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A HISTORY OF POPULATION
IN THE EL PASO-CIUDAD JUAREZ AREA

by
J. Lawrence McConville

A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
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PREFACE

During the summer of 1965 representatives of the border states of the United States and Mexico met at Tres Lagunas, New Mexico, to determine whether their common interests and problems might lend themselves to regional cooperation efforts. The result of this meeting was the formation of the Mexican-American Border States Organization, which met for the first time on September 25, 1965, at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

This thesis was conceived with essentially the same point of view; that is, the idea that the history of the people of the Southwest and Northern Mexico has a unity that makes it somewhat different from either the history of the United States or the history of Mexico. The El Paso-Ciudad Juárez area seemed to lend itself particularly to treatment on the regional level.

The writer also felt that the interdepartmentalist point of view would be of significant value in approaching such a topic. Clearly, it is quite inadequate to allow excessive emphasis to be placed on nationalism, economic determinism, military and political history, and the "great man" theory of history. These fixations can at times be so limiting as to be unscientific and

unscholarly, and while they often add color and interest to historical narration, they rarely offer insights into the ways of life of the great mass of the people.

With this in mind, the writer decided to consider the topic from the point of view of the history of population. From such a point of view, the ecological, historical, sociological, anthropological, and economic aspects of man are reduced to a common denominator. This approach is necessary, because if the area has any special significance at all, it is due to the kinds of cultural experiences of the peoples of the region.

Finally, it would only be appropriate for the writer to confess one additional bias. I have long felt that in the long run--and in spite of culture conflict and disorganization--the individual who experiences substantial, pervasive bicultural experiences attains a rather unusual degree of personal autonomy, insight, and tolerance. That a value should be placed on such things is clearly a prejudice of the writer. But somehow, when I consider the long history of inter-American relations, the prejudice rests lightly on my conscience.

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CHAPTER I

THE EL PASO-CIUDAD JUAREZ AREA

BEFORE THE PUEBLO REVOLT

The history of human occupation of the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez area has considerable significance for the human ecologist, for this region presents many natural obstacles to extensive human occupation. The natural environment of the region can be described as a single theme with few variations.

The northern end of the Mexican Central Plateau is a high-altitude desert, and its characteristic physiographic unit is the bolsón. A bolsón is a wide, shallow basin, walled in by parallel ranges of steep, rugged, and typically bare mountains. In the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez area these ranges are almost all aligned along a north-south or northwest-southeast axis. The northern and southern ends of these bolsones are characterized by broad, open passes, or puertos, which are high enough to form water divides and make the bolsones interior-drainage basins. The bottoms of bolsones usually contain one or more ephemeral lakes, or lagunas, in which the waters from summer convectional showers collect and evaporate. These lagunas are almost always high in dissolved salts; as a result, little plant life is found in their vicinity. As the

laguna evaporates, a salt crust and dried mud flats take its place until the next convectional shower.

Occasionally adjacent bolsones become connected in chains and support intermittent streams and rivers. In most cases these streams end in a laguna in the bolsón which is at the lowest elevation of those through which they pass. Only two such rivers have been able to cut canyons against the alignment of the mountains and drain into the Gulf of Mexico--the Río Grande and the Río Conchos. The Middle Río Grande Valley, in which El Paso and Cd. Juárez are located, is along such a river.

Rainfall and the volume of river water are both very slight. Eight to ten inches is normal for the year; sometimes even less falls. Most of the rivers and streams are dry part of the year, mainly in winter and early spring. Both daily and seasonal extremes in temperature are great. The world's "heat equator" passes through this region; yet bitter cold and snowfall are not unknown in winter. From March to June severe sand and dust storms, sometimes lasting several days, are common.

The entire area has been mineralized to some extent at various times in the geologic past, and virtually every mountain range possesses some exploitable mineral resources. Salt beds, resulting from evaporation from the numerous lagunas, have also been exploited.

Creosote bush, lechuguilla, sotol, barrel cactus, all-thorn,

mesquite, candelilla, guayule, various species of yucca, salt bushes, grama grass, tobosa grass, acacias, crucifixion thorn, cat's claw and ocotillo are typical of the region's natural vegetation. Candelilla is a source of a high-melting-point wax; guayule is a source of rubber. The latter would be of considerable economic value if it grew near convenient transportation centers, but it is found only in remote areas of the Chihuahuan Desert.¹

The mammals found in this region are the Mexican prairie dog, the jack rabbit, the kit fox, and the kangaroo rat.² These are not of significant economic importance, although pre-Spanish hunting and gathering groups apparently included such items in their diet. There is good evidence that deer and antelope were once more common in the area than they are at present. Their remains have been found in the Hueco Cave Dwellers' habitations near El Paso.³

The bottom-lands of the bolsones and river valleys are usually of sand, silt, and loam, with coarse textures and an

¹ Edmund C. Jaeger, The North American Deserts, (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 33-49.

² Dee Ann Suhm and Alex D. Kreiger, "An Introductory Handbook of Texas Archaeology," Texas Archaeological Society Bulletin, XXV (1954), 31-35.

³ Jaeger, p.48.

admixture of gravel near the borders of the mountains. The center of the bolsón, surrounding the laguna, is unfavorable for cultivation in most cases because of the saline condition of the soil. Surrounding this area, at a slightly higher elevation, the soils are often of a quality suitable for cultivation. Some bolsón bottoms are chiefly made up of sand and support little vegetation.⁴ In two cases--the Tularosa Valley and the Médanos de Samalayuca--extensive sand dunes are found.

It is the combination of infrequent rainfall, rapid runoff, and dissolved salts which precludes agriculture in most bolsones. The river-connected valleys generally have more regular and controllable water supplies. But in no case are the valley bottom-lands very wide; thus they offer a rather limited irrigable surface area. Floods and changes in course are also common.

Given these conditions, it would be difficult to conceive of a region that has less to recommend it for human occupation. But if the appearance of the metropolis of El Paso-Ciudad Juárez is a problem in human ecology, it poses an even more intriguing problem in human culture and motivation.

How these people have remained here is a question of the relationship of man and his technology to the environment. The question of why these people came here is the complement of this

⁴The Bolsón Maijoma, southwest of Ojinaga, Chihuahua, is an example. The Jornada del Muerto of New Mexico is similar.

aspect, and involves cultural patterns, institutions, and groups. It is with these approaches that the history of population in this area will be discussed.

The difficulty of living in the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area is perhaps suggested by the fact that throughout its history it has been located on the periphery of cultures whose centers were located elsewhere.

Perhaps the most important of prehistoric cultures to influence this area was the Mogollón. These peoples developed in the mountains of west central New Mexico and east central Arizona after 300 or 200 B.C.; by the time of Christ their culture was well-established. Rather successfully adapted to their environment at their peak, these peoples lived in pit-houses and had large ceremonial structures. By 700 A.D. they were expanding into the El Paso area.⁵

Several rock shelters and open campsites have been dated in trans-Pecos Texas, mainly in the Big Bend, Pecos River, and Davis Mountains areas. Two of these sites show no evidence of prehistoric agriculture; food-gathering, hunting and fishing

⁵John C. MacGregor, Southwestern Archaeology, (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 12-14, 218.

formed their economic base.⁶ At a third, designated the Chisos Focus of the Big Bend Aspect, there is evidence that corn, beans and squash were cultivated. Possible dates for this culture are 800-1400 A.D.⁷ The relationship between these cultures and the Mogollón intrusion farther west is unclear.⁸

That extension of Mogollón culture into the Middle Río Grande Valley about 700-900 A.D. has been designated as the Jornada Branch. The Hueco Phase of the Jornada Branch appeared before 900 A.D. These people lived in rock shelters, caves, and at open campsites. Their economy, based on hunting deer, antelope and small game, was supplemented by gathering wild food products such as cacti, mesquite beans, sotol, agarita berries, grass and yucca seeds, agave and lechuguilla. The latest part of the phase shows evidence of corn and squash cultivation and possibly cotton as well. Pottery developed at the same time. The atlatl and digging stick were among their tools and weapons. Shells found at Hueco sites suggest contacts with the Gulf of California.⁹ There may be a connection between the Hueco Phase and Médanos red-on-brown pottery found scattered through

⁶Suhm and Kreiger, pp. 52-56, 59-62

⁷Ibid., pp. 56-59

⁸Ibid., pp. 59-62

⁹MacGregor, pp. 359-60, and Suhm and Kreiger, pp. 31-35.

northern Chihuahua. This pottery predominates in the Médanos de Samalayuca; 1000 A.D. has been suggested as a date.¹⁰

The Hueco Phase gradually developed and differentiated into the Mesilla Phase in the valley as well as the Capitán Phase of southeastern New Mexico.¹¹ The Mesilla Phase dates from 900-1100 A.D.¹² Both rectangular and circular pit-houses appear in village sites at Los Tules (Mesilla Dam) and La Cueva (Las Cruces). The economy of the phase was based on a combination of hunting, gathering, and agriculture.¹³

Succeeding phases of the Jornada Branch of the Mogollón culture show strong Anasazi influences. The Anasazi became a well-developed pueblo culture by 1000 A.D.; by 1200 A.D. they had spread as far south as the El Paso area. After 1400 this influence retreated northward somewhat.¹⁴

The Doña Ana Phase of the Jornada (1100-1200 A.D.) is directly descended from the Mesilla Phase, which it strongly

¹⁰ Edwin Booth Sayles, "An Archaeological Survey of Texas," "Some Southwestern Pottery Types," and "An Archaeological Survey of Chihuahua," Medallion Papers, Nos. XVII (May, 1935), Table I; XXI (May, 1936); XXII (May, 1936), pp. 1-4.

¹¹ Suhm and Kreiger, pp. 31-35

¹² MacGregor, pp. 359-60

¹³ Suhm and Kreiger, pp. 36-39

¹⁴ MacGregor, pp. 17-21

resembles.¹⁵ The chief difference is that although pit-houses are still found, most dwellings were adobe-walled--showing pueblo (Anasazi) influence from the North.¹⁶

The El Paso Phase (1100-1400 A.D.) shows even stronger Anasazi influence and suggests a number of population movements for unknown reasons. These people built villages on alluvial terraces along the Río Grande. They gradually spread as far south as the junction with the Río Conchos, and perhaps continued southwestward ascending the Conchos.¹⁷ El Paso Phase influence is also shown at sites in the Tularosa Valley.

The villages of this phase are characterized by one-story multi-roomed adobe dwellings grouped around plazas or in long tiers of rooms. Their economy was essentially the same as earlier phases of the Jornada.¹⁸ Pottery found at El Paso Phase sites shows relationships with much of central New Mexico, the Zuñi district, and areas of Chihuahua.¹⁹

The Bravo Valley Aspect suggests the spread of the El Paso Phase. Located at the junction of the Ríos Grande and Conchos

¹⁵Suhm and Kreiger, pp. 39-40.

¹⁶MacGregor, pp. 359-60.

¹⁷Suhm and Krieger, pp. 41-44.

¹⁸Ibid. and MacGregor, pp. 359-60.

¹⁹Suhm and Krieger, pp. 41-44.

in the Presidio Valley, this development shows a variety of types of dwellings, ranging from rock shelters to small caves, pit-houses, and small villages of adobe. Corn, beans and squash were cultivated, but hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild plants continued. Dates for this aspect range from 1200-1800.²⁰

Shortly after 1400 A.D. the El Paso Phase seems to have disappeared rather suddenly. Climatic changes may have forced migration to other regions, or the presence of nomadic invaders may have been responsible. Perhaps both factors operated.²¹

It should be noted that the Bravo Valley Aspect survived the El Paso Phase, and the dates given for these people would place them in the historic period and among the groups encountered by early Spanish explorers.

Mogollón groups also manifested themselves in two other areas--southwestern New Mexico and northwestern Chihuahua. In Chihuahua, Casas Grandes pueblo culture has been dated from 900-1400 A.D. These people practiced agriculture under irrigation.²² The fact that they abandoned the region about

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 45-48

²¹ Ibid., pp. 41-44

²² Leon Barri, Jr., "Chihuahua y su cultura a través de los siglos," Historia mexicana, III, no. 3 (January-March, 1954), pp. 423-38.

the same time as the El Paso Phase people suggests that the two groups may have been subject to similar influences and conditions. Casas Grandes pottery shows strong influence from central Mexico; such designs as the Plumed Serpent are found here. This culture also shares traits with the La Quemada-Totate-Chalchihuites culture of Zacatecas.²³

In southwestern New Mexico, the Mogollón developed into the Mimbres culture. Distinguished today chiefly by their pottery, these people appeared after 1000 A.D. They built one-story pueblos with walls of river boulders around courtyards.²⁴ Mimbres culture was contemporaneous with late Doña Ana and early El Paso Phases in the Jornada Branch. Also, there are apparently connections between Mimbres and Casas Grandes.²⁵

Many problems arise in discussing the history of pre-Hispanic peoples in the region due to the insufficient amount of archaeological work done in northern Mexico. Because of this many possibly important relationships are obscured and

²³ Henry A. Carey, "An Analysis of the Northwestern Chihuahua Culture," American Anthropologist, XXXIII, no. 3 (July-September, 1931) pp. 342-, 356-58.

²⁴ MacGregor, pp. 360-64.

²⁵ MacGregor, p. 364.

open only to speculation. Aside from Sayles' work, there is probably more archaeological folklore than scientific data available for this area.²⁶ This writer agrees with Barri that there is such a vast amount of archaeological work remaining to be done in Chihuahua that positive pre-history statements are difficult to make.²⁷

Nearly 120 years lapsed between the first Spanish intrusion into the Southwest by Vázquez de Coronado and the founding of the mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso in 1659. During this time there were apparently no successful attempts to establish Spanish civil colonies or Indian reducciones in the El Paso area. Following 1598 there was

²⁶ Sayles, "An Archaeological Survey of Chihuahua," Medallion Papers, No. XXII (May, 1936). In some ways Sayles' study may actually be good negative evidence. He mentions finding several house ruins in Northeastern Chihuahua, and only one group of single-room houses with stone foundations in this area (Sayles, "An Archaeological Survey of Chihuahua," pp. 27-29). All other sites consisted of crude campsites and shelters. Apparently the desolation and insignificant population of this large area has been the case for many centuries.

Some say that a "great city" lies buried beneath the dunes of the Médanos de Samalayuca (Barri, "Chihuahua y su cultura...", p. 432). If the type of pottery Sayles has found there can be used to infer the cultural level of the inhabitants of the supposed city, we can only conclude that myths such as those of Cíbola and Gran Quivira are not yet dead!

²⁷ Barri, p. 432.

important Spanish activity in New Mexico to the north, and the chief sources of information on the El Paso area stem from reports of early missionaries and explorers and from establishment of a commercial route connecting Santa Fe with Parral and Mexico City.

Compared with northern New Mexico, the Spaniards found little in the El Paso area to recommend it. The majority of the peoples were nomadic hunters and gatherers, possessing rather simple technologies and few attributes appropriate to life in Spanish civil society. Reports of those who traveled through this region during these years make precise, scientific statements about the region's ethnology difficult.

Several scholarly attempts have been made to clarify the information about the region's indigenous peoples, but many problems remain. Observers often assigned different names to the same groups, implying differences in culture not verified by group comparisons. Some observers report rather exaggerated population figures for native settlements. Considerable confusion no doubt arose because of the high mobility of many hunting-and-gathering peoples. Furthermore, the intrusive influence from other culture areas, as shown in the archaeological evidence, increases the difficulty of defining specific groups.

For the above reasons, no pretense is made here of dis-

cussing these groups in a definitive way, and the value of this attempt will be more impressionistic than scientific. A general discussion of these groups will be followed by a chronological summary of observers' reports.

A highly simplified description of the cultures of the region about 1550 might show the following: (1) a large group of nomadic peoples in central Chihuahua--chiefly the Conchos and their relatives; (2) another group of nomadic Apaches in southern New Mexico and northern Chihuahua and trans-Pecos Texas, known by a great variety of tribal names; and (3) a few sedentary and semi-sedentary groups living from time to time at La Junta or in the Río Grande or Río Conchos Valleys.

Many names can be found designating the nomadic tribes of northern Chihuahua. Carl Sauer suggests that the Sumas, Janos, Jocomes, Chinarras, Mamites and Julimes are not essentially different from the Conchos nomads. He further suggests that the Conchos suffered losses with the spread of the more war-like Apaches.²⁸

²⁸Carl Ortwin Sauer, "The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico," Ibero-Americana, no. 5 (1934), pp. 62-63, 75; and Vina Walz, History of the El Paso Area: 1680-1692, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, 1951, unpublished doctoral dissertation, pp. 8-10.

Jack D. Forbes disagrees with Sauer and shows archival documents linking the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, Cholomes, Jumanos and perhaps others with the Apaches, giving them an Athapaskan origin. The Conchos appear to be definitely Uto-Aztecan. The Julimes may also have belonged to this linguistic stock, although the evidence is sketchy.²⁹ In 1942, Baudelio Pérez, a Chihuahuan historian, came to the same conclusion as Forbes.³⁰

Miguel Othón de Mendizábal notes the locations of six "jumano" villages in the Río Grande Valley between El Paso and La Junta: Atripuy, Genovey, Quelotetrey, Pataeotrey, Salinas and Isleta.³¹

The agriculturalists of the La Junta area--whatever their names--ate ground mesquite, made a kind of bread (mexcalo), and grew beans, squash, maize and tunas. This diet was supplemented by almost every variety of desert

²⁹Jack D. Forbes, "Unknown Athapaskans: The Identification of the Jano, Jcome, Jumano, Manso, Suma and Other Indian Tribes of the Southwest," Ethnohistory, VI, no. 2 (Spring, 1959), p. 144.

³⁰Baudelio Pérez, "Las Tribus Aborígenes de la Región de Ciudad Juárez," Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, IV, no. 5 (October 20, 1942), pp. 204-07.

³¹Miguel Othón de Mendizábal, Obras Completas, (Mexico, 1946), p. 253.

animal.³²

The Jumanos were not the only group to engage in some agriculture. Many of the Julimes and some of the La Junta-area Cholomes did also. Some of the nomadic Conchos grew small amounts of corn and squash at their temporary rancherías, but cultivation techniques were simple and hunting was definitely more important.³³

In 1581-82 the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition, using the Río Conchos--La Junta--Río Grande route to New Mexico, provides some early data on indigenous groupings. The expedition found several Conchos rancherías near the modern hamlets of Santo Domingo, Falomir, and Pueblito. Here there are extensive lowlands in the Conchos Valley, and both riverine and temporal farming were practiced by these groups.³⁴ The same expedition found 2000 sedentary Indians living at La Junta and to a point below El Paso,³⁵ but the El Paso-

³²Ibid.

³³Othón de Mendizábal, pp. 250-52.

³⁴J. Charles Kelley, "The Historic Indian Pueblos of La Junta de los Ríos," New Mexico Historical Review, XXVII, no. 4 (October, 1952), p. 283.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 264-65, and Sauer, pp. 65-66

Juárez Valley itself was found to be uninhabited.³⁶

Antonio de Espejo, using the same route one year later, found five pueblos and 10,000 people at La Junta.³⁷ This figure is generally regarded as being too high. Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, leaving for New Mexico in 1590, returned by way of El Paso, and three years later Francisco Leiva de Bonilla and Antonio Gutiérrez de Humaña followed the same trail as Espejo. None of these expeditions shed any light on population and ethnic questions.³⁸

The Oñate colonizing expedition of 1598 was the first to avoid the La Junta route and go through the Médanos to El Paso, striking the river several leagues below the present cities. No mention is made of any groups living in this area at that time.³⁹

During the first half of the seventeenth century missionary

³⁶George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., The Gallegos Relation of the Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, (Santa Fe, N. Mex., El Palacio Press, 1927), p. 23. (Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History, Vol. IV).

³⁷J. Charles Kelley, p. 266.

³⁸Walz, pp. 3-4

³⁹George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628, (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1953), I, p. 314. (Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940).

activity and regional commerce arose and began to influence the indigenous populations. By 1631 a triennial supply caravan used the crossing when travelling to and from New Mexico.⁴⁰ Sometime after 1640 Franciscans began working among the Conchos in northwestern Chihuahua;⁴¹ in 1645 a Conchos rebellion destroyed the mission of San Francisco de Conchos.⁴² By 1647, salt was being hauled from the Bolsón del Diablo east of El Paso to Parral for use in the patio process of silver extraction.⁴³ By 1655 the governors of New Mexico were regularly sending Pueblo and Manso Indians to this salt basin as well as to the Estancia Valley bolsón deposits, 80 miles south of Santa Fe. The same year La Unión and Laguna de los Patos salinas were discovered by the Spanish and similarly exploited.⁴⁴

There is some evidence that a mission was established at

⁴⁰Walz, p.6.

⁴¹Sauer, p. 61.

⁴²Francisco R. Almada, Resumen de historia del estado de Chihuahua, (Mexico, Libros Mexicanos, 1955), p. 62.

⁴³Robert C. West, "The Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District," Ibero-Americana, no. 30 (January, 1949), pp. 36-39.

⁴⁴Ibid. In his "La influencia de la sal..." of his Obras completas, Miguel Othón de Mendizábal points out that these salinas were well-known to indigenous groups and exploited by them (pp. 264-65).

El Paso in 1656 by Fray Francisco Pérez and Fray Juan Cabal. By 1659, however, Fray García de San Francisco had definitely established the Misión Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, to christianize the Mansos, a non-agricultural people living in rancherías in the vicinity. In the same year New Mexico Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal permitted Fray García de San Francisco to bring ten families of Indians from Senecú⁴⁵ to Paso del Norte to instruct the Mansos.⁴⁶ About 1664, Governor Fernando de Villanueva granted the padre more Christianized Indians for use at the new mission.⁴⁷

In 1661 Spanish ranchers began to enter the rich grazing lands of the Casas Grandes district in northwestern Chihuahua.⁴⁸ A year later, Captain Andrés López de García founded the settlement of San Antonio de Casas Grandes.⁴⁹ By 1663, Franciscans

⁴⁵This is the old pueblo of Senecú, near modern Socorro. A new pueblo of Senecú appears at Paso del Norte after 1680.

⁴⁶Alberto Terrazas Valdez, "Fundación de la Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Paso del Norte," Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, III, nos. 4-6 (January-March, 1941), pp. 70-73, citing Bandelier Collection Documents.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 73.

⁴⁸West, pp. 8, 15-16

⁴⁹Almada, Resúmen..., p. 71, and Anne E. Hughes, The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1914), p. 311. (University of California Publications in History, I, no. 3, April, 1914).

had established missions among the Indians at Casas Grandes and Carretas, along the route to Sonora.⁵⁰

Captain Andrés López de García may have been attempting to establish a Spanish settlement at Paso del Norte when he was ordered to go to Casas Grandes in 1663.⁵¹ By 1665 missions had been established at La Soledad de Janos and twelve leagues below Paso del Norte among the Sumas. The location of La Soledad de Janos is uncertain; the Suma mission was abandoned in 1672.⁵²

In 1668 the convento at Guadalupe del Paso was dedicated; 400 persons attended the ceremony. By this time, irrigation, vineyards, and orchards were well-established in the valley. The area had an estimated population of 5000--mainly Sumas and Mansos.⁵³ The mission was the largest way-station between Parral, Santa Fe, and Casas Grandes.⁵⁴ A terrible drought in this region in 1670 presumably had devastating results for

⁵⁰West, p. 90.

⁵¹Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of the North Mexican States and Texas, I (San Francisco, A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1884), p. 365.

⁵²Walz, pp. 19-21.

⁵³Terrazas Valdez, pp. 70-73.

⁵⁴Walz, pp. 18-23.

agriculture in the valley.⁵⁵

Lorenzo Parra E., a Chihuahuan historian, claims that Jesuits founded a mission at San Carlos during 1663-64, south-east of La Junta and about 12 miles northeast of the present town of Manuel Benavides. The writer finds no mention of this event in any other source, and it should be regarded with suspicion. If true, it would be of considerable interest for no Jesuit activity is recorded east of the Sierra Madre except at Santa Ana de Chinarras.⁵⁶

Between 1669 and 1675 the Saline Pueblos of central New Mexico were abandoned due to Apache attacks.⁵⁷ Some of these peoples took refuge in the Río Grande Valley in the vicinity of Socorro; others migrated to the El Paso area. In 1671 Indians from Quarai settled at Isleta del Sur and Piros from Abo settled at Senecú. Tano Indians also settled at the Pass. They formed small, unassimilated settlements among the Sumas

⁵⁵Luis Navarro García, Don José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España, (Sevilla, Publicaciones de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1964), p.25.

⁵⁶Lorenzo Parra E., "Datos Históricos de la Fundación del Pueblo de San Carlos, Chihuahua; Costumbres y Tradiciones," Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, III, no. 4-6 (January-March, 1941), pp. 76-77.

⁵⁷Paul A. F. Walter, The Cities that Died of Fear, (Santa Fe, N. Mex., El Palacio Press, 1931), p. 13 (School of American Research).

and Mansos of the Paso del Norte area.⁵⁸

By 1678 a jurisdictional dispute had arisen between Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries in the region. A viceregal decision declared that the Jesuits had jurisdiction in the Sierra Madre Occidental, while the llanuras y planicies were to be Franciscan territories. During the seventeenth century, the Franciscans spread from the Valle de San Bartolomé (Allende) northward to San Francisco de Conchos, Bachíniva, Namiquipa, Casas Grandes, and Janos,⁵⁹ eventually settling the Conchos westward.⁶⁰

There is some evidence to suggest the existence of a Spanish civilian community at Paso del Norte before 1680, but no records of it have been uncovered.⁶¹ In summary, on the eve of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the El Paso region was primarily inhabited by Athapaskan nomads leading lives not markedly different from pre-Hispanic patterns. Missionary activities had established a few precariously-maintained Indian settlements. Only in the Casas Grandes area were significant numbers of Spanish civilians to be found.

⁵⁸Walz, pp. 22-23, and Walter, pp. 23, 29.

⁵⁹Almada, Resúmen..., p. 77

⁶⁰West, p.68.

⁶¹Walz, p. 25.

CHAPTER II

THE COLONIAL PASO DEL NORTE AREA

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in New Mexico was of great significance in the demographic history of the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area. Approximately two thousand New Mexican colonists fled to this area following the revolt, bringing with them several hundred allied Pueblo Indians. Thus a nucleus of Spanish civil society became permanently established in the area. Paso del Norte became the temporary capital of New Mexico, and this center generated a small missionary expansion in the hinterland.

Besides this sudden influx of refugees, removal of Spanish civilization's control over New Mexico substantially changed the relationships among the various Indian groups to the north. However precarious the Spanish position was in this remote kingdom, the effect of missionary and military activity in New Mexico tended to sharpen the difference between sedentary and nomadic groups by protecting somewhat the sedentary way of life of the Pueblos. To dwell upon the rebellion of the Pueblos tends to obscure this difference. The rebellion was primarily a nativistic movement--

a rather well-known phenomenon in the annals of ethnohistory. But as with virtually all nativistic movements, this one was doomed to fail. By emphasizing the corrosive and disruptive influences of Spanish culture upon many Indian institutions and values, the long-range effects of the removal of Spanish control were probably not adequately foreseen. Without elaborating upon a most crucial and interesting era of New Mexican history, here it suffices to say that there were almost immediate secondary effects upon the El Paso area.

It may be giving Spanish control too much credit to say that its removal alone upset the balance between sedentary and nomadic peoples in the North. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that after 1680 sedentary peoples in New Mexico found themselves in an increasingly disadvantageous position. This has meaning for the El Paso area because various groups from central New Mexico migrated from their pueblos to settle near Paso del Norte. Soon the Paso del Norte area was quite heterogeneous ethnically, as the region became more and more to be a place of refuge. Tanoans fled south for protection from the Apaches and various Plains tribes.¹

It is difficult to distill the most salient facts from the confusion in the Paso del Norte district from 1680-1692.

¹Sayles, "An Archaeological Survey of Texas," pp. 12, 25.

The details of this area have already been the object of thorough studies.² There were many temporary settlements made in the area. There was a general conflict between the governmental authorities and the settlers, as the latter hated and resented living in one concentrated area for defense purposes, preferring to live in dispersed dwellings.³

The refugees suffered deprivations at first, and supplies were obtained from Casas Grandes. Relations with Casas Grandes also seem to have drawn some of the New Mexicans to that area. Governor Antonio de Otermín accused the alcalde mayor of that settlement of encouraging his colonists to abandon Paso del Norte and settle there.⁴ It appears that many refugees were unhappy with conditions at Paso del Norte and gradually abandoned the area, dispersing to other settlements all over Nueva Vizcaya, some going as far as Torreón. A census taken in 1684 shows that there were only 1051 Spanish refugees in the area.⁵ In 1686, Viceroy Conde de la Monclova recognized the problem and ordered all Spaniards who had lived in New Mexico and who had left Paso del Norte to settle at the Río de Janos. Some apparently

²Hughes' The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District, and Walz' History of the El Paso Area: 1680-1692.

³Walz, p. 145.

⁴Ibid., p. 56.

⁵Ibid.

followed these instructions.⁶ It would seem that these efforts to prevent dispersal were not very effective, for Diego de Vargas counted only 100 Spanish settlers and less than 1000 Christianized Indians at Paso del Norte in 1691.⁷

One important population movement which did not result in dispersal occurred in 1682, when Antonio de Otermín, returning from an unsuccessful foray into upper New Mexico, brought back 385 Isletans; these settled at Ysleta del Sur.⁸ In addition, groups of Piros settled at Socorro as well as Senecú.

There were several missions in the Paso del Norte district. Fray Escalante founded a Suma mission among the dunes of the Médanos at Samalayuca;⁹ the site is also known as El Ojito or Santa Gertrudis. A Suma mission established at Guadalupe in 1683 eight leagues below Paso del Norte was destroyed a year later in an uprising. The years 1683-84 were years of Indian rebellions all over the area. Carretas and Janos missions were destroyed, as was Santa Gertrudis. Many Mansos left the Paso del Norte area, and Casas Grandes and Carretas pueblos were abandoned, with tremendous losses. The mission at La Soledad de Janos was also destroyed. The mission San Francisco

p. 28 ⁶Almada, Resúmen..., p. 82

⁷Walz, p. 264

⁸Ibid., p. 67.

⁹Sauer, p. 69.

de los Sumas, founded in 1691, came to an end in less than a year.¹⁰

The Mendoza-López entrada to the La Junta area in 1683-84 found seven "nations" and approximately 500-1000 Indians cultivating corn, wheat, beans, calabashes, watermelons, cantaloupes and tobacco.¹¹ There was a brief period of missionary activity here following this, but it was short-lived, as the friars were soon expelled. There is some evidence to suggest that Indians from La Junta were going up the Conchos to work in the mines of Parral and Santa Bárbara.¹²

In the eighteenth century the Paso del Norte region began to play a greater role in the economy of northern New Spain. New Mexico became a cheap source of cotton and wool textiles for the Parral mining district.¹³ Sheep from New Mexico were driven south through Paso del Norte to Santa Eulalia, Parral, and Cusihiuriachic.¹⁴ The Casas Grandes area began to supply Santa Eulalia and Parral, especially in wheat, maize, and

¹⁰Walz, p. 285.

¹¹Walz, p. 128, and J. Charles Kelley, "The Historic Indian Pueblos...", p. 267.

¹²J. Charles Kelley, "The Historic Indian Pueblos...", p. 281.

¹³West, p. 81.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 63.

vegetables.¹⁵ In the Paso del Norte Valley viniculture became important, and by the late eighteenth century wines and brandy from here were appearing in Parral.¹⁶ In 1778 Juan Bautista de Anza persuaded paseños to take their wine to market in Sonora.¹⁷ The dominance of wine-making in the Paso del Norte economy was to continue through the nineteenth century. Paso del Norte wines achieved considerable fame, and were considered by many to be among the finest wines produced anywhere in New Spain.

A small-scale expansion took place in northeastern Chihuahua during the first decades of the century, mainly in the area between Chihuahua and La Junta. In 1707 the Real de Minas at Santa Eulalia de Chihuahua¹⁸ was revived, after having been abandoned for many years.¹⁹ In conjunction with this mining activity a small smelter was established at San Diego de Alcalá, east of Santa Eulalia.²⁰ By 1717 the Jesuit mission of Santa Ana de Chinarras had

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 69, 122.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁷Navarro García, p. 335.

¹⁸Now Aquiles Serdán, Chih.

¹⁹Almada, Resúmen..., p. 90.

²⁰Almada, Geografía del estado de Chihuahua, (Chihuahua, Chih., 1945), p. 384.

been established.²¹

The Trasviña y Retis expedition in the lower Conchos Valley in 1715 led to missionary activity in the area, and provides information about the peoples living there at that time. The towns of Coyame and Cuchillo Parado were established among the Cholomes as a result. Almada claims that Coyame had been abandoned by the Dominicans in 1725.²²

Missionary activity at La Junta de los Ríos was always somewhat sporadic and erratic.²³ Trasviña y Retis encountered a deserted Santa Cruz pueblo in the Conchos Valley near present-day Falomir or Pueblito.²⁴ At the pueblo of San Pedro, also in the Conchos Valley, he found 190 Cholomes raising maize, wheat, pumpkins, and string beans.²⁵ There were only 24 people at Cuchillo Parado. On the other side of the Sierra Grande²⁶ was

²¹Ibid. In discussing northeastern Chihuahua, there are some difficulties in determining whether some settlements would be more appropriately included in the Chihuahua City area than the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area. These settlements are all certainly within the Chihuahua area, but in as much as there is little available on northeastern Chihuahua as a unit, it was decided to include all of it.

²²Ibid., p. 441.

²³Bancroft, I, p. 593.

²⁴J. Charles Kelley, "The Historic Indian Pueblos...", p.270.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 284-85.

²⁶The Sierra Grande is also known as the Sierra de Cuchillo Parado and the Sierra Ojo Caliente and Cañon de Navarrete.

Mesquite pueblo, where eighty people grew wheat, maize and beans in irrigated plots.²⁷ The explorer found 165 persons living at the pueblo of San Juan Bautista.²⁸

There were three distinct settlements totalling 180 persons at San Francisco de la Junta; the inhabitants were said to be acculturated.²⁹ Good crops of wheat, corn and grains were being harvested on both sides of the river at that time.³⁰ The total population of La Junta area was reported as being 1405.³¹ These La Junta missions were abandoned a second time following an uprising in 1725. The area was not reoccupied until 1732 or 1733.³²

According to Francisco R. Almada, the Hacienda del Carrizal³³ was established by Mateo de la Peña in 1740, but later abandoned.³⁴ Carrizal assumes greater importance in the

²⁷J. Charles Kelley, "The Historic Indian Pueblos...", p. 289.

²⁸Ibid, p. 290.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 293-94

³⁰"Calendar of Important Events in Presidio County," Voice of the Mexican Border, 1938, p. 17.

³¹J. Charles Kelley, "The Historic...", p. 270.

³²Ibid.

³³Carrizal is about 80 miles south of Cd. Juárez, a few miles west of Villa Ahumada. It is now quite small.

³⁴Almada, Geografía..., p. 380.

latter half of the century.

In 1744 Fray Juan Miguel Menchero offers a fragmentary report on the population of the Paso del Norte area.³⁵ A summary of his data shows the following population of the more important localities:

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF THE PASO DEL NORTE AREA IN 1744

	Indian Families	Spanish Families	Total Families	Total Population
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso	50	180	230	---
San Lorenzo	50	---	---	680
San Antonio de la Isleta	---	---	90	---
Nuestra Señora del Socorro	60	6	66	---
Nuestra Señora de las Caldas "a"	60	---	---	---
La Ranchería "a"	few	20	---	---

"a" Las Caldas may have been near San Elizario. La Ranchería was a mission seven leagues down river from Paso del Norte. It produced cattle, wheat and maize (Menchero).

The entradas of Ydoiaga and Rábago y Terán in 1746 and 1747 report on conditions at La Junta. Santa Cruz pueblo seems to have been reoccupied by refugees from Coyame,

Notes

³⁵ Declaración de Fray Juan Miguel Menchero, May 1, 1744. Biblioteca Nacional de México (B.N.M.), Legajo 9, no. 9.

Cuchillo Parado and the Río Grande, and had 299 inhabitants. They reportedly came there because of Apache attacks, and were growing corn, calabashes, and beans. Cuchillo Parado was deserted,³⁶ as was Coyame.³⁷

Ydoiaga found 77 people at Mesquite in 1747, and 183 at San Juan Bautista.³⁸ He also found that three of the smaller pueblos down river from La Junta had been abandoned. The Indians at Tapalcolmes had fled to Puliques, where they were growing corn and squash. At San Francisco de la Junta, 217 persons were found--mainly Julimes Indians. Rábago y Terán, following Ydoiaga, found that Puliques had been devastated between the two visits.³⁹

Apparently the La Junta area was not alone in suffering from Apache attacks at this time. Robert C. West notes that the Casas Grandes area reached its peak in livestock production about 1748. Thereafter raids by Comanches and Apaches greatly

³⁶J. Charles Kelley, "The Historic Indian Pueblos...", pp. 283-84.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 287-88. Coyame was still deserted when Rubín de Celis passed through here in 1751.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 288-89.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 27-72, and J. Charles Kelley, "Archaeological Notes on Two Excavated House Structures in Western Texas," Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society Bulletin, XX (1949), p. 92.

depleted the herds.⁴⁰

There are several complete sets of population figures for both the Paso del Norte and La Junta area for 1749 and 1750. The 1749 Varo Report figures, which are of questionable accuracy, are summarized as follows:

TABLE 2
POPULATION OF THE PASO DEL NORTE AND LA JUNTA
AREAS IN 1749 (VARO REPORT)^{"a"}

	de razón	indios	total
Paso del Norte (Spaniards, Teguas, Piros)	1090	200	1290
San Lorenzo (Sumas)	150	150	300
Senecú (Piros)	102	384	486
Isleta (Teguas)	54	500	554
Socorro	250	250	500
La Junta Area			
San Francisco de la Junta	---	182	182
Guadalupe	---	221	221
San Juan Bautista	---	433	433
San Cristóbal	---	500	500
San Pedro (Conchos Valley)	---	810	810
Santiago (de Coyame?)	---	200	200

^{"a"} Henry W. Kelley, "Franciscan Missions of New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, XV, no. 4 (October, 1940), pp. 362-63.

Another set of figures for the same year appears to be

⁴⁰ West, p. 122.

a copy of the Varo figures with a few errors included:

this place

TABLE 3

POPULATION OF THE PASO DEL NORTE AREA

POPULATION IN 1749 (FROM VARO) "a"

		de razón	indios	total
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso	1000	200		1200
San Lorenzo del Realito	75	150		225
San Antonio Senecú	102	384		486
Corpus Christi de la Ysleta	197	199		396
Nuestra Señora del Socorro	54	498		552

"a" Alfred Barnaby Thomas, "Antonio de Bonilla and Spanish Plans for the Defense of New Mexico, 1772-1778," New Spain and the Anglo-American West, I, (Los Angeles, 1932), p. 209.

The figures of Fray Andrés García in 1750 were undoubtedly taken from the same source, and appear to be a mixture of the previous two with some additional copying errors.

Considering the questionable reliability of these figures,⁴¹ they should be interpreted at best as being the order of magnitude of the population of these two areas.

The Rubín de Celis entrada of 1751 reports few changes from Ydoiaga's description. Cuchillo Parado had been resettled.⁴² San Juan pueblo was described as supporting forty

⁴¹Thomas suggests that these may actually be 1707 figures (209).

⁴²Kelley, "The Historic Indian Pueblos..." p. 284.

families on very poor lands. The only tool used in farming at this place was the digging stick.⁴³

TABLE 4
POPULATION OF PASO DEL NORTE AND LA JUNTA AREAS IN
1750 ACCORDING TO FRAY ANDRES GARCIA "a"

	españoles	indios	total
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe	1000	200	1200
San Lorenzo	150	150	300
Senecú	102	384	486
Corpus Christi de la Isleta	54	500	554
Socorro	250	250	500
La Junta Area			
San Francisco de la Junta	---	182	182
Guadalupe	---	221	221
San Juan Bautista	---	433	433
San Pedro Apóstol	---	810	810
Santiago	---	500	500
San Cristóbal	---	200	200

La Junta "a" Fray Andrés García, August 2, 1750. Personas y familias q^e havitan en la Custodi^a en 1750. B. N. M., Legajo 9, no. 9.

An estimate of the Paso del Norte population made in 1752 under New Mexico Governor Thomás Vélez Capuchin contrasts considerably with the 1749-50 figures of Varo and others. These lower figures are perhaps more realistic.

⁴³Ibid., p. 29.

TABLE 5

POPULATION OF THE PASO DEL NORTE AREA IN 1752^{"a"}

	Heads of Families	Children	Total Population
Guadalupe de el Passo	74	106	234
San Antonio Senecú	84	146	297
San Antonio Isleta	108	156	353
Concepción del Socorro	39	54	135

^{"a"} Tres estados que manifiestan el número de Avitantes que había el la Provincia del Nuevo México y su Armamento, 1752. Archivo General de la Nación (A.G.N.), Provincias Internas, Tomo 102, Exp. 3.

By 1760 La Junta and Carrizal had been strengthened by establishment of presidios at those sites.⁴⁴ One source suggests that cattle and sheep were introduced in the La Junta area by 1758.⁴⁵ With the presidio came 138 Spaniards into La Junta, although the garrison was moved to Julimes six years later.⁴⁶ In the same area, Lorenzo Parra E. claims that the archives of San Carlos show that the Jesuits abandoned that site in 1765.⁴⁷ That this activity went utterly unnoticed by

⁴⁴J. Charles Kelley, "The Historic Indian Pueblos...", p. 275; Bancroft, p. 585, and Almada, Geografía, pp. 380-569.

⁴⁵"Calendar of Important Events...", p. 18.

⁴⁶Bancroft, p. 601.

⁴⁷Parra E., "Datos...", p.77.

the numerous travelers and commentaries on northeastern Chihuahua during this time merely casts further doubt on this claim.

The reports of Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, Bishop of Durango, provide many statistics and other information about the Paso del Norte region as well as all of northern Chihuahua. Table 6 shows this data for the sections of northern Nueva Vizcaya and southern New Mexico included in this study.

Outside of the value of the statistical data itself, the accuracy of which is debatable, there are socio-cultural implications brought out when these statistics are converted into a map showing demographic patterns. One of the most interesting conclusions that can be drawn by comparing Tamarón's data is that there are significant differences between the towns and hamlets of the Chihuahua region and those of the Paso del Norte area.

There were two striking differences between the two areas. First, gente de razón and indios reducidos are both found in significant numbers in all of the Paso del Norte area settlements. In the Chihuahua area, Indians lived almost exclusively in the peripheral hamlets; the villas of Cusihiuriáchic, Chihuahua, and Santa Eulalia being made up almost exclusively of gente de razón. There was no such territorial dichotomy in the Paso del Norte area; the two groups were mixed together in the same towns.

TABLE 6

POPULATION OF SOUTHERN NEW MEXICO AND NORTHERN NEW

VIZCAYA IN 1760, ACCORDING TO TAMARON^{"a"}

	Gente de Razón		Indios		TOTAL
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	
Namiquipa	9	70	13	42	112
Cruces	--	--	35	86	86
San Buenaventura	36	479	--	--	479
Hacienda del Carmen	26	118	--	--	118
Presidio de Janos	91	434	--	--	434
Hacienda de Encinillas	48	(200?)	na	49	250?
San Gerónimo	--	--	23	121	121
Sta. Ana de Chinarras	--	--	25	74	74
La Junta Area					
San Juan Bautista	--	--	84	309	309
San Francisco	--	--	42	167	167
Guadalupe	--	--	66	194	194
San Christóval	--	--	34	117	117
Presidio de Belén	50	133	--	--	133
Paso Del Norte Area					
El Paso del Norte	354	2479	72	249	2728
San Lorenzo del Real	32	192	21	58	250
Senecú	29	141			
a. Piros	--	--	111	425	
b. Sumas	--	--	18	52	
c. Sumas infieles	--	--	--	28	646
La Isleta	18	131	80	429	560
El Socorro (incl. gente de razón at the Hacienda de Tiburcios)	82	424	46	182	606

^{"a"} Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, Bishop of Durango, Demostación del vastísimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya, 1765. Durango, Sinaloa, Sonora, Arizona, Nuevo México, Chihuahua y provincias de Texas, Coahuila y Zacatecas, edited by Vito Alessio Robles (Biblioteca historia mexicana de obras ineditas, VII, México, 1937).

Tamarón, p. 150.

Beutis Secondly, the territorial dichotomy of gente de razón and indios reducidos in the Chihuahua area is reflected in their respective economies. The latter practiced subsistence agriculture, while the former were engaged mainly in mining, commerce, and ranch management. This was not the case at Paso del Norte, where virtually everyone was involved in agriculture under irrigation--regardless of their culture. This agriculture was mainly subsistence-oriented, but with some wine production and other surplus commodities.

Gerrit Tamarón's comments on the more outlying areas show that they were experiencing considerable difficulty maintaining themselves against nomadic depredations. Cruces, an Indian pueblo in the Santa María Valley, was about to be wiped out by Apaches. San Buenaventura, a larger center of gente de razón downriver, was in a deplorable state.⁴⁸ The entire region around Casas Grandes and Janos had been devastated and depopulated. The people of Janos were besieged in the presidio-- a structure of weak adobes. Signs of death were encountered everywhere.⁴⁹

Nicolás At La Junta, the Indians at Conejos and Mesquite were forced to abandon their pueblos and flee to nearby San Juan

⁴⁸Tamarón, p. 150.

Espric
Inter ⁴⁹Tamarón, p. 150.

Bautista.⁵⁰ Puliques had been abandoned; the Indians had moved closer to the presidio for protection.⁵¹

Nicolás de la Fora, accompanying the inspection of presidios made by the Marqués de Rubí in 1766-68, comments on the success of agriculture in the valley below Paso del Norte. Noting the quality of Paso wine, he adds that sometimes the inhabitants do not harvest enough maize for their support because so much ground is devoted to the vine.⁵² La Fora also mentions a small settlement of "mestizos and mulattos" at Carrizal, adding that the place seemed to enjoy an abundance of good lands and water.⁵³

About the same time as the Rubí inspection there is some evidence to suggest the establishment of a new Suma pueblo in the area by 1767, but there is no mention of its name or location.⁵⁴ Rubí, in Paso del Norte from July 19 to August 5, 1767, was attacked by an Apache band shortly after

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 156.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., The Frontiers of New Spain; Nicolás de la Fora's Description, 1766-68, (Berkeley, Calif., The Quivira Society, 1958), p. 83.

⁵³Ibid., p. 81.

⁵⁴Governor Mendinueta to Captain Pedro Barrio Junco y Espriella, Santa Fe, March 17, 1767. A.G.N., Provincias Internas, Tomo 102.

leaving the settlement.⁵⁵ This and many other accounts show that the depredations of nomads were undoubtedly hindrances to agricultural as well as other pursuits during these years.

According to Almada, Don José Carlos de Aguayo, Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, established the settlement of Chavarría in 1767 downriver from San Buenaventura at what is now called Galeana.⁵⁶

An inspection of troops held by Captain Pedro de la Fuente reveals among other things that some migration from Chihuahua, Janos, and San Buenaventura to Paso del Norte. There was also a man from Switzerland among the presidial troops at Paso del Norte.⁵⁷

The years 1771-1776 were years of devastation and rapid change in northern Nueva Vizcaya. Don Hugo O'Connor, the first to be placed in command of the Commandancy-General of the Interior Provinces, found the Hacienda de Hormigas to be abandoned. At La Junta, the pueblo of San Juan Bautista was in ruins, as were San Cristóbal, Puliques, and

⁵⁵ Captain Pedro de la Fuente, 1767, Correspondencia con el Teniente Gobernador del Pueblo del Paso del Norte el Capitán Dn. Pedro del Barrio Junco y Espriella. A.G.N., Provincias Internas, Tomo 102.

⁵⁶ Almada, Geografía..., pp. 458-59

⁵⁷ Captain Pedro de la Fuente, Paso del Norte, Feb. 7, 1766. Review of troops stationed at the presidio, A.G.N., Provincias Internas, Tomo 102.

Guadalupe.⁵⁸ La Junta was at the height of its misfortunes,

That area now known as northwestern Chihuahua had suffered in much the same way. The fields of the Valley of San Buenaventura had been completely ravished by nomadic attacks. The Hacienda del Carmen and the Hacienda del Carrizal were in a similar state. Large numbers of cattle had been stolen from the Hacienda de Encinillas.⁵⁹ Paso del Norte suffered Apache depredations that occurred when O'Conor took the able men of the area on an unsuccessful expedition. There was much destruction among the vineyards.⁶⁰

In 1773, Don Antonio María Daroca, Lieutenant-Governor of New Mexico at Paso del Norte counted 182 vecinos and 170 indios available for militia duty in the valley, in addition to the detachment of 19 soldiers stationed at Paso del Norte. They are shown in Table 7, according to settlements.

This number had declined slightly by 1777, when O'Conor estimated that there were 300 fighting men available at Paso del Norte.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Navarro García, pp. 221, 224.

⁵⁹ Informe del Brigadier Dn. Hugo Oconor sobre provincias Internas a el Nuevo Comandante General de ellas, el Brigadier Dn. Teodoro de Croix, July 22, 1777. B.N.M., Legajo 57, Expediente 15.

⁶⁰ Navarro García, p. 318.

⁶¹ Informe del Brigadier Dn. Hugo Oconor..., B.N.M.

TABLE 7

FIGHTING MEN AVAILABLE AT PASO DEL NORTE IN 1773,
ACCORDING TO ANTONIO MARIA DAROCA "a"

	Soldados	Vecinos	Indios
Presidio (de Paso del Norte)	19	115	25
(San Lorenzo del) Real	--	17	47
Senecú	--	14	54
Ysleta	--	12	30
Socorro and Tiburcios	--	24	14

"a" Antonio María Daroca, Fighting men available at Paso del Norte, 1773. A.G.N., Provincias Internas, Tomo 102.

Teodoro de Croix, O'Conor's sucesor, took several steps of importance in the region's demographic history. He reestablished settlements at Namiquipa, Casas Grandes, San Juan Nepomuceno,⁶² Carrizal, near Janos, and at San Elizario.⁶³ Croix was also responsible for establishment of a string of military settlements that combined the activities of agricultural villages and military outposts. This line of defensive settlements was made up of Namiquipa, Rancho de Mala

⁶²At Chavarría (Galeana).

⁶³Navarro García, p. 367; and Alfred Barnaby Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783, (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 42, quoting Croix to Galvez, No. 330, Chihuahua, Dec. 28, 1778, A.G.I., Guadalajara, Tomo 275.

noche, Majalca, Pueblo de San Gerónimo, Hacienda de Hormigas, Chorreras, El Pueblito, and Coyame.⁶⁴

During Croix's tenure some eighty Mescalero Apaches were settled at San Francisco pueblo (La Junta). Many could not learn how to make adobe and returned to the vagrant way of life. Others began to produce regular crops of wheat, corn, beans, and barley.⁶⁵ Croix was much interested in the success of this project; it provides a good example of planned culture change in the Southwest.

After 1777, Navarro García notes a gradual movement of Apaches from the Sierras de Enmedio, Blanca, Sacramento, Petaca, and Organos to Janos, Paso del Norte, and San Elizario. This general shift seems to be explained by pressure from the Comanches.⁶⁶

The same author claims that the Paso del Norte area had a population of 9000 in 1778.⁶⁷ The census of 1788 of Nueva Vizcaya would not tend to verify such an increase; in the latter year the area had a population of 5327 inhabitants. Table 8 shows the 1788 data.

⁶⁴Thomas, Teodoro de Croix..., pp. 53-55, 63.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 129-30.

⁶⁶Navarro García, pp. 305-6.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 420.

TABLE 8

POPULATION OF THE PASO DEL NORTE AREA IN 1788^{"a"}

	Families	Persons
Paso del Norte (incl. San Lorenzo)	824	3641
Nuestra Señora del Socorro	73	913
San Antonio de Senecú and San Antonio de la Ysleta	166	773

^{"a"}Estado actual de las misiones q^e son al cargo de esta Provincia del St^o Evangelio+ en sus ministros a últimos del año de 1788, B.N.M., Legajo 10, No. 85.

The same census also reports the following figures for other sites of the hinterland.

TABLE 9

POPULATION OF NORTHERN NEW VIZCAYA IN 1788^{"a"}

	Persons
San Buenaventura	718
Presidio de Janos	142
San Elizario	73
Galeana	141
Carrizal	73
La Junta (Spaniards only)	106
Coyame	144

^{"a"} Almada, Resúmen..., pp. 130-31.

prov. Sometime between 1797 and 1802 Paso del Norte ceased
Nuev

being a mission and was transferred to the secular clergy,⁶⁸ and no figures are included in an 1802 estimate for this reason. If it is assumed that the settlement did not undergo any radical changes from 1788-1802, an estimate of 5800 would probably approximate the population of the Paso del Norte Valley by 1802. The statistics for the other settlements, including totals for the year 1800, are included in Table 10.

TABLE 10
POPULATION OF SOME SETTLEMENTS IN THE PASO DEL
NORTE AREA IN 1800 AND 1802^{"a"}

	Yndios			Españoles y Castas			Total
	Men	Wom.	Total	Men	Wom.	Total	
San Lorenzo	16	14	30	140	135	275	305
Senecú	164	154	318	93	92	185	503
Ysleta	115	124	239	113	89	202	441
Socorro	26	24	50	263	295	558	608
1802 TOTAL:	321	316	637	609	611	1220	1857
1800 TOTAL:	300	294	594	582	591	1173	1767

^{"a"} Fray Diego Muñoz Jurado, October 27, 1803, Missions dependent upon Guadalupe del Paso, B.N.M., Legajo 10, no. 76.

Before the close of the colonial era in the Paso del Norte area, two events might be mentioned. One is the appearance

⁶⁸ Planes del número de misiones, que son al cargo de esta provincia del Santo Evangelio en las Custodías de Tampico y Nuevo México, September 1, 1797. B.N.M., Legajo 10, no. 81

of cattle, sheep, and horses in the Presidio Valley (La Junta) in greater numbers toward the end of the century.⁶⁹ The second occurred in 1802 southeast of La Junta. In that year the Río San Carlos changed its course, leaving the inhabitants of San Carlos with no possibilities of continuing agriculture at that place. The few inhabitants migrated to the town of Presidio del Norte (now Ojinaga).⁷⁰

The years 1680-1820 were precarious ones for the small settlements of the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area. Yet all through these years, the dominance of Paso del Norte following the Pueblo Revolt is quite clear. The agricultural communities of the Middle Río Grande Valley show a remarkable persistence in the face of constant nomadic depredations, floods, and disastrous frosts such as that of 1776.⁷¹ Already some of the dominant themes in the area's ethnohistory are suggested. The area continued to be culturally marginal, as a fringe area of New Spain, New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya. It became a place of refuge for people of diverse cultural backgrounds. Finally, an interpretation of the demographic distribution suggested by Tamarón's data and the number of castas in 1802 would lead

⁶⁹ Jack Shipman and Mrs. O. L. Shipman, "The Savage Saga," Voice of the Mexican Border, 1938, pp. 6-7.

⁷⁰ Parra E., "Datos...", p. 77.

⁷¹ Navarro García, p. 318.

us to believe that this area was one of cultural fusion characterized by intimacy in isolation. Successive chapters will show the persistence of these themes during the next fifteen decades.

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CHAPTER III

THE ORIGINS OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE EL PASO-CD. JUAREZ AREA: 1820-1846

The periods and epochs that historians choose to delineate are admittedly arbitrary, and are chosen more for convenience than to suggest something along the order of a cataclysmic change in the social order. When the units under discussion are as small and as remote as the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area, these distinctions may become even less meaningful than when whole nations are being described. The Paso del Norte region, which was under New Mexican jurisdiction until 1824,¹ shared with the latter area a remoteness from Mexico City that made such changes as the Mexican independence movement an event of questionable significance for the way of life of the majority of the inhabitants of the far North.

Nevertheless, in the particular case of the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area, there is another factor which justifies a discussion of the early Mexican period as a unit. This

¹Lansing B. Bloom, "Notes and Comments," New Mexico Historical Review, XVII, no. 3 (July, 1942) p. 279.

is the beginning of substantial contact between Mexicans and Anglo-Americans in the area, setting the foundation for one of the most fascinating aspects of inter-American relations.

The Mexican independence era of 1810-21 did have at least one direct effect upon population in the Paso del Norte area. The destruction of the presidio system and Spanish authority here was accompanied by an increase in nomadic depredations, resulting in the abandonment of many small, isolated ranchos and farms in the outlying districts.² Yet despite the removal of protective institutions there would seem to be a modest expansion into northeastern Chihuahua between 1816-1831.

Don Pedro Ignacio de Irigoyen established the civilian settlement of San Diego de Alcalá³ in 1816.⁴ Previously there had been a smelter there used by the mines at Santa Eulalia. Four years later the town of San Gerónimo became a villa, and its name was changed to Villa Aldama.⁵ A new colony established itself at El Pueblito in the Conchos Valley in 1821, at one of Croix's old military villages.⁶ In 1826

²Shipman, "The Savage Saga," pp. 6-7.

³In the modern municipio of Aldama, Chih.

⁴Almada, Geografía..., p. 385.

⁵Ibid., p. 384.

⁶Ibid., p. 385.

the Hacienda de Maijoma was established in a remote area of the Bolsón Maijoma, adjacent to the Bolsón de Mapimí.⁷ In 1828 two mining areas of some importance were opened; one at Cuchillo Parado on the Conchos,⁸ and the other in the Sierra Rica near the abandoned town of San Carlos.⁹

As a result of the latter discovery, the refugees from San Carlos who had fled to Presidio del Norte asked the Governor of Chihuahua for a grant of land at the Ojo de San Carlos.¹⁰ By 1831 the site had been repopulated by the old residents as well as by a penal colony of convicts from Presidio del Norte.¹¹

The only expansion recorded for northwestern Chihuahua at this time was at Corralitos, in the Galeana district. Here some new mines were opened and exploited.¹²

Ralph Emerson Twitchell suggests that the population of the entire Paso del Norte area was about 8000 in 1820 or 1821.¹³

⁷Ibid., p. 569. Maijoma is now an ejido.

⁸Ibid., p. 441.

⁹Ibid., p. 529.

¹⁰Parra E., "Datos Históricos...", pp. 77-78.

¹¹Almada, Geografía..., p. 529.

¹²Ibid., p. 210.

¹³Ralph Emerson Twitchell, The Leading Facts of New Mexican History, (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1907), III, p. 193.

James Ohio Pattie, traveling through the area in 1826, described the Paso del Norte area as a continuous village, extending eight miles along the river.¹⁴ He also comments that all of northern Chihuahua was furnished with salt from the Paso del Norte area.¹⁵ In 1827 there was the first record of any settlement on the north side of the Río Grande at Paso del Norte.¹⁶ Ten years later a shift in the course of the river placed Ysleta, Socorro, and San Elizario on the north side of the river.¹⁷ In 1833 an epidemic of cholera-morbus took thousands of lives all over the state of Chihuahua and presumably took its toll in the Paso del Norte area.¹⁸

One of the enigmas of the history of the Middle Rio Grande Valley is the fact that its northern half, known as the Mesilla Valley, was uninhabited until well into the nineteenth century.

¹⁴James Ohio Pattie, The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, R. G. Thwaite, ed., (Early Western Travels, Vol. XVIII), pp. 155-56.

¹⁵Ibid. This comment is interesting in light of some of the claims made during the Salt War years later. Some argued that the salt basin deposits had only been recently discovered and exploited, using this argument to further Anglo-American claim rights. The facts are that the basin's salt had been freely exploited for many centuries. See footnote 44, Chapter I.

¹⁶Frank J. Mangan, Bordertown (El Paso, Texas, Carl Hertzog, 1964), p. 62.

¹⁷Harriette Quesenberry, "El Paso, the Hub of Texas History," Voice of the Mexican Border, I, no. 4 (December, 1933), 144.

¹⁸Almada, Resúmen..., p. 200.

The Mesilla is generally more fertile than the southern counterpart, yet the nomadic menace in the area was great enough to prevent settlement there. Nevertheless it can hardly be argued that the El Paso-Juárez Valley was more protected or distant from nomadic threats, for it is perfectly clear that throughout the colonial period life at Paso del Norte was interrupted by Apache attacks.

Maude E. McFie Bloom finds the first mention of a dwelling in the Mesilla Valley by 1813.¹⁹ No other such evidence appears until 1819. In 1805, A Don Antonio García proposed to open a silver mine in the Organ Mountains. Nothing was done in this regard until 1819, when a small smelter began to operate near the present site of Fort Fillmore.²⁰

In 1839 a group of settlers from Paso del Norte²¹ moved to Doña Ana, north of present-day Las Cruces.²² A year later they were awarded the grant known as El Ancón de Doña Ana

¹⁹Maude E. McFie Bloom, "A History of Mesilla Valley (Mesilla Park, N. Mex., New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, 1903), unpublished thesis, p. 4.

²⁰P.M. Baldwin, "A Short History of the Mesilla Valley," New Mexico Historical Review, XII, no. 3 (July, 1938) p. 1.

²¹Bloom, p. 23.

²²Sigurd Johansen, Rural Social Organization in a Spanish-American Culture Area, (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1948), p. 51. (University of New Mexico Publications in Social Science and Philosophy).

(Doña Ana Bend), covering 35,399 acres of valley and mesa

land.²³ The original colonists were made up of 107 men,
59 women, 48 boys and 48 girls.²⁴ Many left the place because
of Apache attacks. A total of 31 heads of families with 111
persons returned to live at Paso del Norte and Senecú in 1844.²⁵

The first significant contacts between Mexicans and Anglo-
Americans in this area occurred when explorers, travelers, and
merchants from the United States began to appear here in the
1820's. The first American goods came through Paso del Norte
in 1824, but there was little volume in this trade until 1831.
After this about half of the United States-Mexico trade went
through Paso del Norte.²⁶

Josiah Gregg, one of the better-known of early traders
to penetrate northern Mexico, made regular trips from Santa Fe
to Chihuahua City from 1831-1847. On one trip he mentioned
that Paso del Norte had a population of 4000, and adds that
for ten to twelve miles along the river orchards, vineyards,

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Baldwin, p. 2.

²⁵ Twitchell, pp. 196-97.

²⁶ L. B. Prince, A Concise History of New Mexico, Cedar
Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1912, pp. 169-70.

and cornfields were to be found.²⁷

The importance of Santa Fe-Chihuahua route increased after 1820. Between 1839-1850 about 200,000 sheep were driven south each year through Paso del Norte.²⁸ But by no means did the Paso del Norte route monopolize trade in the region. In the 1840's caravans began to pass through Presidio del Norte, Chih., going up the Conchos Valley to Meoqui and Chihuahua City.²⁹ This route grew in importance and later came to be known as the Comanche Trail.

The war between the United States and Mexico ended this brief interlude in the region's history. The change in political boundaries following the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo presaged an era of more intense contact between Anglo-America and Spanish-America. The years following the war were characterized by culture conflict, social disruption, land alienation, civil disturbances, and considerable changes in population patterns.

²⁷ Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, (Dallas, Texas, The Southwest Press, 1933), pp. 261-62.

²⁸ Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico, (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1933), p. 151.

²⁹ J. E. Gregg, "Additional History of Presidio County," Voice of the Mexican Border, I, no. 6 (February-March, 1934), p. 283.

CHAPTER IV

CULTURE CONFLICT, CIVIL DISORDERS, AND MIGRATION

IN THE EL PASO-CD. JUAREZ AREA: 1846-1880

The Mexican-American war in the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area was only to a small extent a war of military action. The militia of Paso del Norte took part in the brief Battle of Brazito.¹ This event, lasting only twenty minutes, resulted in the dispersal of the Mexican forces by those under command of Colonel A. W. Doniphan. Paso del Norte was afterwards occupied by Doniphan without a struggle on December 28, 1846.² In this area, the real conflict occurred after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, and took the form of culture conflict.

Two commentaries by members of Doniphan's expedition suggest population estimates for Paso del Norte in early 1847. John T. Hughes' estimate is 8000. He also notes that the settlements in the valley extended for twenty-two miles, and many orchards and vineyards were to be seen. Grapes were

¹Twitchell, II, p. 220.

²Ibid., p. 221.

by far the most important crop, and 200,000 gallons of wine were produced annually. Pears, peaches, apples and figs were in abundance, and grains such as corn and wheat were also grown.³

Dr. A. Wizlizenus' estimate was somewhat higher:

The population of the town proper, which is but a small place; and of the long line of settlements that extend for 20 miles down the river, is estimated at from 10 to 12,000. ⁴

The same observer also noted that copper and silver mines were once worked at Paso del Norte.⁵

Even before the new international boundary had been determined, the western boundary claim of the Republic of Texas along the Río Grande brought about an encroachment of Texans upon the east side of the Mesilla Valley. Many of the recent Mexican colonists were forced out, and the Texans took over their lands. Most of the Mexicans in these circumstances moved to the west side of the river, which was in the state of Chihuahua until 1853.⁶

³White, pp. 31-32.

⁴A. Wizlizenus, Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico Connected with Col. Doniphan's Expedition, in 1846 and 1847, (Washington, D.C., Government Printing House, 1848), p. 41.

⁵Ibid., p. 42.

⁶Loomis Morton Ganaway, "New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy," New Mexico Historical Review, XIX, no. 1 (January, 1944), p. 56.

col Among the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1848 was the stipulation that Mexicans located in the United States would have one year to return to Mexico. The alternative to remain in the states implied an acceptance of United States citizenship. McWilliams, echoing Bancroft, believes that no more than 1500-2000 actually returned to Mexico.⁷ The history of the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area from 1849-1852 would suggest that such figures may be too small, and that the discontent felt by Mexicans suddenly finding themselves in the United States has been underestimated.

four The years 1849-1852 are among the most confusing in the entire history of the area. Many movements of population took place, although certainly not all were due to the political changes following the war.

bank Almada declares that the town of Guadalupe Bravos was established in the southern part of the Valle de Juárez in 1849 by Mexicans fleeing New Mexico and Texas to escape U.S. citizenship.⁸ This same year there were three other events of considerable significance: (1) the introduction of alfalfa into the Middle Río Grande Valley;⁹ (2) an epidemic of

⁷McWilliams, pp. 51-117.

⁸Almada, Geografía..., p. 471.

⁹Nancy Lee Hammons, A History of El Paso County, (El Paso, Texas Western College, 1942), unpublished Master's Thesis, p. 119.

colera-morbus, which took many lives in this region as well as throughout the state of Chihuahua;¹⁰ and (3) a great drought which devastated the valley from 1849-1851.¹¹ Apparently the drought was punctuated by at least one flood in 1850, which created an island embracing Ysleta, Socorro, and San Elizario.¹² Perhaps this was the same flood that destroyed the recently-established settlement of Nombre de Dios, New Mexico, in the Mesilla Valley.¹³

By 1850, efforts on the part of the Mexican government to encourage New Mexicans to return to Mexico resulted in the founding of Mesilla by Doña Ana residents. At this time Mesilla was on the west bank of the Río Grande, and therefore in the state of Chihuahua.¹⁴ In the same year, San Miguel, Old Chamberino, La Unión and La Mesa were founded on the west bank for similar reasons.¹⁵ Sometime between 1850 and 1857

¹⁰Noel Irrab, "Efemérides Chihuahuenses," Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, I, no. 7 (December, 1938), p. 231.

¹¹William H. Emory, "United States and Mexican Boundary Survey," Voice of the Mexican Border, I, no. 6 (February-March, 1934), p. 256.

¹²Quesenberry, p. 144.

¹³Nombre de Dios was near Mesilla

¹⁴Johansen, pp. 22-23

¹⁵Ibid., p. 23.

the town of Picacho was established, also on the Chihuahua side of the river.¹⁶ Las Cruces, now the chief city of southern New Mexico, was established on the east bank in 1850. Maude McFie Bloom claims that "...not long after Las Cruces was settled, a band of Pueblo Indians from Juárez came and made their home in the town."¹⁷ One writer also notes that sometime in the 1850's a group from Mesilla moved to Colorado¹⁸ and Santa Bárbara in the Rincón Valley due to changes in the course of the river.¹⁹

In 1850, the County of El Paso, Texas, was organized, and San Elizario (population 1200) was made the county seat.²⁰ The same year marks the beginnings of the town of El Paso, Texas. Just opposite Paso del Norte, on the Texas side of the river, a small settlement known as Coontz' Rancho was established. One and one-half miles below this place, James W. Magoffin, a Missourian, established Magoffinsville. The settlement had a population of 200 not long after its founding. Eight miles north of Coontz' Rancho was White's Rancho, also known as

¹⁶Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁷Bloom, p. 56.

¹⁸Now Rodey, New Mexico.

¹⁹Katherine Stoes, "Early History of Doña Ana County," cited by George Griggs, History of Mesilla Valley, (Mesilla, N. Mex., 1930), p. 95.

²⁰White, p. 37.

Frontera. The latter was north of El Paso Pass and at a ford in the river near present-day Anapra, New Mexico. The habitation was later destroyed by Apaches.²¹

At this time Paso del Norte, Chihuahua, was the largest settlement in the entire region. White estimates its 1850 population to be 10,000,²² but Bartlett disagrees, estimating 5000 in 1851.²³ Nearby Senecú had a population of eighty Piro mestizos in 1851.²⁴

Having been awarded the western half of the Mesilla Valley in 1851, the State of Chihuahua demanded that all Texans leave the area immediately. L. M. Ganaway says that the Texans solicited the aid of Southern congressmen whose constituencies might be benefitted by a transcontinental railroad. A Senate report then decided that the Bartlett survey was in error in giving part of the Mesilla Valley to Chihuahua. In 1852 New Mexico Governor William Carr Lane decided that the area would be under the jurisdiction of the United States.²⁵

²¹White, pp. 39-43.

²²Ibid., p. 39.

²³John Russell Bartlett, Personal Narrative of Exploration and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1856), p. 192.

²⁴Ibid., p. 149.

²⁵Ganaway, p. 58.

While this dispute continued, the west bank of the Río Grande continued to receive immigrants from the American side. By 1851 Mesilla had 500-600 inhabitants, and was nearly as large as Doña Ana with 600-700.²⁶ By 1852 Mesilla had grown to 1900 inhabitants.²⁷ Outside of Paso del Norte, Mesilla was the largest center in the Middle Río Grande Valley. Magoffinsville contained only 200 Mexicans and 30 Americans at that time.²⁸ One author claims that "...more than half of Doña Ana County moved to Mesilla" in 1852.²⁹ The market at Mesilla grew with the population; soon it began to draw people from Santa Fe, Chihuahua, Tucson, and Janos.³⁰

The refugees at La Unión and Chamberino were joined by other Chihuahuans who had received the Refugio Colony Grant in 1851-52. This tract covered 11,524 acres of bottom land in the Southern Mesilla Valley.³¹ By 1854 the entire Mesilla Valley held 3000 people.³²

²⁶Ganaway, p. 55, and Bartlett, p. 212.

²⁷Bartlett, p. 197.

²⁸Colonel M. L. Crimmins, "Fort Fillmore," New Mexico Historical Review, VI, no. 4 (October, 1931) p.327.

²⁹Griggs, p. 95.

³⁰Ibid. The author also claims the market drew people from La Ascención, Chihuahua. This is an error, for this town was not established until twenty years later.

³¹Bloom, pp. 28-29.

³²Ganaway, p. 58.

Major William H. Emory's estimate of Paso del Norte's population in 1852 is closer to Bartlett's figures than to White's. He estimated that there were 4000 in Paso del Norte and 200 in Franklin, Texas.³³ Other towns in the valley with their populations were Socorro, Texas, 300; San Elizario, Texas, 1200; Guadalupe Bravos, Chihuahua, 800; and San Ignacio, Chihuahua, 500. Emory had counted Senecú in with Paso del Norte. Emory also comments that the Mexican side of the river was inhabited mainly by mestizos,³⁴ but with some "pure Spanish." He comments on the agriculture and commerce of the area, noting the quality of the grapes, peaches, figs, melons, and other fruits.³⁵

The town of San Ignacio, Chihuahua, was not previously mentioned by explorers. Now called Praxedis G. Guerrero and seat of the municipio of the same name, this town was settled shortly before Emory's visit to the valley in 1852. San Ignacio, like Guadalupe Bravos, was founded by Mexican refugees from Texas and New Mexico.³⁶

With the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, the incentive to move

³³Coontz' Rancho became known as Franklin.

³⁴Considering the settlement pattern of 1760, it is hardly surprising the area was largely mestizo by this time.

³⁵Emory, p. 256.

³⁶Almada, Geografía..., p. 570.

to the west side of the Mesilla Valley ceased to exist. Those who had fled either Texan or United States citizenship once again found themselves within the United States. Mesilla had grown to 3000 inhabitants by 1854; another new town, Santo Tomas, had a population of 300. One writer suggests a population of 5000 for the entire Mesilla Valley, and 3000 for the Texas half of the El Paso-Cd. Juárez Valley.³⁷

Owen White suggests that establishment by the federal government of army posts along the stage route through El Paso meant a safer stage route, and encouraged immigration from the rest of the United States to El Paso.³⁸ Although these changes undoubtedly made transcontinental travel somewhat more secure, there is little evidence that the El Paso area grew as a result. Frederick Law Olmsted, traveling through El Paso in 1856, estimated that Paso del Norte had 8500 inhabitants, with about 10,000 in the entire area.³⁹ Two years later Magoffinsville had almost disappeared, and Coontz' Rancho was booming.⁴⁰ As the rancho was on the route between Mexico and New Mexico, it would seem that this route was still more important than the

³⁷ John Pope, Report of the Expedition of a Route for the Pacific Railroad, (1854), p. 1.

³⁸ White, pp. 43-44.

³⁹ Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas, (New York, Dix, Edwards, & Co., 1857), pp. 165, 451.

⁴⁰ White, p. 46.

east-west stage route. At any rate, by 1858, El Paso had only 300 people (at Coontz' Rancho), three-fourths of whom were Mexicans. Nor had the three valley communities changed much. Ysleta had 1200 inhabitants; Socorro, 300, and San Elizario, 1500.⁴¹ W. W. Mills' estimate of 1859 for El Paso showed 350 Mexicans and 44 Americans--an increase of 94.⁴²

The question of El Paso's economic base during these early years is not altogether clear. White's comments probably adequately describe the chief activities at this time:

Paso del Norte, across the river, was, of course, the "Queen City of the Southwest." Even Socorro, Ysleta, San Elizario, Mesilla, Las Cruces and Doña Ana were larger and more prosperous than El Paso.... In El Paso, Texas nobody worked; that is, nobody but Mexicans worked regularly. The "white men" in the community did practically nothing for the very simple reason that there was nothing to do, and the very natural result of this very pleasing state of affairs was that Uncle Ben Dowell's saloon sheltered the entire American male population of the town for the greater part of the day and for nearly all of every night. 43

There does not seem to be a great deal of activity in the Presidio Valley during the 1850's. In 1852 a Mexican military colony of 300 people was prospering at Vado de Piedra, about half-way between Paso del Norte and Presidio del Norte. Wheat and corn provided good harvests under irrigation there. Nearby

⁴¹Hammons, pp. 13-17.

⁴²White, p. 121.

⁴³White, pp. 52, 58-59.

Pilares was deserted.⁴⁴ The latter place had been chosen by Hugo O'Conor eighty years before as a presidio site. This venture failed because of the lack of water there most of the year.

Major Emory noted the considerable traffic on the trade route connecting Fort Davis, Presio del Norte and Chihuahua.⁴⁵

By 1854 a company organized in Presidio, Texas, by John W. Spencer, Milton Favor, and Manuel Músquiz began to supply Mexican beef to United States troops in West Texas.⁴⁶ Almada claims that in 1856 some Mescalero Apaches signed a peace treaty at Presidio del Norte, Chihuahua, and settled at Santa Teresa, farther up the Río Conchos.⁴⁷

Beginning in 1860, United States census reports are available for southern New Mexico and trans-Pecos Texas.⁴⁸ In that year the counties in the area had a population of 10,870, as shown in Table 11.

⁴⁴Emory, p. 256.

⁴⁵(no author), "Some Early History of Presidio," Voice of the Mexican Border, I, no. 4 (December, 1933) p. 187.

⁴⁶White, p. 44.

⁴⁷Francisco R. Almada, "Los Apaches," Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, II, (June, 1939), 11.

⁴⁸Comparable figures for the Mexican area of the study are not available until after 1900.

TABLE 11

POPULATION OF EL PASO, PRESIDIO, AND
DOÑA ANA COUNTIES IN 1860^{"a"}

	men	women	total
El Paso County (Texas)	2403	1648	4051
Presidio County (Texas)	437	143	580
Doña Ana County (New Mexico)	3841	2758	6239
			10870

^{"a"} At this time El Paso County included Culberson and Hudspeth Counties, and Presidio County made up most of the remainder of trans-Pecos Texas. Doña Ana County included all of extreme southern New Mexico. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 1860. (Washington, D.C., 1862), pp. 283-84, 293.

The large number in Doña Ana County were not all living in the Mesilla Valley, although certainly Texas immigrants had increased numbers there. There were at least several hundred living in the northern mining district, in what later became Grant County.

There was little expansion during the 1860's due to the effect of the American Civil War, which removed regular troops from the area. This lack of protection resulted in livestock losses, abandoned ranchos, closing of mines and attacks upon villages. Almost all Americans left El Paso to participate

in the war; most never returned.⁵⁰ Nevertheless there were a few changes in population patterns. In 1860 a change in the course of the Río Grande caused several groups to move from Mesilla to La Luz and Tularosa, in the Tularosa Valley. These were to be the first settlements of Otero County.⁵¹ In addition, a group of Missouri volunteers settled in Las Cruces in 1861.⁵² A third migration of Mexicans took place in 1862, when some inhabitants of Ysleta, Texas, fled from that place to establish the town of Zaragoza in the Valle de Juárez, on the Mexican side of the river.⁵³

Paso del Norte was the scene of much activity from August 14, 1865 to November 15, 1865, and from December 18, 1865 to June 17, 1866, when President Benito Juárez established his capital here during the years of the French Intervention.⁵⁴ There are no indications that this political event had any but temporary economic ramifications that would be of significance to population.

⁵⁰White, p. 61, 72.

⁵¹Griggs, p. 95.

⁵²Las Cruces Sun-News, (Las Cruces, New Mexico), July 12, 1959, p. 7.

⁵³Almada, Geografía..., p. 508.

⁵⁴Jorge L. Tamayo, Epistolarios de Benito Juárez, (n.p.), pp. 317-362, cited by W. W. Mills, Forty Years at El Paso: 1858-1898, (Rex W. Strickland, ed., (El Paso, Texas, Carl Hertzog, 1962), p. 91.

The Civil War was followed by a rise in mining activity in northeastern Chihuahua. In 1867 the towns of Santo Domingo and Placer de Guadalupe were established, about half way between Chihuahua and Presidio del Norte, north of the Río Conchos.⁵⁵

The trade route through the Presidio del Norte area experienced a revival following the Civil War.⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that in 1869 the volume of trade flowing through Presidio del Norte was nearly three times as great as that flowing through Paso del Norte.⁵⁷ Apparently the population on both sides of the Presidio Valley was essentially Mexican, for an attempt to organize a county government for Presidio County in 1869 failed for lack of a sufficient number of English-speaking residents.⁵⁸

The effect of the American Civil War is clearly shown by the 1870 census, in which El Paso County shows a decline in population from 1860. Table 12 shows the results of the census for the American sections of the region.

⁵⁵ Almada, Geografía..., p. 385.

⁵⁶ "Calendar of Important Events..." p. 20.

⁵⁷ México, Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público. Memoria. (México, 1869), pp. 71-72, 109.

⁵⁸ Shipman, "The Savage Saga," p. 7.

TABLE 12

POPULATION OF EL PASO, PRESIDIO, AND
DOÑA ANA COUNTIES IN 1870^{"a"}

	Total	Native	Foreign	White	Colored
El Paso County	3671				
El Paso	764	352	412	690	68
Ysleta	799	594	205	669	130 ^{"b"}
Socorro	627	489	138	627	--
San Elizario	1120	876	244	1116	4
Fort Quitman	361	290	71	127	234
Presidio County	1636				
Fort Davis	615	416	199	290	325
Fort Stockton	458	265	193	298	160
Lylesville	124	20	104	124	--
Presidio del Norte	439	96	343	435	4
Doña Ana County	5864				
Chamberino	463	207	256	463	--
Doña Ana	728	387	341	728	--
Fort Selden	153	92	61	153	--
La Mesa	370	163	207	370	--
Las Cruces	1304	631	673	1304	--
Leasburg	24	10	14	23	1 ^{"b"}
Los Chulos	125	46	29	125	--
Martin's ^{"c"}	11	11	--	11	--
Mesilla	1578	742	836	1578	--
Picacho	210	163	47	210	--
San Agustín Spring	7	7	--	7	--
Río Palomas	186	175	11	186	--
Santo Tomas	114	40	74	114	--
Slocum's Ranch	6	5	1	6	--
Tortugas Ranch	298	115	183	298	--
La Unión	287	62	225	287	--

^{"a"} U.S. Bureau of the Census. A Compendium of the Ninth Census: 1870, (Washington, D.C., 1872), pp. 92-95, 108, 262, 342-46. Grant County is not included in these figures; it was separated from Doña Ana County in 1868. Grant County's total population was 1143; the largest settlements were Fort Bayard and Pinos Altos.

TABLE 12-Continued

"b" Indians, not Negros.

"c" Also known as Jornada del Muerto.

Mesilla, Las Cruces, San Elizario, and Paso del Norte were the most important centers in 1870, with the latter as the most important settlement. The large numbers of foreign-born are undoubtedly natives of Mexico. By 1870 a large number of those classed as natives were undoubtedly Spanish-speaking, suggesting that the Anglo-American penetration had not yet been very substantial in numbers.

The 1870's were years of civil disorders and cultural conflict, causing several important population movements. The first was the Mesilla Riot of 1871. According to Carey McWilliams, the riot involved an unsuccessful election bid by J. Francisco Chaves, a New Mexican dedicated to breaking a corrupt ring of wealthy Spanish-Americans and Anglo-American lawyers in Santa Fe. Many of the casualties in the riots were among Chaves' supporters. McWilliams views this as a defeat for the Spanish-speaking lower classes.⁵⁹

The Mesilla Riot took the form of a Republican-Democratic dispute. Several were killed and many more were injured. As

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⁵⁹McWilliams, p. 123.

a result, some mesillanos fled the area, moving to the Mimbres Valley to the west. Another faction sent emissaries to Mexico City to procure a land grant at the site of La Ascención, Chihuahua. Some thirty or forty families from Mesilla and Las Cruces then moved to this place, establishing La Ascención in 1872 in the Lower Casas Grandes Valley.⁶⁰ The settlement changed location several times, but by 1877 a church had been erected in the permanent town. Several families from nearby Janos soon moved to the settlement. In 1880 another man left Mesilla to open a store in La Ascención.⁶¹

The second major civil disturbance occurred in the El Paso-Juárez Valley, and is known as the Salt War of 1877. A dispute arose between Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans over rights to exploit the salt deposits east of El Paso in the Salt Basin section of the Bolsón del Diablo. Since pre-Hispanic times the salt had been freely gathered by many people throughout the region. The attempt of one Anglo-American to acquire title to the area was viewed very unfavorably by the Spanish-speaking populace. The details of the war, although

⁶⁰Twitchell, II, p. 206, and Griggs, p. 93.

⁶¹Jesus Ramírez Caloca, "Ascención," Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, V, no. 6 (August 20, 1944), pp. 246-49. There is some evidence to suggest that there may have been two major movements to la Ascención. Tenuous evidence would suggest that a group of mesillanos settled there one year before the riots.

somewhat controversial, have been adequately covered by several authors. The importance to the history of population in the area is that Ysleta, Socorro, and San Elizario lost considerable percentages of their population to Guadalupe Bravos, San Ignacio, and Zaragoza, on the Chihuahuan side of the river.⁶² The bitter feelings that were engendered by the incident caused many Mexican-Americans to flee the country for Mexico.

It is difficult to say how many Mexicans abandoned the United States after the Salt War. A comparison of an 1877 estimate with the 1880 figures would suggest that considerable numbers were involved.

The 1877 estimates, if correct, would suggest that over one-half of the population of San Elizario fled to Mexico. It would appear that several hundred from Ysleta did also. As a result of the considerable exodus from San Elizario, Ysleta was left as the chief settlement in El Paso County. In 1878 it became the county seat.

There were a few minor population movements not directly related to culture conflict before 1880. Placitas was founded by 1878 in the Rincon Valley, not far from Santa Teresa.⁶³

⁶²J. P. Hague, "Once Prominent El Pasoan Tells of Salt War and Incidents that Led to the San Elizario Massacre," Voice of the Mexican Border, I, no. 4 (December, 1933), p. 162.

⁶³Johansen, p. 53. Santa Teresa is now known as Hatch.

TABLE 13

POPULATION OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE EL PASO-
JUAREZ VALLEY IN 1877 AND 1880

	1877 ^{"a"}	1880 ^{"b"}
Chihuahua		
Paso del Norte	7000	--
San Lorenzo		--
Zaragoza	2000	--
Senecú		
Guadalupe Bravos	1000	--
San Ignacio	1000	--
Texas		
El Paso	800	779
Ysleta	1700	1453
Socorro	700	703
San Elizario	2000	910

^{"a"} Ibid., pp. 161-62

^{"b"} U.S. Bureau of the Census. Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census: 1880, (Washington, D.C., 1883), p. 343.

The small settlements of Mulato and Polvo, Chihuahua, were established in the Presidio Valley by people from Julimes and Ojinaga (Presidio del Norte).⁶⁴ In the same area, Mescalero Apaches, fleeing from their reservation in New Mexico, established themselves at the town of San Carlos, Chihuahua. Later the

⁶⁴J. Charles Kelley, "Archaeological Notes on Two Excavated House Structures in Western Texas," Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society Bulletin, XX (1949), p. 92.

Chihuahuan government moved them to Santa Teresa, Chih., where they remained.⁶⁵ In 1872 a group of miners from Paso del Norte were moved to the Clifton mines in southeastern Arizona where they were employed to construct furnaces.⁶⁶

From the point of view of Mexican-American relations, the three decades from 1850-1880 were years of conflict and civil disorders. For many these conflicts proved irreconcilable, and thousands returned to Mexico. That so many fled the United States is significant for two reasons. First, the number of Anglo-Americans in the region was still quite small. In 1877, El Paso County, for example, had only eighty Americans in a population of over 5000.⁶⁷ This would suggest that it was not the competition of a massive number of Anglo-Americans that encouraged conflict, but that the substitution of a new legal and political system and new land-holding and economic institutions which caused resentment among Spanish-speaking groups.

The second point that needs to be made is in regard to the widespread notion held in the Southwest that the peoples of northern Mexico "breathed a sigh of relief following the American occupation, after years of yearning for freedom from

⁶⁵Almada, "Los Apaches," p. 13.

⁶⁶McWilliams, p. 143.

⁶⁷White, p. 96.

corruption and oppressive rule." Regardless of what happened in other areas, this notion quickly becomes fantasy for the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area when the facts for the years 1846-1880 are considered. Except for Paso del Norte itself, all of the important towns of northern Chihuahua were established by Mexican-Americans fleeing American jurisdiction.

There was little contact between 1870 and 1880 inhabitants.

POPULATION

- El Paso County
- El Paso
- Ysleta
- Socorro
- San Elizario
- Presidio County
- Doña Ana County
- La Luz
- Tularosa

¹² U.S. Bureau of the Census, 79, 80, 263, 343. Separately reported in 1880 for Cruces, and Doña Ana.

CHAPTER V

THE ARRIVAL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY IN THE EL PASO-CD. JUAREZ AREA: 1880-1945

There was little growth in the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area between 1870 and 1880. By 1880 El Paso still had only 736 inhabitants.

TABLE 14

POPULATION OF EL PASO, PRESIDIO, AND DOÑA ANA COUNTIES IN 1880^{"a"}

	Total Population
El Paso County	3845
El Paso	736
Ysleta	1453
Socorro	703
San Elizario	910
Presidio County	2873
Doña Ana County	7612
La Luz	249
Tularosa	549

^{"a"} U.S. Bureau of the Census. Tenth Census: 1880; pp. 72, 79, 80, 263, 343. Not all units in Doña Ana County were individually reported in 1880. Thus such centers as Mesilla, Las Cruces, and Doña Ana are not shown.

Following 1880, however, the population radically increased with the arrival of the first major item of modern technology: the railroad. In 1881 and 1882 the Southern Pacific, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, and the Mexican Central arrived at the border towns.¹ The change in economy of the area was by no means a phenomenon limited to the United States. After 1880, the Chihuahuan cattle industry, agriculture, mining, commerce, and small industry began to develop after years of turmoil and economic stagnation. In Mexico, these changes were furthered by Porfirian economic plans and científico thinking.²

El Paso was completely transformed. White notes that the railroads made El Paso a haven for crooks from the slums of cities in the eastern United States.³ The influx of immigrants continued rapidly, until El Paso had grown from 736 in 1880 to 10,338 in 1890. It soon became as large as Cd. Juárez.⁴ Rapid growth made El Paso the county seat by

¹White, p. 155, and Hammons, p. 116.

²Almada, Resúmen..., p. 326.

³White, p. 138.

⁴The name of Paso del Norte was changed to Cd. Juárez in 1888. Esteban Briones Martínez, "¿Cuándo se erigió en ciudad la Villa de Paso del Norte, tomando el nombre de 'Ciudad Juárez'?" Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, IV, no. 6 (November 20, 1942), p. 214.

1884, when it surpassed Ysleta in population.⁵ In a similar manner, Las Cruces became permanently dominant over Mesilla and Doña Ana in the Mesilla Valley.⁶

The effect of the railroads was not confined to these centers. Small settlements began to appear along all of the lines. In trans-Pecos Texas, Clint, Fabens, Fort Hancock, Sierra Blanca and Van Horn all had their beginnings along the tracks of the Southern Pacific between 1880-1890. In New Mexico, Rincón was established in 1881 at a division point in the Santa Fe Railroad at the entrance to the Jornada del Muerto.⁷ The same occurred in northern Chihuahua. In 1882 Estación Magdalena was established at the future site of Villa Ahumada.⁸ Estación Moctezuma had its beginnings in the same year.⁹ Between Villa Ahumada and Cd. Juárez was located the Hacienda de Samalayuca, an oasis in the midst of the Médanos. With the coming of the railroad a small town

⁵White, p. 183. The county seat election was rather fraudulent, but Ysleta and El Paso were about the same size by 1883.

⁶Las Cruces Sun-News, Las Cruces, New Mexico, July 12, 1959, p. 4.

⁷Johansen, p. 52.

⁸Almada, Geografía..., p. 380.

⁹Ibid.

appeared at Samalayuca, mainly populated by railroad employees and their families.¹⁰

Contemporaneous but not so intimately connected with the railroads was the expansion of several hundred Mormon colonists from Arizona into the Casas Grandes Valley of northwestern Chihuahua, from February to April, 1885. They formed seven small colonies, of which Colonia Juárez was the most important.¹¹

By 1890 there were more than 40,000 people living in the Middle Río Grande Valley. The population of centers in the United States is shown in Table 15.

There were several minor population movements in the area in the 1880's and 1890's. An influx of Texans into the Mesilla Valley caused 60 Doña Ana families to move to Mexico.¹² This was perhaps the last of the migrations that arose out of Mexican-American conflict.

In Chihuahua as in many other parts of the Southwest, oriental immigrants working on the railroads often stayed to engage in horticulture, in restaurant, grocery store, or hotel

¹⁰ Manuel L. Cardona, "Samalayuca," Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, IX, no. 10 (April, 1956), p. 920.

¹¹ Elizabeth H. Mills, "The Mormon Colonies in Chihuahua After the 1912 Exodus," New Mexico Historical Review, XXIX, no. 3, (July, 1954), pp. 166-67.

¹² McWilliams, p. 120.

management, and various other enterprises.¹³

TABLE 15

POPULATION OF EL PASO, PRESIDIO, AND
DOÑA ANA COUNTIES IN 1890^{"a"}

	Population		Population
El Paso County	15,678	Dona Ana County (continued)	
El Paso	10,338	La Mesa	436
Ysleta	1,528	Three Rivers	163
Socorro	801	Tularosa	572
San Elizario	1,397	Chamberino	272
Presidio County	1,698	San Agustín	92
Doña Ana County	9,191	La Luz	459
Organ	101	San Miguel	294
Doña Ana	872	Colorado	923
Las Cruces	2,340	Hilton	52
Mesilla	1,389	Linden	142
Bosque Seco	255	Rincón	284
La Unión	335	Mescalero	210

^{"a"} U. S. Bureau of the Census. Report on Population of the United States. Eleventh Census: 1890, (Washington, D.C., 1895), pp. 31, 41-42, 241, 332.

In 1884 a minor religious sect of Anglo-Americans established a colony in the Mesilla Valley north of Las Cruces. The venture proved unsuccessful and the place was abandoned in 1901.

About the same time floods in the Mesilla Valley caused

¹³ Almada, Resúmen..., pp. 331-32.

such losses that some families moved to Chihuahua.¹⁴

Only twenty-one years after its establishment, a political dispute similar to the Mesilla Riot of 1871 caused a faction of La Ascención residents to return to the United States. It is not known how many returned. The community suffered extensive land alienation in 1892 when a visit by the Comisión Deslindadora resulted in a survey which entailed loss of land for many La Ascención residents.¹⁵

The change in the economy signalled by the arrival of the railroads is reflected in the continued growth in population in the area, and especially in the growth of El Paso. The census of 1900 and other sources reveal that El Paso had surpassed Cd. Juárez in population. Table 16 shows this and other data for the area in 1900.

The turn of the century was followed by a definite change in the general direction of migration in the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area. In the years from 1850-1880, migration was mainly from the United States to Mexico, following the penetration by small numbers of Anglo-Americans. After 1880,

¹⁴Marguerite Taylor Want, "The Crumbling Adobes of Chamberino," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXIX, no. 3 (July, 1964), p. 175.

¹⁵Ramírez Caloca, pp. 251-53.

this Anglo-American migration to the area increased rapidly, and after 1900 Mexicans too began to move in greater numbers to the area. This general trend prevailed all along the border. It coincided with the development of railroads, mining, citrus fruit, sugar beet, winter vegetable and cotton production in the Southwest.¹⁶ John H. Burma has estimated that between 1900-1930, ten percent of Mexico's adult population came to the United States. Of these, 30-50% entered illegally.¹⁷ In 1908, 16,000 Mexicans were recruited in El Paso for railroad work. Two years later this number had increased to 2,000 per month, and reached a peak in 1912.¹⁸

Outside of these general trends, there were a few minor changes in the area from 1900-1910. The town of Berino, in the southern Mesilla Valley, was moved to the mesa in 1902 to avoid floods in the valley.¹⁹ After 1900, the Mesilla Valley also received some Dutch farmer immigrants--refugees from the Boer War in South Africa.²⁰ In 1905, in northeastern Chihuahua, three men opened mines in the Sierra de los Lamentos

¹⁶John H. Burma, Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States, (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1954), pp. 40-41.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 40, 42.

¹⁸McWilliams, p. 168.

¹⁹Johansen, p. 55.

²⁰Want, p. 179.

and established the town of Félix U. Gómez. The Mexican Central Railway built a spur to the town from the main line at Estación Lucero, and the settlement prospered. It later became a villa and the seat of a municipio from 1927-31. After this the town declined rapidly, as mining quickly became less productive.²¹

TABLE 16
POPULATION OF THE EL PASO-CIUDAD JUAREZ
AREA IN 1900^{"a"}

	Population		Population
Ciudad Juárez	14,000 ^{"b"}	Dona Ana County (Continued)	
El Paso County	24,886	San Agustín	96
El Paso	15,906	San Miguel	448
Presidio County	3,970	Colorado	741
Doña Ana County	10,187	Anthony	689
Organ	259	Rincón	276
Doña Ana	748	San Ysidro	665
Las Cruces	2,906	Otero County	4,791
Mesilla	1,274	Alamo Gordo	1,524
Bosque Seco	559	La Luz	444
La Mesa	498	Tularosa	752
Chamberino	597	Three Rivers	143
Santa Teresa	431	Mescalero	157

^{"a"} United States. Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the U.S.: 1900, (Washington, D.C., 1901), pp. liv, lv, 272-73, 380.

^{"b"} Manuel Ayala, Historical Data of Ciudad Juárez (1939), p. 5.

²¹ Almada, Geografía..., pp. 307, 380.

There were a few changes in the economy and in natural resource utilization in the decade 1900-1910. About 1902-05, El Paso abandoned the Río Grande as a source of drinking water and began to drill wells on the mesa, thus assuring the city of a greater and safer water supply.²² In 1904, a terrible fire in Cd. Juárez destroyed the city's business district almost completely, damaging that city's economy considerably.²³

In this decade grapes were still very important in the Mesilla Valley, and wine-making was the chief industry.²⁴ Commentaries about the quality of grapes in the El Paso and Mesilla Valleys continued to claim that "no finer grapes are grown anywhere."²⁵ Nevertheless, by 1908, alfalfa became the most important crop, as many cuttings per year are possible in this region.²⁶ Although technological changes after 1880 transformed the number of people that could be supported in the region, there had not yet been any extensive technological

²²White, p. 213, and Hammons, p. 15.

²³Noel Irrab, "Efemérides Chihuahuenses," Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, I, no. 4 (August, 1938), p. 131.

²⁴Las Cruces Sun-News, July 12, 1959, p. 4.

²⁵Charles C. Coulter, The Río Grande Valley of New Mexico and Texas, (El Paso, Texas, El Paso Printing Co., 1905), p. 24, 56.

²⁶New Mexico. Bureau of Immigration. Doña Ana County in New Mexico, (1908), pp. 33, 40.

intrusion into agriculture. The 1910 census figures suggest this strongly, for the population of rural centers remains somewhat stable, while new economic activities appear mainly in the cities. Although Cd. Juárez nearly doubled its population between 1900-1910, El Paso even exceeded this, having a growth rate of 150% during these years. Table 17 shows the region's demographic distribution.

TABLE 17

POPULATION OF THE EL PASO-CIUDAD JUAREZ AREA IN 1910^{"a"}

	Population		Population
Ciudad Juárez	27,000 ^{"b"}	Dona Ana County (continued)	
El Paso County	52,599	San Miguel	306
El Paso	39,279	Colorado	595
Ysleta	2,379	Anthony	887
Socorro	1,179	Rincón	398
San Elizario		San Ysidro	402
Presidio County	5,218	Luna County	3,913
Doña Ana County	12,893	Deming	2,757
Organ	185	Mimbres	173
Doña Ana	830	Cooks	152
Las Cruces	4,200	Columbus	231
Mesilla	2,054	Cambray	268
San Juan	196	Hermanas	91
Salem	211	Nutt	59
La Mesa	524	Hondale	182
Miller	640	Otero County	7,069
Lucero	270	Alamogordo	2,315
Chamberino	338	La Luz	414
Santa Teresa	489	Tularosa	1,022
San Agustín	69	Three Rivers	190
Anapra	249	Orogrande	155

^{"a"} U.S. Bureau of the Census. Thirteenth Census: 1910, (Washington, D.C.), pp. 114-, 119-20, 163-65.

^{"b"} Ayala, p. 5.

By 1910, El Paso had over 10,000 people of Mexican birth or parentage,²⁷ and was the largest Mexican center in the United States.²⁸ During the next decade, the demand for labor in the Southwest due to World War I manpower shortages resulted in a new surge of Mexicans to El Paso. Elizabeth Broadbent has explained this movement in the following terms: (1) World War I, with its loss of manpower in the United States, was accompanied by a cessation of immigration from Europe. This brought about labor shortages in industries requiring low-wage labor. (2) In the Southwest, food production increased due to wartime demands. (3) The temporary suspension of immigration regulations for citizens of this hemisphere enabled many Mexicans to come to the United States.²⁹

In the particular case of El Paso, this incentive to immigration did indeed occur, but was accompanied by the economic repercussions of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917. During these years, banks, smelters, mercantile houses, and manufacturing industries in El Paso suffered heavy losses due

²⁷The number speaking Spanish was undoubtedly much higher.

²⁸Elizabeth Broadbent, "Mexican Population in Southwestern United States," The Texas Geographic Magazine, V, no. 2 (Autumn, 1941), p. 20.

²⁹Ibid., p. 18.

to shutdowns and a general disruption of economic activity in Mexico.³⁰ The cessation or irregularity of railroad shipments hurt the transportation of ore and lumber, and the disappearance and devaluation of currency made merchandising chaotic. The cattle industry suffered greatly, as armies slaughtered entire herds for food. In other cases, Mexican cattlemen were able to drive their herds to the United States and cash in on war-time prices.³¹ Business conditions were very unstable throughout the revolutionary years.

Nevertheless, it does not seem that the economic slump El Paso suffered as a result of disturbances in Mexico acted as a deterrent to immigration. During these years, thousands of Mexicans crossed the Río Grande into El Paso. Frank J. Mangan claims that one-half of all of the present population of Mexican-Americans are descendants from those who moved to the city during the revolutionary years. There was a tremendous influx of Díaz followers, and when Madero was assassinated, a new wave of his followers sought refuge in the city.

One of the most spectacular of the migrations began in late November, 1913. Believing a rumor that General Francisco

³⁰White, p. 267.

³¹McWilliams, p. 112.

³²Frank J. Mangan, Bordertown, (El Paso, Texas, Carl Hertzog, 1964), p. 63.

"Pancho" Villa was about to attack Chihuahua, about 9-10,000 wealthy citizens³³ of that city fled the place by car, rail, horseback, and on foot, across the desolate wasteland of northeastern Chihuahua, intending to cross the border at Ojinaga and seek refuge in the United States. They included 4,000 troops under General Mercado. During the journey, some apparently decided to return to the capital.³⁴ By December 6, 1913, it was estimated that 4,000 troops and 2,000 civilians were at La Mula, Chihuahua, approaching Ojinaga.³⁵ On December 8 it was reported that 8,000 about to descend upon Ojinaga--3,000 troops and 5,000 civilians.³⁶ By December 10, 100 refugees had crossed the river into Presidio, Texas, while 4-5000 others were jammed into the homes of Ojinaga. Five hundred more crossed on December 15.³⁷ On January 10, the day of the Battle of Ojinaga, several thousand troops and civilians were driven across the river to Presidio.³⁸ All of these people were taken by Federal troops to Marfa, Texas,

³³"Calendar of Important Events...", p. 21.

³⁴El Paso Morning Times, December 8, 1913, p. 1.

³⁵Ibid., Dec. 6, 1913, p. 1.

³⁶Ibid., Dec. 8, 1913, "EXTRA" p. 1.

³⁷Ibid., Dec. 10, 1913, p. 1.

³⁸Ibid., Jan. 10, 1914, p. 1.

from which they were sent to El Paso on the Southern Pacific Railroad.³⁹

It is uncertain what percentage of this multitude remained in El Paso. Francisco R. Almada, commenting on the migration, notes that these groups had compromised themselves by favoring the Huerta regime, and when other forces changed the course of the revolution, they were certain of their fate if they were to await Villa in Chihuahua.⁴⁰ These wealthy chihuahuenses probably did not return to Mexico in very great numbers.

Several migrations occurred in the region during the years of the revolution. In 1912, 2,300 Mormons fled from their settlements in the Casas Grandes Valley area to El Paso.⁴¹ Many were never able to return, and moved from El Paso to other areas of the United States and Canada. Some settled in southern Arizona, New Mexico, and trans-Pecos Texas.⁴²

On December 14, 1913, 495 Spaniards from Chihuahua moved to El Paso.⁴³ Johansen also notes that Berino, in the Mesilla Valley, received an influx of refugees from Chihuahua who were

³⁹"Calendar of Important Events...", p. 21.

⁴⁰Almada, Resúmen..., p. 403.

⁴¹Mangan, p. 63.

⁴²Elizabeth H. Mills, pp. 172-74.

⁴³El Paso Morning Times, Dec. 14, 1913, p. 1.

weary of fighting.⁴⁴

Between 1916-1920 some very significant economic changes took place in the region. The completion of Elephant Butte Dam in 1916 transformed agricultural production in both the Mesilla and El Paso-Juárez Valleys. By eliminating and assuring a water supply when needed it was of enormous benefit to agriculture.⁴⁵ However, it increased the costs of irrigation to such an extent that the small landholdings of the Mexican-Americans became economically impossible to maintain. This marks the modernization of agriculture in the valleys, the appearance of large Anglo-American farming enterprises, and the beginning of tenant farming and wage labor among the Mexican-Americans.

These changes also insured an end to the more than two hundred years of dominance by grape and wine production in the agricultural economy. Cotton became important in West Texas by 1910,⁴⁶ and was introduced into the Mesilla Valley in 1918.⁴⁷ Mexican wage labor played a vital role in making cotton production profitable.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Johansen, p. 55.

⁴⁵White, p. 228, and Johansen, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁶McWilliams, p. 170.

⁴⁷Johansen, p. 26.

⁴⁸McWilliams, p. 170.

By 1920 the effect of a decade of disturbances, migrations and economic changes clearly appears in census reports. El Paso more than doubled its population, while that of Cd. Juárez increased by almost 70%. The population of Berino suggests the number of chihuahuenses who must have migrated to that village and there is a general increase in the small centers of the Mesilla Valley. There was a remarkable increase in Presidio County as well-probably due to Mexican immigration.

TABLE 18

POPULATION OF THE EL PASO-CIUDAD JUAREZ AREA IN 1920^{"a"}

	Population		Population
Ciudad Juárez	42,000 ^{"b"}	Doña Ana County (Continued)	
El Paso County	101,877	Hill	377
El Paso	87,965	San Miguel	380
Ysleta	3,120	Colorado	508
Socorro	1,197	Rincón	622
San Elizario	1,209	Garfield	577
Presidio County	12,202	Luna County	12,270
Culberson County ^{"c"}	912	Deming	4,654
Hudspeth County ^{"c"}	962	Mimbres	257
Doña Ana County	16,548	Cooks	108
Organ	227	Cambray	266
Doña Ana	1,019	Columbus	2,452
Las Cruces	4,365	Camp Furlong	4,064
Mesilla	1,975	Hermanas	84
San Juan	900	Nutt	57
Salem	315	Hondale	308
La Mesa	1,159	Otero County	7,902
Berino	601	Alamogordo	2,583
La Unión	1,387	La Luz	218
Chamberino	708	Tularosa	1,387
Santa Teresa	490	Three Rivers	150
		Orogrande	521

TABLE 18 (Continued)

"a" U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 (Washington, D.C., 1921), I, pp. 119, 130-33, 525-30, 632.

"b" Ayala, p. 5.

"c" Separated from El Paso County.

After World War I and the violent phase of the Mexican Revolution, there was an agricultural recovery in Chihuahua. Cattle had virtually disappeared during the revolution.⁴⁹ Yet the increase in cattle was hardly beneficial, for like the demand for ore, the demand for cattle declined considerably in the post World War I years.⁵⁰ Nevertheless the two cities thrived in the 1920's, but this had nothing whatsoever to do with rural production or natural resources. The boom of the 1920's was the result of the development of a tourist economy during the Prohibition years in the United States. Cd. Juárez particularly enjoyed a spectacular increase in commercial transactions.⁵¹

Broadbent notes that after 1920, a general decline in employment demands throughout the Southwest forced many of the recent immigrants from Mexico to leave the rural areas

⁴⁹Almada, Resúmen..., p. 427.

⁵⁰White, pp. 227-28.

⁵¹Mangan, p. 148.

and move to the cities. However, they were available for seasonal labor when the citrus and cotton production boom took place after 1925.⁵² This new economic activity acted as yet another incentive to encourage a new wave of immigration from Mexico.⁵³ McWilliams verifies that this is what occurred in the Mesilla Valley; presumably the same occurred in the El Paso-Juárez Valley.⁵⁴

It is important to realize here that the agricultural boom that took place in the 1920's was only briefly an incentive to migration to rural areas. The long range implications of the mechanization of agriculture continually reduce the rural man-power needed to produce a given unit of agricultural goods. Broadbent notes the effect this general trend had upon the population:

First, the predominantly permanent rural character of Mexican population changed to a part-time rurality with complementary part-time urban residence localized in the larger cities. Second, the even distribution of permanent rural Mexican population was changed to a pattern of highly concentrated distribution by the clustering of a portion of the later immigrants in areas favorable for employment of longer than seasonal duration.⁵⁵

⁵²Broadbent, p. 20.

⁵³Broadbent, p. 20, and McWilliams, p. 174.

⁵⁴McWilliams, p. 174.

⁵⁵Broadbent, p. 20.

In the Mesilla and El Paso-Juárez Valleys, this process evidently brought about an increase in the larger as well as smaller centers as the open-country population decreased. This would suggest an intermediate phase of rural-urban migration in which the smaller villages receive the migrants at first, but later are the source of migrants to larger centers. Sigurd Johansen's study of the Mesilla Valley in 1938-39 suggests this trend.

Immigration was by no means confined to the more developed areas of the region. The Upper and Middle Gila Valleys in Arizona and New Mexico received an influx of Mexican immigrants during the 1920's.⁵⁶ In Chihuahua, other population changes were brought about through governmental activity and resettlement. In 1920 a colony of former Villista soldiers was settled at El Pueblito.⁵⁷ In 1927, Chihuahua Governor Orozco established ejidos at Maclovio Herrera, near Estación Falomir in the Conchos Valley.⁵⁸ The same year four ejidos were organized at Samalayuca,⁵⁹ and two years later ejidos were established in the Valle de Juárez at El Porvenir and Vado de Cedillos. The colonies

⁵⁶Broadbent, p. 22.

⁵⁷Almada, Geografía..., p. 385.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹They are the Ojo de la Casa, Samalayuca, El Vergel, and the Villa Luz ejidos. Cardona, p. 921.

of Juárez y Reforma and Luis L. León in the Valle de Juárez date from 1929 as well.⁶⁰ In the El Paso Valley, the town of Fabens experienced some growth in the 1920's.

The census of 1930 shows clearly the results of the trend toward depopulation of the open countryside and movement into the villages and larger centers. Some of the dramatic increases in the smaller centers are also explained by some immigration from Mexico.

The census of 1930 was made shortly after the beginning of the Great Depression, and does not show the effects of this economic crisis on the area. Nevertheless, the Depression sent over 100,000 Mexicans back to Mexico. The Mexican government encouraged this effort, and a campaign in 1929-30 was particularly effective in promoting this.⁶¹ By 1940 it is rather clear that the Depression had a very pronounced effect upon the area's population. For the first time since 1880, El Paso's growth rate was negative. Its 1930 population of 102,421 fell to 96,810. El Paso County declined slightly from 131,597 to 131,067. The difference in the two sets of figures might be explained by the fact that the Depression would probably have less effect upon rural groups than urban dwellers, at least in this area, where considerable self-sufficiency prevailed.

⁶⁰ Almada, Geografía..., pp. 471, 570.

⁶¹ Broadbent, pp. 43-44.

Doña Ana County, which experienced a growth rate of 63% in the previous decade, increased by only 11% from 1930-1940. Of its major centers, only Las Cruces grew significantly. Cd. Juárez grew from 42,000 in 1920 to only 48,000 in 1940.

TABLE 19

POPULATION OF THE EL PASO-CIUDAD JUAREZ AREA IN 1930 ^{"a"}

	<u>Town or Census unit</u>	<u>Census unit</u>
El Paso County	131,597	
El Paso	102,421	
Ysleta	6,184	
Socorro	2,191	
San Elizario "b"	1,771	(4,951)
Fabens	1,623	
Presidio County	10,154	
Marfa "b"	3,909	(4,908)
Presidio "b"	1,202	(2,543)
Culberson County	1,228	
Hudspeth County	3,728	
Doña Ana County	27,455	
Organ	131	
Doña Ana	842	
Las Cruces "b"	5,811	(6,306)
Mesilla	3,376	
Hatch (Santa Teresa) "b"	364	(1,021)
Salem	473	
La Mesa	1,752	
La Unión	2,336	
Berino	1,577	
Chamberino	1,733	
Hill	466	
San Miguel	795	
Colorado	588	
Anapra	104	
Rincón	868	
San Ysidro	766	
Garfield	582	

TABLE 19-Continued.

	<u>Town or Census Unit</u>	<u>Census unit</u>	
	Picacho	135	
	Luna County ^{"b"}	6,247	
	Deming	3,377	(4,582)
	Old Town	176	
	Cooks	24	
	Myndus	475	
	Columbus ^{"b"}	391	(555)
	Hermanas	96	
	Nutt	116	
	Hondale	223	
	Otero County ^{"b"}		
	Alamogordo ^{"b"}	3,096	(3,774)
	La Luz	146	
	Tularosa	1,899	
	Three Rivers	362	
	Orogrande	268	

^{"a"} U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, (Washington, 1931), pp. 729-40, 1053-94.

^{"b"} The first figure refers to the population of the village or town proper; the figure in parentheses refers to the total population of that census unit. All other figures are census units.

Using U.S. census figures with Almada's reports for the population of the small centers of northern Chihuahua for 1940, it is possible to present a fairly complete description of the regional demographic situation for this year. This information is presented in Table 20.

Broadbent, in discussing the effect of World War II upon the borderlands, notes that wages in the United States rose faster than the cost of living, while in Mexico, the cost of

living rose faster than wages.⁶² Beginning in the war years, the bracero program was the formal mechanism which encouraged immigration. Julio Durán Ochoa notes that the State of Chihuahua contributed an unusually heavy number of braceros to the Southwest. Chihuahua also had one of the highest percentages for those not returning to Mexico. Between 1942-1952, 114,059 left Chihuahua as braceros. Of these, only 15,570 returned; 98,489 stayed in the Southwest.⁶³

It is difficult to ascertain how many of these laborers remained in the El Paso area. In addition, one of the difficulties in assigning a place of residence to this wave of immigrants is that many became migrant workers, moving from place to place according to the season.

The years 1880-1945 transformed the Mesilla and El Paso-Juárez Valleys. In 1880, there were probably no more than 25,000 people in this "core" area. By 1945, technological transformations in both industry and in agriculture made it possible for the region to support about 245,000--nearly ten times the 1890 population. In 1880, the hinterland of the region perhaps supported as many as 8-9,000 inhabitants. By 1945, this same hinterland supported approximately 75,000 inhabitants.

⁶²Broadbent, p. 44.

⁶³Julio Durán Ochoa, Población, (México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1955), pp. 179-80.

TABLE 20

POPULATION OF THE EL PASO-CIUDAD JUAREZ AREA IN 1940^{"a"}

	Town or Census Unit	Census Unit
<u>State of Chihuahua</u>		
	Munic. of Cd. Juárez	55,024 ^{"b"}
	Cd. Juárez	48,881
	Tres Jacales	246
	Samalayuca	210
	Munic. of Guadalupe Bravos	4,985
	Guadalupe Bravos	1,257
	Vado de Cedillos	749
	Juárez y Reforma	607
	Luis L. León	278
	Munic. of P. G. Guerrero	6,774
	Praxedis G. Guerrero	1,701
	El Porvenir	2,586
	Munic. of Villa Ahumada	4,435
	Villa Ahumada	1,940
	Carrizal	249
	Félix U. Gómez	178
	Munic. de Coyame	3,528
	Coyame	493
	Munic. de Manuel Ojinaga	12,383
	Ojinaga	2,536
	San Juan (Bautista)	212
	Vado de Piedra	327
	La Mula	305
	Alamo Chapo	79
	Maijoma	166
	Esmeralda	252
	Munic. de Aldama	8,492
	Villa Aldama	2,812
	San Diego de Alcalá	684
	Placer de Guadalupe	231
	El Pueblito	819
	Maclovio Herrera	416
	Santo Domingo	42
	Munic. de Manuel Benavides	4,896
	Manuel Benavides	1,320

TABLE 20-Continued.

	Town or Census Unit	Census Unit
<u>State of Texas</u>		
El Paso County		131,067
El Paso	96,810	
Ysleta	2,446	(8,548)
Socorro	600	(2,321)
San Elizario	550	(1,743)
Fabens (not available)		
Clint	600	
Presidio County	10,925	
Culberson County	1,653	
Hudspeth County	3,149	
<u>State of New Mexico</u>		
Doña Ana County	30,411	
Organ	190	
Doña Ana	850	
Las Cruces	8,385	(9,447)
Mesilla	2,472	
Mesilla Park	1,826	
Salem	634	
La Mesa	1,323	
La Unión	1,793	
Berino	525	
Chamberino	826	
Hatch	1,617	
Hill	542	
Afton	227	
San Miguel	1,246	
Rodey	558	
San Ysidro	731	
Garfield	670	
Fairacres	664	
Vado	296	
Brazito	524	
Guadalupe	160	
Longview	59	
Mesquite	588	
Otero County	10,522	
Alamogordo	3,950	(4,367)
La Luz	288	
Tularosa	1,466	(1,932)
Three Rivers	253	
Orogrande	199	

TABLE 20-Continued.

	Town or Census Unit	Census Unit
Luna County	6,457	
Deming	3,608	(5,241)
Old Town	126	
Florida	140	
Myndus	264	
Columbus	265	(453)
Hondale	233	

"a" Mexican figures: Almada, Geografía..., pp. 86-88, 380, 384-85, 431, 471, 505, 508, 529, 566, 569, 570. U.S. figures: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, (Washington, D.C., 1942), pp. 694, 689-99, 1047-54.

"b" Secretaría de la Economía Nacional. Dirección General de Estadística. Compendio Estadístico, (México, 1947), pp. 10-12.

When centuries of slow growth are compared to the phenomenal increases of this era, it seems clear that the importance of technology in changing the ecological balance between man and environment in the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area can not be underestimated. It is also clear that national economies no longer serve to delimit or describe the economic life of the two cities and their hinterland. The economic fortunes of the two border areas are so inextricably intertwined that whatever disaster strikes one, strikes both, and whatever successes one side enjoys are inevitable shared by the other.

Municipio of La Ascension
 La Ascension
 Municipio of Nueva Casas
 Nueva Casas

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE RIO GRANDE METROPOLIS AND ITS ECOLOGICAL,
CULTURAL, AND HISTORIC IMPLICATIONS: 1945-1966

If there is any one single event that dominates the recent history of population in the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area it is rapid urbanization. So pervasive is this trend that even the more remote centers are taking part in the process. Table 21 shows the remarkable growth of the area between 1950-1965.

TABLE 21
POPULATION OF THE EL PASO-CIUDAD JUAREZ AREA
IN 1950, 1960, AND 1965^{"a"}

	1950	1960	1965
<u>State of Chihuahua</u>			
Municipio of Ciudad Juárez	131,308	276,995	nem
Ciudad Juárez	122,600	261,683	370,000*
Municipio of Guadalupe Bravos	7,263	9,120	nem
Guadalupe Bravos	1,864	2,612	nem
Municipio of P.G. Guerrero	7,389	6,545	nem
Praxedis G. Guerrero	1,981	2,200	nem
Municipio of Villa Ahumada	6,300	9,272	12,500*
Villa Ahumada	2,489	4,870	6,500*
Municipio of La Ascención	3,539	6,034	7,500*
La Ascención	1,591	2,807	4,000*
Municipio of Nuevo Casas Grandes	10,889	16,134	22,000*
Nuevo Casas Grandes	6,188	11,687	15,000*

TABLE 21-Continued.

	1950	1960	1965
Municipio of Casas Grandes	10,679	9,440	14,500*
Casas Grandes	1,101	na	3,000*
Municipio of Galeana	1,898	2,686	3,200*
Galeana	744	na	nem
Municipio of Buenaventura	9,266	12,815	20,000*
Buenaventura	2,613	5,376	9,500*
Municipio of Ignacio Zaragoza	8,153	8,966	11,000*
Ignacio Zaragoza	1,504	na	nem
Municipio of Aldama	10,734	12,702	25,000*
Villa Aldama	3,385	5,294	15,000*
Municipio of Coyame	4,231	3,778	nem
Coyame	790	na	nem
Municipio of Manuel Benavides	5,504	4,605	nem
Manuel Benavides	798	na	nem
Municipio of Manuel Ojinaga	16,556	20,373	27,000*
Cd. Ojinaga	4,608	8,252	13,000*
<u>State of Texas</u>			
El Paso County	194,968	314,070	nem
El Paso	130,485	276,687	380,000*
Ysleta	4,782 ^a	(El Paso)	nem
Socorro	1,828	nrs	nem
San Elizario	6,006	1,064 ^a	nem
Fabens	3,089 ^a	3,134 ^a	nem
Hudspeth County	4,298	3,343	nem
Culberson County	1,825	2,794	nem
Presidio County		5,460	nem
<u>State of New Mexico</u>			
Doña Ana County	39,557	59,948	77,825*
Organ	1,847	4,397	nem
Doña Ana	851	2,779 ^b	nem
Las Cruces	12,325 ^a	29,367 ^a	44,000*
Mesilla	2,665	4,378 ^b	nem
Mesilla Park	3,878	4,075	nem
Salem	520	nrs	nem
La Mesa	1,535	3,152 ^b	nem
La Unión	1,334	3,198	nem
Berino	548	nrs	nem
Chamberino	793	nrs	nem
Hatch	1,064 ^a	3,343 ^b	nem
Hill	450	nrs	nem
Afton	398	nrs	nem

TABLE 21-Continued.

	1950	1960	1965
San Miguel	1,488	nrs	nem
Rodey	645	nrs	nem
Anapra	526	nrs	nem
Anthony	1,537	4,058	nem
Rincón	682	nrs	nem
San Ysidro	735	nrs	nem
Garfield	624	nrs	nem
Fairacres	716	1,181	nem
Vado	337	nrs	nem
Brazito	706	nrs	nem
Guadalupe	88	nrs	nem
Longview	48	nrs	nem
Mesquite	552	nrs	nem
Luna County	8,753	9,839	11,700*
Deming	5,672	6,764	8,000*
Old Town	73	nrs	nem
Florida	59	nrs	nem
Myndus	276	nrs	nem
Columbus	251 ^a	307	150 ^{a*}
Sunshine	488	nrs	nem
Otero County	14,909	36,976	40,700*
Alamogordo	6,783 ^a	21,723 ^a	nem
La Luz	282	nrs	nem
Tularosa	1,642*	3,912	nem
Three Rivers	268	nrs	nem
Orogrande	190	314	nem

"a" All of the figures in Table 21 are official national census figures except those which are marked by an asterisk (*). Most of those marked with an asterisk are estimates made in April, 1965, by the author, in connection with a geographical survey of human ecology in the Upper Río Grande Basin. In the case of Mexico, the figures were usually obtained directly from local municipal estimates. New Mexico and Texas figures were based on a variety of official and unofficial sources and estimates. Those figures marked with the letter "a" include only the village or town population, without the rural hinterland of the census tract unit. Those marked "b" indicate tracts that are larger than 1950 boundaries. Other symbols are: "nem", no estimate made; "na", not available; "nrs", not reported separately.

In 1960 the "core" area¹ of the Middle Río Grande Valley contained 666,678 people, while the population of the hinterland was 165,117. By 1965, the core area had grown to more than 850,000, with more than 225,000 in the hinterland.

The basis for this phenomenal growth, in both rural and urban areas, can again be attributed to technology. In 1962, the economically active of El Paso County totalled 120,000.² Of these, 25,000 were employed at Fort Bliss, and 7,000 others worked at Biggs Air Force Base.³ A large number worked at White Sands Missile Range as well. In 1962, less than 2,000 were employed in agriculture.⁴ El Paso is somewhat unusual in that, unlike most other large cities in the Southwest, it has substantial heavy industry in the form of smelting, manufacturing, and refining. In this sense it has more in common with the rising industrial centers of northern Mexico such as Chihuahua, Monterrey, and Monclova. In 1962, there were 14,750 involved in manufacturing. The importance of tourism is shown by the 11,197 employed in that area in the same year.⁵

¹This includes the municipios of Cd. Juárez, Guadalupe B., P.G. Guerrero, El Paso and Doña Ana Counties.

²John M. Richards, Economic Growth in El Paso, 1950-1962, (El Paso, Texas, Texas Western College, 1964), p. 14

³Mangan, p. 91.

⁴Richards, p. 14.

⁵Ibid., p. 27.

The three municipios making up the Cd. Juárez section of the metropolitan area contrast considerably with El Paso County, and in many ways complement it. There were 89,700 economically active here in 1960. Of these, 16,000 were involved in manufacturing,⁶ 19,000 in agriculture,⁷ 15,500 in commercial activities, and 23,600 were in service industries.⁸

The cities function as a sociological and economic unit. El Paso's tourist trade would be vastly less were it not for the presence of the large Mexican border city and its attractions. On the other hand, Cd. Juárez exists through substantial dependence upon El Paso, where low-wage labor is in great demand for domestic and industrial work.

Yet despite the fact that the economic base of the metropolitan area can be explained by means of statistics, this does not really shed any light on the question of why so many people are found at this one place in the Chihuahuan Desert. This becomes even more difficult to explain when the growth rate from 1950-62 in real per capita income of El Paso (4.27%) is compared with the United States national average (19.56%) for

⁶The majority of these worked in El Paso.

⁷One of the rather interesting features of urbanization in northern Mexico is that from 20-50% of the urbanites are engaged in agriculture.

⁸México. Comisión Nacional de los Salarios Mínimos. Salarios Mínimos por Zonas y Municipios, 1964-1965, (México, 1965), "Zona 9".

the same period.⁹ El Paso has one of the lowest per capita incomes of any city in the United States. Furthermore, although wages in Cd. Juárez are relatively high when compared to the rest of Mexico, the cost of living in Cd. Juárez is among the highest to be found in Mexico's cities. Despite these facts, the two cities continue to grow symbiotically, and by 1970 the metropolitan area will probably have a population of 1,200,000.¹⁰

A description of the economic activity in the area simply does not help to explain the reasons behind the impressive migrations from other parts of the United States and Mexico to this area. Mangan, describing the west side slums of Cd. Juárez, comments:

You...see large families living in huts made from cardboard boxes. Most of these people are freshly arrived from the interior of Mexico, having come to the border looking for opportunity. They squat by the thousands on the barren, wind-swept mesas west of town without heat, lights, water, or plumbing.¹¹

In the final analysis, the attraction of the El Paso-Cd. Juárez metropolitan area is not based on exploitation of the region's natural resources, but rather on the activities and interest generated by the bi-cultural nature of the area.

⁹ Richards, p. 21.

¹⁰J. Lawrence McConville, "El Paso-Cd. Juárez, A Focus of Inter-American Culture," New Mexico Historical Review, XL, no. 3 (July, 1965), p. 234.

¹¹Mangan, p. 72.

It is likely that there is a much more varied constellation of economic endeavors and possibilities in a bi-national center than there are in less varied centers in either the United States or Mexico. For similar reasons, the area is of great interest to tourists, who contribute heavily to the more than 60,000,000 border crossings made between the two cities annually.¹²

Reviewing the history of population in the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area, what are the implications and the significance of the appearance of one of North America's major metropolitan areas at this place? In considering these things, it can not be overestimated that the natural environment of this region has little to recommend it as a site for a great urban area. This is the most arid region of the Chihuahuan Desert. Today the question of water resources for the burgeoning metropolis is serious. Nor can the area be said to be one of unusual natural beauty. The long, arid ridge of the Franklin Mountains juts into the very center of El Paso, causing tremendous communications problems. The Sierra de Juárez is likewise a stark, bare mass. The place suffers frequent sand storms, and is subject to both daily and seasonal extremes of temperature.

¹²City of El Paso, The Chamizal: Border Improvement Project, (El Paso, Texas, n.d.), p. 7.

The growth of the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area is of considerable ecological significance because it is one of the first great urban agglomerations to appear in the desert. The rise of this metropolis is symbolic of the crucial role of technology in man's adaptation to the environment. The limited numbers at this place until 1880, and the dramatic increases that followed suggest that deserts may be the first of the great sparsely-settled areas of the world to support large numbers through technological transformations. In a world where population increases are staggering, the value of utilizing the world's desert areas will be of increasing importance.

The historical and sociological ramifications of the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area are inseparable. Four themes stand out in the history of the area's population: (1) The area has for centuries been a place of refuge for peoples of diverse cultures, origins, and motivations; (2) The area has always been a marginal one, located on the periphery of cultures whose centers were located elsewhere; (3) Proximity has created social and economic interdependence to such an extent that it is no longer adequate to describe the area in terms of national and state units, but rather in terms of a region cutting across political boundaries; (4) The process of cultural fusion in the area has been characterized by intimacy in isolation.

This essential character has been maintained in that it is distant from both of the traditional, national centers of the United States and Mexico. It is still a place of refuge; for some, for no greater reason than to escape the cold climates of higher latitudes; for others, it is a place where one can reject a tedious, hopeless, or previously unrewarding way of life, whether it be in the Midwest of the United States or in Central Mexico.

Over and above these themes, it is likely that the chief significance of the rise of El Paso-Cd. Juárez lies in its implications for inter-American relations. The two cities are merely the most spectacular example of one of the most interesting population trends in hemispheric history: the massive movement to the Mexican-American borderlands.

In 1964 more than four million persons were living within a few miles of the previously-empty Mexican-American border. El Paso and Cd. Juárez are in the center of a region which now contains more than 28,000,000 people, within a zone four hundred miles wide on both sides of the border.

In the case of El Paso and Cd. Juárez, it is fairly clear that such factors as governmental agencies and some heavy industry account for much of the area's attraction for newcomers. Nevertheless, the location of the border towns is responsible in two for the creation of an economic activity that has its roots

neither in technology, industry, nor in governmental activity, but rather in the tremendous interest to tourists due to the bi-cultural nature of the area. The fact that both cities are widely considered to be quite untypical of their respective countries does not detract from this interest. For many Americans who have much leisure time for recreational activities, Cd. Juárez provides an opportunity to escape from the pervasive effects of excessive "puritanism", austerity, and middle class social norms. Many simply find Mexican music, food, and handicrafts esthetically pleasing or otherwise enjoyable. The result of this tourist interest generated by the location and the bi-cultural nature of the border cities explains this great proliferation in tourist service industries.

D'Antonio and Form feel that the area will be characterized by a permanent bi-ethnicity.¹³ Nevertheless, it is rather doubtful that this can be an everlasting state of affairs. Economic activity and close proximity encourage the breakdown of such polar segments. If present population trends continue, it is tempting to predict that the time may come when the two cities--and perhaps the entire borderlands region--may come to share more characteristics with each other than they do with

¹³William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form, Influentials in Two Border Cities: A Study in Community Decision Making, (University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), p. 19.

either parent country. The borderlands may very well develop a cultural unity of its own out of the regionalistic elements of the American Southwest and Northern Mexico, and a configuration may emerge that is a highly synthetic blend of these contributing elements.

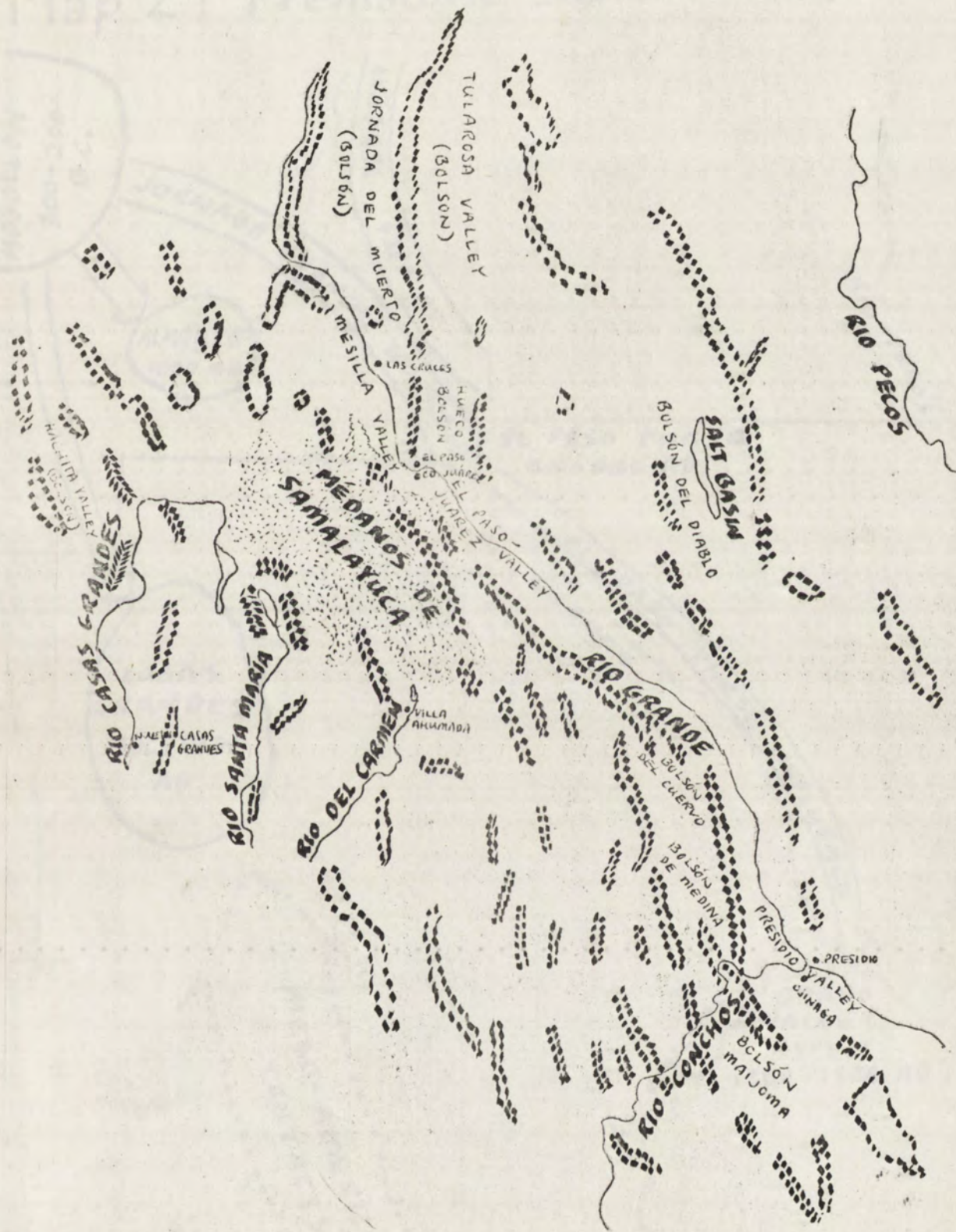
In countries where regional variations have existed for a long time and are well-known, it is doubtful that the national integrity of either Mexico or the United States will suffer from such a merger. It is in the differences between Latin Americans and Anglo-Americans that this trend is so significant. For the first time in the history of the Americas, millions of peoples of both cultures live in close proximity to each other. The cultural experiences of the people of this region have been, and will continue to be, quite different from those of the people of either of the two parent countries. Border contacts are increasing in both volume and intensity, and there is little ill will among the vast majority of the border-dwellers towards each other. The rationale behind old prejudices is breaking down with the movement toward economic and cultural synthesis.¹⁴

The chief value of such a study as the history of population in the El Paso-Cd. Juárez area is that it presents a microcosm of many of the elements contributing to the long

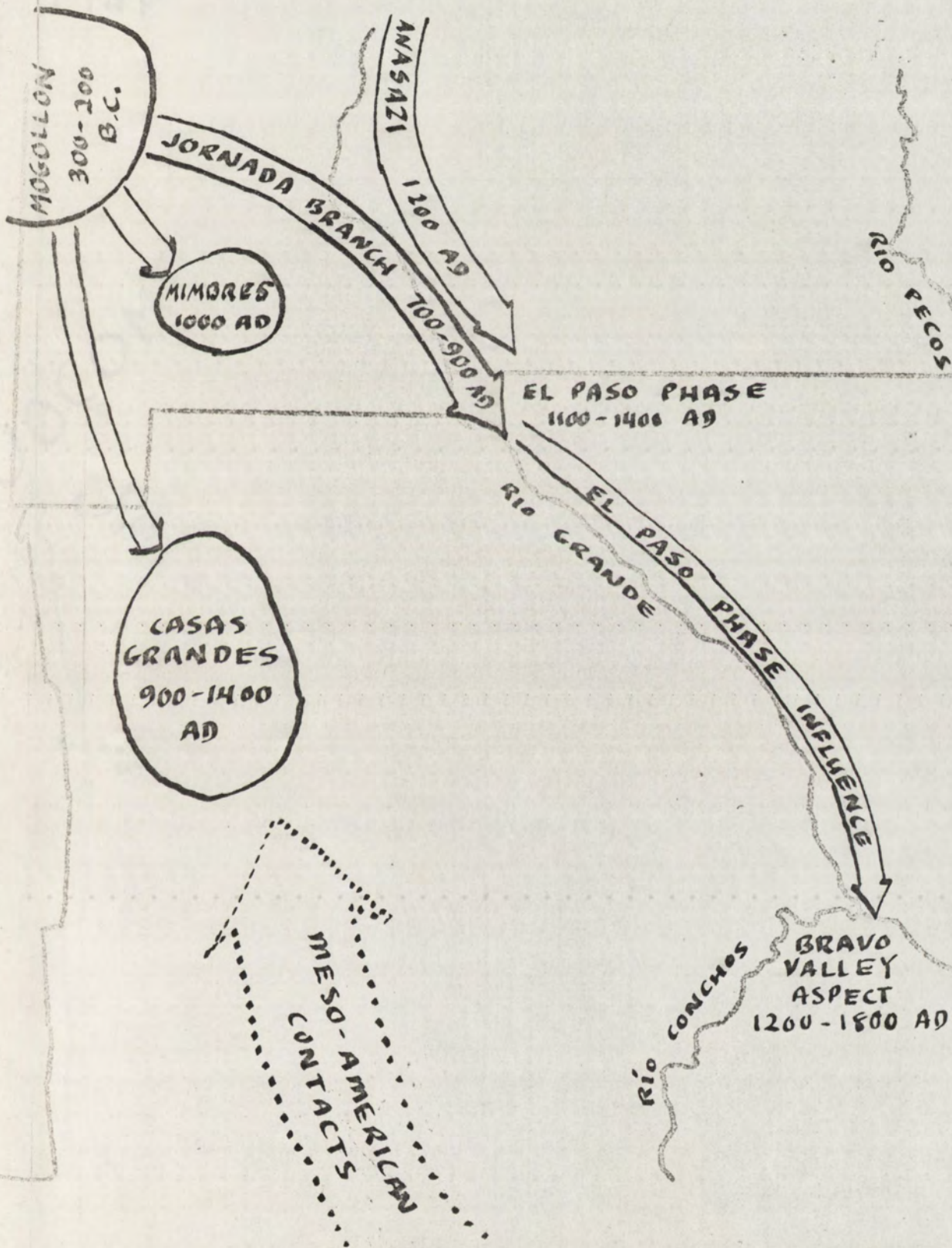
¹⁴McConville, pp. 233-246.

history of inter-American conflict, compromise, and adjustment. Here the causes of inter-American interests and differences are reduced to their most simplistic levels and elementary forms. In the borderlands, the long and complex history of human inter-relationships, conflicts, and acculturation seems to be giving rise to a unique subculture. For the first time there are significant numbers of people whose cultural heritage contains important elements of Northern European, Southern European, and native American traditions. Such a subculture has not been seen before. The meaning of this event is important for inter-American relations. Despite years of hostility, conflict, and misunderstanding, it would seem that there is at least one level at which the prospects for reconciliation are more realistic. The El Paso-Cd. Juárez area provides a microcosm in which the powerful forces at work in the borderlands can be seen in intimate detail.

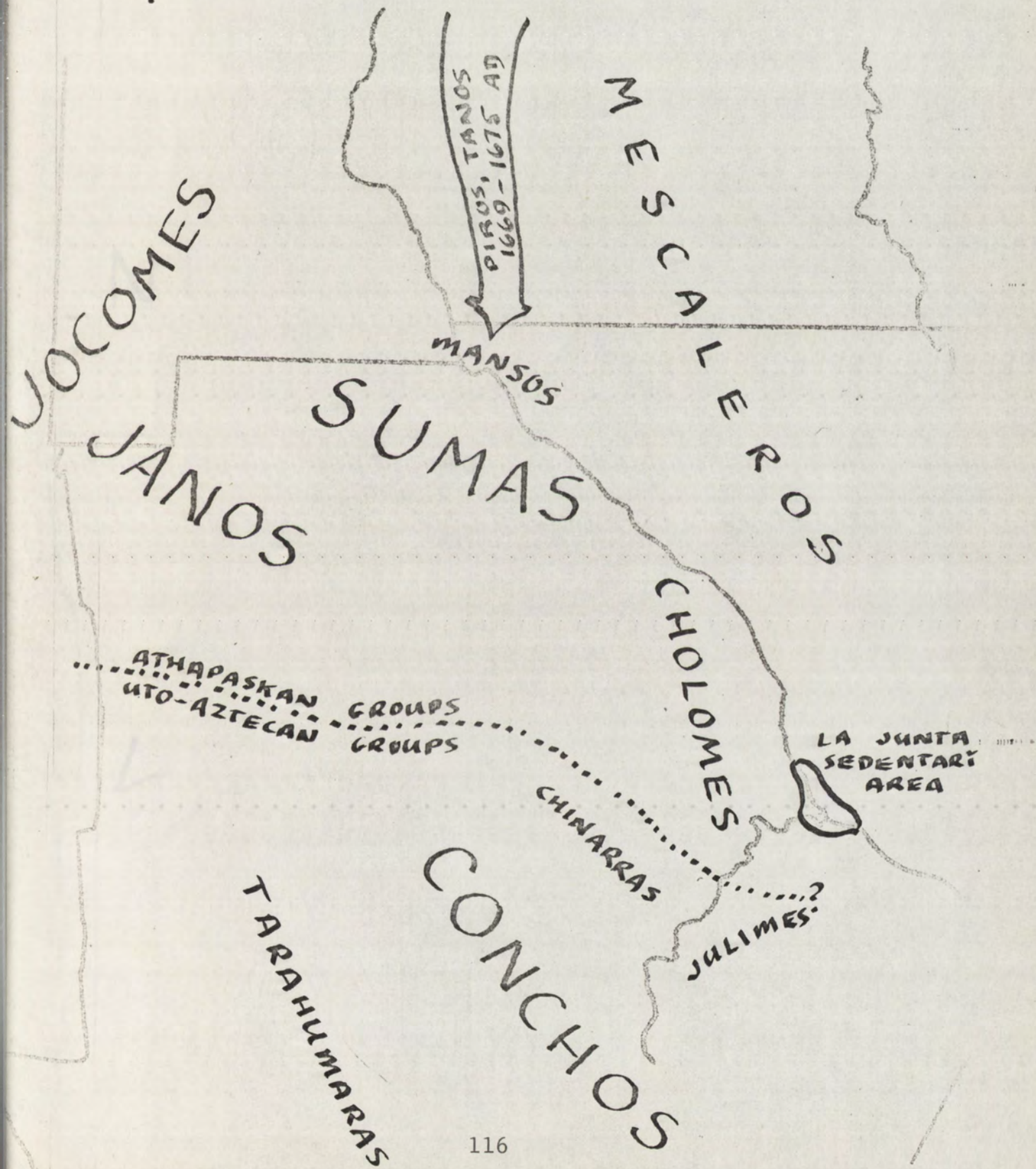
Map 1: Physiographic Features



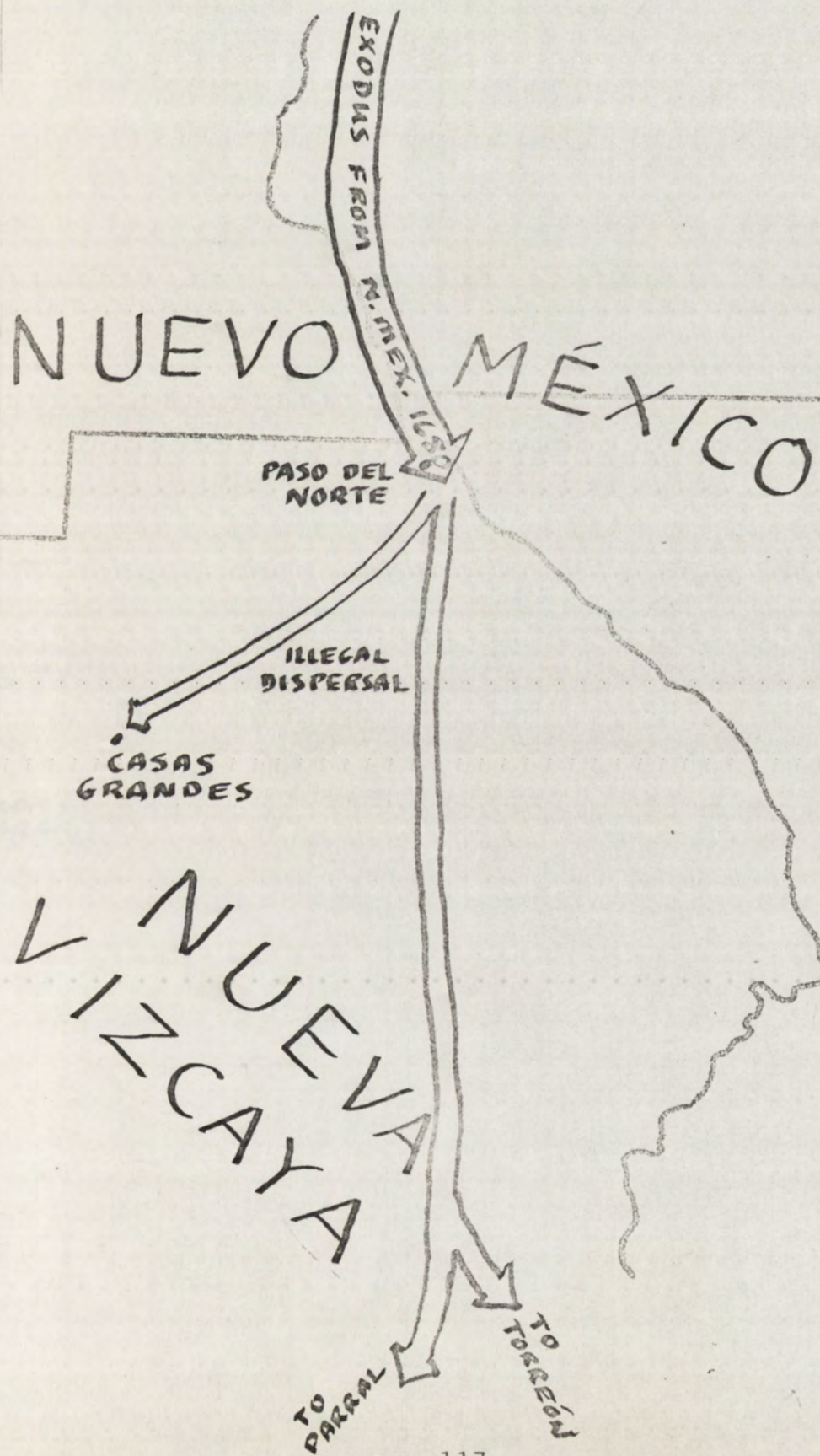
Map 2: Prehistoric Indian Groups



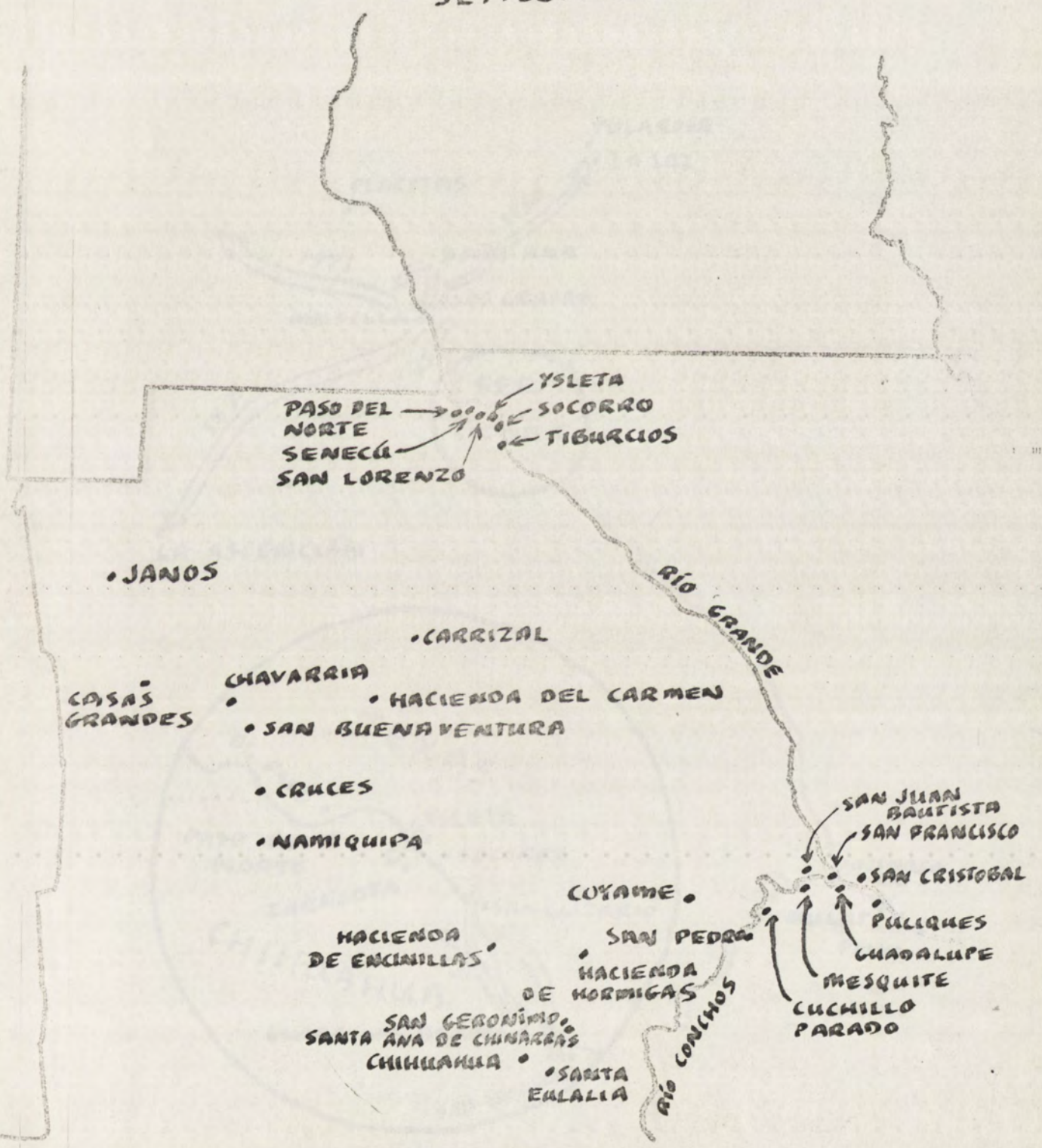
Map 3: Historic Indian Groups



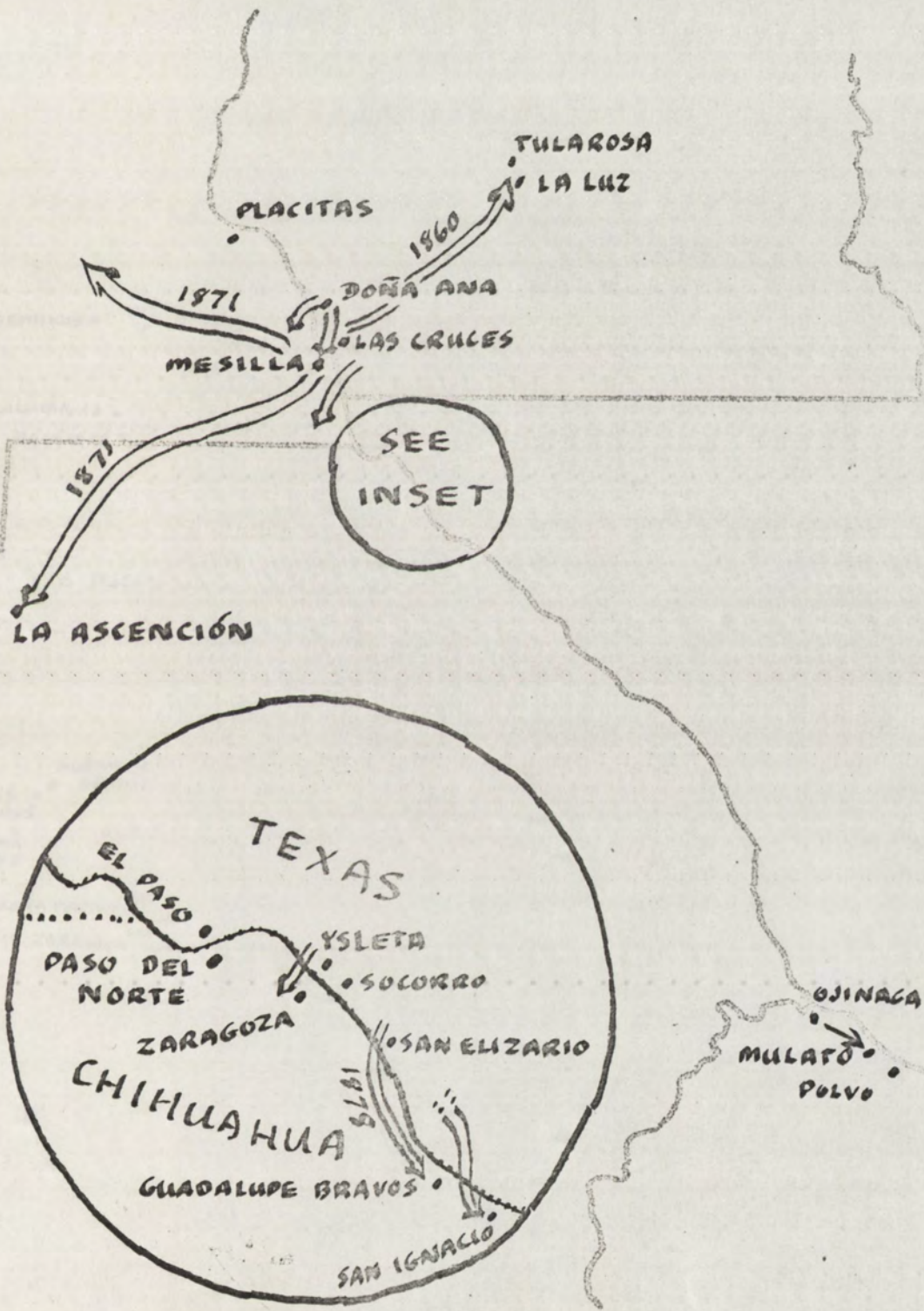
Map 4: After the Pueblo Revolt



Map 5: EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SETTLEMENTS



Map 6: Population Movements, 1846-1880



Map 7: Modern Settlements



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