeping involved in the local community and her church. She believed that “people on the whole were real good,” and that they were able to depend on their “real friends.” Toshi Nakayama never discussed the indignities of these years with her mother, older brother, or younger sister, believing that it was better to try to “forget it.” These coping mechanisms were necessary in order to deal with not only the unreality of the situation, “it was hard for us to believe it was happening,” but with the cognitive dissonance these events engendered in a person who identified totally with American ideals and values.

CONCLUSION

In examining the Japanese-American experience in the Mesilla Valley from 1915 through 1945, it has been found to be the case that much of the same prejudice and discrimination that plagued Japanese-American communities in other areas of the United States were also visited upon the local population. However, in many respects the Japanese-American experience in the Mesilla Valley has

been different from that of others of Japanese descent in the United States. These differences are related to the fact that the Japanese-Americans in the Valley did not form an ethnic community, but identified most closely with their local farming communities. This immersion into the local culture hastened their acculturation, as did the institutions of school and church. Birthday parties, Fourth of July celebrations, and the Boy Scouts, also contributed to the families' Americanization, and were introduced in their local communities.

Though Mrs. Nakayama continues to reside in the farming community that has been her home for over 50 years, the third generation of the Yabumoto and Nakayama families have chosen occupations other than farming. The Yabumoto and Nakayama farms, both of which were established and secured at great cost, are now leased out and farmed by others. And so in her lifetime, Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama has experienced life as an immigrants' child with the pressures of acculturation, as a young adult experiencing the forces of virulent institutional prejudice and discrimination, and as a woman who perceives herself first and foremost as an American.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama interview with author, Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces, New Mexico, March 14, 1997. Riuhei Yabumoto's family were fishermen in Japan. Koharu Higashi's family was involved in the lumbering business in Japan. Riuhei and Koharu Yabumoto ran a boarding house and pool hall for Japanese immigrants in Santa Ana, California.
- 2 Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama interview with author, Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces, New Mexico, March 27, 1997. (Subsequent references are based on these two interviews.)³ David J. O'Brien and Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese-American Experience*, (Bloomington, IN, 1991). This book provides a good overall account of Japanese-American immigration and settlement in the United States.
- 4 *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, National Archives Microfilm Publication, T624, roll 914.
- 5 *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, National Archives Microfilm Publication, T625, roll 1075.
- 6 *Fourteenth Census*, roll 1075.
- 7 Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of An Urban Oasis* (Albuquerque, 1977), p. 23.
- 8 Carl Nakayama interview with Rita Chegin, Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces, New Mexico, February 16, 1983.
- 9 Anti-Japanese sentiments had been running high in California in the early part of the twentieth century. See Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States: A Critical Study of the Problem of the Japanese Immigrant and Their Children* (Stanford University: 1932); pp. 261-282. As an owner of a boarding house and pool hall catering to the Japanese-American community in Santa Ana, California, prior to 1915, Riuhei Yabumoto may have experienced some of the racial prejudice and discrimination that was so prevalent in California in that time period.
- 10 There are some interesting discrepancies in the 1920 census enumeration of peoples of Japanese ancestry in Dona Ana County. For example, in one family, the Kushiro's, both husband and wife immigrated from Japan, however, their two children, born in Colorado, were listed as “white” in the census entry. In the meantime, Carl Nakayama was officially enumerated as Japanese despite his having been born in Nebraska

- to parents who had immigrated from Japan. In another case, the four children of Shiro [sic?] and Refugio Matsuba were also recorded as “white,” in which case the recorded nationality must have followed the mother. In yet another case, Emma Taira, the wife of Coyu Taira, is recorded as having “alien” status, even though her place of birth is recorded as New Mexico. See *Fourteenth Census, 1920*, roll 1075.
- 11 *Fourteenth Census, 1920*, roll 1075.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 David J. O’Brien and Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese-American Experience*, (Bloomington, IN, 1991). This book provides a good overall account of Japanese-American immigration and settlement in the United States.
- 4 *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, National Archives Microfilm Publication, T624, roll 914.
- 5 *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, National Archives Microfilm Publication, T625, roll 1075.
- 6 *Fourteenth Census*, roll 1075.
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- 10 There are some interesting discrepancies in the 1920 census enumeration of peoples of Japanese ancestry in Doña Ana County. For example, in one family, the Kushiro’s, both husband and wife immigrated from Japan, however, their two children, born in Colorado, were listed as “white” in the census entry. In the meantime, Carl Nakayama was officially enumerated as Japanese despite his having been born in Nebraska to parents who had immigrated from Japan. In another case, the four children of Shiro [sic?] and Refugio Matsuba were also recorded as “white,” in which case the recorded nationality must have followed the mother. In yet another case, Emma Taira, the wife of Coyu Taira, is recorded as having “alien” status, even though her place of birth is recorded as New Mexico. See *Fourteenth Census, 1920*, roll 1075.
- 11 *Fourteenth Census, 1920*, roll 1075.
- 12 *Ibid.*
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- 15 The partnership was one form of simple “cooperation” employed by Japanese immigrants in agricultural enterprises, see Edna Bonacich and John Modell, *The Economic Basis of Solidarity: Small Business in the Japanese-American Community*, (University of California Press: 1980); p. 48.
- 16 *Fourteenth Census, 1920*, roll 1075.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 Francis Feeley, “A Legacy of Injustice: The West Coast Japanese Before World War II,” *Journal of the West*, October 1983: 84 and Bonacich and Modell, p. 68.
- 19 Carl Nakayama interview, February 16, 1983 and Carl Nakayama interview with Kelly Hayes, Hobson-Huntsinger University Archives, New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces, New Mexico, November 20, 1987.
- 20 *Las Cruces Citizen*, February 22, 1919:1.
- 21 *Las Cruces Citizen*, March 1, 1919:1.22 American Cotton, *A Statistical Record: 1927-1928 to 1951-1952 . . . A Quarter Century* (Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith: 1958).
- 23 *Fourteenth Census, 1920*, roll 1075.
- 24 Interestingly, Carl Nakayama doubted that his mother, a daughter of a doctor in Japan, had ever held a “broom in her hands” before her immigration to the United States; see Carl Nakayama interview, February 16, 1983.
- 25 For other accounts of the intense work schedule of first generation Japanese-American women, see also, Eileen Sunada Sarasohn, *The Issei: Portrait of a Pioneer, An Oral History* (Palo Alto, CA: 1983), p.113.
- 26 See Bonacich and Modell, p. 47, for a discussion of thrift in Japanese- American small businesses.
- 27 Mrs. Nakayama stated that in her husband’s family, the Nakayamas, the choice of the church the children attended was made in the same manner. In this case the Nakayama children attended church with the Grady Mayfield family, and became Baptists.
- 28 Ingredients for the Japanese dishes had to be ordered from California. Mrs. Nakayama recalls that special foods were obtained less frequently following her father’s illness and death.
- 29 U.S., Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, Population, Volume III, Part 2, Montana-Wyoming: 1932, p. 244.
- 30 U.S., Department of Commerce, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Population, Volume II, Part 4, Minnesota-New Mexico: 1943, p. 994.
- 31 Feeley, p. 84.
- 32 Roger Daniels, “Japanese America, 1930-1941: An Ethnic Community in the Great Depression,” *Journal of the West*, (1985), p. 36.
- 33 Carl Nakayama interview February 16, 1983 and November 20, 1987.
- 34 Carl Nakayama interview, February 15, 1983.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 *Ibid.* This assertion of the family’s work on the farm is supported by Mrs. Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama, who indicated that all of the Nakayama children were expected to work. See also, Valerie J. Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place, a Japanese-American Community in California, 1919-1982* (Ithaca, New York, 1993) p. 65, for another account of the farm labor of Japanese-American children.
- 37 Carl Nakayama interview, February 16, 1983.
- 38 *Ibid.*
- 39 *Ibid.* Seventy-five cents a day appears to have been the going rate in the Mesilla Valley for agricultural workers during the Depression; that is also the amount the Yabumoto family paid their workers.
- 40 For a discussion of the labor force employed on the Nakayama farm during World War II and after, see Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama interview, March 14, 1997, and March 27, 1997.
- 41 Carl Nakayama interview, November 20, 1987. Bonacich and Modell, pp. 87-88, discuss the desire on the part of the Issei to have their sons continue in the family business. They consequently provided the second generation with an education that would “bolster the family firm,” a phenomenon that is apparent in the Nakayama family.
- 42 Carl Nakayama interview, February 16, 1983.
- 43 *Ibid.* *The Las Cruces Daily News and Rio Grande Farmer*, September 13, 1934 through July 13, 1935 is rife with accounts of Valley farmer protests against the level of cotton price supports. Mr. W.T. Scoggins declared in one article that a “war” could be expected, if price supports for New Mexico cotton were not increased.
- 44 Carl Nakayama interview February 16, 1983 and November 20, 1987. See Richard Chalfen, *Turning Leaves: The Photographic Collections of Two Japanese- American Families* (Albuquerque, NM: 1991), pp. 96 and 112-113, for a further discussion of the church as agent of acculturation.
- 45 Carl Nakayama interview, February 16, 1983.
- 46 *Fifteenth Census, 1940*, Population, Volume II, Part 4: p. 994.
- 47 Ayako, Mrs. Nakayama’s oldest sister, was residing in California when war was declared. She, along with her husband and two small children, was interned at the relocation camp at Manzanar, California. Although the family did not remain long in the camp (Mr. Tokutara Nishimura Slocum, a United States veteran of World War I, was recruited into the OSS by the Army), Ayako was embittered by the experience.
- 48 The Mesilla Valley community fared much better than the Japanese-American community of railroad workers and their families who resided in Clovis, New Mexico. This community of 32 was interned for approximately a year at a remote site on the Fort Stanton Military Reservation in New Mexico. See, John J. Culley, “World War II and a Western Town: The Internment of the Japanese Railroad Workers of Clovis, New Mexico,” *Western Historical Quarterly*, January 1982.
- 49 All of Carl Nakayama’s brothers, Willie, Roy, John and Joe, were in the service during World War II, as was Toshi Nakayama’s younger brother, Katsumi.
- 50 *Las Cruces Sun News*, August 12, 1943, p. 1:2.
- 51 *Las Cruces Sun News*, October 2, 1945, p. 1 and October 9, 1945, p. 1:6.
- 52 *Las Cruces Sun News*, October 9, 1945, p. 1:6.
- 53 *Las Cruces Sun News*, October 2, 1945, p. 1:2.

Heritage of Honor

New Mexico's Agricultural Heritage: A Tribute to William P. (Bill) Stephens

by Gerald W. Thomas

EDITOR'S NOTE: *This article is adapted from the speech Gerald Thomas gave on January 24, 1997. The Doña Ana County Historical Society had named Dr. William P. Stephens as the 1997 recipient of its Hall of Fame Award; Dr. Thomas was asked to present the award to Dr. Stephens' widow, Hazel. It was during Dr. Thomas' 14-year tenure as President of New Mexico State University that the concept and much of the organizational infrastructure for the Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum developed. Indeed, Dr. Thomas himself was awarded the Hall of Fame designation in 1996. Thus did one colleague and friend salute the other. The Museum's dedication occurred after the Awards Banquet; this article reflects that update.*

The dedication of the New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum in Las Cruces on April 19, 1997, carried dual, complementary themes: "Agriculture Made New Mexico Possible" and "So the Future May Know." This linkage celebrated the interdependence of the state's agricultural heritage and William P. Stephens' abiding commitment to preserving that history.

For a 1977 publication sponsored by the New Mexico Department of Agriculture, the Agricultural Experimental Station, and the Cooperative Extension Service, author Ree Scheck took his title — "Agriculture Made New Mexico Possible" — from *Food and Fiber for a Changing World*.¹ Scheck outlined the origins of New Mexico agriculture and followed historical developments to the present time; a few citations suffice to support that title:

- For centuries of prehistory, bands of people traversed the land that was to be New Mexico in search of food. They hunted wild animals and they ate plants grown wild — fruits, nuts and berries. They traveled on foot; their only domesticated animal was the dog.
- Some of the people eventually gave up their nomadic ways and became gardeners, eventually growing corn, beans and squash. They also cultivated, or at least encouraged, other food plants, such as sunflowers, wild potatoes, and tomatoes.
- There is evidence of rudimentary horticulture and primitive irrigation systems in the Gila River Drainage dating back to 2300 B.C.

The introduction of livestock had a significant impact on the agricultural practices of the Native Americans as well as the newcomers to the Land of Enchantment. "Coronado, the explorer, introduced livestock to the native farmer, but it was the colonizer Juan de Oñate who was the real founder of the livestock industry in New Mexico as well as in the entire West. When he came in 1598, he was under contract with the Spanish government to bring into the province of New Mexico 1,000 head of cattle, 3,000 ewes, 1,000 rams, 150 mares, 150 colts, 100 hogs, and 1,000 goats. The animals that survived the journey from Mexico and their new home in an arid



New Mexico Farm & Ranch Heritage Museum, looking east.

land suited to grazing were the foundation of a livestock industry that year after year has provided the largest single source of agricultural income in New Mexico, beginning a full generation before Plymouth Rock became a part of American history."²

The New Mexico Territory became one of the targets for the headlong dash in the late 1800s to settle the American West. Agriculture was the initial means of land settlement. The Homestead Act of 1862, the Desert Land Act of 1877, the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, and other legislation invited those in the rest of the country and even beyond the oceans to come sustain themselves by farming and ranching the vast lands. Large federal grants for roads, canals, and similar developments, as well as to railroads, stimulated a network to market and thus to prosper. Little or no attention was paid to conservation, for the western resources were seen as unlimited.

Artesian water discovered in the Pecos Valley in 1888 brought a new stream of immigrants to New Mexico. Tapping underground water and diverting streams for irrigation was necessary to sustain crop production along the Rio Grande, Pecos and other river systems in the state. In 1902 Congress passed the Reclamation Act to help develop the vast arid and semiarid lands of the

West. The Act would eventually provide a mechanism for funding irrigation dams such as Elephant Butte, Caballo, El Vado and Conchas.

In short, federal legislation has been a major factor in the development of agriculture and natural resources of New Mexico. The federal government has become the largest land owner in the state.

- The first forest reserves in the US were set aside in 1891. At the present time the US Forest Service administers approximately nine million acres of land in New Mexico under the multiple-use policies.
- The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 ended the “free range” era with the preamble “In the interest of conservation and the livestock industry.” The Bureau of Land Management is now responsible for about fourteen million acres in the state.
- State-owned lands comprise about twelve percent of the land area and Indian lands about eight percent. This leaves about 46 percent of the state in private hands.³

The Great Depression, the drought and the “dust bowl” of the 1930s struck New Mexico with a vengeance. Many farmers without supplemental irrigation went broke. Yet even such failure of the moment led to advancement. For example, the Soil Erosion Service was established at this time, and many other measures were taken, reflecting a new interest in resource conservation.

The year 1862 saw not only the passage of the Homestead Act but also the Morrill Act, creating a “Land-Grant College” in each state and territory. “The leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislature of the states may respectively provide, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrious classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.” In this Act, perhaps the most broadly significant piece of legislation ever developed for higher education in this country, can surely be seen affirmation of the centrality of agriculture, the “leading object” of the Act.

Under the dynamic leadership in 1889 of Hiram Hadley and a small group of local citizens, Las Cruces applied for and became the Land-Grant College for the Territory. The institution was designated the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. The teaching responsibility under the Morrill Act was supplemented by an agricultural research mandate specified by the Hatch Act of 1887, creating the Agricultural Experiment Stations. Agricultural Extension (now Cooperative Extension) was added with the passage of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. It is safe to say that every farm and ranch as well as every crop and livestock product in New Mexico has been positively affected by the land-grant college (now New Mexico State University — NMSU).

The second major theme recognized at the opening of the Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum was “So the Future May Know,” the phrase dear to the heart of the late Dr. William P. (Bill) Stephens.

Bill grew up on what he called a “starvation farm” in the mountains of east Tennessee. He worked on the farm as a youngster and became active in the Future Farmers of America in high school. Bill joined the Army Air Force during World War II and served 44 months in the service — mostly in Australia, New Guinea and the South Pacific. He married Hazel Harvey after the war, attended East Tennessee State for two years, received his B.S. and M.S. in Agricultural Economics at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, and a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota.

Barbara Funkhouser stated it well when she wrote of Bill and Hazel’s first exposure to the Land of Enchantment:

As they drove down from the Organ Mountains pass, Hazel began to cry. Bill promised her that just as soon as he fulfilled his commitment, they’d leave this God-forsaken place.⁴

By 1970 Bill Stephens was assistant director of the Agricultural Experiment Station in the College of Agriculture and Home Economics. His duties included coordination of the research at the branch experiment stations with that at the main campus. By 1971 there were eight branches: Artesia, Tucumcari, Clayton, Clovis, Los Lunas, Fort Stanton, Alcalde, and Farmington. No wonder Bill knew the state; he had conducted marketing research all over New Mexico and made frequent visits to the substations. He was an exciting scientist, he knew the people, and he had a sense of the rich history of New Mexico. He was altogether well qualified to serve as Director of the New Mexico Department of Agriculture, to which position he was appointed in 1972 by Governor Bruce King. In the early history of the Land-Grant Colleges, most regulatory, market development and related activities were administered by the College of Agriculture. With the passage of time, nearly all states have shifted these service-type activities to state government, a transfer welcomed by state governors



William P. “Bill” Stephens
1920 - 1993
Doña Ana County
Historical Society

who wanted more control of the agencies and by university faculty and administrators who saw potential conflicts between agricultural research and extension and regulatory-type functions. Why did this transfer not occur in New Mexico? Why is the New Mexico Department of Agriculture (NMDA) still under the Board of Regents of a university?

The answer must lie, in large part, with the caliber of Dr. Stephens and the pattern and level of performance he set. During his tenure, the State Legislature added or revised a number of laws; for example, in 1973 the Petroleum Products Standards Act was shifted from the Bureau of Revenue to NMDA, as were (strengthened) Pesticide Control and Weighmaster Acts. Gathering of agricultural statistics increased, and so did marketing and promotional activities. On Bill's watch, the first and largest solar-heated and cooled building in New Mexico became NMDA's headquarters, dedicated on October 24, 1975.

From the beginning Governor King invited Dr. Stephens to attend the Cabinet meetings, to keep the Governor briefed on agriculture, and to cover other responsibilities. In effect, Bill and the Department were responsible to two bosses - a task few can master. Bill Stephens had mastered it, however, and thus the NMSU Board of Regents remained the employer.

Every governor since Bruce King has tried to move the NMDA to Santa Fe, to serve under the Executive Branch of state government. In 1977, Governor Jerry Apodaca developed a plan for the complete reorganization of State Government. His initial proposal called for a Secretary of Agriculture to be a member of the Cabinet with NMDA under his administration. Any move of the Department to Santa Fe met with stiff and powerful opposition from the Farm and Livestock Bureau and other agricultural organizations.

Dr. Stephens and this writer met with Governor Apodaca and some of his staff on February 3, 1977, to express our concerns over the State reorganization plan. "After a frank discussion of problems, we agreed to try to persuade the Board of Regents not to oppose the reorganization pending a rewrite to insure that NMSU maintains its present programs under the Constitution and State Statutes."⁵ Bill Stephens continued to interact with Governor Apodaca's staff until a final version of the State reorganization plan called for the "Director" of the New Mexico Department of Agriculture, appointed by the NMSU Regents, to be automatically named the "Secretary of Agriculture" as a member of the Governor's Cabinet. Bill was happy (and effective) working for two bosses. The compromise approach is still working under Director/Secretary Frank DuBois and Governor Gary Johnson.

Before Bill retired from the NMDA in 1988, he had received almost every award that the New Mexico agricultural community had to bestow. In addition, he received the Public Service Award for the State of New Mexico, and his national leadership was acknowledged by his

election as President of the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture. Long before retirement, Dr. Stephens' special interest in agricultural history led him first to begin drafting a comprehensive history of NMDA; a rough draft became part of the University's Task Force 88 Centennial planning effort. However, he soon shifted to a full-time commitment to plans for a Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum.

Four major questions faced the Museum organizers: where to locate the physical plant? who would hold the administrative authority? how could the private funds required by the Legislature be raised? and where should documents be stored when not on display?

Requests from other parts of the state could not sway the decision to locate the Museum close the Land-Grant College itself. Dr. Edson Way, when he was appointed Museum Director, led the way to the present location east of the campus on Dripping Springs Road. The Office of Cultural Affairs in Santa Fe proved most appropriate as the administrative authority, for in this way the Museum would not be in competition with other university requests for appropriations; as well this linkage underlines the *heritage* in the Museum's title.

Bill struggled through the formation of the Farm and Ranch Heritage Foundation under IRS rules and then launched a statewide fundraising effort, one successful enough to engage the Legislature's financial support. Lana Dickson serves as staff member for the Foundation, as she has from the beginning.

Dr. William Stephens died October 4, 1993. April 19, 1997 was a day of bright sunshine and bright eyes. Friends of agriculture, friends of history gathered to dedicate the New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum. Bill had supported the motto: "So the future may know." Those words are now engraved on a metal plaque at the museum entrance, fitting introduction to a dream become reality, instructing the generations who will come that life comes from the land.

GERALD W. THOMAS previously contributed "Swastika: Peace Symbol Destroyed by War" to the *Southern New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 1, January, 1997.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Gerald W. Thomas, Samuel E. Curl, and William F. Bennett, Sr. *Food and Fiber for a Changing World: Third Century Challenge o American Agriculture*. The Interstate Printers and Publishers. 1982.
- 2 Don D. Dwyer, "Range and Forest Resources of New Mexico," *Environment, People and Culture*. (New Mexico State University: 1970).
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- 5 Gerald W. Thomas. Journal Notes. February 3, 1977.

Mercantile Crossroads: The Mesilla Valley

Prior to 1870

by Scott E. Fritz

The Mesilla Valley, in southern New Mexico and west Texas, stretches north from El Paso for some 70 miles. Within the valley runs the Rio Grande, which for centuries has provided a trade and travel route for Native Americans, Hispanos, and Anglos. Travelers, goods, and armies have traversed this land, and cultures have flourished and faded.

By 200 B.C., the society known as the Mogollon had begun to emerge from the nomadic, unnamed peoples who had roamed and hunted and camped in southern New Mexico. The Mogollon established villages; one of these was at the base of Tortugas “A” Mountain, another on a raised embankment near modern-day Mesilla. Originally the villages consisted of subterranean pit houses; by 900 these had evolved into structures made of stick and mud, known as *jacales*. Around 1300 the Mogollon began building two-story structures similar to the apartment-like structures of the later Pueblo Indians. By 1450, they were gone from the valley; it’s not known whether because of drought, disease, or invasion.¹

About that time, between the late thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Athabascan speakers migrated south from Canada and entered New Mexico as one tribe, which eventually split. The branch known as the Navajos remained in the north, farming like their Pueblo Indian neighbors. The branch we call Apache remained nomadic, roaming through the Mesilla Valley and on to Texas and to northern Mexico.²

Spanish explorers made their way to the Southwest shortly after the arrival of the Apaches. Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca was the first Spaniard to sojourn in the vicinity of the Mesilla Valley; the valley would thereafter be well, if sporadically, utilized. Next came Francisco Vazquez de Coronado in 1540, again seeking the “Seven Cities of Cibola” of legend. In 1598, when Don Juan de Oñate established the first Spanish settlement in northern New Mexico, *El Camino Real* connected the province with Mexico City.³

Throughout most of the Spanish Era, roving bands of Apaches and northern-bound Spanish caravans traveled the area. Only one settlement was established. Just prior to 1790, Francisco Garcia, a military commandant of El Paso del Norte, applied for a tract of land called the Santa Teresa Grant, located at the southern end of the Mesilla Valley, seven miles northwest of El Paso del Norte. Garcia and other settlers occupied the land for thirty-one years but temporarily abandoned it in 1822 because of the Apache threat.⁴

After Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821,

the rate of settlement rose... Among those attempting to settle there was John G. Heath, an American with close ties to Stephen Austin of Texas. In 1822, Heath applied to the government of Augustin de Iturbide for permission to found a colony at Brazito, some thirty miles north of El Paso del Norte. Approval of Heath’s application was delayed, however, because the Mexican National Assembly was in the process of legislating new colonization laws, which were passed on January 4, 1823. Heath resubmitted his application, and his second petition was granted. Soon after he began his settlement at Brazito, he was notified that his grant was invalid since Iturbide had been overthrown on March 19, 1823. On June 19 of that year his grant officially was denied and his colonists forced off the land.⁵

Doña Ana Bend Colony was the first permanent settlement in the Mesilla Valley. On September 18, 1839 José Maria Costales and 115 fellow residents of the El Paso Valley petitioned for a land grant on which to establish their colony. They were awarded land a year later, but due to their poverty, the colonists were unable, at that time, to move north. In 1843, Bernabe Montoya, another prominent resident from the El Paso area, led 33 of the original colonists to the north end of the Mesilla Valley, and founded the village of Doña Ana on an old campsite located on El Camino Real. The grant encompassed the eastern side of the Rio Grande and stretched south 10 miles. After a difficult start, the colony grew rapidly, and by 1846 new arrivals had to take up land on the southern portion of the grant where the only available land existed.⁶

A few years after the founding of Doña Ana, the Mexican-American War began. After peacefully taking control of Santa Fe, in November of 1846, Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny sent a detachment of some 500 men under the command of Colonel Alexander Doniphan down El Camino Real to take Chihuahua. On December 25, Doniphan’s men met an army of 1000 Mexicans a few miles south of Doña Ana. In the battle of Brazito, the only battle of the war fought in New Mexico, Americans were victorious, suffering no casualties but inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy: 43 soldiers killed and approximately 150 wounded. The Americans continued south and eventually took Chihuahua City, Chihuahua.⁷

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which officially ended the war in 1848, provided for the annexation of California, Arizona, and New Mexico to the United States. The boundary between the U.S. and Mexico now stretched along the Gila River and adjacent lands to the northern tip of the Mesilla Valley, at latitude 32°. From there the

boundary extended south through the middle of the Rio Grande to El Paso del Norte. Land on the west side of the river remained in Mexico, while the village of Doña Ana became part of the United States.⁸

After the Mexican-American War, Anglo-Americans greatly coveted land in the Mesilla Valley. Texans traditionally had claimed that all lands in New Mexico east of the Rio Grande had been granted to Texas by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna in the Boundary Act of December 19, 1836 (Treaty of Velasco). In fact, Texans invaded New Mexico in 1841 to claim this land, as far north as Santa Fe, for the Lone Star Republic. Texans' designs on land in the Mesilla Valley continued even after the Mexican-American War. John Russell Bartlett, an American responsible for surveying the post-war boundary, elaborates in his narratives:

Immediately preceding, and after the war with Mexico, the Mexican population occupying the eastern bank of the Rio Grande in Texas and New Mexico were greatly annoyed by the encroachments of the Americans, and by their determined efforts to despoil them of their landed property. This was done by the latter either settling among them, or in some instances forcibly occupying their dwellings and cultivated spots. In most cases, however, it was done by putting "Texas head rights" on their property. These head rights were grants issued by the State of Texas generally embracing 640 acres.⁹

In 1849 the California gold rush brought more Anglo-Americans into the valley. Encouraged by the area's agricultural prospects, some of the weary miners following the southern route to California settled in the Mesilla Valley. Hispanic residents of Doña Ana witnessing this increased immigration worked to protect their lands from the newcomers and occupied various sections of the valley.¹⁰

Las Cruces was founded, in part, for this reason. Located in the southern portion of the Doña Ana Bend Grant, Las Cruces was designed to protect the land from Anglo land speculators. It was also intended to protect farmers living in the area from Apache Indians. In 1849 Pablo Melendres, justice of the peace for Doña Ana, appealed to government officials to lay out a new town-site south of Doña Ana. The United States government complied and appointed Lieutenant Delos Bennet Sackett, stationed at Doña Ana with other American troops, to oversee the surveying.¹¹ The surveyors laid out an American town with wide streets positioned at 90° angles and having a main street on which most businesses would locate. Even though surveyed as an American town, it was overwhelmingly Hispanic in culture and had a typical Spanish plaza situated near the main church.¹²

Shortly after the founding of Las Cruces, the town of Mesilla was settled. Mesilla was founded for two ma-

for reasons. First, Hispanic residents of the valley feared that Forty-Niners and Texans would occupy land on the west side of the river. Second, a large percentage of Hispanos did not want to live under American rule. For these reasons, Don Rafael Ruelas, a former resident of El Paso del Norte, on March 1, 1850, led sixty citizens of Doña Ana to settle on the Mexican side of the river at a place called La Mesilla, or "the little table." It was situated on a small hill in the middle of the flood plain of the Rio Grande, some six miles south of Doña Ana. The settlers constructed primitive *jacales* and elected Ruelas as their first *alcalde*. The settlement grew rapidly, and by 1851 almost 700 Mexicans lived in the area. The Mexican government did not officially recognize the colony until January 20, 1852, when Father Ramón Ortiz, acting as General Commissioner of Immigration, established the Mesilla Civil Colony Grant. The grant was reconfirmed on April 28, 1863, by Guadalupe Miranda, who had replaced Ortiz after the fall of the Mariano Arista government in early 1853. As Commissioner for Immigration, Miranda split the Mesilla Civil Colony Grant, creating a separate colony to the south known as the Santo Tomás de Yturbe Colony.¹³

The Mesilla Civil Colony Grant contained a variety of articles designed to create a well-ordered town. For instance, article two set aside two leagues of land to be used for commons and pasture grounds.¹⁴ Article three provided for elections of a council, a solicitor, a mayor-domo, and a justice of the peace. Article seven allowed for the construction of a church, curate's house, school, government buildings, jail and barracks, all to be built around a plaza. Lastly, article nine gave the settlers the right to allot land to future residents. The Mesilla Colony Grant was quite democratic since its members shared control of its land.¹⁵

With the signing of the Gadsden Purchase in 1854 Mesilla residents found themselves again living on American soil. As early as 1851, boundary surveyors had detected two errors in the treaty map. John Russell Bartlett, who headed the American contingent of surveyors, commented in his narratives regarding its inaccuracy. "It was discovered that the Rio Grande was laid down on this map, more than two degrees too far to the eastward... The other error was in the position of the town of El Paso, which appears on this map to be but seven or eight minutes below the 32 parallel, while its actual distance is thirty minutes further south."¹⁶ The surveyors, following the treaty map, established the international boundary west of the Rio Grande at 32°, excluding the relatively level land south of the Gila intended for the construction of a southern transcontinental railroad by the United States. Consequently, ownership of the land on the western side of the Mesilla Valley was disputed. In 1851 Governor William Carr Lane sent troops, some of whom were Texans, to occupy the west side of the valley, including Mesilla. The crisis compelled President Franklin Pierce in 1853 to

appoint the railroad entrepreneur and minister to Mexico, James Gadsden, to purchase the disputed territory from General Santa Anna. After congressional debate, Santa Anna agreed to sell approximately 45,535 square miles, which included Mesilla and much of the Mesilla Valley for \$10,000,000 and place the new boundary further south.¹⁷

Settlements in the Mesilla Valley continued to grow throughout the 1850s. Mesilla became the largest community because it was located on roads linking Missouri, Mexico, California, and Texas. With a population of 2,420 in 1860, it was the center of trade for the valley and boasted 25 merchants, among the most successful being Hayward and McGroty, Louis Geck, Eugene Angerstein, Anastacio Barela, Gillett and Cockran, and Pedro Duhalde.¹⁸

Trade has always been important in the Mesilla Valley. During the Spanish era, El Camino Real, which ran through the valley, was the main trade route connecting Santa Fe with Chihuahua and Mexico City. A particularly rough section of the highway lay just north of the Mesilla Valley. Known as the *Jornada del Muerto* or the "Journey of the Dead Man," this 90-mile stretch of waterless desert bypassed the narrow gorges and circular direction the Rio Grande took west of the Caballo Mountains. Trade in New Mexico at this time consisted of the importation of manufactured goods through Veracruz and Mexico City and the exportation of piñon nuts, blankets, sheep and hides. New Spain's merchants, however, found it burdensome to supply Santa Fe with manufactured goods for several reasons, including the difficulty and distance of travel between Mexico City and Santa Fe and imposition of taxes on their merchandise. Moreover, because of the Spanish policy of mercantilism, foreigners, particularly Americans, were forbidden to trade with New Mexicans. New Mexicans consequently were hungry for goods, which American merchants would supply after Mexico won independence in 1821.¹⁹

The first American to tap into this lucrative market and initiate the Santa Fe Trail was William Becknell. In November 1821, while trading with Indians along the base of the Rocky Mountains, he heard news of Mexican Independence. He immediately traveled to Santa Fe where he sold his goods at profitable prices. He returned the next season using, for the first time, wagons to transport his merchandise. Demonstrating that wagons could withstand travel over the plains, Becknell set in motion a vigorous trade, which by 1826 supplied not only Santa Fe but also communities to the south, including towns in the Mexican states of Chihuahua, Durango, and Sonora.²⁰

Because the market in Santa Fe soon became glutted, American merchants were compelled to sell further south using El Camino Real. In 1826, for example, James Ohio Pattie, a trapper from Kentucky, sold manufactured goods in the Sonoran towns of Barbisca and Patoka. A year later, James's father, Sylvester Pattie, applied for a license to trap beaver and to sell merchandise in Chihuahua and

Sonora.²¹ Between 1831 and 1839 Josiah Gregg sold merchandise in a variety of towns considerably south of Santa Fe, including Chihuahua, Aguascalientes, Durango, and Jesus-Maria.²² He noted in his *Commerce of the Prairies*, first published in 1844, that during the first years of the Santa Fe trade, "traders were in the habit of conveying small lots to Sonora and California; but this branch of the trade has, I believe, latterly ceased altogether."²³ But, according to Gregg, trade to Chihuahua had grown considerably. Almost half of the freight wagons entering Santa Fe from the United States were destined for Chihuahua.

Merchants in the Mesilla Valley, consequently, became instrumental in the southern trade, and received most of their goods from St. Louis over the Santa Fe trail. On occasion the *Mesilla Miner* carried articles describing the flow of merchandise over the route. In an 1860 issue, for example, it reported that S. M. Hays and Co., of Council Grove, Missouri, estimated that in the previous year 5,405 men and 1,532 wagons passed their store heading west over the Santa Fe Trail and that each wagon held approximately 5,500 pounds of freight. Most of these goods, the *Mesilla Miner* noted, were "destined for Sonora and Chihuahua and of course have to be freighted through Arizona."²⁴

Merchants in St. Louis were quick to tap into the mercantile market south of Santa Fe. On the average six St. Louis wholesalers advertised in the Mesilla Valley each week. Among the largest advertisers were Thomas H. Larkin and Co., Weirick, Scudder and Co., and Ryan, Louthan and Co.. Like other wholesalers of manufactured items, they received goods made both in the United States and Europe. One St. Louis firm, Pomeroy and Benton, advertised themselves as importers and wholesalers in "American, English, French and German Dry Goods." While many of the merchants in St. Louis dealt in all kinds of merchandise, other St. Louis companies advertised one line of goods. For example, Metz, Storer and Co. were wholesalers of boots and shoes.²⁵

Merchants in the Mesilla Valley also purchased goods from San Antonio and transported them by wagon across Texas to El Paso. While St. Louis was the traditional supply center, trade with San Antonio was considerable. The *Mesilla Miner* noted that "our merchants seem divided as to the best route for getting goods... Many get their goods through Indianola and San Antonio, Texas."²⁶ An article in the *Mesilla Valley Independent* of 1877 reveals that some believed that San Antonio was the largest supplier of goods to the Mesilla Valley. "In old *ante bellum* times the whole Valley was large enough to compel the San Antonio firms to advertise in local newspapers. Typically, three or four San Antonio firms advertised weekly. In an October 1860 issue of the *Mesilla Miner*, however, five San Antonio wholesalers advertised their wares and included Sweet and La Coste, S. Sampson and Co., E. St. Merc. and Co., H.D. Norton and Bro., and Gans and Koenigheim, dealers in cloth."²⁸

The road between San Antonio and the Mesilla Valley continued to be important during the Civil War, serving as the highway for the Confederate invasion of New Mexico, and subsequently for those troops' retreat. When Union forces secured the territory, they confiscated Confederate property and dealt harshly with presumed Confederate sympathizers. Louis Geck, who had served as county judge during the Confederate occupation, saw his house and land in Mesilla seized; the property was later returned but Geck was tried for treason and imprisoned.²⁹ Union officers also accused Las Cruces merchant Martin Amador of owning an indentured servant. This even compelled Doña Ana County judge Evangelista Perez to write New Mexico Governor Henry Connelly in protest of military officials' illegally interfering in territorial affairs, a letter published in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* on June 22, 1865.³⁰

General Carlton promulgated a "grain law," designed to remove all excess food supplies should the Confederates return. At the same time, he ordered the destruction of two grist mills owned by local merchants Thomas Bull and Numa Granjean, declaring that the "Mexican population that desires to remain behind can grind their flour with metates." Approximately 1000 Hispanic residents left the valley and took refuge in Mexico.³¹

War-wrought change was not the only force sweeping over the valley. Severe flooding in 1862 and 1865 inundated Mesilla; unlike Las Cruces, the town was situated in the middle of the flood plain. During the 1862 flood, land adjacent to Mesilla was totally destroyed. As General Carleton observed: "The Rio Grande had divided in the great flood and broken across the country so as to leave the town of Mesilla on an island difficult of access from the west, and that facilities for grazing in the neighborhood of Mesilla were bad."³²

Neither war nor flooding facilitated annual maintenance of levies and dikes; consequently, the 1865 flood changed the course of the river to the west side of Mesilla wiped out the small settlement of Santo Tomás, and destroyed food supplies throughout the valley. "Scarcity of provisions and the overflowing of the Rio Grande are likely to produce a great suffering in Doña Ana County. Last year's supplies are almost exhausted and their present crops destroyed by high water will leave the poorer classes in quite distressing circumstances."³³ Residents departed, establishing La Luz and Tularosa some 80 miles to the northeast; Chamberino, Nombre de Dios, La Union, and a reestablished Santo Tomás became home to southbound refugees.³⁴

Most historians attribute Mesilla's decline to the construction of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe rail-road to Las Cruces in 1881. The railroad bypassed Mesilla and made Las Cruces the center of commerce for southern New Mexico. While historians are correct to point this out, they fail to mention that Mesilla was economically ruined a decade before the railroad. The

militarism and flooding of the 1860s help explain why Mesilla's population dropped to 1,578 in 1870. The New Mexico census also shows that the merchant population in Las Cruces rose from eight in 1860 to fourteen in 1870, while the number of merchants in Mesilla declined from 25 in 1860 to ten in 1870.³⁵

For thousands of years the Mesilla Valley witnessed changes in settlement, trade and governments, but it was its geographical location on roads of commerce that led to the establishment of a vigorous mercantile community that sold American goods south of Santa Fe. While the turbulent years of the Civil War had an adverse impact on the Mesilla Valley, they set the stage for a more prosperous era that would continue into the next decade.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Linda Harris, *Las Cruces: An Illustrated History*. (Las Cruces: Arroyo Press, 1993), pp. 14-16.
- 2 Mary M. Steeb, Michael Romero Taylor, and Anthony C. Pennock, *The Las Cruces Historical Buildings Survey* (Las Cruces: Doña Ana Historical Society, 1982), p. 9. The Pueblo Indians used the term Apache de Navajo, or "raiders of the corn fields," to signify these Athabascan speakers. See Mary B. Davis, ed. *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1994), p. 44.
- 3 Herbert Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), pp. 8-18. See other authors for information on the Spanish Era. Frank D. Reeve, *History of New Mexico* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1961), pp. 101-116; Roy L. Swift and Levitt Corning, Jr., *Three Roads to Chihuahua: The Great Wagon Roads that Opened the Southwest, 1823-1883* (Austin: Elkin Press, 1988), pp. 4-9; Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1911), pp. 308-329.
- 4 J.J. Bowden, *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in the Chihuahua Acquisition* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1971), pp. 11-22.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 77-84.
- 6 Steeb, et. al., p. 10. There might have been non-Native American people living in the area of Doña Ana prior to the grant. The Spanish called these campsites *parajes*. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua* (Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1965), p. 211. By March of 1851 the village of Doña Ana claimed 500 residents; Bowden, pp. 66-71.
- 7 Paxton P. Price, *Mesilla Valley Pioneers, 1823-1912* (Las Cruces: Yucca Tree Press, 1995), pp. 3-5.
- 8 Robert M. Utley, *The International Boundary of the United States and Mexico: A History of Frontier Dispute and Cooperation, 1848-1963* (Santa Fe: Department of the Interior, 1964), p. 10.
- 9 Bartlett, pp. 212-213.
- 10 *Santa Fe Republican*, June 17, 1848. Texas land speculators were a problem as far north as Santa Fe; Bowden, *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants*, pp. 48, 50, 51.
- 11 To A.A.A. General from Lieutenant Sackett," November 16, 1848, Letters Received, 9th Military District, New Mexico, September 1865—August 1890, National Archives Microfilm Publication, M1088, roll 1, number 219. (Hereafter cited as Letters Received.) Sackett arrived at Doña Ana on November 5,

- 1848.12 Rio Grande Republic, March 18, 1885; Bowden, p. 71. Las Cruces was named after a massacre in 1840 in which a number of Mexicans were killed when Indians attacked General Manuel Armijo's military escort just north of Las Cruces. Travelers on El Camino Real erected crosses in commemoration, hence the naming of the site, Las Cruces.
- 13 Bowden, pp. 48-55; George Griggs, *History of the Mesilla Valley or the Gadsden Purchase* (Mesilla, New Mexico, 1930), p. 95; Bartlett, p. 212. Maude Elizabeth McFie Bloom, *A History of the Mesilla Valley* (New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 1903), p. 30. Though Bloom's work is a senior thesis, it provides insights into local history. She asserts that the refugees that Miranda resettled founded the communities of Mesilla, Santo Tomas, San Miguel, Chamberino, Nombre de Dios, La Union and La Mesa.
- 14 Such a provision is similar to the ejido, or Indian communal lands.
- 15 Surveyor General of the United States, Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior: transmitting, in obedience to law, reports of the surveyor-general of New Mexico on the Mesilla Colony Grant, reported as No. 86, for land in Doña Ana County; on private land claim, reported as No. 89, known as the Talaya Tract; and on the Refugio Colony Grant, reported as No. 90 (Washington: s.n., 1874), hereafter cited as Report on Mesilla Colony Grant.
- 16 Bartlett, p. 210.
- 17 Harold W. Chase, *Dictionary of American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), Volume 3, p. 145; See Marcy G. Goldstein, *Americanization and Mexicanization: The Mexican Elite and Anglo Americans in the Gadsden Purchase Lands, 1853-1880* (Dissertation: Case Reserve University, 1977), pp. 1, 107-109; Twitchell, p. 311.
- 18 Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, New Mexico, 1860. Hereafter entitled *New Mexico Census*. Amongst all the Mesilla Valley merchants, these were the only firms that advertised in newspapers. Anglos comprised, roughly, 40% of the merchant population. Pedro Duhalde was listed in the 1870 census as born in France.
- 19 David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), pp. 125-128. Pedro Vial, a French trader from St. Louis, attempted to sell goods in Santa Fe in the early 1790s but was not permitted to do so. Though not a merchant, Major Zebulon Pike was arrested for being in Spanish territory in January of 1807. Other illegal traders included Pierre and Paul Mallet in 1739 and Manuel Lisa and Jacques Clamorgan in 1806.²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- 21 James Ohio Pattie, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (Cincinnati: John H. Wood, 1831), pp. 102-109, 132-133; see Reuben Gold Thwaites ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), Volume 18, pp. 149-151, 181.
- 22 Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, edited by Max L. Moorhead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), pp. 293-304.
- 23 , p. 333.
- 24 *Mesilla Miner*, October 25, 1860.
- 25 *Ibid.*, June 9, 1860.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 *Mesilla Valley Independent*, August 25, 1877.
- 28 *Ibid.*, June 9, 1860; October 25, 1860. Gans and Koenigheim advertised "an assortment of staples for the Mexican Trade."
- 29 Price, pp. 72-75.
- 30 *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 22, 1865.
- 31 Allan Holmes, "Major General James H. Carleton: New Mexico's Controversial Civil War Commander," *Southern New Mexico Historical Review*, Volume 1, Number 1, January 1994.
- 32 Griggs, p. 81.
- 33 *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 9, 1865.
- 34 Charles L. Sonnichsen, *Tularosa: Last of the Frontier West* (New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1960), pp. 9-16; Griggs, p. 95.
- 35 *New Mexico Census*, 1870.

Dukes of Haphazard: New York Cowboys on a Jail Road

by Charles S. (Chuck) Miles

Sixty years ago on Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1937, two young men from the New York area attempted a daring train robbery in New Mexico. Henry Lorenz, 22, and Harry Dwyer, 27, who had run low on funds in El Paso, decided to recoup their fortunes by holding up a train.

A recent inquiry to the Doña Ana Historical Society about this 1937 train robbery resulted in a search through *Las Cruces Sun* newspapers of the day; the search revealed something of a tragic-comedy accidentally begun, by today's standards swiftly resolved, apparently almost too easily forgotten.

Mr. Lorenz and Mr. Dwyer bought tickets on the Southern Pacific "Apache Limited" which left El Paso just before midnight on Wednesday, November 24, heading west. When they were in the wilds near Mt. Riley, about 30 miles west of El Paso, in Doña Ana County, New Mexico, Lorenz went to one end of the coach in which they were riding and Dwyer to the other. They drew their guns and ordered people to hand over their money.

Small change was about all they got, their largest haul being \$3 from one woman. Then the bandits ordered the conductor to stop the train. As they started to leave the train, a Southern Pacific mechanic, W. L. Smith, grabbed Lorenz from behind. Both bandits fired and Smith was killed, but it was not determined until much later by which gun. Then the men in the coach, all Southern Pacific employees, jumped the two gunslingers, beat them unmercifully, apparently breaking Dwyer's nose and causing Lorenz' left eye to hang out of its socket.

José Rodriguez of El Paso, aged 55, believed that a lurch of the train had caused the robbers to believe that he was making a move to stop them; one of their bullets stopped his watch at 12:42 a.m. of that Thanksgiving morning. S. Webb, train mechanic, aged 65, was the first to attempt to stop the bandits; he tripped one of them who then fired while off balance. That bullet tore through Webb's coat and shirt under his arm.

In the Saturday (November 27) *Las Cruces Sun*, it was reported that Miss Margaret Breton, aged 22, a student nurse in El Paso and her sister Beatrice, aged 24, were among those who tackled the bandits and assisted in subduing and capturing them. "The young ladies are said to have given a good account of themselves." At any rate, the desperados were finally tied to seats in the coach.

When the train reached Hachita, the bandits were taken off and transported to Deming. Since the crime had been committed in Doña Ana County, Sheriff José Viramontes was notified. He and two deputies drove to

Deming and brought the handcuffed duo back to the county of the crime. Their arraignment was a bit deferred because Lorenz had been so badly beaten he could not talk articulately. The same Saturday edition of the *Sun* reported that one of the leading regrets of the criminals was that they had arrived in Las Cruces too late to partake of the Thanksgiving turkey which Sheriff Viramontes had prepared for his prisoners and so could feast only on the regular prison fare. But eat they did, and confess readily to their activities. At this point the men did not know that Smith was dead; he had died in Arizona three hours after he was shot.

Under an old territorial law, Sec. 35-2501, New Mexico Annotated Statutes, 1929, which had never been repealed, Henry Lorenz and Harry Dwyer faced the death penalty: "Anyone guilty of an assault on a train with intent to rob, if death or injury proceeds from the attempt, is subject to the death penalty." By the time of arraignment, November 30, obviously the pair had learned of Smith's demise. Before Justice of the Peace Albert Brown, they appeared not to understand much of what was said to them or of what had been said in the past. Lorenz almost fainted when it finally got through his head that W. L. Smith was really dead, that a first-degree murder charge was involved. But they pleaded guilty to the charge of first-degree murder and not guilty to train robbery. Both were surprised by the order that they be held without bond. "Why, my mother can furnish any kind of bond that is needed," protested Dwyer. "No bond," responded Brown.

Sheriff Viramontes had not yet received any information from Washington regarding past records. The curious reaction of the men to the arraignment shed considerable doubt on the theory that they were part of an experienced New York gang. On December 1, District Attorney M. A. Threet instructed Judge Brown to enter a plea of not guilty to murder in the first degree on the ground that the two confessed train robbers were undoubtedly so confounded at the arraignment that they did not know how they were pleading. Sheriff Viramontes shared this opinion.

A bullet taken from the body of Smith was identified by a ballistics expert as having been fired from the 38 Colt Special carried by Lorenz.

The father and sister of Lorenz reached Las Cruces by train from Manitowoc, Wisconsin, on December 1. Conrad Lorenz was a man in his late middle years, a shoemaker, quiet and distinctly likable, born in a little village on the Middle Volga in Russia and arrived in the United

States in 1923. His daughter Margaret spoke fluent English. They came for the arraignment believing it to be equivalent to trial; out of funds, they could neither remain for the trial itself nor hire a lawyer for Henry. On December 21, the *Las Cruces Sun* reported that "It is pathetically interesting that when Conrad and his daughter Margaret came to Las Cruces, he did not look up his old friend." Alexander Traudt, a Las Cruces dairyman, also had been born in Russia on the Middle Volga, and the two men had been close personal friends. They had not, however, seen each other in many years, Traudt having come to this country in 1898.

On January 22, the *Sun* tells of a "Letter of Tears" from Margaret Lorenz to Mr. Traudt. In this letter she tells how her brother Henry had been driven from home by their stepmother. They lost their own mother when Henry was six years old. In less than a year, Conrad remarried. "This marriage turned out to be a misfortune to our father and most of all to us children . . . This woman had no maternal love . . . was very ill-tempered and beastly abusive. She not only beat the children half to death, she pushed them down on the floor or down the stairs and kicked them until they were out of consciousness . . . That was what drove every one of father's children away from home."

Subsequently the paper reports that father and daughter were to return to Las Cruces February 29, in time for the trial set for February 23. Margaret had raised a defense fund for her brother, retaining J. Benson Newell as attorney. Conrad and Margaret were to be the guests of Mr. Traudt while in town.

Meantime, Harry Dwyer had wired his mother, Mrs. Joseph Thivalt, in Concession, Nova Scotia, asking her to come out to Las Cruces. The December 8 *El Paso Times* reported that Harry spent his last 95 cents to wire his mother a six-word telegram. "I know she will come," he told officers; there is no newspaper account of her arrival. W. A. Sutherland was handed the job of defending him.

On February 18, five days before the scheduled trial, the *Las Cruces Sun's* headline was "Lorenz, Dwyer Plead Guilty to Second-Degree Murder." Judge Numa C. Frenger had accepted the recommendation of District Attorney Threet to allow the boys to plead guilty to the second-degree murder charge because of their youth and obvious inexperience. The personal integrity of Conrad and Margaret Lorenz were believed to have been influential. Judge Frenger said that accepting the second-degree pleas saved the County between \$2000 and \$3000 by avoiding trial expense.

Yet another reason for allowing clemency to these young men appears to have been found in the strange and almost bizarre character of this tragic episode. Appearing in El Paso several weeks before their ill-thought departure by train, they appeared to have considerable funds. They bought expensive horses and fantastically expensive "cowboy" outfits. Gorgeously dressed, they roamed from El Paso to Deming. There they met two girls,



Henry Lorenz



Harry Dwyer

New Mexico State Penitentiary, 1938, photo reproduced courtesy of New Mexico Commission of Public Records, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe New Mexico

ran out of money, sold their horses to Indians, took the two girls back to El Paso, and announced that they were going to rob a train to raise more money. The girls later stated that they thought the boys meant to marry them. Sheriff Chris Fox of El Paso calmly sent the girls home.

On February 19, 1938, the court answered the plea of guilty to second-degree murder with a sentence of 50-75 years. Under state law, the "Apache Limited" bandits could get off with service of 19 years, 8 months and 23 days. With exemplary behavior then, they could be released in 1958. Mrs. Lily Smith, widow of the slain W.L. Smith, was quick to criticize the leniency.

Henry Lorenz, Prisoner 9354, a sheet metal worker before his cowboy days, and Harry V. Dwyer, Prisoner 9355, once a baker, were granted conditional releases by Governor John J. Dempsey, effective February 6, 1945. Superintendent of the Santa Fe Penitentiary Howell Gage did respond to the Governor's action with a letter for each man, saying that neither had been able "to get anyone to sign in his behalf as his First Friend and Advisor while on parole."¹ There is no record that said lack deterred release in either case, nor do we know whether the two traveled singly or remained together upon release. The road disappears.

CHARLES S. (CHUCK) MILES, Immediate Past President of the Doña Ana Historical Society, has served as both formal and informal resource for inquiring historians since his move to Las Cruces in 1990.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Court proceedings on file with Clerk of District 3 Court, Las Cruces, New Mexico. Prison records on file at the New Mexico State Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Command: Major Isaac Lynde's path to the San Agustin

by John P. Ryan

"Colonel Baylor, to avoid bloodshed, I conditionally surrender this whole force to you, on condition that officers and their families shall be protected from insult and private property be respected," said Major Isaac Lynde of the United States Army. He had met with the enemy commander, in sweltering heat on a rocky hillside near San Agustin Springs, east of Las Cruces, New Mexico, where most of his own command lay helpless and suffering. A disturbance promptly erupted among Lynde's officers.

"Who is in command here?" demanded Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor of the Confederate Army.

"I am commander of these forces and I take upon my shoulders the responsibility of my actions in the matter!" asserted Lynde.

"I will accept only unconditional surrender," said Baylor. "Your men will receive the treatment of prisoners of war, families secure from insult, private property to be respected. Officers, after giving their parole, may elect which route they prefer in leaving New Mexico to go to any part of the United States."

"I agree to these terms," said Lynde. Those words ended the 34 year career of a veteran Army officer and made prisoners of nearly 700 men.¹

The first engagement in the Civil War in New Mexico, a significant defeat for Union forces, involved Major Isaac Lynde, commanding Fort Fillmore near Mesilla, New Mexico. On July 25, 1861, Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor, with 258 men, invaded New Mexico from El Paso, Texas and occupied the village of Mesilla. After failing to recapture Mesilla, Lynde abandoned Fort Fillmore and retreated toward Fort Stanton. The retreat went badly. Lynde surrendered his command at San Agustin Pass,² as today's roadside marker attests, without firing a shot. How could this happen?

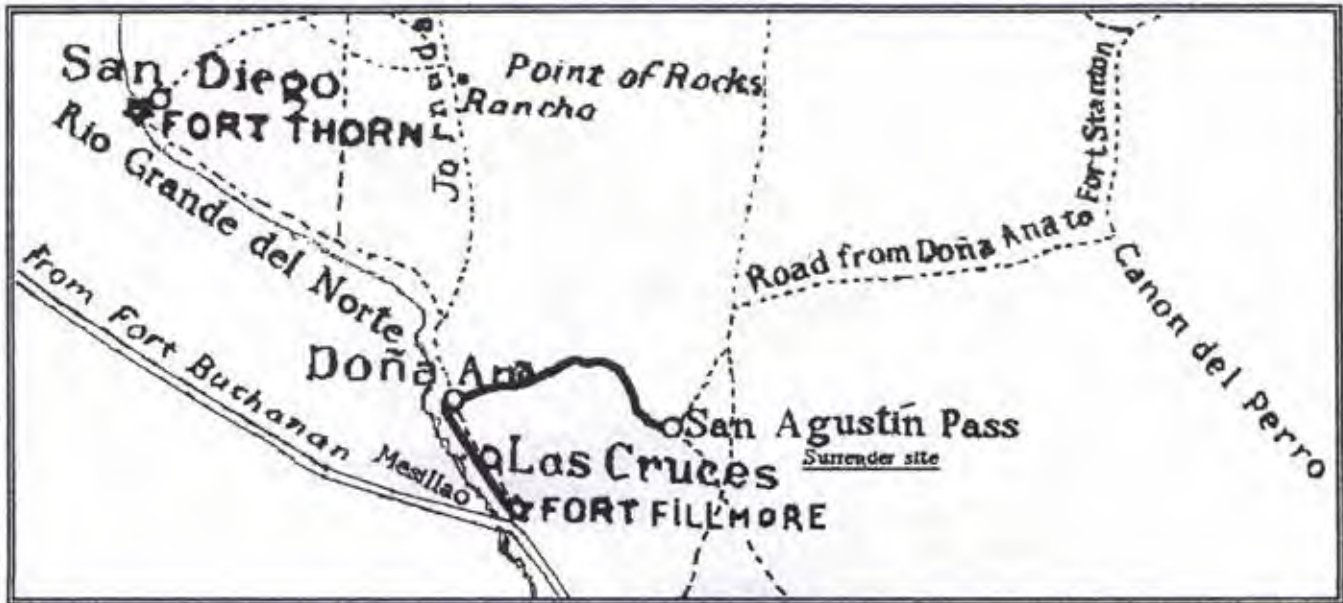
In June and July, 1861, intelligence indicated that a force of 500 rebels at Fort Bliss, Texas, was preparing to invade New Mexico. Mescalero Apache activities in the area had escalated and, at Fort Fillmore, Major Lynde refused to pursue raiding Indians because of the tenuous military situation. He also refused to order the evacuation of the families of his officers and men, and refused to consider occupying the Confederate-sympathizing village of Mesilla. Fort Fillmore was scheduled for abandonment: on 15 July 1861, Lieutenant Colonel Edward R.S. Canby, Commander of the U.S. Army's Department of New Mexico, had instructed Lynde to abandon Fort Fillmore as soon as troops withdrawing from the west passed the post.³ Fort Fillmore was located on the east side of the Rio Grande about 40 miles north of El Paso, Texas; about seven miles south of the little town of Las Cruces, New Mexico; and a few miles southeast of the village

of Mesilla across the river to the west. Also across the river and south of Mesilla was the even smaller village of Santo Tomás. Although there were four cannons, Fort Fillmore was fortified in name only. It was a small collection of one-story adobe buildings with flat dirt roofs. The buildings were arranged around three sides of a parade field. Except for a view-interrupting small *bosque*, or grove of cottonwoods, the fourth side was open to the Rio Grande, the sole source of water, less than a mile away. The buildings were neither connected nor surrounded by any sort of fence, wall, stockade, or palisade. The non-river sides of the fort were overlooked by gentle foothills of the Organ Mountains.

In this region, feelings against the United States Government ran high. The commander of the post had to concern himself with defending the practically indefensible fort not only against chance marauding Apaches and an impending Confederate invasion, but against local citizens as well. Miners in the area planned to raid the post to steal animals, tools, and supplies. Sentiment in Mesilla was strongly anti-government and when the southern states formed the Confederacy, the villagers petitioned to have the Confederacy annex the region, establishing the Confederate Territory of Arizona. When Rebel forces arrived in the area, local officials immediately began recruiting volunteers to serve in the Confederate Army.⁴

Lynde had received word that men were moving arms and ammunition from Fort Bliss to Mesilla by wagon and that Confederate scouts had been seen near the fort. He established a picket post across the Rio Grande in the village of Santo Tomás and had the pickets stop and search all wagons on the road between El Paso and Mesilla. In the pre-dawn hours of July 25, a deserter from Baylor's command arrived at Fort Fillmore and warned Lynde that Baylor, with between 300 and 400 mounted men, was about to attack the fort. Lynde recalled the pickets from Santo Tomás and prepared for the attack. However, Baylor captured some of Lynde's straggling pickets and, learning that Lynde had been alerted, proceeded north on the west side of the river to receive an enthusiastic welcome in Mesilla.⁵

Receiving word that Baylor had bypassed the Fort in his arrival at Mesilla, Lynde took the attack to Baylor. He mustered the garrison and at 1630 hours, marched on Mesilla, with 380 men and four cannons. The enterprise went badly from the start. Due to deep sand, the artillerymen had to move the guns by hand. The narrow wheels of the heavy gun carriages sank deeply



Route taken by Lynde and his command. By the time the troops reached San Agustin Pass, they were completely jaded and unable to fight. After the surrender, Baylor's men had to nurse their prisoners for two days before marching them to Las Cruces for parole. Map adapted from the *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865*, Part I, plate 54, map 1.

into the soft sand of the arid fields, making it impossible to maneuver the guns, so the gunners were forced to fire on the village from long range. Except for stampeding the Confederates' horses, the barrage was ineffective and the Union troops came under the galling fire from both flanks. The Confederates, aided by the citizens of Mesilla, killed three men and wounded six more, including two officers. The Union cavalry charged but was repulsed, running over its own infantry in headlong retreat. Lynde broke off the attack and returned to Fort Fillmore in the darkness. Assistant Surgeon J. Cooper McKee complained of the halfhearted effort and protested loudly that had another officer arrested Lynde and taken command it would have made his career.⁶

According to Lynde's information, Baylor's force was about the same size as his own and was supported wholeheartedly by the people of Mesilla. Returning to the fort, Lynde was falsely advised by a spy that Baylor's force had received reinforcements of 100 men and that a battery of artillery was expected that night. Lynde believed that the Mesilla citizens and the reinforcements had increased Baylor's force to about 700 men. That put the odds in Baylor's favor by nearly two to one — an untenable situation. Lynde had no way of knowing that Baylor invaded New Mexico with only 258 men, had no artillery, and had no reinforcements of any kind. Lynde acted on the faulty available intelligence.

Lynde decided that his best course of action was to abandon Fort Fillmore and combine his command with the troops at Fort Stanton, about 100 miles to the northeast. Although the timing was not as the Commander of the Department of New Mexico had directed, this would

comply substantially with his orders from Lieutenant Colonel Canby and create a force capable of stopping the Confederate invasion.⁷

Preparing to abandon a fort and destroy everything which might be useful to the enemy was a large and difficult task which required the cooperation of everyone involved, especially as it had to be done quickly, before Baylor could bring the post under siege and cut off the Union line of retreat. However, serious internal problems developed when Lynde undertook to retreat from Fort Fillmore. It was an all-soldier all-day job July 26, 1861, and Lynde had to contend with officers who either argued with orders or ignored them. Assistant Surgeon McKee, when ordered to destroy equipment in his possession preparatory to abandoning the post, at first refused. Then he demanded to be allowed to build a large fire, when doing so would reveal the withdrawal prematurely.⁸ As well as any "medical spirits" in McKee's charge, Fort Fillmore also had a large supply of "ration whiskey," most of which was intended for distribution to various posts (prior to 1865 the Commissary and Subsistence Department provided whiskey as part of the soldiers' daily ration). Lynde ordered the Commissary Officer to see that the soldiers destroyed the whiskey and specifically directed that the troops were not to put whiskey in their canteens. Disobeying Lynde's orders, an overwhelming majority of the enlisted men and some of the officers filled their canteens with whiskey. At 0100 hours on the morning of July 27, Lynde led his column out of Fort Fillmore and set the post ablaze.⁹ Avoiding Confederate pickets, the column headed eastward toward Fort Stanton by way of San Agustin Springs, where the command could obtain

water prior to transiting the vast Tularosa Basin on the eastern side of the Organ Mountains. The distance to the springs was about 25 miles, not an unreasonable distance for trained infantry or cavalry to travel in a day. To reach the springs, the column would have to transit San Agustin Pass, about 1,000 feet above the southernmost section of the *Jornada del Muerto*, a desolate section of land known as the Journey of the Dead Man. In the chilly early morning desert darkness the fairly fresh troops made good time, some nipping at the whiskey to stave off the pre-dawn cold. Then the sun came up and the temperature soared rapidly, broiling the men in their dark blue woolen uniforms. The thirst generated through physical effort in the hot dry morning led those who had not been drinking whisky, but had it in their canteens, to begin sipping it because they had nothing else to drink. The alcohol exacerbated their thirst, the whiskey having much the same dehydrating effect as brine. Roughly six miles from the springs, where the tortuous climb to the pass begins, men and animals began collapsing from thirst and the intense midsummer heat. Lynde took a small party ahead to the springs to secure water for the suffering soldiers.¹⁰ The water supply at the springs was insufficient.

Meanwhile, just before daybreak, word reached the Rebel force that Lynde had abandoned Fort Fillmore and was retreating toward San Agustin Pass. Baylor sent a detail to occupy the fort and save what it could. He took his entire remaining force of less than 200 men in pursuit of Lynde's column, which he overtook at the approach to San Agustin Pass. By that time, Lynde's force had been joined by Union Captain Alfred Gibbs of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen from Fort Stanton leading a detail escorting 100 head of cattle from Albuquerque. Gibbs and his men and cattle, having just transited the length of the *Jornada del Muerto*, had been without water for 20 hours. Gibbs reported that eight companies of Confederate cavalry supported by infantry and artillery were closing rapidly on the rear guard. Attempting to muster a defensive force, Lynde discovered he had only about 100 men capable of fighting. Gibbs gathered what soldiers he could, about 70 men, to engage the Confederates, but the small force offered only token resistance before withdrawing. Gibbs reported to Lynde that a force of 300 Confederate cavalry was two miles from the pass and had captured the wagons, cannons, and rear guard. Lynde dispatched Gibbs and his parched entourage to the springs for water.

Lynde determined that it would be pointless bloodshed for the 100 men he had capable of fighting to engage a force that he believed to be 300 mounted men supported by infantry and artillery. When Baylor's lead companies approached, Lynde asked for terms. When the Confederate officers left to take the request to Baylor, Lynde had the regimental colors burned to avoid surrendering them. He ordered the officers of troops who could still function to leave; but Captain Gibbs,

Surgeon McKee, and several other officers gathered to discuss the matter. Then they went to Lynde to dispute the orders, finding him discussing terms and finalizing the surrender with Baylor and his adjutant. The contentious officers received orders not to attempt to leave. However, 40 men did escape; two of them completed the march to Fort Stanton and reported the surrender to that Post Commander.

Most of Lynde's men needed medical attention. They were in such poor condition that Baylor had to remain at San Agustin Pass for two days, nursing the prisoners to good enough health to march to Las Cruces, where they were paroled.¹²

The surrender was a military disaster of enormous proportions. Including the two companies of cavalry which joined him after leaving Fort Fillmore, Lynde surrendered eight companies of infantry and four companies of cavalry. Without firing a shot, less than 200 Confederate cavalry captured nearly 700 men.¹³ Disasters of such proportions attract attention and accountability becomes the primary order of business. In all branches of the military, then and now, responsibility and accountability devolve to one point — the commanding officer. Following a Congressional investigation, Army General Order number 102, dated November 25, 1861, dropped Lynde from the rolls of the Army from that date by direction of the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln.¹⁴

After the war, on 27 November, 1866, President Andrew Johnson revoked the order of dismissal. Major Lynde was restored to duty to date from July 28, 1866, and also placed on the Retired List of the Army as of that date. Despite those who claimed that President Johnson could not legally reinstate an officer by simply revoking the order of a former president, Major Lynde quietly collected his pension for the next twenty years, until his death in April, 1886.¹⁵ Lynde's detractors then and still today have refused to acknowledge the reinstatement, and have declined to view Lynde as an innocent victim of circumstances — a fall guy, a patsy, a scapegoat. Consider, if you will, without using the advantage of hindsight:

Lynde is accused of incompetence for failure to evacuate 103 women and children from Fort Fillmore and for not occupying Mesilla in advance of the Confederate invasion. He had only some five hundred men. It would take a lot of manpower to escort the dependents, take the village, and defend the fort all at the same time. The possibility of encountering wild Indians, antagonistic villagers and who knew how many bloodthirsty Rebel soldiers gave the Captain pause. Lynde is accused of cowardice in the July 25, 1861, halfhearted, short-lived afternoon attack on Baylor's force at Mesilla. Lies, rumors, and false information regarding the size and composition of Baylor's force led him to believe he was facing a trained force of disciplined regulars. To prolong the fighting into the dark could only enhance the probable futility. He is accused of failure of leadership at Mesilla relative to



Official Scenic Marker, westbound U.S. 70, just east of Organ, NM.
Photo courtesy of the author.

his lack of knowledge of the terrain and disorganized attacking force. Should he have had a crystal ball to know that the soft sand would not support the heavy cannons?

He is accused of failure to maintain command loyalty in two instances of insubordination by junior officers who failed to carry out orders — during the preparations to abandon the fort and immediately prior to the surrender at the pass. Those young officers had never liked Major Lynde to begin with. Assistant Surgeon J. Cooper McKee and others were always a contentious lot, clearly not deferential in the chain of command.

He is accused of incompetent supervision of his troops in allowing their canteens to be filled with alcohol. Lynde had specifically ordered the commissary officer not to let the men put whiskey in their canteens, and in fact to destroy the whiskey.

He is accused of yellow-bellied cowardice in running scared from the fort and surrendering to an inferior force in the inglorious bloodless surrender of 27 July 1861. Lynde had been told he was outnumbered better than two to one. He did not know that Baylor actually had no artillery and could not bombard the fort. And he certainly had no concept of the number of troops Baylor brought to the pass or might have had waiting in the wings. His men were sick, exhausted, overheated, and drunk. Most of those not sick disobeyed orders and refused to run.

He is charged with allowing U.S. Government property to fall into the hands of the enemy in two instances — not allowing a fire to destroy property at the fort, and giving up Captain Gibbs' 100 head of cattle.

There was not enough time for complete destruction. A fire earlier, when McKee had asked for it, would have alerted the Confederate force sooner. He did put himself in the hands of the enemy to save lives of [notes not clear here] helpless men.

Major Lynde is charged with incompetence, cowardice, and treason in the Union loss of the first Civil War engagement on New Mexican soil. Duty, honor, country! Death before dishonor! Command demands absolute accountability for one's actions and the actions of those one commands! Traditional military esprit de corps evolves from inspirational leadership, unwavering devotion to cause, and overcoming formidable odds. Lynde did burn the regimental colors rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy.

Today there is no roadside marker to indicate where Fort Fillmore was located, and there are no remains of the fort. But there is a roadside marker near the surrender site on the western slope of the Organ Mountains near San Agustin Pass.

ENDNOTES

- 1 The exact nature of this conversation cannot be determined. This is a reconstruction of the event based on statements made by Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Lynde, Captain Alfred Gibbs, and Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor, and on the official terms of the surrender as recorded at the time by Lynde's adjutant and signed by Lynde and Baylor. The quotations are what these men claimed, in their statements, was said.
- See United States Army, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols., (Washington DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1880-1901) (hereafter referred to as *Official Records*), Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 5-11, 17-20.
- 2 Morris to Canby, June 25, 1861, Register of Letters Received and Letters Received by Headquarters, Department of New Mexico, 1854-1865, Record Group 393, Microcopy M1120, 30 rolls (hereafter referred to as *Letters Rcvd.*, Dept. of NM) roll 28, unregistered; *Mesilla Times*, June 23, 1861, reprinted in the *Los Angeles Star*, Aug. 3, 1861; Lydia Spencer Lane, *I Married a Soldier: Or Old Days in the Old Army*, (Philadelphia: Lippincott Co., 1893; repr., Albuquerque: Horn Wallace, 1964), pp. 105-106, 108-115.
- 3 Lynde to Assistant Adjutant General, Feb. 26, Lynde to AAG, July 8, Lynde to AAG, July 21, 1861, *Letters Rcvd.*, Dept. of NM, roll 13, L10, L36, L41; *Mesilla Times*, June 23, Aug. 3, 1861; *Los Angeles Star*, Aug. 3, 1861; *Mesilla Time*, Sept. 12, Sept. 19, 1861, quoted in the *New Orleans Sunday Delta*, Oct. 27, 1861; *Mesilla Times*, Aug. 10, 1861, quoted in *New Orleans' The Daily Picayune*, Sept. 5, 1861; Roberts to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, June 22, Roberts to AAAG, June 24, and Roberts to AAAG, June 24, 1861, *Letters Rcvd.*, Dept. of NM, roll 14, R39, R37, R38; Canby to AAG, U.S. Army, June 23, Canby to Lynde, June 23, Lynde to AAAG, July 21, Canby to AAG, Western Department, Aug. 16, Canby to AAG, U.S. Army, Aug. 4, Canby to AAG, U.S. Army, Aug. 11, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45-46, 60-61, 63-65, 2-3; Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916: Fort Stanton New Mexico Only, Record Group 393, Microcopy M617 (hereafter referred to as *Fort Stanton Returns*), roll 1, post returns, Feb.-July, 1861.
- 4 In 1860, disenchanted with the government because of its lack of attention

- to the needs of the people in southwestern New Mexico, a group of citizens established the provisional Territory of Arizona, with its capital in Mesilla. Congress rejected the proposal, sparking strong resentment.
- See Lynde to AAG, March 11, 1861, Letters Rcvd., Dept. of NM, roll 13, L13; Mesilla Miner, June 9, 1860, June 30, Aug. 24, 1861; Mesilla Times, June 30, Aug. 3, 1861; Mesilla Times, Aug. 10, 1861 as quoted in the New Orleans Daily Picayune, Sept. 5, 1861; San Francisco Herald, Sept. 7, 1861; New Orleans Sunday Delta, Aug. 8, 1861.
- 5 Lynde to AAG, July 21, 1861, *Letters Rcvd., Dept. of NM*, roll 13, L41; Lynde to AAAG, July 26, 1861, Baylor to Washington, Sept. 21, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 4-5, 16-20; Darlis A. Miller, "General James Henry Carleton in New Mexico," (Master's thesis, New Mexico State University, 1970) pp. 5-6; *The Mesilla Times*, Aug. 17, 1861, Aug. 29, 1861, extra issue.
 - 6 Lynde to AAAG, July 26, Lynde to AAAG, Aug. 7, Baylor to Washington, Sept. 21, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 4-6, 17-20; Lane, pp. 108, 114; Statements of Assistant Surgeon J. Cooper McKee, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 11-13.
 - 7 *Ibid.*; Lynde to Canby, July 7, Canby to AAG, Western Department, July 15, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, p. 58, 63-65.
 - 8 Lane, pp. 104-116; Statement of Assistant Surgeon J.C. McKee, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 12-13; Statements of officers regarding the surrender at San Agustin Pass, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 7-15.
 - 9 Lynde to AAAG, Aug. 7, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 5-6; Lane, pp. 109-114; John P. Wilson, "Whiskey at Fort Fillmore: A Story of the Civil War," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 68: (April, 1993), 121, 122-123, 127; Francis Paul Prucha, *Broadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1860*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953), pp. 48-50, 50n, 153, 153n.
 - 10 Lynde to AAAG, Aug. 7, 1861, Statement of Assistant Surgeon J.C. McKee, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 5-6, 12-13.
 - 11 *Mesilla Times*, Aug. 10, 1861; Baylor to Washington, Sept. 21, Lynde to AAAG, Aug. 7., 1861, Statement of Captain Gibbs, Statement of Assistant Surgeon J.C. McKee, Statement of Captain C.H. McNally, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 5-6, 7-8, 9-11, 12-13, 13-14; *Fort Stanton Returns*, roll 1216, post returns, June, July, 1861.
 - 12 Lynde to AAAG, Aug. 7, 1861, Baylor to Washington, Sept. 21, 1861, Reports of Captain Gibbs, Gibbs to Anderson, Aug. 29, 1861, Statement of Captain Gibbs, Report of Asst. Surg. J. Cooper McKee, Aug. 16, 1861, Statement of Asst. Surg. J.C. McKee, Statement of Capt. C.H. McNally, Report of Capt. J.H. Potter, July 27, 1861, Report of Colonel John R. Baylor, Aug. 3, 1861, Roberts to Canby, Aug. 2, Canby to AAG, U.S. Army, Aug. 4, 1861 *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 5-6, 17-20, 7-8, 9-14, 16, 22, 2; *Fort Stanton Returns*, roll 1216, post return, July, 1861; *Mesilla Times*, Aug. 10, 1861, quoted in New Orleans' *The Daily Picayune*, Sept. 5, 1861.
 - 13 Baylor to Washington, Sept. 21, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 15, 17-20. Note: The wives and children of the soldiers and laundresses from the fort, numbering 103 women and children, accompanied the troops when the command surrendered.
 - 14 Surrender at San Augustine Springs, New Mexico, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, pp. 7-14; Recapitulation of Troops Surrendered at San Augustine Spring, N. Mex., Report of Lieut. Col. John R. Baylor, Aug. 3, 1861, General Order No. 102, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 4, p. 16; Lane, pp. 114-115; Wilson, pp. 127-132.
 - 15 McKee, James Cooper. *Narrative of the Surrender of a Command of U.S. Forces at Fort Fillmore, New Mexico, in July, A.D., 1861* (Privately printed, 1886; repr., Houston: Stagecoach Press, 1960), pp. 35-36.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Jury!

by Gordon R. Owen

Few individuals involved in New Mexico's extended struggle from an arid, isolated, neglected territorial outpost to statehood and consequent economic and political stability have been more maligned and misunderstood than Albert Bacon Fall. This man's thirty-five year record of significant contributions to his territory, state and nation have too often been overshadowed or even forgotten. For nearly three quarters of this century, his name and reputation have been inextricably linked with scandal and political chicanery. The time has come for this state and this nation to restore Albert Fall his good name and acknowledge that his remarkable career of public service far outweighs the misdeeds and misjudgments which his intense loyalty to friends and party led him to commit at the end of that career.

Albert Fall was born in Kentucky in 1861, the son and nephew of Confederate army officers and grandson of a pioneer in the founding of Disciples of Christ churches in Kentucky and Tennessee.¹ His early education came in large part from what we would today term home schooling, thanks to his father and paternal grandparents. By the age of eleven, he had a job at a cotton mill and also worked as a bottle washer and handy man in a drug store. By the age of sixteen, he was helping an aunt operate the family farm. He even taught school for two years, claiming to have been the first teacher in a rough school district with some students older than he, to survive a full five-month term. He also trudged nine miles each way into Frankfort on weekends to "read" law in the office of Judge and future U.S. Senator William Lindsay.²

In the early 1880s, however, chronic illness and the lure of the west sent him to sheep and cattle ranches of Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas where he worked as a blacksmith, cowhand, and chuck wagon cook. These experiences developed the Fall physique and character.

Life on the cattle ranches and drives also afforded young Fall the opportunity to continue a habit developed in his early years in Kentucky, where "I had been taught to read good books" and "reading everything I could lay my hand on." He recalled carrying some history, Lyall's *Geology*, and some Greek and Latin translations as he traveled. When he had his fill of trail drives and camp cooking, Fall periodically called Clarksville, Texas, home.

Tales of mining wealth in Mexico led him, at the age of twenty, to live and work with a Mexican family. Aided by them, and by carrying a Spanish grammar dictionary and phrase book, he developed reasonable fluency in that language, a skill which served him well throughout his career.³



Secretary of the Interior Albert Bacon Fall, 1922. Rio Grande Historical Collections - New Mexico State University Library

When the lure of Mexican mining faded, Fall moved back to Clarksville, Texas. There he sold insurance and real estate, ran a grocery, worked as a bookkeeper, resumed reading the law and won the hand of Emma Morgan as his bride. Friends often observed that no man could have had a more loyal or helpful wife.⁴ However, financial pressures soon had Albert back on the migrant mining trail.

After trying his luck at six different mining camps in Mexico, word of promising ore strikes drew him to southwestern New Mexico. Fall always had pleasant memories of those experiences in Silver City, Lake Valley and Kingston. In his *Memoirs*, he recalled "The prospector in those days... was a man of keen intelligence, absolute courage, an adventurer... I could drill a hole and knew how to load and fire the same to make the smallest amount of powder do the greatest execution in breaking rock." He added, "We killed our own game, rabbits, quail, deer, and camped out under the stars."⁵ He also formed friendships in the camps which were to last a lifetime and dramatically affect his life. He shared a crude dugout shanty in Kingston with future oil Millionaire Ed Doheny and became friends with future judge Frank Parker. The same

Parker was to preside at the most famous trial of Fall's law practice, the Fountain murder trial, fifteen years later.

By 1887, when word came from Texas that Emma was seriously ill and needed help with their two small children, Fall settled his young family in Las Cruces. He again dabbled in retail sales and real estate, but soon was admitted to the New Mexico bar and began the practice of law. He described his newly established practice, "I took any and all cases I could get. Sometimes I was paid nothing because my clients were so poor they couldn't afford a fee of any kind... but at the same time built up a very large acquaintance, particularly with the Mexican people who constituted approximately eighty-five percent of the total population of Doña Ana County."

As a fledgling attorney, Fall never turned down any potential client because of inability to pay. In his legal career, he was said to have represented some five hundred ranchers with range problems and never lost a case. He defended fifty-one people charged with first degree murder and lost only one, and that one was sentenced to only seven years in prison.⁶

Almost inevitably, that growing law practice and widening pool of acquaintances led Albert Fall to seek political office. His southern background made him partial to the Democratic party, although he found Doña Ana County heavily Republican under the leadership of Albert Fountain. In 1888, he challenged Fountain for a seat in the Territorial legislature. He barely lost that election, but ran successfully against Fountain in 1890 and never lost another election. In the 1890s, the two became known as Mr. Republican and Mr. Democrat.⁷

Fall soon established himself as a Territorial legislative leader and the House's most vocal Democrat and skilled debater. Among his most noteworthy accomplishments as Democratic floor leader were shepherding to passage the Territory's first public school bill, securing needed funding for the fledgling agricultural college in Las Cruces, and securing passage of a bill creating Normal Schools at Las Vegas and Silver City.⁸ Fall again opposed Fountain in the next territorial legislative race in 1892, this time for the Council (Senate seat) and won rather easily. He again was praised by the press for "the energy and courtesy" with which he "championed" the cause of the Agricultural College.⁹

Fall's next level of public service came when President Cleveland nominated him and the Senate confirmed him as Associate Justice of the Territorial Supreme Court. This position involved presiding over the Third Judicial District Court in Las Cruces, but also riding circuit through three counties and holding an annual appellate session with the four other New Mexico district judges.¹⁰ He resigned this position in 1895 after two busy years and in 1896 was again elected to the Territorial Council.

The final years of the 19th century proved tumultuous for Albert Fall. In 1897 he was appointed Solicitor (Attorney) General for the transitional period between the terms of Governor William Thornton and Miguel Otero.¹¹ He also busied himself with railroad projects designed to encourage the development of southern New Mexico. With the outbreak of the Spanish American War in 1898, Fall offered to organize and command fifty volunteers to go fight in Spain. The offer was rejected but governor Otero did commission him as a Captain and he immediately went on active duty. Although he attempted in vain to get friends in high places to get him assigned to combat service in Cuba, Captain Fall served commendably in Arizona and Georgia for seven months and was honorably discharged.¹² He desperately wanted to see combat duty in Cuba and even took a furlough to journey to Washington, D.C. to persuade friends in high government positions to arrange his transfer to Cuba, but the effort was in vain.

No sooner had Fall returned to civilian life than he devoted full time to preparation for defense of Oliver Lee and Jim Gilliland on charges related to the disappearance of territorial leader and his longtime political and courtroom adversary, Albert Fountain, and his son Henry. With the assistance of Governor Miguel Otero, he pushed for creation of a new county, Otero. The new county's lines were so drawn that the apparent site of the Fountain murders was no longer in Doña Ana County, where the level of outrage over the murders still was high. He skillfully aroused public support for the two defendants, especially in Hillsboro, site of the famous trial. His choice of witnesses to be called and his grilling of prosecution witnesses, climaxed by his most famous courtroom address summarizing the defense's *corpus delicti* case, won an almost instantaneous jury acquittal of his clients.¹³

The early years of the twentieth century were pivotal ones for Albert Fall. His burgeoning law practice tended to focus in El Paso and on his role as general counsel for Colonel William Greene's vast mining, timber and railroad enterprises, largely in Mexico. When the Greene empire collapsed in the panic of 1907, Fall's legal expertise and personal financial assistance facilitated salvaging some of Greene's land and investments.¹⁴ It also was in this period that Judge Fall served as legal counsel for a British corporation which originally proposed to build a dam on the Rio Grande at Elephant Butte. When the U.S. War Department secured an injunction to block foreign interests from building the dam, Fall carried his client's case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, but was unsuccessful.¹⁵

This also was a period of the most surprising political move of Fall's career. After being elected to the Territorial Council for the last time in 1902, with the unique honor of being the nominee of both parties, it appears he was shifting his level of political aspiration to the national

level. By 1904 he officially had changed his party affiliation to Republican. While Fall's own explanation was simply "...the Republicans have taken into their party all the worthwhile principles of the Democrats" and "I know when to change horses," a number of factors appear to have been involved.¹⁶

When he sought his party's nomination for Territorial Delegate to Congress, the Democratic hierarchy had rejected his bid. Also, he had developed an admiration for soon-to-be-President Republican Theodore Roosevelt. Furthermore, he could not support Democratic leader William Jennings Bryan's advocacy of unlimited coinage of silver. Possibly most important, Fall believed New Mexico's long-coveted admission to statehood was near. Territorial officials were appointed by the federal administration and consequently New Mexico government had been in the recent past, still was, and in the foreseeable future would continue to be Republican controlled. And, since U.S. Senators were, in those days, elected by the state legislators, anyone aspiring to be one of the state's first Senators needed to begin by building a Republican power base.

Meanwhile, Fall had developed a close friendship with Republican governor Miguel Otero. The governor sent Fall to Washington with two lobbying objectives. He worked unsuccessfully for New Mexico statehood, but he was influential in winning a reappointment of Otero to a second term as governor.¹⁷ After two very successful terms, Otero retired and Fall's good friend, George Curry, was appointed to succeed him. Curry convinced the judge to first, deliver the featured speech at his inauguration and, second, to serve again as Territorial attorney general.¹⁸ After a few months however, Fall resigned to devote more attention to the fight for statehood.

He participated in the 1906 Joint Statehood movement with Arizona, but that proposal was defeated by Arizona voters. He led the New Mexico delegation to the 1908 national GOP nominating convention and succeeded in winning adoption of a resolution calling for immediate admission to statehood for both Arizona and New Mexico. The convention nominated William Howard Taft and the New Mexico delegates felt they carried back a Taft promise that he would help their statehood campaign. Taft was elected, and even before his inauguration a bill to grant admission to New Mexico was pending in Congress. Fall led a delegation to Washington to urge passage of the bill. They did not succeed but were assured that admission was imminent.¹⁹

By 1910, the Hamilton bill providing for New Mexico's statehood enabling act was introduced in Congress. Fall spent much time in Washington lobbying successfully for its passage. Governor William Mills immediately issued a call for a Constitutional Convention, the next prerequisite to statehood. Fall aspired to be directly involved in developing the constitutional blueprint for the fledgling state and, of course, considered that providing

noteworthy service at that convention would enhance his potential as one of the new state's first U.S. Senators.

Because territory-wide unity appeared critical to the realization of this long-coveted goal, the Judge's successful candidacy for a seat as a Constitutional Convention delegate was on a non-partisan ticket. He played a leadership role in that body's deliberations and campaigned throughout the territory for its adoption, which came by more than a two-to-one margin.²⁰

Once statehood became official in 1912, Fall declared his candidacy for one of the two Senate seats. While he did not contend for a seat in the new state's first legislative session, his active campaigning for Republican candidates helped insure GOP domination of both houses. The new legislature immediately addressed its task of electing two senators. After a week of frenzied campaigning and balloting, Thomas Benton Catron and Albert Bacon Fall won the coveted seats. Senator Fall moved to the nation's capitol pledging "...in matters not political, Republicans and Democrats look alike to me. I am first, last and all time for New Mexico. Whether a letter to me is in English or Spanish, it shall have immediate attention. The humblest man, no matter what his race, can command my service to the utmost."²¹

The new Senator was to be twice reelected and to serve nine years in the upper house of Congress. He consistently honored his pledge to serve his home state constituents and respond to their requests. Politically he became widely known and respected as the Senate's expert on U.S.-Mexican relations. Domestically, he became an outspoken advocate of states' rights, especially with regard to the natural resources of each state. He also led the fight against Woodrow Wilson's proposed Treaty of Versailles and U.S. involvement in the League of Nations, believing it would result in serious loss of national sovereignty.

At the 1920 GOP national nominating convention, Fall's former Senate desk mate and poker-playing buddy, Warren G. Harding, won the party's presidential nomination. Senator Fall wrote the party's platform plank on Mexican policy and soon resigned his Senate seat in order to accept President Harding's invitation to serve as Secretary of the Interior. Fall was the first New Mexico resident ever named to a Presidential Cabinet position. The Senator had hoped to return to private life and retirement at his Three Rivers ranch in Otero County, New Mexico, and his family urged him to decline the offer. However, he finally acceded to Harding's pleas that he was needed and accepted the nomination. He explained that the President "...needed a strong westerner...[and]...I do know something of the natural resources of the west. In this office I can make a contribution to the development of a country, rather than just one state."²²

The new Interior Secretary had always believed that natural resources were placed on earth for all mankind to use. His political opponents charged him with advocating

reckless exploitation of every resource, without a concern for future generations. In fact, he worked to insure the efficient management and use of those resources. His pledge was to thereby insure steadily improving living standards for his nation's people and the resources' ready availability for future generations.

Furthermore, his access to classified military and intelligence documents had convinced Fall that an eventual armed conflict with Japan was inevitable. He felt his department must help the nation prepare for that eventuality.

President Harding and Congress had directed that the Secretaries of Navy and Interior were to control cooperatively the Navy's underground oil reserves. Those reserves of crude oil were stored in Elk Hills, California and Teapot Dome, Wyoming. Interior Department investigators reported millions of barrels of oil were being illegally pumped by companies operating on the perimeter of the reserves. To counter this, Fall and Secretary of the Navy Edwin Denby decided to request bids from private oil companies to lease that oil, in exchange for building pipelines and storage facilities on both coasts and in Hawaii. The bidding companies also were to replace the crude oil which they pumped with refined oil in the coastal and Hawaiian storage facilities.²³ While war with Japan did not begin in the 1920s as Fall had anticipated, the events of World War II vindicated his efforts to protect oil reserves and prepare his country's military for armed conflict.

His impatience with government bureaucracy led him to proceed as he would have as head of a private corporation, selecting the companies which were awarded leases on oil reserves on the basis of which could most efficiently handle the job rather than adhering to all the strictures of competitive bidding. He felt Ed Doheny's Pan American Oil and Harry Sinclair's Mammoth (Standard) Oil were the companies which could best handle the projects, protect and control prices of oil resources and offer the government the best returns. In retrospect, Fall may well have been guilty of carelessness, ineptitude, poor timing and poor judgment in managing these negotiations. It also should be made clear, however, that Secretary Fall did not unilaterally arrange these contracts. As he stated in his report to the Senate investigating committee, "...probably twenty-five men directly or indirectly were involved in drawing these contracts or shaping the policies and terms of the contracts."²⁴

In summary, it is unfortunate that just as the Secretary was nearing the close of a long and outstanding public career, there came an ill-fated conjunction of circumstances, timing and Fall's intense loyalty to friends and party. First, it happened that a particularly virulent form of influenza swept the country in 1918, claiming the lives of his daughter Carrie and only son, Jack, to whom the Senator was entrusting management of the Three Rivers

ranch.²⁵

That tragic loss coupled with job responsibilities which kept him in Washington meant his beloved ranch, which he had always assumed would be his and Emma's retirement home, was neglected and was rapidly deteriorating. Out of loyalty to his party and to his friend Harding, he stayed on in Washington, looking to friends to help him until he could resign and return to personal management of the ranch. Those friends were his old mining partner, Ed Doheny, and his longtime friend, Harry Sinclair. Doheny loaned Fall \$100,000, with the Three Rivers ranch as security, and Sinclair bought a one-third interest in the ranch for \$223,000.

Fall was then able to pay back-taxes, buy a neighboring ranch, and renovate ranch buildings and facilities. However, the Doheny loan was carelessly handled. Purchase of the neighboring ranch required immediate payment, so Doheny insisted that because the two had so often staked each other over the years, he would lend the Secretary the aforementioned \$100,000, interest free.²⁶ Even more ill-advised, Doheny's son personally delivered the cash in a black bag to Fall's office.

President Harding approved of Fall's stewardship of the Interior Department and assured Congressional critics that the oil reserve moves had his approval. However, in the summer of 1923 President Harding died as he returned from a tour of Alaska, denying Fall the presidential support he needed so badly in the ensuing court battles. Congressional Investigations of the oil reserve contracts began that autumn.

Fall had insisted, as a condition of accepting the Secretaryship, that he would serve only two years. In March, 1923, he therefore resigned from the Cabinet partially because of failing health. His physical condition worsened and from a hospital bed he committed what he later agreed was his most grievous error. With his hospital room crowded with Republican leaders, the subject of the \$100,000 loan was broached. His GOP colleagues convinced him he should attribute the source of the loan to someone other than Doheny. To protect his party and friends, he agreed to claim that an acquaintance, newspaper scion Edward McLean, had provided the loan. When McLean's wife later revealed the duplicity, Fall's reputation was forever besmirched.²⁷

Calvin Coolidge, successor to President Harding, was concerned about the effect of the investigation on his ambitions to be reelected to a full term. He and his advisors felt driven to separate themselves from the scandals which had swirled around the Harding administration. They determined to finger Fall as the scapegoat and thereby cleanse the party and its other leaders. Both parties made the oil reserve investigation headline issues in the 1924 and 1928 presidential races.²⁸

Six years of legal skirmishing ensued. Fall was handi-

capped during the trials by failing health, limited financial resources and a conviction that his oil reserve policy had been based on military affairs information which, for security reasons, could not be revealed. In June, 1924, Fall, Doheny, Sinclair and Doheny's son were indicted for conspiracy and bribery. All indictments were dismissed. Fall and Doheny later were re-indicted for conspiracy, but both were acquitted in 1926. Fall and Sinclair were tried for conspiracy and won acquittals in 1928. In October, 1929, after a trial in which he was too ill to testify in his defense, Fall was convicted of accepting a bribe (the \$100,000). Six months later Doheny was acquitted of offering a bribe (the same \$100,000).²⁹

Albert Bacon Fall was sentenced to a year in prison and fined \$100,000. Because of his poor health and emaciated condition, it was agreed he could serve his time in the prison at Santa Fe.³⁰ He was transported by ambulance to Santa Fe, with old friends and well-wishers encouraging him at every stop. After serving nine and a half months, most of which was spent in the prison hospital, Fall regained his freedom. However, he had lost his health, his reputation, his ranch, his finances and seven years of his life. It is ironic that soon after Fall's release the Doheny family foreclosed on the Three Rivers ranch, proving in the eyes of many that the infamous \$100,000 was indeed a loan.³¹ Albert Fall died in Hotel Dieu hospital in El Paso in 1944, after spending most of his post-prison years bedfast or hospitalized.³²

In summary, Albert Bacon Fall devoted more than three decades of his life to the service of his fellow citizens — to the Mesilla Valley, to New Mexico, and to his nation. His practice of law, his years of judicial and legislative leadership and his active advocacy of statehood for the final twenty-two years of New Mexico's territorial period earned him the privilege of representing the newborn state in the United States Senate. His nine-year Senate tenure established him as a national authority on U.S.-Mexican relations. He also is remembered as a Senator who always responded to the needs and appeals of his New Mexico constituents. Finally, despite what the media and his political foes labeled as scandal, impartial observers insist that Fall's stewardship of the Interior Department was business-like, legal, prophetic in terms of the nation's defense needs, and true to his lifelong philosophy that the nation's resources should be so managed as to benefit all its citizens.

A plaque honoring Albert Fall now hangs in the Hall of Honor in New Mexico's historical annex of the Palace of Governor's museum in Santa Fe, a much deserved accolade.

Before his death Fall rejected suggestions of a pardon, insisting that a pardon was an admission of guilt, and surviving descendants tend to this day to agree. Surely it is time, however, after sixty-five years, to remove the only blemish, the alleged bribery felony conviction, from Fall's otherwise stellar record. Now, nearly seventy

years have elapsed since the Teapot Dome investigations and trials and to seek a retrial or judicial reversal would seem impractical if not impossible. A pardon seems appropriate.³³

GORDON R. OWEN, Ph.D., previously contributed "Lucky AP" to the *Southern New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol IV, No. 1, January 1997.

ENDNOTES

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Education in a Frontier Community: The Sisters of Loretto in Las Cruces

by Wendy C. Simpson

Only a statue and a name are left as reminders of an educational venture that shaped the lives of multiple generations of Las Cruces. The statue, a bronze reproduction of Michelangelo's *Pieta*, stands on the corner of Lohman Avenue and Water Street in Las Cruces, New Mexico. On the adjacent property, the Sisters of Loretto operated a private Catholic school from 1870 until 1943. The statue is a tribute to the Sisters, who were called "Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross." The school building was replaced in 1965 by a strip mall that bears the Order's name, being called Loretto Town Centre.

The Order of Loretto had long recognized the need for education in frontier communities. In 1852 they had come from Kentucky to New Mexico, to open a school and convent in Santa Fe.¹ Schools in Taos, Mora, Las Vegas, Socorro, and Bernalillo followed. Bishop J.B. Salpointe, of the Diocese of Arizona (which included Las Cruces) succeeded in his efforts to bring the Sisters of Loretto to southern New Mexico in 1870. At that time, there was yet no effective public school law. Even after 1891, when the compulsory school attendance law was passed, funding for public schools was sporadic and unreliable.²

On January 7, 1870, five Sisters set out from Santa Fe for Las Cruces. Mother Rosanna Dant (who had made the earlier journey from Kentucky), and Sisters Jerome Murphy, Gertrude Zamora, Marianna Dominguez, and Mary Clara Alarid were accompanied by the nephew of Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy and another gentleman. They travelled in two carriages owned by the Bishop. The 290-mile journey included desert travel, dangerous river crossings, and the 90-mile *Jornado del Muerto*, a stretch of trail without water or shelter.

The most dangerous parts of the trip were the two crossings of the Rio Grande. At that time, the river was fast and dangerous. The first crossing, between Albuquerque and Isleta, involved taking both carriages across the ice-covered river. After the first carriage crossed successfully, the second became caught on the ice. When the horses refused to move, the Sisters were moved to the first carriage, the trapped vehicle was unloaded and freed from the ice, and the trip continued. The second crossing, at Fort Selden, put the Sisters in such danger (the horses sank in quicksand and the carriages overturned) that Father Bernal, the priest from Las Cruces who had joined the caravan in Socorro, urged them: "Sisters, say an act of contrition and I will give you absolution." However, the danger was averted and the travelers arrived in

Las Cruces the next morning, early enough to avoid the showy reception planned by the eager townspeople.³

No building was ready for the school. Bishop Salpointe had purchased 15 acres in the center of town, but the only building on the property was small adobe. However, by the end of the year 1870, the resourceful Sisters had founded the Loretto Academy of the Visitation — the first educational institution of any kind in southern New Mexico and west Texas.

During the building of the convent and school, some students lived in the home of Mrs. William Tully. Many upper-class Hispano families sent their children to the Academy. Some of the early students were Elena Fletcher, Delfina Daguerre, Mariana Ochoa, Josefina Daguerre, Emiliana Amador, Clotilda Amador, Amelia Duper and Carolina Islas.⁴ Within three years, the convent roll had increased to seven Sisters, and more were needed. Sisters Rosanna and Thais went to Santa Fe and returned with another nun, Sister Vestina Moran.

By 1890 a large Spanish-style building had been erected to accommodate both boarders and day students. Between 1893 and 1897, the third story was added and the structure seen in many photographs was in place. Each Mother Superior added something to the campus. At the Academy's disestablishment in 1943, there were many conveniences, including a cemetery, a brick laundry, an infirmary, and a pavilion. The main building faced north toward East Lohman Avenue at the corner of Main Street.

The increasing attendance not only required more Sisters and buildings but also provided increased revenue. Academies were expected to be totally self-supporting, unlike parish-supported parochial schools. The Sisters were tireless in their efforts to sustain their institution, even travelling the Territory looking for new pupils;⁵ yet the proceeds often went to the community rather than to the convent itself. This practice of self-support and contribution to the community would mark the Sisters' stay in Las Cruces.

Thus it was that austerity especially marked the early years: there was only a rag carpet in the chapel until 1880. The altar was "a makeshift board, muslin draped, supported on two clothes horses while a small candle box lined with silk and covered with green calico served for a tabernacle."⁶ The floors of the convent were made of hard mud covered with rugs; every five days the Sisters had to take up the rugs, clean them, then sprinkle water on the dirt floor beneath. Meals generally consisted of bread, beans, and "coffee" made from parched wheat. Sugar and

fruit were expensive luxuries. Eventually, each convent in New Mexico had a garden in which the Sisters and their students could grow fruits and vegetables. Any surplus was canned.⁷ In 1935 the garden in Las Cruces was producing corn, carrots, radishes, watermelons, cantaloupes, chile and onions.⁸ Until the end of the century there were no modern conveniences and no running water. The Sisters bathed in small rooms built over an acequia with water heated by the sun and they always wore the bathing gown dictated by 19th century modesty.⁹ Perhaps it was this poverty, shared with the surrounding community, that made the Sisters so successful in their educational work.

Tuition charges were tailored to the needs of the community. Higher rates paid by upper and middle-class students made it possible, in part, for poorer students to attend school. In 1871 tuition was \$125 per session, and additional courses in harp, drawing and painting, piano, guitar and vocal music all cost extra.¹⁰ In the 20th century, tuition was as high as \$350, and extra fees were charged for such items as saxophone, laboratory and library use, and a private room. A deposit of \$10 was required for books, and students were required to buy materials for uniforms from the Academy. They also had to be provided with grooming materials and necessities like underwear.¹¹ Attendance at the Loretto Academy in Las Cruces would have been prohibitively expensive for many students had it not been for the foresight and flexibility of the Sisters in implementing their sliding tuition scale.

Students at the Academy were primarily the daughters of wealthy or middle-class families, some from as far away as Mexico; their tuition payments, obviously increased revenue. During its early years, the Academy also received subsidies from the Territory of New Mexico for the education of orphans who were its wards. At the same time, the Sisters were very much aware of the whole community and so tried to provide an education for every girl who could find her way to Las Cruces. Students could work for part of their tuition. Elma Hardin Cain, who attended the Academy from 1934 until her graduation in May, 1942, waited on tables in the dining room and cleaned music rooms to earn part of her costs. In addition, her father several times killed a “beef” and brought it to pay for her tuition.¹² The attendance of girls from outside the Las Cruces community, even though schools were available closer to their homes, attests to the Academy’s growing reputation as an educational facility. Twelve-year-old Matilda Fritz, from Lincoln County, New Mexico, entered the academy in the late 19th century.¹³ Elma Hardin Cain rode the bus for two hours to meet her parents in Truth or Consequences, New Mexico, during holiday vacations. While she was at the Academy, at least 10 of the 72 boarders were from Mexico, and Arizona, Texas and Colorado were sending girls to the Academy.¹⁴ The fact that for many years it was the only private school in southern New Mexico and west Texas certainly helped both high enrollment and geographical diversity among

the student body.

The frontier conditions under which the Sisters operated the Academy affected their relationship with their Order. Because it was difficult to get additional teaching Sisters from the Motherhouse in Kentucky, a novitiate was established in Santa Fe in 1855. Another was established in Las Cruces in 1875, largely because of the dangerous trip between the two cities; however, it was transferred back to Santa Fe in 1880. The Mother Superior in Las Cruces frequently had to adapt the rules of her Order to local conditions. For instance, the ban on travel alone made trips difficult to plan and left the school shorthanded.¹⁵

The Sisters also adapted their educational efforts to work with the largely Hispano, Spanish-speaking populace. Two of the nuns in that first caravan to Las Cruces were Hispanas, undoubtedly contributing cultural and linguistic insights. The novitiate in New Mexico increased the number of Hispana Sisters — in some places there were more Hispana than Anglo Sisters.¹⁶ The curricula at most of the New Mexico schools operated by the Sisters of Loretto included both Spanish and English — a recognition of the importance both of learning Spanish and encouraging its use by their students.¹⁷ By contrast, the public schools, where available, taught only in English.¹⁸

In the first years of the Academy uniforms were not required, but a dress code was part of the student environment. The distinguishing feature of a boarding student’s outfit in the 1870s was “a little straw sunbonnet with a green ruffle which fit closely around the face.”¹⁹ Later on, the uniform in Las Cruces consisted generally of a long black or blue serge skirt and white shirt in the summer and dark serge or cashmere dresses in winter. Photographs of the period show that the students’ dress was very Victorian in style with high necklines and long sleeves and skirts.²⁰

In addition to the “Americanizing” effects of the dress code and the use of the English language, the Sisters brought an American-type curriculum to Las Cruces.



Katie & Margaret O’Boyle with older sister Nellie O’Boyle Gemoets. Photo courtesy of Martin Gemoets.

They also brought, in their buildings, the pitched-roof architecture and the sturdy furniture of the East Coast. Thus, they brought some features of their own culture to the frontier and also adapted to the existing culture of the area.²¹

New Mexicans welcomed the Sisters as extensions of the church.²² Catholicism had taken root long ago under the Spanish *conquistadores*. The Academy taught religion to all students. According to an early 20th century advertisement:

Catholic pupils have exceptional opportunities for learning and practicing their holy religion. Instructions are given daily in Christian Doctrine and Sacred History. The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin serves to foster piety and promote regularity in religious exercises. An annual retreat, which former pupils are privileged to attend, is given to the students.²³

The Academy, however, was open to all students, and many Protestant families of Las Cruces enrolled their children simply because it was the best private school available. Moreover, as the same pamphlet goes on to state:

Pupils of other denominations are not expected to join in the devotional exercises, and their religious opinions will be in no way interfered with. For the sake of order, however, they are required to be present at morning and evening services on Sundays and feast days, also at daily prayers. Non-Catholic pupils will not be allowed to study catechism, much less to embrace the Catholic faith, without the written consent of their parents or guardians.

Although the religious and the “Americanizing” aspects of the curriculum remained consistent, the Sisters recognized the need to change in response to the changing needs of their students. This same pamphlet gives specifics of the curriculum. The 19th Century curriculum, typically Victorian, had included the basics of arithmetic, grammar, reading and spelling in the “preparatory” grades; and rhetoric, physics, analysis of poetry and prose, and ethics at the academic (high school) level. Later, the curriculum included more of the ornamentals, such as embroidery and lace work. In all grades, penmanship, composition, elocution and physical culture. An advertisement in *The Borderer* emphasizes the attention to the arts, with the offering of lessons in instrumental and vocal music, and in painting and drawing. Certainly the Academy was not training its female students to become physicists or professional musicians. Rather, the training was aimed at preparing middle-class girls for the role of wife and mother, with the possibility for a few years of teaching experience before marriage. Well-educated women in the Victorian era were seen as thoroughly prepared not for lives of scholarship and study but for the tasks

of preparing future sons for such lives.

In the 20th century the curriculum began to include classes in commercial skills. Issues of the Loretto *Crescent* from the mid-1930s report that the Academy founded a commercial department.²⁴ The courses included typing, shorthand (in both English and Spanish), and bookkeeping.²⁵ There was also instruction in business spelling and correspondence, and a review of grammar, spelling, and arithmetic.²⁶ The department was very popular, because it gave the female students the skills needed to earn their own living after graduation. Although the expectation remained that the graduates would work only until marriage, the establishment of the commercial department indicated the recognition on the part of the Academy that women’s opportunities had expanded and that the curriculum needed to expand to help students take advantage of them.

The Sisters adapted the Academy program in other ways to serve the needs of their community. From time to time, they ran a separate school for boys in Las Cruces. The Academy was, in fact, one of only three schools operated by the Sisters of Loretto in New Mexico that accepted boys. In the 1880s an annual average of 64 male pupils attended the school. Education for older boys was not available locally for some time, and, after completion of the preparatory level at the Academy, boys from upper-class families were sent usually either to Santa Fe to attend St. Michael’s College or to St. Louis to attend the Christian Brothers’ College. One such student was Juan Amador, son of a prosperous Las Cruces family, who kept up a correspondence with some of the Sisters while attending the St. Louis school. For a young man accustomed to speaking two languages, the training by the Christian Brothers in St. Louis must have been very different from his Las Cruces education among the Sisters of Loretto. Sister Mary Vestina wrote in 1883 that she “enjoyed very much” Juan’s comment that his “forehead was sore from blessing [him]self in English.”²⁷ Various letters and records attest to a continuing relationship, including a visit to Mother Praxedes’ relatives in St. Louis.²⁸ The Amadors were a prominent Catholic family, and, as such, they maintained long-lasting friendships with the Sisters who educated all of their children and many of their grandchildren.

The Amadors assisted Mother Praxedes, who was Mother Superior from 1880 until 1893, in raising funds for both the school and the Catholic Church of St. Genevieve. These years are considered some of the most successful and dynamic years in the school’s history. Mother Praxedes’ influence was felt not only in Las Cruces but also on the entire Order of Loretto which she served as Mother General for 37 years after leaving Las Cruces. While still at the Academy she set about improving the grounds of the school and convent, beginning with the chapel. She “had the privilege of taking Our dear Lord out of the candle box,” and equipped the chapel with os-

tensorium, statues, stations, and vestments.²⁹ She also placed the cemetery in order for Sisters who had passed away in Las Cruces. Mother Praxedes made various other improvements to the school and its grounds, as well as to the curriculum and the religious components of the school. She even liquidated a debt of \$5,000 through a series of bazaars, *kermises*, fairs, and sales of all kinds. The bazaar held in April, 1881, with the assistance of community women such as Josefa Armijo, Emma Nordhaus, and Aminda Shaublin, was perhaps the first bazaar held in the Southwest.³⁰ A second bazaar in December, 1882, operated for five days and raised \$1,178.10. She also used the court system to compel delinquent parents to pay tuition owed to the Sisters.

Her most lasting contribution to the Las Cruces community was probably the building of a new parish church dedicated to St. Genevieve. The church had been built originally in

1859, on property which is now a part of the Downtown Mall. When Mother Praxedes arrived, the original adobe structure was badly deteriorated; by 1886 she was able to begin doing something about the dilapidated building. She and other like-minded citizens convinced Father Lassaigue, the pastor, to consider erecting a new church. One of the concerned citizens was Colonel Eugene Van Patten, who had been instrumental in the construction of the Sisters' school building. In order to convince Father Lassaigue to proceed, both Colonel Van Patten and Mother Praxedes had to agree to "go security" for the success of the venture. Mother Praxedes placed her name first on the subscription list. Thus, Father Lassaigue was able to collect \$3,000, and the construction began. Whenever funds ran low and Father Lassaigue worried that the project could not continue, Mother Praxedes organized a fair or bazaar, and the money was raised. By the end of the year, the new church was finished and ready for worship.

Her contribution to the Church of St. Genevieve continued. The centennial issue of the Loretto *Chimes* describes her continued work:

It happened that the debris of the old demolished structure had been left lying about for some time, rendering entrance to the church difficult and disagreeable. In vain Mother Praxedes looked daily for a removal of the rubbish; finally she could endure the sight no longer and one fine Sunday she gathered the ladies of the congregation around her and proposed that they and



Sister Mary Adeline Gemoets, long-time teacher in Loretto Academy in Las Cruces & elsewhere in New Mexico. Here shown with Martin & Doris Gomoets, c. 1945 at Webster College, Webster Grove, Missouri, where she was Director of Music.

she would meet in the morning and proceed, with shovels in hands, to the church to clear away the rubbish. To this all agreed, but someone failed to keep the secret and before the ladies arrived the next morning the men of the town had accomplished the work, which they should have done long before.³¹

The Sisters, after 16 years in Las Cruces, had succeeded in establishing the Academy of the Visitation, the convent and the newly-constructed building of the Church of St. Genevieve. Next, they turned their energies toward the struggle of the City of Las Cruces and the Territory of New Mexico to establish a public school system. While the Academy was enjoying high enrollments, schools with public funding had enrollments of 40 students, often with only 15 students present.³² In 1890, the teachers available to New Mexico students were so unprepared that some signed their contracts with

an "X."³³ The compulsory school attendance law was passed in 1891, and, in 1892, Mother Praxedes, Sister M. Vestina Moran, and Sister Mary Bernard Doyle took the public school examinations but did not consent to teach in the Las Cruces public schools until 1897. Public school classes were never taught in the Academy buildings.

In 1927 the Sisters of Loretto also took over the parochial school of the Holy Cross. It is still in operation today, though the Sisters were removed from its faculty on June 4, 1945.

The reciprocal relationship between the Sisters of Loretto and city of Las Cruces had succeeded in fulfilling many needs in the community. However, there came a time when the reciprocal arrangement no longer worked. The *Las Cruces Sun News* announced the Academy's last graduation on May 21, 1943, and discussed some of the reasons for its decline:

Once the largest Catholic school in this section, Loretto began to decline in patronage soon after Loretto at El Paso was built, churchmen said; it discontinued common school grades two years ago, because not enough teachers could be supplied for both academy and Holy Cross parochial school, and since then only high school courses have been offered at the academy. For at least three years it is said, it has been operated at a financial loss — the Sisters of Loretto supplementing revenue to meet deficits in operation; and for at least a year, efforts have been made to sell the property.³⁵

The property was sold in 1944 to a group of Franciscan Fathers who planned to use the buildings to train novices for the priesthood. The Fathers paid \$35,000 for 25 acres and buildings which originally cost \$75,000.³⁶ Five of the Sisters who had been teaching at Holy Cross maintained their positions at the parochial school until the end of the 1945 school year. By 1959 the Friars abandoned the Academy property and the building had been damaged when a truck crashed into it. Then, parcel by parcel, the Cruces Investment Company, Incorporated bought the land of the former Loretto Academy. The school building was demolished and Main Street realigned. In 1962 Frank O. Papan, probably the best known of the investors, expanded the First National Bank into a two-story building on the property; the ten-story bank tower was added subsequently. By 1965 urban renewal brought a mall to the property, appropriately named the Loretto Mall.

The bronze reproduction of the *Pieta*, given to the Sisters by their chaplain, F. John Conneghan and then passed to the City of Las Cruces as a gift from the Sisters, now stands next to the two-story bank building. It is the last physical reminder of the legacy of the Sisters of Loretto.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 See Sister Mary Lilliano Owens, "The History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1912-1935" (unpublished PhD dissertation, St. Louis University, 1935) for a detailed discussion of Loretto frontier history.
- 2 See John Neilson, "Comunidad: Community Life in a Southwestern Town, Las Cruces, NM, 1880-90" (unpublished master's thesis, New Mexico State University, 1988).
- 3 Sister Marie Richard Barbour, *Light in Yucca Land* (Louisville: General Printing Company, 1982), p. 100.
- 4 *The Loretto Chimes, Golden Jubilee Number (1870-1920)*, "Loretto Academy," *Las Cruces History*, Rio Grande Historical Collection, p. 12.
- 5 Phyllis Burch Rapagnani, "A Tradition of Service: Roman Catholic Sisters in New Mexico, 1852-1927" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1988), p. 35.
- 6 Barbour, p. 101.
- 7 Kathleen Ebell, "Catharine Beecher and the Sisters of Loretto as Women Educators in the West: Aspiration or Achievement?" (unpublished Master's thesis, New Mexico Highlands University, 1985), p. 63.
- 8 *The Loretto Crescent*, Loretto Academy, Las Cruces, New Mexico, December 19, 1935.
- 9 Ebell, p. 64.

- 10 *The Borderer*, March 16, 1871.
- 11 "Loretto Academy," *Las Cruces History*, New Mexico State University, Rio Grande Historical Collection, advertising pamphlet.
- 12 Interview with Elma Hardin Cain, interview by Jane O'Cain, June 14, 1994, New Mexico State University, Rio Grande Historical Collection, p. 104.
- 13 Darlis Miller, "The Women of Lincoln County, 1860-1900" in *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives*, ed. by Joan Jensen and Darlis Miller (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), p. 183.
- 14 Cain, p. 100-101.
- 15 Rapagnani, p. 46.
- 16 *Ibid*, p. 43.
- 17 When the first sisters came to Santa Fe, they did not open a school until they had learned the Spanish language. Though this linguistic adaptation may have generally been true for the Sisters of Loretto in New Mexico, it may not have been true for Las Cruces. Elma Hardin Cain stated that there were students from Mexico who did not speak English, and certainly part of the reason for coming to school in Las Cruces was to learn English. But Mrs. Emilia Amador Garcia, in an interview with the *Crescent* in 1935 stated that, "her first teacher did not speak Spanish and the pupils spoke no English. With the coming of Sister Ignatia, a Spanish-American, all was changed. Her ability to speak both English and Spanish helped somewhat. The girls were happy because they felt they would now be able to express themselves in the language to which they were accustomed but they were doomed to disappointment. A regulation was enacted that only English was to be spoken. A fine of fifty cents was the penalty for violating the rule and indulging in the thrills of a Spanish conversation." *Loretto Crescent*, October 21, 1935.
- 18 Neilson, p. 159.
- 19 *Loretto Crescent*, October 21, 1935.
- 20 "Loretto Academy," advertising pamphlet.
- 21 It should be noted here that the nun's role in the "Americanization" of the Mexican people of the Southwest would have contradicted the contemporary trend of immigrant nuns who worked to maintain the culture of immigrant groups, e.g. the Irish.
- 22 Rapagnani, p. 48.
- 23 "Loretto Academy," advertising pamphlet.
- 24 *The Loretto Crescent*, Oct. 21, 1935.
- 25 Cain, p. 114.
- 26 Ebell, p. 53.
- 27 Sister M. Vestina to Juan Amador, *Family Papers of Martin Amador*, (New Mexico State University: Rio Grande Historical Collection, Box 3, Folder 1), July 16, 1883.
- 28 Mother Praxedes Carty to Juan Amador. June 15, 1884 and September 5, 1885.
- 29 Barbour, p. 102.
- 30 *A History of Las Cruces and the Mesilla Valley, Doña Ana County, NM* (Las Cruces, NM: The Committee, 1949), p. 72.
- 31 *The Loretto Chimes*, p. 13.
- 32 Neilson, p. 154.
- 33 Frederick Bacon, "Contributions of Catholic Religious Orders to Public Education in New Mexico Since the American Occupation" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1947), p. 11.
- 34 *The Loretto Chimes*, pp. 14-15.
- 35 *Las Cruces Sun News*, May 21, 1943.
- 36 *Ibid*, June 30, 1944.

Book Reviews

C*ivil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah* by Ray C. Colton. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984 (originally published 1959). 230 pages, bibliography, index. Softcover: \$14.95

Professor Colton developed four scenarios to look at events in the west, *i.e.*, the Confederate invasion of the Territory of New Mexico (TNM), the California Column, the Indian campaigns, and the political aftermaths in each territory.

He carefully explained the Confederate States of America's (CSA) plan to forge a corridor from the Rio Grande in Texas to the Pacific Coast of California with expectations that the Spanish American (sic) population of the TNM would support their cause and California would secede from the Union.

There is a dramatic account of the Confederate invasion of July 1861, spearheaded by the rough, tough 258-man Second Texas Regiment, Mounted Rifles, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor, which forced the abandonment and ignominious surrender of the 500-600 man Union garrison at Fort Fillmore. Baylor, in the name of the CSA, then proclaimed the CSA Territory of Arizona, organized a military government and proclaimed himself governor.

Professor Colton brought to life the January 1862, Confederate Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley's move north from (Franklin) El Paso, Texas, with three volunteer regiments. They pushed north to the vicinity of Fort Craig where, on February 21, they defeated Union troops in the vicious Battle of Val Verde. Captain Henry R. Selden (misprinted "Seldon" in this edition), an 1843 West Point classmate of Lieutenant General U. S. Grant, commanded a Union infantry battalion with distinction in this battle; later, the post Civil War Fort Selden, NM was named for him. Interestingly, the Battle of Val Verde also involved elements of the Tenth US Infantry Regiment, a regiment in which this reviewer served in WWII under the incomparable battlefield commander, General George S. Patton, Jr.

The author masterfully recreated the relentless Confederate march, the occupation of Albuquerque on March 2, Santa Fe on March 10, and the approach to the final Federal stronghold — Fort Union. March 26-28, when opposing infantry, cavalry and artillery clashed in Apache Canyon and Glorieta Pass in raging battles; the killed, wounded or captured numbered in the hundreds. A contingent of the Union's First Colorado Volunteers led by Major Chivington (more on him later) confiscated or destroyed about 80 Confederate supply wagons laden with ammunition, clothing, food, medical supplies, and forage for the animals. Although both sides claimed victory, it was the end of the Confederate invasion.

This reader shared the demoralized struggle as Sibley led the invaders' withdrawal through Santa Fe and Albuquerque in a largely uncontested retreat, although there was a minor confrontation at Peralta a few miles south of Albuquerque. To avoid contact with Federals at Fort Craig, they detoured west of the Rio Grande for nearly 100 miles over desolate, waterless terrain — a detour of incredible hardship. Sibley arrived in El Paso in early May, 1862, while his shattered army was still strung out over 50 miles. The last 400-man Confederate remnant retreated to Fort Bliss on July 8.

The author examined the formation and fortunes of the 2,350-man California Column, Colonel James H. Carlton commanding, organized in late 1861 to repel any Confederate invasion of California and to move east to expel them from the TNM. By the time of the March 1862 battle at Glorieta, Carlton's lead elements were heading east from Fort Yuma, Arizona, and on April 15 clashed with the Confederates in a bitterly contested skirmish at Picacho Pass, about 45 miles northwest of Tucson, marking the "westernmost" battle of the Civil War.

Carlton's 1,400-man column reached the Rio Grande on August 15, Fort Bliss on the 16th, and, to restore confidence in the Union, pushed as far east as Fort Davis, Texas. In September 1862, Carlton assumed command of the Department of New Mexico, a post he held for four eventful years. Indians rather than Confederates became his major problem.

Nowhere is the lengthy, ruthless, deadly and racist nature of frontier violence more vividly portrayed than in Professor Colton's "Indian Campaigns" chapter. He identifies the Union's Indian extermination policy, a policy Carlton executed efficiently and effectively against the Apaches, Kiowas, Comanches and Navahos. He described the bitter battles and skirmishes in Southern New Mexico (Fort Stanton, Dog Canyon, Pinos Altos, Forts Craig and McRae) as well as the electrifying events at Bosque Redondo and Sand Creek.

The New Mexico Volunteer invasion of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, subjugation of the Navahos, and their 1863 400-mile forced march to the Bosque Redondo (Fort Sumner) on the Pecos River are recounted in chilling detail. The author doesn't mention that this American "concentration camp" endured until August 1868.

In November 1864, by-that-time-Colonel J.M. Chivington ("hero" of Glorieta Pass) with his 950-man Third Colorado Cavalry fell upon a Sand Creek, Colorado Cheyenne-Arapaho village, indiscriminately slaughtering old and young men, women and children. This senseless massacre led to a Congressional investigation and a vigorous denunciation of Chivington.

The summaries of political events maintain the same level of excellence. In February, 1863, the U.S. Congress

created the Territory of Arizona. Interestingly, the TNM territorial assembly in 1862 repealed the territory's slavery law! It suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, and exacted laws to strengthen administrative and judicial functions. Subsequent assemblies were concerned with the mining industry, irrigation, public administration, and the "Indian Problem."

In this superbly crafted book, the author more than attains his stated objective of placing Civil War events in their proper perspectives. It has withstood nearly 40 years of academic scrutiny and is singularly effective as a "stand alone" reference. The bibliography is exceptional.

Martin Gemoets
Las Cruces, NM

Boer Settlers in the Southwest by Brian M. du Toit. LAP El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1995; 94 pages; Softcover: \$12.50.

Boer Settlers in the Southwest is a small summary of the history of the Boers, a little known group from Africa who wanted a new home in a new land. The book is a reminder of the diversity of those who have contributed to the Mesilla Valley. Primarily it is the history of the two leading families, Snyman and Viljoen.

Du Toit chronicles briefly the frontier societies in South Africa and the Southwest United States and then describes the last confrontations (1899-1902) between Britain and the Boers. When the fighting subsided and Britain emerged as the victor, a number of obdurate Boer soldiers refused to live under the British flag. They sought to emigrate across the ocean, considering the possibilities of Venezuela or Mexico.

Strong sympathies were expressed in the United States, culminating in offers from various states for the Boers to settle. Theodore Roosevelt, then vice president, supported their entry and intervened so that the immigrants were not detained by the authorities on Ellis Island. He backed Snyman, who feared possible British extradition, with an introduction to the president of Mexico, and encouraged Viljoen to continue in the direction of the new frontiers in the Texas-New Mexico area.

After descriptions of the Snyman family in Mexico, du Toit centers on how General Ben Viljoen finally settled in the Southwest United States. The history closest to Las Cruces is of especial interest for us today.

How Viljoen finally decided on the Mesilla Valley was documented with the following comments: "The climate suited me. Its dryness, its warmth, its exhilaration reminded me of home... I proceeded to inspect these valleys along the Rio Grande in Southern New Mexico. I was at last satisfied. I chose my home and homes for my countrymen on the western bank of the river because this location seemed to me to offer everything we needed. Land here was still comparatively cheap. The soil

was marvelously fertile. Water for irrigation was assured. Agriculture was in its infancy here; we could start even with the rest of the settlers and grow with the country...

"With a market such as El Paso offers for our garden truck and a market such as the mining towns of Texas and Mexico offer for our hay, and with so mild a climate that one can till the soil uninterruptedly the year 'round."

Such commentary concerning the farming life in the Valley is probably the most interesting for those living in the same area today.

Du Toit also catalogues additional facts of General Viljoen's life: the innovations he brought to farming, his formation of the first agricultural group known as The Alfalfa Association, his contributions to modern irrigation, his participation as delegate for New Mexico's statehood, his involvement in the Mexican revolution, his representing Mexico as he negotiated an agreement with the Yaqui Indians in Sonora, and time spent as a real estate agent. Viljoen's deteriorating health led to brief sojourns seeking improvement at some spas of Europe and with more agreeable weather in California. No treatment bettered his condition and in 1917 he died at his La Mesa home.

Along with other family photographs is a picture of Viljoen's grave marker in the Masonic Cemetery, Las Cruces. Certainly one does not expect to find a Boer general buried here, but the history written by du Toit explains the story well.

In three generations the Boer settlers in the Southwest ceased to exist as a tight-knit community. Ten pages of genealogical tables prove du Toit's point as he concludes on page 76, "The Southwest Boers had become Americans."

Jerri Spoehel
Las Cruces, NM

Elfego Baca in Life and Legend by Larry D. Ball. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1992. 146 pages, bibliography, index. Softcover: \$15.00

A literal translation of *el fegobaca* would have a Spanish linguist grasping for an evasive term to describe some sort of covering or top on a bus or wagon. Similarly, attempts to define Elfego Baca leave the New Mexico historian grasping for elusive terms to explain the larger than life figure whose 80 years of incredible exploits are the stuff of New Mexican myth and Hollywood movies.

The author advises that his examination of Baca's life began with the challenge of untangling the conflicting accounts of the 1884 shoot-out with former Texas cowboys at San Francisco Plaza. That outlandish event, for which Baca's personal courage became known throughout the territory, was precipitated by the cowboys' ethnic enmity toward the Hispanic farmers and sheep ranchers whom they terrorized. The newly deputized 19-year-old Baca went to the rescue (a) alone, (b) with one other person, (c) with a small posse. In the course of five days, 28 Oc-

tober — 1 November, Elfego Baca (a) shot and killed one cowboy, (b) shot two cowboys dead, (c) shot one dead and caused another to be crushed by a shot horse, (d) shot/killed five cowboys. Then, Elfego holed up in a mud and branch *jacal* which was riddled from all sides by at least 367, but maybe 4,000, bullets shot by eight, or maybe eighty, cowboys. Our hero emerged unscathed from the nearly demolished shelter, the contents of which had been totally destroyed except for an unharmed *bulfo* of *Nuestra Senora Santa Ana*.

The site of the gunfight was San Francisco Plaza, a western Socorro County settlement comprised of three hamlets (Upper, Middle, and Lower San Francisco Plazas) about 130 miles west of the central New Mexico town of Socorro. Middle and Lower Plazas retain their identities; however, Upper Plaza is now known as Reserve, the county seat of Catron County, where the right to bear arms is so much defended that an ordinance was passed a few years ago, requiring the presence of guns in every household.

Larry D. Ball, an Arkansas State University professor of history, has made a valiant and largely successful attempt to document the fanciful, highly embellished record of Baca's life. Much of the record may be traced to Baca's inventive autobiographical sketch, distributed in a 1924 political campaign and updated when he was, variously, the Republican, Democratic, or an independent candidate in several subsequent electoral races, the last of which was an unsuccessful 1944 run for Bernalillo County District Attorney.

Professor Ball's slim volume is a good companion piece for journalist Howard Bryan's more reader-friendly, but considerably less scholarly *Incredible Elfego Baca: Good Man, Bad Man of the Old West* (Santa Fe: Clear Light, 1993). The authors credit each other and make similar observations about the scarcity of certain significant documentation, inconsistencies in important testimonies, and inaccuracies in published accounts. Both repeat often-published stories such as the infant's brief kidnapping; teenage hell-raising with ("a," probably not "the") Billy the Kid; involvement with the jailbreaks of his father in 1881 and a Mexican Revolutionary General in 1914; the short-term, mutually antagonistic association with Pancho Villa, long-term political allegiance to Albert B. Fall, and curious alliance with the powerful Senator Bronson Cutting.

Bryan's book is a good story; Ball's book is a comprehensive study, which is fully, thoroughly and most satisfyingly documented. A cover political cartoon, and 1883 Railroad & Township Map of southern New Mexico, two photographs of Baca and three of historic structures relative to his life, all courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, were excellent illustration choices. The 21 pages of notes eruditely present both substantiating and controversial evidence relative to episodes in the life

of one of Socorro's most famous sons. Professor Ball has contributed a most welcome addition to the modest body of Elfego Baca literature.

M. A. Walton
Las Cruces, NM

A Hundred Years of Horsetracks: The Story of the Gray Ranch by George Hilliard. Foreword by David Remley. Silver City: High-Lonesome Books, 1996. 176 pages, maps, index, bibliography. Hardcover: \$25.00

This small volume belongs on the bookshelf of anyone seriously interested in New Mexico ranching affairs. David Remley's foreword points out that books on our state's ranches are not common and that this one is told in a lively and conversational style. It makes no pretense of being encyclopedic and is, therefore, short enough to be digested in one long, or several shorter sittings.

Of ranch literature, the flagship work, David Remley's earlier *Bell Ranch* is the product of a professional historian. It is a highly detailed and polished work. William French's *Recollections of a Western Ranchman*, however, is the memoir of a British rancher and fascinating because of the author's European perspective. *Ranch on the Ruidoso* and *The Chases of Cimarron* are first and third-person accounts of particular families. Hilliard's book is close in spirit and in tone to the latter two, but is the account of the development of a particular spread which outlived its original owners. The narrative focuses not only on the owners, but also on the cowboys. Unusual for a work driven by reminiscences, *A Hundred Years of Horsetracks* most approaches the Remley volume in placing its events in regional and national historical context.

Today's Gray Ranch, also known as the Diamond A (but not to be confused with the Lincoln and Chaves County ranch of the same name), is 510 square miles in extent, or half the size of the state or Rhode Island! In 1905 it was much larger, and stretched from Engle to the Bootheel. Known historical figures populate the volume's pages: Old Man Clanton, Curly Bill Brocius, and Geronimo, as well as the not-so-known: Henry Brock, H. A. Jastro, and *El Sanador*.

Oral history was in its academic infancy in 1953 when former cowboy Henry Brock was interviewed. As a young man in 1887 he began what he thought was temporary work for the Gray Ranch, stayed 17 years, and rose to cow boss of the whole operation! His interviews are the foundation for early firsthand knowledge of the Gray Ranch because period paperwork has not survived.

The Gray Ranch was a notable spread, not only for its size and longevity, but also for its corporate nature. It was operated by the California-based Kern County Land Company, an early conglomerate, owning among other enterprises, the Case tractor company. The long-

time ranch superintendent, Henry A. Jastro, so successfully managed the Gray Ranch as to enable the two partners owning the company to enter into the exclusive fraternity of “cattle barons.”

Francis Schlatter, an itinerant holy man originally from Alsace, was known in the Territory as *El Sanador* (the healer). His feats were well enough known to be able to draw a respectable crowd and he was alleged to eat only unleavened bread and water. Diet, however, was not his only idiosyncrasy. He rode a large white horse, wore a flowing white robe, and amazed Gray Ranch hands with his forty pound electrically charged bronze staff!

A Hundred Years of Horsetracks is unusual in its straightforward treatment of one of the most contentious current issues concerning public land use. The issue is, of course, overgrazing. Hilliard demonstrates that it, indeed, did occur historically and puts the practice in its proper historical context. Not an ideologue, he explains the rise and fall of the Diamond A and its eventual acquisition by the Nature Conservancy and, most recently, the Animas Foundation.

This book is a genuine contribution to Southern New Mexico history. It is that rare combination, both a pleasure to read and a genuinely successful presentation of the way things were. George Hilliard has produced a volume of note, worthy of a literary award.

Robert L. Hart
Las Cruces, NM

Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797 by C.M. Stafford Poole. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996. 325 pages. Hardcover: \$19.95

Our Lady of Guadalupe offers a new scheme of the written history of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Stafford Poole, a Roman Catholic priest and historian, utilizes the classical method (thesis, proof of thesis, documentation and conclusion) to support that 1648 was the year of the actual mythification of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. His thesis is based on the distinction between the worship of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the written history of her supposedly miraculous apparition.

The worship of the Lady of Guadalupe which began in 1530 or 1531, was principally done so by the *Criollos* (the sons of Spaniards born in New Spain) and not by the indigenous people. For the *Criollos*, worshipping the Virgin signified an affirmation of identity, a religious attitude of an incipient spirit of independence. In relation to the Spanish-peninsular worship of the *Virgen de los Remedios*, this worship was very local and marginal. During this period, worshippers spoke of the Lady of Guadalupe's miracles, but not of her miraculous apparition (“it was

regarded as miraculous in the sense that it worked miracles, not that it was miraculous in origin” 63); and even less was said or written about her miraculous image on Juan Diego's *tilma* (“the image was of human manufacture but was still believed by some to work miracles” 64).

The Lady of Guadalupe went through a process of resymbolization in 1648 with the publication of a book written by Father Miguel Sanchez, *Imagen de la Virgen Maria, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe, Milagrosamente Aparecida en la Ciudad de Mexico*. The re-symbolization was supported and affirmed in a subsequent book, *Huey Tlamahuicoltica*, written by Father Luis Laso de la Vega. In *Huey* appears the famous account of *Nican Mopobua* which describes the miraculous apparition of the Virgin to Juan Diego.

With his text *Imagen*, Sanchez reaffirmed the *Criollos'* nationalistic plan. It would signify the second birth of the Virgin of Guadalupe in the New World, and would give *Criollismo* a new identity; the *Criollos* would be the chosen ones. They felt they would no longer be second class citizens and now would represent a national and religious plan. The propagation of the myth of the Lady of Guadalupe's apparition initiated a new sociocultural cycle. Miguel Sanchez, according to Poole, is the one “responsible for the refiguration of the Virgin (214). It offered *Criollismo* “an empowering symbol” (214). Poole points out that this national symbolism had the distinction of having a local effect, only taking place in Mexico City. It is important to understand that this *Distrito Federal* centrism is a characteristic inherited from that plan, initiated, as Poole mentions in passing, by Bernardo de Balbuena in his *Grandeza Mexicana* written in 1604.

Poole also compares the two texts, *Imagen* written by Sanchez and *Nican* authored by Laso. He points out that even though both texts used oral testimonies as a point of departure, Sanchez' work has a *Criollo* perspective, while Laso's is indigenous. However, both document a faith and a religious plan of independence from the Spanish peninsula. From these texts stem the rapid acceptance and popularity of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, conceived as a miraculous image solely from divine providence.

Our Lady of Guadalupe, helps us understand the process of the mythification of Our Lady of Guadalupe's apparition. This book allows us to understand the Church's dilemma regarding the beatification of Juan Diego and the divine origin of the *tilma* of Guadalupe.

Dr. Jose Manual Garcia
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DOÑA ANA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Memorial

James R. “Jim” Carter, decorated World War II flying “ace,” 28-year U.S. Air Force veteran, western history aficionado, and tireless researcher of pioneer trail routes, was a longtime and valued member of the Doña Ana County Historical Society.

A native of Pullman, Washington, his early leadership qualities were recognized by his election to President of his Junior and Senior High School classes and as President of the Student Body. He also lettered in basketball and football.

He attended Washington State University and the University of North Carolina, and was graduated from the University of Florida with a B.S. degree in Aeronautical Engineering.

Between his 1941 enlistment and appointment as an Aviation Cadet, and 1969 retirement with the rank of colonel, he had a variety of increasingly demanding assignments in Alaska and the continental United States, Europe, and the far east. His final military assignment was as Chief, Athena Test Field Office, Space and Missile Systems Organization, White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico.

His military decorations include the Silver Star, Distinguished Flying Cross with two Oak Leaf Clusters, the Air Medal with 11 Oak Leaf Clusters, and the French *Croix-de Guerre*, and the Legion of Merit.

His retirement years were busy with historical research, discovering and leading field trips to segments of the Butterfield and Southwest Mormon trails, and working to have those trails mapped, registered, and protected. He was a golfer, an active member of the Methodist church, and maintained his Air Force contacts with an enthusiastic membership in Holloman Air Force Base’s Daedalian Society.

Jim died April 16, 1996 at Memorial Medical Center in Las Cruces. He is survived by his wife Marion, three children and four grandchildren.



Jerald A. “Jerry” Warner, 37-year U.S. Air Force veteran, indefatigable participant in community service activities, and flower gardener *extraordinaire*, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Doña Ana County Historical Society.

A native of Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, he was graduated from Ewing High School, Trenton, New Jersey in 1954. He enlisted in the United States Air force and, in 1961 was selected for Officer Candidate School.

He was graduated from Squadron Officer School, Air Command and Staff College and the Air War College, and from Troy State University, from which he received a B.S. degree in Management.

From his first posting with the 685th Aircraft Control and Warning Squadron, Las Cruces, New Mexico, to his ultimate assignment as Deputy Commander for Operations (radar and communications), 602nd Tactical Air Control Wing, Davis Monthan Air Force Base, Tucson, Arizona, he faced progressively challenging positions in the United States and in Bremerhaven, Butzback, Hesisch Oldendorf, and Kapaun Air Station, Germany; Kangnung, Korea; and Bawdsey, England.

His military decorations include the Legion of Merit, three Meritorious Service Medals, and three Air Force Commendation Medals.

His brief six retirement years brought his return to Las Cruces, where he had met and married Nancy Ann Prichard during his initial assignment. He was active in numerous charitable, service, and cultural activities. He was current President of the Lions Club, a member of the Board of Trustees for the Memorial Medical Center Foundation, Secretary/Treasurer of the Retired Officers’ Association, a member of the Branigan Cultural Center Foundation and co-manager with his wife of the Center’s Gift Shop.

Jerry died June 4, 1997 at William Beaumont Army Medical Center following a brief illness. He is survived by his wife Nancy Ann and his son Dirk Calvin Warner of Madrid, New Mexico.



DOÑA ANA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Memorial, continued



Dr. Clyde W. Tombaugh, discoverer of the planet Pluto, internationally renowned astronomer, founder of the New Mexico State University Department of Astronomy, inspiration for Southern New Mexico's Tortugas Mountain and Sunspot Observatories, and

practicing punster, was a long time friend of and fundraiser for the Doña Ana County Historical Society.

Raised on a Kansas farm, he was a self-taught astronomer until after his February 18, 1930 find of the ninth planet from the sun, after which he was awarded a scholarship to Kansas City. His later work led to the Great Perseus-Andromeda stratum of galaxies and the development of optical telescopes to track ballistic missiles.

Dr. Tombaugh died January 17, 1997 at his Mesilla Park home, after several years of progressively ill health. He is survived by his wife of 62 years, Patsy and two children, Annette and Alden, all of Las Cruces.

Note: David H. Levy's Book, Clyde Tombaugh - Discoverer of Planet Pluto, was reviewed by Dr. Herbert Beebe in the initial issue of the Southern New Mexico Historical Review (Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan 1994) and Patsy Tombaugh's reminiscences of their life together appeared in the most recent issue (Vol. IV, No. 1, Jan. 1997).

Inquiry

In Search of "Uncle Johnny"

by

Edward M. Perdue and Hazel A. Garland

John "Jack" William Adkins was born in Parsonsburg, Maryland, September 24, 1889, and was last seen thirty-eight years later on the Estonia-Soviet Russia border December 23, 1927. He was a footloose adventurer who stayed in intermittent contact with his family and a lady friend, Sallie Edna Laws, through infrequent letters and postcards.

Raised in Wango, Maryland, Jack completed the seven grades of Wango School in 1901, then worked in the Wango Basket Factory until 1911 when he left for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and became a streetcar conductor for about a year. During that time he may have been married briefly to someone he called Dearie, whose parents objected to the elopement, and who may have lived in Willow Grove, Pennsylvania. There is a speculation that Jack may have been associated with the early 20th century Socialist labor organization the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) or "Wobblies," which had been founded in Chicago. Jack was in Chicago in mid 1912, when he sent a postcard to Edna Laws advising that he was "going a round about way," presumably to Panama where he worked



The "bridge of shower baths," a mechanism to wash down livestock over an *acequia*. Note the horizontal water pipe above the bridge at right and the electricity transformer on a pole at the left with U.S. Sixth Infantry barracks at Fort Bliss. Photograph dated August 10, 1914.

on the Canal through early 1914.

Later that year Jack was in west Texas and southern New Mexico. He sent home photographs taken in El Paso and unidentified rural southwestern sites, including an ostrich farm. During the 1914-1915 winter he worked on a ranch near Berino, New Mexico. The ranch produced alfalfa but was "going into the dairy business soon." Although he did not mention any names, Jack wrote that he liked his boss and the ranch was one mile from one that



1914-1915 studio portrait, Jack Adkins, New Mexico "cowboy"

had grown "the alfalfa that won first prize at the world's fair at St. Louis." He bragged on the variety and quality of fruit produced (either on the ranch or in the area) and he was impressed with the promise of the Elephant Butte Dam, "the largest irrigation project that the USA has ever undertaken." He claimed the work was pleasant and seemed amused by "digging wood" (mesquite roots) to fuel the fire for heat; he also had a photograph made of himself in a fancy "cowboy" outfit.

Late summer 1915 found him in Los Angeles, California, then San Francisco for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition marking completion of the Panama Canal. From there he may have shipped out, either as a seaman or as a tourist. In November 1916

he was in Seattle, Washington, where he wrote cards describing events that had happened in harbors or at sea from the Golden Gate to Prince William Sound. From January until April 1917 Jack worked as a miner in Butte, Montana. That May he passed through Seattle again on his way to the Alaskan gold fields, where he lived various places for nine years. Toward the end of that period he received news from Edna Laws (who appeared in photographs with Jack and his family as early as 1907 and with whom he had been corresponding regularly since 1912) that she was through with him. He lamented to his mother that "...she was writing for no serious intentions ...I have been deeply in love with her..." In January 1924 Edna married Thomas McDonough, who had been Jack's friend in Philadelphia and in Alaska.

The end of July 1926, with \$1050 in travelers' checks, he declared for Argentina via Siberia, Japan and Australia. In Siberia he was arrested for lack of a passport and sent to Moscow where he was allowed to work until November 1927, at which time he was deported to Estonia. Detained by Estonian police, he refused help from the American Consulate in Tallinn, and was escorted back to the USSR border on December 23.

Seventy years later his family is still trying to reconstruct his travels and determine his fate. If you knew or knew of John "Jack" William Adkins, who would have been 24 years old when living in southern Doña Ana County, please contact:

Edward M. Perdue
135 E. Main Street, Unit C7
Westboro, MA 01581
(508) 870-0187

OR

Hazel A. Garland
415 Plainview Avenue
Edgewater, MD 21037
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1996-1997

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The Doña Ana County Historical Society will consider for publication original articles concerning events, people, organizations, institutions, structures, and natural formations of historical significance to the southern part of the state of New Mexico, i.e. south of Interstate 40. All submissions should deal with either documented fact or authentic personal memory.

There is no stipend for articles published, but each author will receive a copy of the *Review* in which the article appears. Articles which have been previously published will not normally be considered unless there is a compelling reason to do so. Clear information concerning prior publication should accompany submissions. A copy of the manuscript should be kept by the author. The original submission may not be returned or may be returned with editorial marks or comments. The Doña Ana County Historical Society assumes no responsibility for lost or misdirected manuscripts.

Length and Format: Manuscripts should be double-spaced on 8-1/2 x 11 inch paper, one side only, standard margins. All text, block quotations, captions, tables, notes and references must be double-spaced. The maximum length should be 20 pages, including all illustrative materials and documentation.

Illustrations, Documentation and Style: All photographs and other illustrations should be unmounted and identified on the back with date, source, and a brief descriptive caption. Maps should include scale and a north directional arrow. All tables should be numbered, briefly titled, and cited by number in the text. See past issues of the *Review* for style of citation in references and notes.

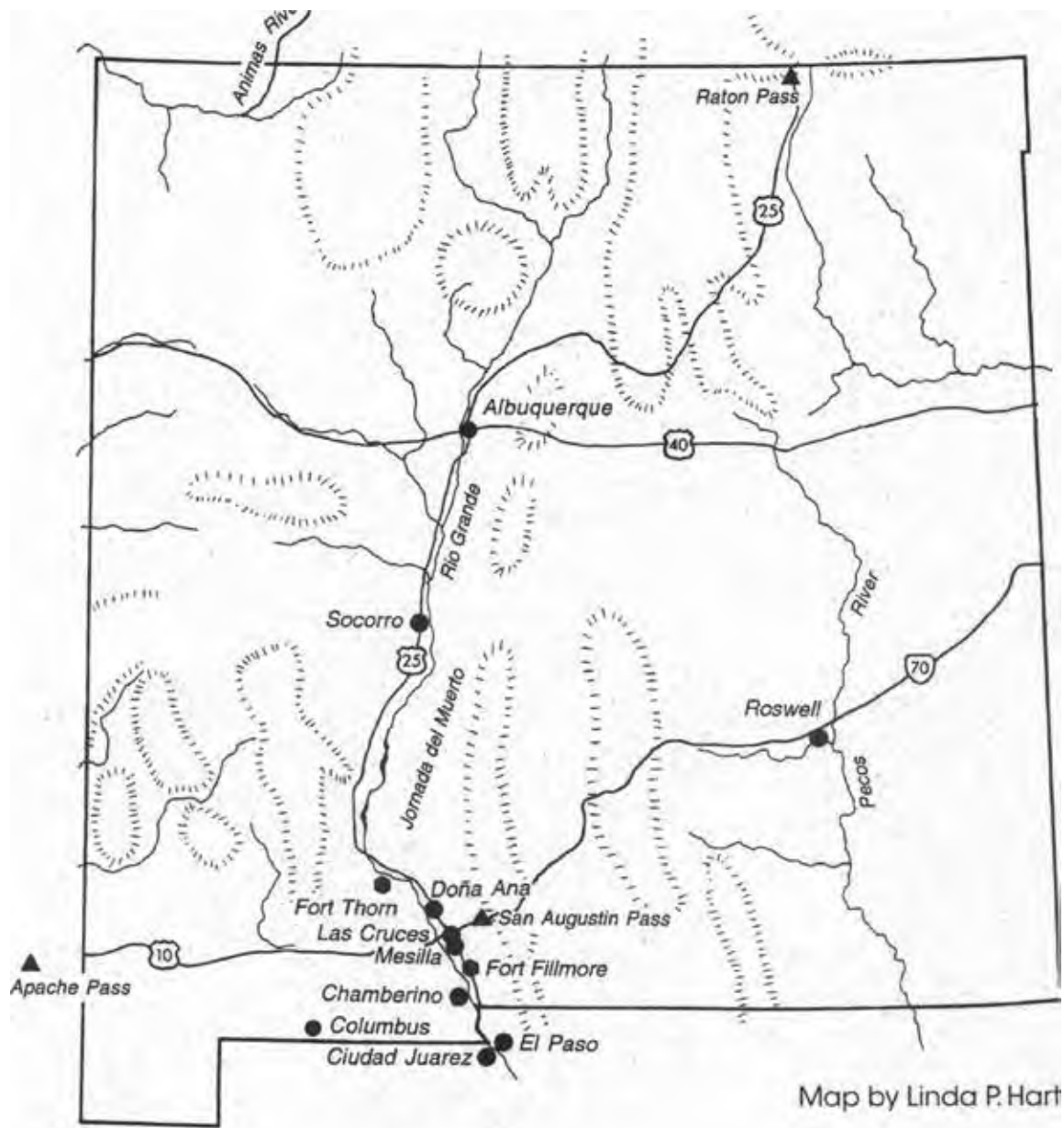
Vita: A brief (100 to 150 words) biographical sketch of the author together with name, address and telephone number, should accompany submissions.

Book Reviews: Reviews of books relating to southern New Mexico may be submitted. These should be one to two pages long in regular manuscript format.

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