Roots of the New Mexico Women's Movement: Missionaries and the New Mexico Woman's Christian Temperance Union

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ROOTS OF THE NEW MEXICO WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: MISSIONARIES
AND THE NEW MEXICO WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

by

CLARE DENISE O'LEARY-SIEMER

Bachelor of Arts, History, Kansas Newman College, 1979

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
HISTORY

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico
AUGUST, 1997
DEDICATION PAGE

For Dick Siemer, my husband and best friend, who never lost confidence in my endeavor. Also, for my mother, Mary Sue (Jaggers) O'Leary and for my father, Owen N. O'Leary, who taught me fortitude. Thank you.
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of the roots of the New Mexico women's movement and the unification of Protestant women's networks in New Mexico. Chapter 1 begins with the entry of Protestant evangelists and their wives prior to the Civil War. Chapter 2 looks at the Protestant missionaries who, after the Civil War, intensified their efforts to Americanize the West. Chapter 3 examines the early crusade of the New Mexico Woman's Christian Temperance Union (NMWCTU), 1883-1906.

Missionaries and lay women established an evangelical alliance which became the basis of a growing female reform movement in New Mexico. The NMWCTU was the first nonsectarian Euro-American women's organization in the territory. The members worked to reform their communities and to extend their temperance agenda by moving into public policy and striving for legislation that affirmed companionate marriage and that protected women and children.

vi
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this examination of the roots of the New Mexican woman's movement was to analyze the efforts of the early women of New Mexico to gain recognition of their rights as American citizens. The New Mexican woman's movement, similar to other women's movements across America, was an outgrowth of the late 19th century's social, political, and economic changes. It sought to influence the political process, gain representation in government, and achieve equality in education and employment opportunities. The movement gained momentum as New Mexico entered the Union and sought to assert its cultural identity within the state. The New Mexican woman's movement played a significant role in advocating for women's rights and equity.
Two exceptional leaders, Mary J. Borden, fourth president of the NMWCTU, and Ada Morley Cleaveland successfully sponsored a resolution in which the NMWCTU resolved to support a limited woman suffrage. This step marked the introduction of the campaign for woman suffrage in New Mexico. The NMWCTU became the organizational means to extend the influence of a united women's network into the public arena.
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INTRODUCTION

Although there was no organized women's movement in New Mexico before 1890, from 1880 to 1900 New Mexico's Protestant Euro-American middle-class women institutionalized their principles of activism, establishing the basis for the future territorial women's movement.¹ Using denominationally separated female activism as a basis, the women developed their reform campaign into a unified evangelical front with goals specific to their Euro-American heritage.²

In 1883, Frances E. Willard, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, organized the New Mexico Woman's Christian Temperance Union (NMWCTU) and, in turn, began the evangelical unification of the territory's Protestant women. The NMWCTU not only joined a diverse Protestant community, but also empowered women to extend their evangelical and domestic mission into the public sphere of politics and local communities, paving the way for political feminism. These women believed that they were the moral authorities for Protestant middle-class America and reflected true nineteenth-century Victorian womanhood.³ In New Mexico, as elsewhere in the West, Protestant women broadened their spheres of activity by extending their claim to moral authority from home and church to public, social, and political activism. The NMWCTU became the organizational means to advance the women's focus on protection of women and children through legislation and community reforms.
In this study, I examine the roots of the New Mexico women's movement and the formation and unification of Protestant women's networks in New Mexico. In analyzing the origins of a popular woman's consciousness, I began to understand the Protestant cultural conquest and the women's movement of New Mexico.

This thesis is arranged to reflect the evolution of the New Mexico women's movement. The first chapter begins with the United States invasion of northern Mexico in 1846 and the subsequent occupation of more than half of Mexico's lands, including New Mexico.

Immediately, following the annexation of New Mexico Territory, in 1850, the Euro-American population in New Mexico was small. Further, Protestant evangelical efforts were based on the labors of a few traveling ministers and their wives. Protestant evangelists were part of a small Euro-American population and were members of a minority religious faith. In addition, the wives could not establish an effective women's network. A denominationally supported missionary system was lacking to ensure continuity. In fact, prior to the Civil War, there were no nationally organized women's societies working exclusively for their own denominations. Instead, the ministers' wives worked in isolation supporting their husbands' endeavors. As ministers' wives they were symbols of middle-class America and were the nation's moral authorities. In the Southwest,
The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the evolution of the New Mexico water resources concept. The first chapter began by examining the historical development of New Mexico's water resources. The New Mexico Water Resources Board, established in 1975, is responsible for the coordinated planning and management of water resources in the state. The Board's mandate includes the development of a comprehensive water resources plan that addresses the needs of all users, including agriculture, urban development, and environmental conservation. The chapter also highlighted the importance of understanding the ecological and environmental aspects of water management in New Mexico.
their role was to teach the Hispanic and Indian women "proper" Protestant moral ways.

Chapter Two looks at the Protestant missionaries who, after the Civil War, intensified their efforts to Americanize the West and to "regenerate the exceptional populations." With the entry of the railroad into New Mexico, Protestant efforts reached their zenith from 1880-1915. Missionaries tried to convince the Hispanics of the inferiority of their Catholic New Mexican culture and to introduce the Indians to the superior ways of Protestantism. Most of these missionaries were women and they were agents of an ideological and functional expansion of Victorian womanhood that Catharine Beecher popularized. They saw their labor as "woman's work for woman" as they attempted the cultural conversion of Hispanic and Indian communities.

While the missionaries were converting "other" people, New Mexico's Euro-American population was rapidly increasing and establishing new communities. For these immigrants some form of social order had to be defined to insure growth and progress. They brought elements of their cultural values, including churches and voluntary associations to enforce social and moral standards.

Meanwhile, middle-class women's social obligations were expanding from the privacy of their home to the public sphere of their community. Educated women established
social activism as a new role for themselves. They established and supported a national system of missionary schools to enhance their moral influence and to assert their moral guardianship. Most of the missionary teachers were single women, who lived alone, one to a village or reservation. They worked in isolated rural locations receiving instructions and encouragement through home mission publications and from occasional visits by denominational ministers and mission directors. Unless the missionary was located in an urban center, her opportunity to establish a network with other Protestant women in New Mexico was limited.  

Nevertheless, missionaries and lay women established an evangelical alliance which became the basis of a growing female reform movement in New Mexico. When Frances Willard, president of the WCTU, organized the NMWCTU, she expanded the women's evangelical motto from the missionaries' "regenerate exceptional populations" to a broader principle of intent, "elevate humanity."  

The union was the first nonsectarian Euro-American women's organization in the territory. Chapter Three examines the NMWCTU's early crusade. Reform was no longer limited to Hispanics and Native Americans, but included working and middle-class Euro-Americans, as WCTU members adopted Willard's "do everything" strategy. They labored to reform their communities and to extend their temperance
agenda to the less fortunate by moving from private philanthropy into public policy. The women also challenged male authority through laws that affirmed companionate marriages and that protected women and children. Still, they relied on the support of men of their own race and class. NMWCTU officers encouraged male participation in union meetings, resulting in an effective lobbying strategy that addressed specific behaviors and furthered the NMWCTU cause.

Consequently, NMWCTU members gained important leadership skills and organizing techniques. For a few union leaders, these skills gave them the needed confidence to expand their cause from the protection of women and children to women's rights. In 1890, the NMWCTU resolved to support a limited woman suffrage "with an educational qualification." This resolution marked the beginning of the campaign for woman suffrage in the territory.

New Mexico's Protestant women developed a woman's culture which didn't challenge the imbalance of power between the sexes, but worked within the confines of domesticity to secure change. The NMWCTU became the organizational means to extend the influence of a united women's network into the public arena. It provided the foundation for women to push for protection, community reforms, legislative protection, and, finally, suffrage. Women's issues were thus carried from the church to the
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community. 

This thesis represents the first study of the NMWCTU and the roots of the territory's women's movement. A women's "movement" did not exist in New Mexico prior to 1890, and historians have thus far not explored the roots of the twentieth-century crusade. As a result, women's grassroots endeavors for community improvements are commonly regarded as a twentieth-century phenomenon in New Mexico. But, women began their community activism as missionaries and lay women for their church denominations. Later, they united under the direction of the NMWCTU, establishing the foundation of the ensuing twentieth-century women's movement.

Several studies about missionaries provide abundant evidence about the roots of a united Protestant women's front. However, the history of the NMWCTU is a new subject, and I relied on primary sources. For example, early NMWCTU officers submitted news articles to the national WCTU newspaper, the Union Signal, telling of their organization's achievements and problems. These articles concentrated on the union's achievements but told very little regarding the territorial union's shortcomings. In addition, the articles were defensive when the authors perceived the national office to be unhappy with their unions' performance. Nevertheless, these reports provided a wealth of information, serving as a basis for my follow-up in local
newspapers, legislative records, and manuscript censuses.

What's missing are the individual leaders' experiences, their inner feelings, the sources of their drive. Finding the diaries and other papers of the territory's temperance leaders would provide that missing link. The personal records of leading activists and suffragists like Reverend Mary J. Borden and Ada Morley need to be located, if they exist.

The following pages present the story of the beginning of the Protestant Euro-American women's movement in New Mexico. It's a story of growth and of empowerment. Before a political feminist movement existed, an organizational process allied denominationally separated women and, in turn, established a Euro-American women's culture and a united middle-class women's crusade. The crusade remained predominantly white, middle-class, and Protestant, and never transcended its roots to unite the racially diverse women of New Mexico, or women of all classes, or of all religions.
NOTES

Introduction


2. The phrase "denominationally separated female activism" refers to activism that was limited to a woman's particular religious or church community, with no attempt toward an ecumenical undertaking.


6. The phrase "exceptional people" or "exceptional population" is commonly seen in the nineteenth century United States Protestant home missionary reports.


9. The Presbyterian Home Mission Society printed this motto in their monthly journal, *Home Mission Monthly*, 1887-1897. Deutsch, 85-86. Although the missionaries viewed their work as an opportunity to shape a society, Deutsch asserts that they "disrupted Hispanic family life and community at their core, as rival authorities in child-rearing, education, and religion." Although the village women were selective of the Anglo lessons they accepted, a cultural unsettlement developed as the Hispanic women struggled to maintain cultural control.


12. Pascoe, xvi.


15. Suzanne M. Marilley, "Frances Willard and the Feminism of Fear," *Feminist Studies* 19 number 1 (1993): 123-146. Marilley describes the WCTU's mobilizing tenets of protection of women and children against threats to their family and moral authority as "feminism of fear." Likewise, the NMWCTU members put security, not rights, first, and lobbied for measures that would eliminate threats to family maintenance.

The purpose of this paper is to report the findings of a social scientific study on the effects of various factors on family child rearing. The study was conducted over a period of three years and involved interviewing parents from different socio-economic backgrounds. The results indicate that family child rearing is influenced by a variety of factors including parental education, economic status, and cultural values. The study also highlights the importance of early intervention programs to support families in their child rearing process.
CHAPTER I
The Arrival of Euro-Americans

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century Euro-American Protestant women formed a network in New Mexico. These women migrated from the East with ethnocentric ideas of how New Mexico's social order should be, and set out to duplicate their own familiar Protestant culture. Their network allowed for the establishment of a women's movement, not a feminist movement seeking to attain equality with men, but an evangelical and temperance campaign seeking moral reformation of New Mexico communities. The following narrative examines the history of Euro-American settlement for two reasons. First, the forerunners of what would become a Protestant women's reform movement in New Mexico were isolated efforts to serve the spiritual needs of a tiny Euro-American community from 1821 to 1880. Second, the 1880s marked a tremendous increase in Euro-American population and resulted in the introduction of a New Mexico women's movement that played an important part in the establishment of Protestant communities in New Mexico.

When Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, New Mexico's economy changed from Spain's closed mercantile system to restrained laissez-faire under Mexico. The Mexican government reluctantly allowed New Mexico to establish trade relations with the United States, so New Mexican trade routes were expanded to St. Louis, thus
establishing the Santa Fe Trail. With this expansion came new commercial opportunities and the first major organized migration of Euro-Americans into New Mexico. Annually, one hundred to three hundred people traveled with the Santa Fe trade caravans; some of them settled and adapted to the Hispanic majority.²

Successful commercial trade with New Mexico was the primary goal of these Euro-Americans. To survive in New Mexico economically and socially, U.S. traders had to embrace the New Mexican mores rather than try to change Hispanic society. And so, many Euro-American men married Hispanic New Mexicans, converted to Catholicism, and learned to speak Spanish.³

On the other hand, the Mexican government treated Indian tribes as separate political groups, believing that the Indians were to be conquered with the velvet glove—treated kindly and assimilated through "persuasion, commerce, and agriculture rather than by military force alone."⁴

Euro-American traders disturbed the balance of power between economically dominant New Mexicans and Native Americans. The Indians, prior to the arrival of Anglo-American traders, had few firearms and were, as Historian David J. Weber wrote, "dependent upon Spaniards alone for trade." Taking advantage of this situation, the Euro-Americans imported guns and munitions, and by the late 1820s
"the American armament trade had shifted the balance of power to the Indians." Armed attacks on remote New Mexican settlements intensified, and Indian tribes switched alliances from Mexico to the United States.  

With this Indian alliance intact, the United States invaded northern Mexico in 1846 and took possession of more than half of Mexico's lands including New Mexico territory. From 1846 until after the Civil War, the United States' prime mission was to maintain military and economic control of New Mexico and its Hispanic and Indian peoples. A strong and visible military presence in New Mexico was necessary to complete the military conquest and, later, to protect New Mexico from a Confederate invasion. Moreover, the Santa Fe Trail commerce had to be protected to encourage other commercial opportunities.

In 1850 when the Territory of New Mexico was established, 61,547 people, mostly Hispanics, mostly Roman Catholics, lived primarily between Albuquerque and Taos. Only 772 Euro-Americans, approximately 2 percent of the population, resided in New Mexico, primarily for trade opportunities and military purposes.

Because the Euro-American population was so small, large-scale Protestant evangelical efforts had not begun. That would follow later, as Euro-Americans sought to "Americanize" the territory's majority population to prepare them for United States citizenship. Prior to the Civil
War, the Protestant evangelical presence in New Mexico was limited to a few traveling ministers and their wives. Initially they concentrated their efforts on the Euro-American population, but later they attempted to convert the Hispanics and Native Americans.

The first Protestant missionaries in New Mexico were the Northern Baptists Hiram Walker Read and his wife, Alzina Read. In 1849 they arrived in Santa Fe where Hiram served as a military chaplain. Later, they distributed Bibles and other Protestant literature to the local Hispanics and tried to organize a school. But no system existed to ensure continuity of the evangelical efforts. The Reads' evangelical projects ended when they left New Mexico in 1853.

More than a decade later, after the Civil War ended, Methodists and Presbyterian denominations began missionary efforts in New Mexico. The earliest of these missionaries to arrive were two Methodists, Thomas and Emily Harwood, in 1869. They established a school in northeastern New Mexico, founded a Girls' School and Boys' School in Albuquerque, and published a Spanish-English Methodist newspaper. Ferenc Morton Szasz, commenting on their work, wrote, "The story of Methodism in New Mexico is largely the story of the two Harwoods."

As for the Presbyterians, David McFarland in 1866 ministered to a small predominantly Anglo congregation
associated with the territorial government and the military in Santa Fe. However, McFarland's work did not establish a precedent for Presbyterian missions among Hispanics or Indians. Rather, Reverend John A. Annin in 1869, while assigned to Las Vegas, undertook Presbyterian mission work among the local Hispanics, after discovering that the Anglos were not interested in his religious crusade.¹⁰

Although mission works expanded, ministers' wives continued to work in considerable isolation. Their roles were limited primarily to supporting their husbands' evangelical responsibilities by teaching school and responding to family needs. Still, they tried to adapt to unfamiliar and inadequate provisions. With the small Euro-American population, and with Protestants a distinct minority, they were unable to establish an effective Protestant women's network. Indeed, ministers' wives were expected to exemplify the ideal of American Victorian womanhood—pure, pious, subordinate to their spouses, and concerned with domestic matters.¹¹ But, they extended their mission outside their homes, to teach. From them, the New Mexican women, whether Hispanic or Indian, were supposed to learn the proper Protestant moral ways. They were the moral authorities. Ministers' wives, as models of Protestant middle-class America, were also expected to exert their moral influence over the Hispanic and Indian New Mexicans. As individuals rather than as members of a large
organized Protestant women's movement they converted Hispanics and Indians. As one scholar has written, the Protestant missionary prior to the Civil War was "like a fish out of water," a Protestant minority among a Catholic majority.\textsuperscript{12}

Not until after the Civil War did Protestant America begin to concentrate much of its evangelical Americanization efforts on the West. The Civil War was not only an economic conflict, but also a moral crusade of Protestant abolitionists to rid the nation of slavery. The end of the war bolstered evangelical endeavors. For evangelicals, the victorious Union was proof of the righteousness of Protestantism, and Protestant reform movements began to thrive.\textsuperscript{13}

After the war, evangelical America began to take a more active role in trying to resolve the United States's "Indian problem." President Ulysses S. Grant's Indian policies, known as "Grant's peace policy," established a partnership of the federal government with Protestant organizations, and President Grant organized a Board of Indian Commissioners--a voluntary board initially consisting of important Protestant officials. Protestant groups and leaders were to administer the federal government's Indian policies and to Americanize the Indians.\textsuperscript{14} Through these policies, Native Americans, considered wards of the federal government, were to be converted to Protestantism.
These policies reached their zenith during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In New Mexico, these tactics were not only applied to the American Indians; they guided Protestant missionaries as well as they tried to Americanize Hispanics. The period from 1880 to 1915 constituted the height of Protestant efforts in New Mexico to Americanize Hispanics and Native Americans—to prepare them for the privileges and responsibilities of American citizenship.\textsuperscript{15} Their missions were to convince the Hispanics of the inferiority of their Catholic New Mexican culture and to introduce the Indians to the Protestant "peaceable and progressive civilization."\textsuperscript{16}

The missionaries perceived each group differently. The Hispanics were considered "mentally weak" because their "religious ceremonies . . . [had] not called for intellectual activity." The missionaries were to rescue the Hispanics from Catholic "bondage" since it was believed Catholicism was responsible for "ignorance and superstition of their . . . followers in the Southwest."\textsuperscript{17} On the other hand, the Indians were considered "primitive," exhibiting the same uncivilized traits as Euro-Americans did during their early development as a civilization. The missionaries concluded that "the preaching of the Gospel" had elevated European civilization, so the same preaching should work to rescue the Indians from their "primitive" lifestyle.\textsuperscript{18}

Clearly, the missionaries believed in the causal
relationship between Protestant Christianity and United States superiority; for the United States to succeed in its God-directed expansion, Protestantism was a crucial determinative element." As historian Ferenc Morton Szasz writes, "The success of the American political system, the clerics argued, rested primarily on the moral health of its citizens."  

Protestant reformers believed that Hispanics and Native Americans could be persuaded of the superiority of American Protestantism through intensive indoctrination of women and children. Aware of the Catholic influence in New Mexico, Protestant denominations took advantage of the Catholic church's weak area of social control—educational institutions. After Jean Baptiste Lamy became Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Santa Fe in 1853, the Catholic church established a few schools in the territory, but not enough to satisfy new Euro-American educational needs. The Protestant denominations in the eastern United States noted this weakness, and soon after the Civil War began to establish denominational schools in New Mexico. With the arrival of the railroad in 1880-81, more settlers came to New Mexico, and major Protestant denominations increased their missionary efforts. For example, from 1867 to 1890 the Presbyterians founded forty-seven schools. The Methodists followed this lead; by 1885 they had established ten schools, and by 1889 they had founded a college in
Albuquerque. But membership growth was slow and by 1890 only 230 Methodist and 1,000 Presbyterians and Congregationalists were registered.  

Many of the teachers were single women living alone, one to a village. They not only taught school, but also provided health care and religious leadership. They likewise worked to establish and enforce a Protestant social order, a prime goal of the eastern home missionary societies that funded their efforts. As cultural messengers, the missionaries fostered an intense Americanization program through their denominational schools. Therefore, as Sarah Deutsch asserts, "they disrupted Hispanic family life and community at their core, as rival authorities in child-rearing, education, and religion." Yet, the recipients of the Anglo culture were selective, in what they adopted, and filtered the Protestant social messages and actions through the prism of their New Mexican culture. On the other hand, Deutsch further discloses that some missionaries, because of their farming background, identified more closely with the Hispanic rural experience than with the urban experience of their Anglo counterparts. "Not only did the strong Hispanic family appeal to them, but their incorporation into the village as generalized 'mothers' provided them with surrogate families." Deutsch maintains family emphasis "gave the missionaries a common language to speak with their Hispanic villagers."
In 1880, the total population of New Mexico was 119,565, of whom 10,468 (8.7 percent) were Euro-Americans. By 1890, after the railroad entered, the Euro-American population increased to 43,008. They now represented 28 percent of the territory's 153,593 inhabitants.²⁴

Protestant activity expanded with this influx of Euro-Americans and supported a Protestant women's network and evangelical reform crusade. The network gave Protestant women the foundation to unite and to assert their moral influence in the public political sphere. As a result of these new activities, "Americanizing" was no longer limited to women teaching Hispanics and Native Americans. Evangelical women now began crusading for a Protestant social order in their own Euro-American communities.²⁵

This crusade was not a feminist campaign. The majority of the women did not seek equality with men. Instead, they were part of a national popular Protestant women's culture that agitated for the protection of women and children.

In these endeavors New Mexico Protestant women reflected the popular ideology of domesticity that Catharine Beecher developed and popularized before the Civil War. By expanding, rather than abandoning, the acceptable ideology of domesticity, Beecher produced a readily acceptable strategy that empowered women to influence their local moral standards. Here middle-class women were to expand their concerns from the private sphere of the home to include
their communities. They established their own benevolent projects and societies to devote "labours for the salvation of . . . fellow men as the great object of interest and thought." Beecher also advocated enhancing women's formal education because as child care providers and homemakers they were shaping future generations. In her opinion women were not to be idle ornaments, but were to be educated to translate their knowledge into action. Their refinement would be revealed through the conduct of their actions.

During the Civil War women expanded their role by organizing war relief work. After the Civil War women's benevolent labors became national in scope. They formed and managed their own missionary organizations during the 1870s, doing "woman's work for woman." The foreign missions concentrated on converting "exploited" and "uncivilized" peoples outside the United States. The home missionary societies Christianized "exceptional" populations in the United States.

To be civilized was to be Christian; Protestantism was an essential element of civilization. As historian Robert F. Berkhofer argued in *Salvation and the Savage*, civilization was an "upward unilinear development of human society with the United States near the pinnacle." Progress was measured by the extent to which a group's future was patterned to achieve the United States middle-
class way of life.

Overall, the Protestant hierarchy did not see the West progressing toward an acceptable middle-class lifestyle. Instead it saw "social chaos." In their view the immoral and disorderly new western communities required Protestant intervention, with the churches depending on women to expand the Protestant social order. An editorial in the Presbyterian Home Mission Monthly stated:

How can a Christian woman live in the midst of such earnest, pressing demands for her best efforts . . . in order to take our land for Christ, and not feel her whole being stirred to its very depths with interest, and the force of strong purpose?  

Without educated women the West would house an uneducated lower-class that would jeopardize democracy. As the Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions put it:

We owe it to ourselves and those who succeed us to educate them [Mexican children] on account of the danger which such ignorant masses always occasion to an intelligent, high, and pure standard of morality. Let us take them kindly . . . and help them to understand how they may become an intelligent and honored part of our Christian nation.

The women teachers, the civilizers of the West, would develop proper moral standards. In this thinking, missionary work and the expansion of Protestantism was a woman's patriotic duty and, in turn, a celebration of Victorian female piety.

The teachers who came West were descendants of early nineteenth-century mothers who were expected to raise an
educated citizenry for the new, developing republic. To enhance this goal, more secondary educational institutions were opened for women, expanding their educational responsibilities from the privacy of their homes to the public sphere of their communities. More educational choices increased women's options of self-support. Evangelical religious hierarchy saw that educated women could resolve the shortage of educational institutions in the West. Historian Polly Welts Kaufman viewed this Protestant endorsement as the "critical impetus" that empowered women teachers to go West. Since teaching in the West confirmed a woman's piety and obedience to Protestant authority, it gave her, in turn, the self-confidence to rely more on herself and less on her family.

Overall, then, missionaries in New Mexico participated in a national effort to protect and expand United States Protestant mores. The teachers' denominational indoctrination, it was hoped, would complete the social and cultural conquest of Hispanics and Indians, purging New Mexico of Catholicism, a symbol of the recently conquered Mexican power structure. The first step was to establish schools to develop English literacy. The missionaries were the most aggressive agents of United States Protestantism, strongly believing in their mission to establish "scriptural self-propagating Christianity" amongst the Hispanics and
Indians.36

Educated and literate, clean, thrifty, obedient, moral, punctual, industrious, and temperate, the missionary teachers presumably embodied Protestant ideals and reflected national Protestant middle-class values. Robert F. Berkhofer noted that although they represented Protestantism, the missionaries were a "subculture within American life, for they emphasized theology and morals more than other people."37

In addition, women missionaries often sought, and found, a legitimate way to pursue adventure and economic self-sufficiency. They discovered a way to stretch the limits of domesticity and submissiveness by determining moral public arenas in which to exercise their piety.38 To the missionaries, the preparation of New Mexicans for United States citizenship was an important and noble task, and Euro-American women saw themselves as the moral authorities guiding the future of the United States. The Presbyterian Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions asserted:

We have forced them [Hispanics] to become members of our national family, granted them the privileges and thrown on them the duties of American citizens, and require them to obey laws written in a language they do not understand. The Mexican children are growing up in ignorance, to form a new generation, unfit for the duties and privilege of citizens. A large proportion of these are now accessible to us and would gladly be educated in English if they had the opportunity. We owe it to ourselves and those who succeed us to educate them on account of the danger which such ignorant masses always occasion to an intelligent, high, and pure standard of morality. Let us take them kindly by the hand and help them to understand how they may
become an intelligent and honored part of our Christian nation."

As missionaries intensified their Americanization efforts during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the population of Protestant lay women in New Mexico increased. Generally, these migrants endorsed the popular Protestant domestic ideology of the late nineteenth century. They saw themselves as instrumental in the establishment of a Protestant social order in their new communities. They supported the influential male hierarchy of their various denominations, and, in turn, Protestant men supported the reform efforts of their church women. Protestant women were not interested in overthrowing the power structures of their churches or communities. The Protestant hierarchy glorified women as mothers, which served as an underpinning to influence the male power structure to support their issues. As an example of this view, A. W. Adkinson, a committee member at the 1893 ninth annual session of the New Mexico English Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, declared:

Believing that a race can only be really elevated as the motherhood of the race becomes purer and more enlightened; in view of the fact that in heathen nations the women can be reached only by women, we see in the organization of the WFMS [Women's Foreign Missionary Society] the divine hand most clearly manifest."

At other annual sessions of the New Mexico Methodist-Episcopal missions, church officials reported the progress of women's works, such as Sunday schools, fund raising, home
missions, and temperance efforts that the denomination hierarchy endorsed. 62

Not surprisingly, as the lay population increased in New Mexico, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union realized the need to organize. On March 21, 1883, Frances Willard, president of the national WCTU, organized the first New Mexico WCTU (NMWCTU) chapters in Santa Fe and Albuquerque. 63 As a result, Willard began the unification of New Mexico's Protestant women for reform. 64 She established the foundation for a middle-class Protestant women's movement. Women would agitate for social reforms within their communities to make their towns mirrors of idealized Protestant values.

Throughout New Mexico, women enthusiastically supported missionary societies and their churches. The resulting teamwork produced an influential Euro-American female network. 65 The WCTU empowered New Mexico's Euro-American Protestant women by recruiting members from the main line Protestant denominations, thus uniting a denominationally divided network. Gradually, women's influences were expanded to include public community social reforms. They lobbied for legislation for Sabbath observance, to protect women, children, and animals from abuse, and they supported woman suffrage. They also organized the construction of libraries, churches, and a shelter for homeless children. Their goals coincided with national Protestant objectives.
The Methodist Episcopal Church, for instance, endorsed the efforts of the WCTU, recognized it as "a most potent agent in the advancement of . . . temperance" and pledged the church's "support and encouragement in every possible way."46

Revealingly, the WCTU made no effort to organize the Hispanic or American Indian women. Willard considered the WCTU's work to be an extension of Protestant missionary tasks and endorsed the missionaries' Americanization goals. Willard saw numerous saloons in Santa Fe with such names as the "Health Office" and "The Little Church Around the Corner." In Willard's view, such a situation was a "travesty" that justified Protestant domination, the "influx of the noblest American ideas."47 Although she thought of Native Americans as "harmless," she considered the Hispanics to be drunks preparing for the "doom" of their "unequal civilization."48

Willard's viewpoint concerning Hispanics and the Indians reflected an overall Protestant attitude that justified separation and excluding Hispanics or Indians from the Euro-American community. Indeed, when the railroad entered New Mexico, new Euro-American neighborhoods were separated from the existing Hispanic residences. For example, in Las Vegas, a new town called East Las Vegas was established apart but next to the Hispanic pueblo. Also, in Albuquerque, a separate Euro-American Protestant community
(referred to as "Albuquerque") was built distinct from Hispanic Albuquerque, which came to be identified as "Old Town Albuquerque." When Hispanic or American Indian students became Protestant ministers, they were expected to preach and establish churches in their own ethnic communities. The teachers did not consider them as potential leaders in the Anglo communities. 49

In addition, Protestants brought to New Mexico distinctive ideas about gender and morality. They believed that women's values of self-sacrifice and submission were evidence of a woman's moral authority. The ideology of true womanhood placed women closer to the source of moral authority and, in turn, at the center of their society. 50 By the 1870s women were compelled to assert their moral influence outside the private spheres of their homes and to agitate for reforms in the public sphere of their communities. As historian Peggy Pascoe shows, women were "appalled by the overwhelmingly masculine milieu of western cities." As a result, they saw their moral guardianship urgently needed in the West. 51 So it made sense that the majority of the missionary teachers in New Mexico were women who saw their moral influence as a means to challenge Hispanic and American Indian cultures and to "rescue" women and children from male abuse. As moral elites, these teachers represented the "intelligent, high, and pure standard of morality." 52 That moral authority allowed
women to assert their authority beyond the domestic sphere.

The missionaries considered themselves liberators of the Hispanics and Indians from the "darkness of Catholicism." They were helping to stop a Catholic conspiracy they perceived as threatening the social and moral order of the United States. In order to succeed, the home missionary societies resolved to eliminate Catholicism in New Mexico and to convert Hispanics and American Indians. For example, the Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee insisted that the "Protestants must establish schools and maintain more churches, or turn the children . . . of the entire population over to the . . . Catholic church."[54]

The development of Protestantism and United States expansion was a moral mission. Middle-class women believed that Protestantism was in the best interest of the native populations, particularly the "exploited" women and children.[55] In an effort to recruit more missionaries to the Southwest, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, superintendent of Presbyterian Missions for the Rocky Mountain Territory East and United States General Agent of Education in Alaska, wrote to the Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee in hopes of receiving support for his efforts to organize more Presbyterian missions and to recruit more women as missionary teachers. He wrote of the urgency of the situation in the West and of the "Unhappy and degraded
condition of the women and children among the Indians, Mexicans and Mormons, and the need of organized effort to educate and evangelize them."³⁶

Based on these attitudes and actions, a foundation was established that influenced women's outlook on the West. Unquestionably, to many of the Anglo women, the Caucasian race was the superior race. Obviously "true women" were to reform the West, and any action they took to help claim the land for Christianity served a Protestant global effort to reclaim the world for God. The hardships women may have endured while reforming Indian, Hispanic or Euro-American communities became a noble sacrifice and proof of piety.³⁷ And so the social activism of Protestant women in New Mexico grew from beliefs in their racial and social superiority and from confidence in their moral authority.
NOTES

Chapter 1

1. In *The Women's West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 6, Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson define Euro-Americans as "all Americans of European ancestry except those of Spanish ancestry." Following Armitage and Jameson, I distinguished New Mexican Hispanics from "others of European heritage to differentiate their historical experiences from those of later European immigrants." I further distinguished the New Mexican Indians as a single group (without differentiating between Pueblo or Navajo experience) to separate their historical identity from the New Mexican Hispanics and later Euro-American immigrants. In so doing, I recognize the uniqueness of various Indian people's culture and history in New Mexico.


4. Ibid., 104.

5. Ibid., 95-100.


7. Ibid., 52.


9. Ferenc Morton Szasz, *The Protestant Clergy in the*
Chapter I

THE ROLE \n
\textit{The Role of Mexican Americans in the United States}...


14. Ibid.

15. Walker, 28, 54.


18. Ibid., 247.


20. Szasz, 12.


24. Walker, 52.

25. The Protestant social order reflected a Euro-American nineteenth century evangelical community structure based on middle-class Christian values of industriousness, thriftiness, piety, moderation, cleanliness, obedience to Protestant authority, and social activism.


27. Ibid., 76.


32. Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions, Home Mission Monthly 1 (September 1887): 246. See also, Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions, Home Mission Monthly 10 (January 1896): 52. "The salt that is to save America from early decay is found in ... this woman's Home Missionary organization."

33. Pascoe, xv, 6.

34. Polly Welts Kaufman, xxi-xxii.

35. Kaufman further discusses the Protestant conversion experience as necessary for women's empowerment. "Women leaned on God rather than on men." It helped women
"form new identities and a sense of purpose. . . ."


37. Ibid., 9.

38. Deutsch, 68.


41. *Journal of the Ninth Annual Session of the New Mexico English Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (October 12-16, 1893), 29.

42. *Journal of the Eleventh Annual Session of the New Mexico Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (October 7, 9, 1886).

43. Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), *Union Signal*, March 29, 1883, 9.


45. Ibid.


because of a belief in the separation of races but due to the inadequate qualifications of Anglo missionaries and other related logistical reasons. The authors write, "Very early in the history of mission work it became evident that Anglo missionaries were too few in number and too inadequate linguistically to carry on any extensive program of evangelization. The burden would have to fall on native workers. . . ." Banker, 133. Further, Banker reports that missionaries hoped the "youthful converts would become an active church members who, in time, would bring many brethren into the Presbyterian fold."

50. Sklar, 83.

51. Pascoe, xvi.


53. Doyle, 30.


55. Brumberg, 125.

56. Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee, Home Mission Monthly 2 (January 1887): 54. H. Kendall to S. Jackson, February 8, 1881; F. E. H. Haines to S. Jackson, February 23, 1881; H. Kendall to S. Jackson, March 3, 1881; F. E. H. Haines to S. Jackson, March 7, 1881; F. E. H. Haines to S. Jackson, March 14, 1881; F. E. H. Haines to S. Jackson, March 17, 1881; Mrs. A. M. Reid to S. Jackson, March 21, 1881; H. Kendall to S. Jackson, March 26, 1881; F. E. H. Haines to S. Jackson, April 9, 1881; H. Kendall to S. Jackson December 20, 1881; F. E. H. Haines to S. Jackson, December 24, 1881; all letters in Sheldon Jackson Correspondence Collection. Microfilm edition is available at Menaul Historical Library, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

57. Welter, 152.
CHAPTER 2

Missionaries: A Basis For a Network

Protestant missionary teachers believed in the importance of their "civilizing mission" to "regenerate the exceptional populations" in the West, and they saw their missions as a direct support of the nation's westward expansion. As Mrs. A. R. Hume wrote in the *Home Mission Monthly*, "The destiny of our land, and through it the destiny of the world, is wrapped up in the future of the Great West."¹ For people like Mrs. Hume, protestant mission schools became the primary vehicle of cultural expansion through which women imposed their vision of social order on New Mexico's Hispanics and Indians. The teachers paved the way for the establishment of a women's evangelical reform movement in New Mexico.

Middle-class Protestants revered domestic Victorian womanhood as the source of the nation's moral authority.² Middle-class women's social obligations were expanded from the privacy of their home to the public sphere of their community. In this regard, scholar Kathryn Kish Sklar wrote that the expanded vision of Victorian womanhood "placed women closer to the source of moral authority and so established their social centrality."² By the 1870s, however, social activism stretched the boundaries of middle-class women's submissiveness and domesticity. They established a national system of missionary schools to enhance their moral influence and asserted their moral
guardianship to challenge masculine domination of western communities and to liberate oppressed women.\textsuperscript{4} As a result, the missionary teachers' significance in the evangelical alliance was elevated. Their work built a foundation for the growing Protestant women's network in New Mexico during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{5}

The height of Protestant missionary educational activity in New Mexico occurred from 1880s to 1915, following the entry of the railroad into New Mexico. Not unexpectedly, most of the missionary teachers were women. The Protestant churches believed that mission schools and women were needed to for the conversion of the American Indians and Hispanics.\textsuperscript{6} They were to fulfill women's moral responsibility as virtuous and patriotic nurturers of future citizens.\textsuperscript{7} Largely ignorant of the cultures with which they worked, the missionaries thought they had a responsibility to share with other non-Christian women (they included Catholics in this category) the attributes of Protestantism through their influence as the moral guardians of their communities.\textsuperscript{8} The teachers did not see that patriarchy, reinforced by both Protestant theology and male-headed nuclear families, conflicted with elements of matrilineal societies, such as Navajo and Pueblo groups. In Native cultures, Indian women lost stature and prestige when they adopted a European-based patriarchal system and when the United States government labeled them and their tribes
In order to achieve the goal of expanding educational opportunities for Mexican women, the Government of Mexico has taken significant steps. The expansion of higher education programs, particularly in the fields of science and technology, has been a priority. This has been achieved through the creation of new universities and the expansion of existing ones.

The educational system in Mexico has undergone major reforms in recent years. These reforms have been designed to improve the quality of education and to make higher education more accessible to women. The government has also implemented policies to encourage girls to continue their education beyond primary school.

The role of the Mexican government in promoting education is crucial. The government has provided funding for educational programs and has worked to remove barriers to education, such as lack of access to quality education and discrimination against women.

In addition to funding, the government has also worked to change attitudes towards women's education. There is a growing awareness of the importance of education for women's empowerment and economic development. The government has also worked to change societal attitudes towards gender roles and to promote gender equality.

Overall, the government's efforts have had a positive impact on education in Mexico. The country has made significant progress in expanding educational opportunities for women, and there is a growing recognition of the importance of education in promoting social and economic development.
as "wards." Nevertheless, Protestants saw missionaries' "motherly" examples in domesticity and piety as an important cultural conversion tool, with missionaries hoping American Indians and Hispanics would be convinced of the advantages of keeping "a simple Christian home . . . with its sweet amenities, its family altar, domestic joys, industry, thrift, and willingness to 'len [sic] a hand.'"¹⁰

The missionary teachers were also answering a patriotic calling. By the 1880s, women expected to take a more active role in the development of the West. They were not only to evangelize the West but also to liberate "oppressed" women and children. Clearly, missionaries perceived the lives of New Mexico's Indian women and Hispanics as those of drudgery. They saw, what to them, were contradictions of Victorian womanhood.¹¹ One missionary wrote, "The women do not eat with the men, but wait upon them, and after they have finished take what is left." This missionary also noted that the women were responsible for keeping "the outside of the house in repair by the application of fresh adobe mud. . . ."¹² That this missionary focused on native women eating meals separately from the men and making house repairs indicates how unusual these activities were to her and how they contradicted her expectations of "proper" women's roles. Based on such observations, the missionaries rationalized their labor as "woman's work for woman," adopting a strategy where they could, as Susan M. Yohn
writes, "participate as citizens in forming and building a national culture" without challenging their gender roles."13 The Woman's Home Missionary societies that sponsored the missionary teachers' work in the West were viewed as "the salt ... to save America from early decay."14

Overall, missionaries served as teachers, religious leaders, and health-care providers. Such multiple roles made them a significant part of a national Protestant effort to Christianize and Americanize the West to preserve United States Protestant society, which they equated with "civilization."15 To accomplish this goal in New Mexico, the missionaries were to convert the Hispanics and Native Americans to United States Protestant mores and make them productive United States citizens. Their efforts were geared toward the women, and especially children, who were to be made the main Protestant cultural agents in their own families and communities. One missionary, Matilda L. Allison of Santa Fe wrote, "It ... must be through the children that the Gospel will be spread through the Territory. They can carry the ... Gospel into their homes" and inform their parents and friends of the Protestant messages.16 Another missionary in Corrales, Celia Morgan, reported, "Our hope is with the young. We know not the good these children may do by being able to read to their parents."17 The missionaries wished that the parents would, through their children, become interested
...
first in the schools "and in this way in time . . . get interested in" the Protestant church they represented.  

As a first goal, the missionaries were to convince American Indians and Hispanics of the value of Protestant education, after which they believed that conversion to Protestantism was inevitable. Unquestionably, conversion was essential to prepare "exceptional populations for US citizenship" and to safeguard the national Protestant social order from "the danger which such ignorant masses always occasion to an intelligent, high, and pure standard of morality." To accomplish this goal, some missionaries believed that the boarding school technique was better than day school. For example, Matilda L. Allison tried to convince the Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee of the importance of expanding the boarding schools in New Mexico where the children could "be personally cared for, brought under control and under religious influence . . . rather than to increase day schools, where they attend if they find it . . . convenient." She feared that after school hours the children were "exposed to the degrading influences of their home life."  

Missionary careers seemed to give women professional social and moral authority to speak for Protestant America and to mold the future Protestant society of New Mexico. A look at the missionaries' school curriculum reveals what these moral guardians sought to create. Undoubtedly, the
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Protestant home mission education system was set up to transform native children into useful United States citizens. They were taught English, Protestant religious doctrines, hygiene, and domestic and industrial arts. Underlying this training was an urgent effort to teach Indians and Hispanics the basics of good citizenship and how to keep a "Christian home," which included accepted gender and class roles of middle-class Protestants.

The first steps were to teach students English, punctuality, and obedience to Protestant authority. A missionary to Laguna Pueblo, Florretta Shields, voiced her frustration at the lack of a school bell "to call the scholars to school, and so they do not often come until ten o'clock." She interpreted this behavior as a "lack of appreciation" and further concluded that Indians "like[d] to play better than to come to school."21

Concurrently, missionaries spoke for Protestantism and against Catholicism. Since Catholicism was not considered Christian and threatened America's Protestant social order, Catholicism was singled out as the source of ignorance in New Mexico.22 C. A. Brown, a Taos missionary, thought "protestant schools . . . should do much, and have done much, towards leading the people to see how little Romanism has done for [Taos Indians]."23 Alice A. Blake, a Presbyterian missionary in northern New Mexico, saw Catholicism as "the activating influence on their
[Hispanics'] character and lives, . . . and is actively opposed to any idea of change and growth.  

This Protestant curriculum was gender based. Female students were taught domestic homemaking skills (according to middle-class Euro-American standards), whereas boys were taught industrial trades to be used outside the home. Sewing was one of the domestic arts taught to the female Indian students even though they initially resisted the missionaries' sewing lessons. In this regard, Florretta Shields wrote about the fifteen Laguna Pueblo mothers who were also students at her mission school: "At first they would show rebellion when I had to rip out any of their work. Their sewing was like our basting. . . ." Miss DeSette, a Zuni Pueblo missionary, communicated, "We have succeeded in awakening a little interest in sewing. . . ." Likewise, cooking was a domestic skill taught to the female students. Another missionary to Zuni Pueblo, Carrie B. Pond, felt that such skills as making light bread and "cooking and eating on tables with civilized manners" were necessary to achieve Americanization.

Cleanliness was also vital. Presbyterian missionary, Matilda L. Allison, noted, "Cleanliness is next to godliness, and I believe that a child, especially a girl, has more respect for herself if neatly dressed." The concept of cleanliness involved personal hygiene, outward personal appearance, and housekeeping. One missionary
and to effectively participate in and evaluate the outcomes of group discussions and activities. Through role-playing scenarios and cooperative learning, students develop communication skills and strategies for working with others. The course emphasizes the importance of active listening and effective communication in resolving conflicts and achieving mutual understanding. Students learn to express their ideas clearly and respectfully, and to respond constructively to the ideas of others. The course also includes modules on cultural competence and diversity awareness, to enable students to engage in respectful and effective interactions with people from different backgrounds.

In addition to the above-mentioned objectives, the course aims to provide students with opportunities for self-reflection and self-assessment. Through individual and group assignments, students are encouraged to reflect on their own communication patterns and to identify areas for improvement. The course also includes opportunities for students to apply their knowledge and skills in practical settings, such as simulated community service projects and mock interviews for employment.

The course is designed to be accessible to students from diverse educational backgrounds, with a focus on providing relevant and practical content. The course also includes modules on emergency preparedness and crisis management, to equip students with the knowledge and skills necessary to respond effectively to unexpected situations.

Overall, the course is intended to provide students with a comprehensive understanding of communication principles and practices, and to enable them to develop the skills and strategies necessary to engage effectively in a wide range of social and professional contexts.
teacher, J. A. Cook of Mora justified the need for her female students to take a physiology course because she "found it a . . . necessity that our girls should know something regarding their own bodily formation, that they may understand . . . the necessity of well aired, tidily kept apartments, also cleanliness of person. . . ." Following this philosophy, the missionaries taught the female students "how to wash dishes and other simple tasks" that would "give them ideas of cleanliness." They also taught "washing and ironing." Florretta Shields noted her frustration in persuading the Laguna Pueblo children to adopt her standards of cleanliness: "While the progress is very slow, and some remain filthy, yet the most do very well when we consider their advantages." That missionaries measured the success of their training based on their perceptions is suggested in Matilda L. Allison's conclusion: "Our girls can now do house-work [sic] better than most American children. . . . They seem contented and happy. . . ."

Missionaries also utilized industrial education to train the boys in the Protestant work ethic. Even this industrial training was gender based. For example, girls were given clothes as needed, whereas the boys worked for their required clothing. A Taos missionary, Joanna Fritzler gave her female students clothing and was pleased that the male students volunteered to work "to get clothes, boots, or
shoes." Additionally, she proudly stated, "I love to see them manifest this spirit, and I have encouraged it; for the work is here to be done, and while it is of great good to the boys, the mission is equally benefitted." At the Zuni Pueblo, missionaries tried "a plan of mental and manual training," which involved the children earning, "by their own labor, enough clothing to give them each a change." The children's labor consisted of "blackening stoves, cleaning floors, helping wash, doing ironing, and odd chores." The missionary teachers perceived their efforts as conducting the children "towards the truth."

In understanding how the missionary teachers thought about the children they sought to convert, one gains further knowledge of philosophies guiding their Protestant mission. To begin with, many Protestants viewed Hispanics as an antithesis of the Protestant social order they hoped to create. They saw them as superstitious, victims of Catholicism, unthrifty, unprogressive, and ignorant. At the same time, they reported them to be enthusiastic about embracing Protestant standards, though the evidence for their optimism was not always apparent. The missionary teachers viewed Catholicism as the cause for all Hispanics' problems. For example, the Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee regarded Hispanics as "A superstitious, ignorant race, intensely bigoted, and under the . . . sway of a degraded priesthood who have deadly hatred of spelling books
and Christian instruction." These attitudes appeared in the Home Mission Monthly, whose readers included up to 10,000 Presbyterian missionary teachers and other Protestant women living in New Mexico and the United States.36

For most Protestants, the missionary teachers were greatly needed as a segment of the national women's network determined to expand its influence in the West and to prevent the spread of Catholicism. Protestant expansion intensified after 1830 when immigration to the United States of Irish and German Catholics increased. As some of these immigrants went west, the Catholic missionary societies followed, building schools and churches. A noted authority, Colin E. Goodykoontz, author of Home Missions on the American Frontier, reports the Protestants' "latent fears" of Catholicism were aroused as a result of these new migrants. Their xenophobia fueled the push for more Protestant missions in the West to prevent a Catholic takeover and to expand and preserve the Protestant establishment. "The antidote for Romanism," Goodykoontz wrote of the Protestants, "was . . . to match church for church and school for school."37

This fear of Catholicism was widely displayed in Protestant woman's mission literature, where Hispanics were depicted as isolated and separated from civilization.38 In addition, one writer asserted, "They [the Hispanics] have made no advance either mentally or morally, but have sunk
deeper . . . into the slough of ignorance." Sometimes a missionary teacher saw Catholic practices as evidence of "the superstition of the Mexican people." One missionary identified in the *Home Mission Monthly* as M. F. wrote of how her students were delighted to show her "how nicely they had cleaned the school room." The students proudly pointed to a "cross of pictures they had made . . . to keep the witches away, but immediately affirmed they did not believe in them." Still, she was convinced that her students were "slowly . . . learning . . . to look to Jesus for help." The missionaries also believed the Hispanics to be "pitiable victims of idolatry, weighed down with the . . . chains of a belief [Catholicism] which will only sink them . . . in the unfathomable depths of misery and woe." To resolve these problems, missionaries and their mission schools were to be "centres of light from whence radiate many cheering rays." Reflective of this view of Hispanics is the September 1887 issue of the Presbyterian *Home Mission Monthly*, which reveals how strongly Protestant women believed in their cultural superiority. One article reads, "The average Mexican is thriftless and unprogressive, ignorant and superstitious, and is taught implicit obedience to the priesthood." But the editors sensed new, uplifting Protestant principles were taking hold because the people were "awakening to a sense of their degradation, and [gave]
evidence of their desire for improvement."42 The Presbyterian Women's Executive Committee for Home Mission also noted that the Hispanics were "anxious to learn English and to have their children educated." Following this line of thought, missionaries gauged the progress of their Americanization efforts by the Euro-American material objects found in the Hispanic homes, "such as chairs, tables, and bedsteads." They happily noted that "more attention [was] paid to dress and cleanliness," unless the Hispanics "are imitative, and are copying the vices as well as the virtues of Americans."42

When missionaries turned to Indians, they viewed them as a primitive race who did "not differ essentially from other people at a similar stage of civilization."
Protestantism was then seen as the solution to "transforming a nomadic, ignorant, semi-barbarous people . . . into an integral part of . . . American life."43

But the missionary teachers seemed to experience greater challenges in converting Native Americans than in "saving" Hispanics. Florretta Shields could not understand the Laguna Indians' lack of response to the "opportunity of learning better ways." Shields saw that they clung "to their old heathen customs and dance[d] with the rest. . . ."
Extremely frustrated, she asked the Presbyterian Women's Executive Committee to pray for her that she might "have daily patience, strength, and grace. . . ."44 In another
situation, Miss DeSette did not think the Zunis were excited about Protestant education, and she was surprised upon receiving "a gift of dried peaches from a woman... It showed a gratitude in her which [was] not very common." "Thinking of themselves as representatives of a superior culture, the missionary teachers viewed Indians as unprogressive because they neither spoke English nor understood "the practical value of reading, writing, and speaking English." "

Teachers' duties were not limited to the classroom. To create much desired middle-class institutions, they had to involve themselves in many aspects of their assigned communities." They provided Protestant religious leadership and health care for the local residents and demonstrated the Protestant ideology of female moral and social authority." Through these extensive duties, refined women asserted their nurturing skills as the moral leaders and guardians of the West.

One strategy for reorganizing an Indian or Hispanic community was to influence local leaders. If a leader could be converted to Protestantism, a missionary could then work to mold that person into a local Protestant model for other residents." Following a similar strategy, missionaries conducted religious services "for the parents" to influence adults and children alike. Through an interpreter the missionary would "take the Sabbath school lesson, and teach
To succeed, gather data on the factors that influence the achievement of goals. This involves gathering information from various sources and analyzing it to identify patterns and trends. This data can then be used to make informed decisions and take appropriate actions.

In the context of educational goals, this could mean looking at student performance data, teacher evaluations, and feedback from students and parents. By analyzing this data, educators can identify areas where improvements are needed and develop strategies to address them.

One strategy for achieving these goals is to "聞かせること" or "listen." This involves actively listening to student feedback and encouraging open communication among teachers, students, and parents. By creating a supportive and inclusive learning environment, educators can help students feel more engaged and motivated.

Another strategy is to "フィードバックを与える" or "give feedback." This involves providing regular, constructive feedback to students to help them improve their skills and knowledge. Feedback should be specific and actionable, allowing students to understand where they need to focus their efforts.

In summary, achieving educational goals requires a combination of data gathering, analysis, and effective communication. By using these strategies, educators can create a learning environment that fosters growth and achievement.
it as a Sunday school class." One teacher, S. V. Dilly, taught a Sunday school class of predominantly married women, and another missionary, A. M. Granger of Capuline, had "four married women pupils. . . . One of these is a young woman who lost her little boy last Winter, and the other is a young mother who entered the school with a baby. . . ." Providing health care to local residents was a public relations tactic that also exemplified domesticity and piety, and illustrated the comfort and selflessness expected of the true Victorian woman. Further, historian, Susan M. Yohn argues that as the missionaries "nursed the sick and dying, . . . mission teachers experienced the lives of Hispano New Mexicans as never before." For instance, Matilda Allison wrote about a measles epidemic in Santa Fe that forced her to close the school. Then, along with another missionary, she "took turns . . . in caring for the sick." They wrote to the home missionary office of the stressful working conditions and sacrifices they had to make to insure the children received proper medical care. They wished the East's wealthy could have witnessed their living conditions "and how [they] were obliged to stop up the cracks with paper and rags, and hang quilts over doors and windows to prevent drafts." But despite the poor conditions, they were proud to say that they "gave the children good care, and . . . are so thankful to have them come out of this disease strong and well. . . ."
Overall, missionary teachers hoped to convince Indians and Hispanics of the superiority of the Protestant social order through the establishment of formal institutions such as mission schools. In this creation of a new moral order, teachers in isolated rural locations were the individual representatives of their Protestant denominations and often were the only Euro-American in their village. Historian Sarah Deutsch writes, "There they were not merely the vanguard; they were the whole army." Moreover, they were underpaid and had to withstand the intermittent ridicule of local residents and Catholic priests. For emotional support they received instructions and encouragement through home mission publications and from visits by denominational ministers and mission directors. Since their opportunity to establish a network with other Protestant women in New Mexico was limited, because of their remote assignments, frequent letters to the home mission societies often had to serve as a substitute long-distance women's community. At the same time, rural missionaries stretched the boundaries of Victorian womanhood as they adopted a public role in order to gain support for their works. Susan M. Yohn noted, "A missionary would learn how to speak publicly on behalf of the work. . . ." At the same time, she became acquainted with the local native leaders and "learned to identify the various forces, groups of people and institutions, that shaped her work." The support she received from these
diverse influences provided public recognition of her works.

Those missionaries located in urban centers such as Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Las Vegas, however, also strove to convert Indians and Hispanics and worked closely with other Euro-American Protestant lay women to reform their newly established communities. These urban missionaries had the opportunity to become part of a larger Protestant women's network they helped to develop in New Mexico during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.\(^5\)

This women's network was further enhanced when the WCTU was organized in New Mexico, becoming the first non-sectarian Euro-American women's organization. Many Protestant missionaries and lay women, once denominationally separated, united through the WCTU to work for their shared goal of Protestant female social authority.\(^7\)

Clearly, as we have seen, missionary teachers helped pave the way for the development of a Protestant middle-class women's network in New Mexico. Participating in a national effort to extend a harmonious Protestant community supportive of the Euro-American middle-class hierarchy, missionaries were agents of an ideological and functional expansion of Victorian womanhood popularized by Catharine Beecher. In creating this network, pious middle-class women were mobilized from the privacy of their homes into the public sphere to reform society. Kathryn Kish Sklar writes that Beecher "began to design a moral system in which women
inspired and shaped the moral standards around them. As this moral system became established, middle-class women became obligated to influence the moral milieu of their communities. Female missionary teachers in New Mexico also attempted to transport organized Protestant womanhood to New Mexico. Euro-American middle-class women, fonts of moral authority, agents of their civilization, assumed their mission politically to nourish and influence the community moral and social order and thus, to serve middle-class interests in New Mexico. Once they claimed their own authority to civilize, they raised their status and their claim to moral authority, the prime basis from which women could organize.
NOTES

Chapter II


7. Susan M. Yohn, *Contest of Faith: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 39. Yohn argues, "Citizenship was her identified not with the vote but with an opportunity to participate in a national Protestant reform effort."


superior, assessed the lives of Indian women through
cultural lenses that viewed white women as "harbingers of
civilization" and Indian women as victims of degradations.
Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine, eds., The Hidden
Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women (Lanham, MD:

12. Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee of Home
Missions, "Monthly Concert--The Mexicans," Home Mission
Monthly 2 (September 1887): 246.

13. The Presbyterian Home Mission Society adopted
"woman's work for woman" motto, and it was printed on their
monthly journal. Yohn, 36.


17. Celia Morgan, "Words From Workers: New Mexico,"

18. Abbie L. Stoops, "Words From Workers: New

19. Presbyterian Woman's Executive Committee of Home
Missions, "Monthly Concert--The Mexicans," Home Mission
Monthly 2 (September 1887): 246.

Monthly 4 (February 1889): 84.

21. Mrs. F. Shields, "Words From Workers: New

22. Don Doyle, The Social Order of a Frontier
Community: Jacksonville, Illinois 1825-1870 (Urbana:

23. Miss C. A. Brown, "Words From Workers: New

Missions in Northern New Mexico," 216. A typescript in
Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest, Albuquerque, NM.

25. Mrs. F. Shields, "Word From Workers: New Mexico,"

27. Carrie B. Pond, "Words From Workers: New Mexico," *Home Mission Monthly* 4 (December 1889): 37. Of course the women already cooked and sewed, but this fact did not matter. The women were to cook and sew the "American" way.


35. Banker, 103. Banker writes, "Native resistance posed a more serious obstacle for the Presbyterians. Generally speaking, the peoples . . . met the missionaries with kindness and curiosity. However, when the Presbyterians' reasons for coming to the Southwest became clear, many of the locals turned indifferent, and a few were even hostile." Yohn, 134-35.


38. Presbyterian accounts of their perceptions of Hispanics and the Catholic faith are numerous. For example, "Monthly Concert--The Mexicans," *Home Mission Monthly* 2 (September 1887): 244-52; Alice Hyson, "New Mexico," *Home Mission Monthly* 2 (March 1888): 111-12; "Words From


41. Ibid., "Mission Work in New Mexico," 249.

42. Ibid. Deutsch, 86. Deutsch asserts that the Hispanics were "selective in lessons they learned from the Americanizers in their midst. . . . Language and technology they accepted, but separated these aspects from their over-arching culture. . . . They selected those elements of an evolving Anglo culture best suited to their own evolving culture, and refused, for the most part, to receive the message in exactly the spirit it was given."


47. Yohn, 134-39.

48. Pascoe, 100.


52. Yohn, 135.

53. Allison, "Words From Workers: New Mexico," Home
Mission Monthly 3 (May 1888): 159.

54. Deutsch, 64.

55. Yohn, 120.


57. The Las Vegas New Mexico Woman's Relief Society is commonly believed to be the first middle-class woman's club in New Mexico, organized in 1889. But the women's community reform movement began in 1883 with the entry of the WCTU into New Mexico. The union not only began the middle-class community reform movement, but also originated the Territory's organized suffrage movement in New Mexico. Marian Meyer, Santa Fe's Fifteen Club: A Century of Literary Women (Santa Fe: By the author, 2327 Old Arroyo Chamisa, 1991), 1. Janine A. Young, "For the Best Interests of the Community: The Origins and Impact of the Women's Suffrage Movement in New Mexico, 1900-1903" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1984), v.

58. Sklar, 80.
CHAPTER III

The New Mexico Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1883-1906

In 1879 Frances Willard was elected president of the WCTU and immediately embarked on a campaign to increase membership. Four years later on March 21, 1883, Willard arrived in Santa Fe to organize a territorial WCTU (NMWCTU). She had already helped enlarge the national membership from 27,000 women to more than 73,000, an increase of 170 percent from 1879 to 1883. In New Mexico, Willard initially sought to organize recent Euro-American middle-class settlers from eastern states, who were familiar with the WCTU's mission.¹

In helping to establish a WCTU in New Mexico, Willard expanded the Protestant missionaries' cultural crusade, making Protestant lay women, as WCTU members, cultural agents of Protestantism. The WCTU, in turn, united a diverse Protestant community. Missionaries and lay women of different denominations worked together to build a Protestant social order in their communities. As a result, from 1883 to 1906, the Protestant cultural mission widened from the missionaries' "regeneration of exceptional populations" to the WCTU's "elevation of humanity." In the process, women forged a broader evangelical women's network and reform movement.²

In this expanded mission, reform was no longer limited to Hispanics and Native Americans, but now included working-class and middle-class Euro-Americans.³ The NMWCTU worked in two areas, simultaneously laboring to reform the Euro-
American community and to extend its "mission" to the less fortunate. In the process, its members moved from private philanthropy into the public policy arena. Still, they relied on the support of men of their own race and class and seldom disputed men's dominance. For a very few women, the NMWCTU paved the way to political feminism and empowered them with the leadership skills necessary to develop a feminist campaign.

Organizing a New Mexico WCTU was part of a national effort to create a strong Protestant social order to resist a perceived foreign threat. In the late nineteenth century, the increasing number of foreign immigrants settling in the West alarmed Euro-Americans. Indeed, European immigration to the United States increased 242 percent in the period from 1880 to 1900. The largest increases were in persons from Italy (451 percent) and Russia and Poland (407 percent). Simultaneously, there was a 54.2 percent increase in the number of foreign immigrants living in the West, with some territories experiencing an even greater increase in foreign population. For example, North Dakota had a 346.7 percent increase, and Washington's foreign population expanded by 469.5 percent. In fact, a greater percentage of foreign-born population lived in the West than in any other census region.

The Protestant hierarchy expressed American nativist belief that successful U.S. government control of the West
was directly related to the nation's moral health. Nativists saw the influx of foreigners, particularly the many Catholics, as part of a Catholic conspiracy threatening the Protestant order. Hence, as Protestant descendants of earlier migrants, they "rallied against symbols of foreignness that were appropriate to their predicament."

Many Protestants thought that Roman Catholics caused poverty, political corruption, and crime, and, in turn, undermined American society. They also thought that Catholicism represented authoritarianism, which subverted political freedom. As an example, Mary A. Woodbridge, a WCTU member, penned her jingoistic fears in the WCTU newspaper, The Union Signal. In her opinion too many foreigners resided in the West, and as a result, "Utah, Idaho, Montana, Arizona and New Mexico [were] hot beds of inequity." She asserted that the immigrants were dependent on liquor, and intemperance in the West weakened "their self-control," making them unfit "for the duties of citizenship." Woodbridge expressed the beliefs of the WCTU that temperance was necessary to Americanize the new immigrants and prepare them for citizenship:

We make our land an asylum, entering which they may be lifted into a higher manhood, a nobler womanhood; that we remove from them the temptations, throw about them reformatory influences, making it easier for them to do right and harder to do wrong. This can be done only through the complete overthrow of the liquor traffic."

Many Protestant women also considered Catholicism the source of poverty, ignorance, and intemperance among Indians
and Hispanics. Increasing reports of clashes between
Protestants and Catholics expressed the growing tension as
Protestant missionaries gained new Hispanic converts and
greater influence and in turn the Catholic hierarchy wanted
to preserve its members. The territory's Protestants
endorsed anti-Catholicism, although the laity of different
Protestant denominations varied their expression of anti-
Catholic rhetoric.

Generally, then, Frances Willard's temperance and
evangelical crusade hit a responsive chord because she
subscribed to beliefs prevalent among New Mexico Protestants
and thus found many middle-class Protestant women anxious to
support her reform mission. Willard however, did not
personally engage in inflammatory anti-Catholicism.
Recognizing the importance of the Catholic Church in New
Mexico, she took her crusade directly to the church
hierarchy. Along with her New Mexico host, Grace Breedon (a
Santa Fe resident for fourteen years), Willard made a
special effort to communicate with the local Catholic
leaders. Willard reported their visit to Bishop Lamy in the
WCTU's Union Signal:

We went to see the good Bishop Lamy, for thirty years
the "High Priest" of this valley--and a man really good
and noble, so everybody says. He has built up the
Catholic Church here into a mighty power. Willard also reached out to the Catholic religious
women.

We called also on the Mother Superior of the convent,
who received us with much courtesy, and at night when in the pretty Presbyterian church we met to organize a WCTU, with a bright Iowa woman at its head, the sisters sent us word by a charming Indiana girl, who is a teacher in the Presbyterian Academy, that "they were praying for our success and would ask the priest to appoint a vice president from the Catholic Church—as they could not mingle with the world."

The Catholic women's positive response suggests, interestingly, despite the anti-Catholic rhetoric of the WCTU, that they shared a common moral ground with Protestant women. Perhaps they were more united by assumptions about their mission to "civilize" Hispanics and Indians than divided by religion. Maybe they shared nativist assumptions about alcohol and darker people, or experienced a common outrage about drunken men being abusive to women and children.

Whatever the women's collective views were, Protestants and Catholics held common ground, both literally and politically, a fact that Willard shrewdly acknowledged. By seeking an audience with the Catholic leadership, Willard laid the foundation for a strong local political network. She knew that the Catholic church wielded much influence in New Mexico, and if she could obtain the Catholic leadership's endorsement, the WCTU could operate without a conflict with a major community power, and possibly, in turn, encourage more women and community leaders to support the WCTU mission.

Immediately she laid the organizational groundwork for Protestant women, establishing the first WCTU chapter in
Myocardial infarction is a disease that affects the heart muscle and can lead to heart failure. It occurs when a blood clot blocks a blood vessel supplying blood to the heart. This event can cause the heart muscle to weaken and fail, leading to serious health problems.

The primary goal of treating myocardial infarction is to restore blood flow to the heart muscle as soon as possible. This can be achieved through a variety of medical procedures, such as coronary angioplasty or coronary artery bypass grafting. These procedures help to open blocked blood vessels and improve blood flow to the heart muscle.

In addition to medical treatment, lifestyle modifications can also be effective in managing myocardial infarction. This includes quitting smoking, maintaining a healthy weight, managing blood pressure and blood sugar levels, and limiting alcohol intake.

It is important to seek immediate medical attention if you suspect you may have had a myocardial infarction. Prompt treatment is crucial to reduce the risk of complications and improve long-term outcomes.
Santa Fe. In that organizational meeting, Mrs. Samuel Hull was appointed the first president, Breedon the corresponding secretary, and Nellie Smith recording secretary. The union collected $19.50 that was used to start a Band of Hope, a WCTU youth group.\textsuperscript{13}

After spending several days in Santa Fe, Willard went on to Albuquerque where she reported immediate success.\textsuperscript{14} While in Albuquerque, Willard toured the Presbyterian Indian mission and wrote to the national union office of her support for their works:

> It is far better to have the schools here than to remove the children so far as Carlisle or Moody's school at Northfield. In the first place their friends are most loth [sic] to have them go so far, as no people are more . . . attached to their children than the Indians; and in the next, the very presence of such schools, with the cultured homes that grow up about them, and the educated teachers with whom the parent Indians thus come in contact, do a vast work, indirectly, toward building up a Christian civilization.\textsuperscript{15}

The Presbyterians were a prominent missionary organization in New Mexico,\textsuperscript{16} and Willard's visit with them further strengthened the network among lay women and female missionaries.

The racial, class, and settlement patterns of the first officers were typical of the NMWCTU membership. Breedon clearly represented the Euro-American elite of Santa Fe and was close to men powerful in territorial politics. Originally from New York, she was forty-two years old in 1883 and the mother of three small children. The oldest was
After spending several days in Santa Fe, District Court was opened.

The proceedings were handled with the utmost seriousness. The

morning's events included a hearing on the petition of Mr. and Mrs.

Smith, seeking a divorce. The case was put over to the next term.

The defendants, however, were ordered to pay $50 per week in

child support.

The afternoon's session was marked by a heated argument

between two parties over a piece of land. The matter was referred

to the local solicitor for further action.

In the evening, a group of十分钟 gathered to discuss the

current political events. The meeting ended with a call for greater

consciousness about the issues at hand.

On February 10th, the court adjourned until further notice.

 adicionales
only eight years old and the youngest, four, when she took on the demanding responsibilities of the Santa Fe union's corresponding secretary. Moreover, Grace Breedon was the wife of William Breedon, former territorial attorney general and chairman of the Republican party, and as a union officer, she had an opportunity to extend the political influence of the NMWCTU.¹⁷

Another of Santa Fe's Euro-American elite, Nellie Smith, was twenty-nine years old when she became the first recording secretary of the Santa Fe union. She was single and lived with her parents. Her father, Gustavus A. Smith, was a retired Army general, commissioned during the Civil War, and working in Santa Fe as the deputy internal revenue collector. Smith combined moral activism in the NMWCTU with a commitment to genteel culture. She was later a member of the prestigious Fifteen Club, an elite Santa Fe literary society.¹⁸

Another early NMWCTU officer was the well-known Ada Morley, who managed the Swinging W, a large cattle ranch near Datil. In 1884 she became active in the NMWCTU, a year after her husband, William Raymond Morley, chief construction engineer of the Santa Fe Railroad, was murdered. Ada Morley was from Iowa where her father, Judge Marcus McPherson, was "a figure in Iowa politics."¹⁹ She became the first New Mexico representative to attend a national convention of the WCTU in St. Louis, October 22,
1884. However, Morley's social activism was not limited to the NMWCTU. She also formed a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in New Mexico and a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.  

Whatever Morley's status was in the WCTU membership, she was, at her first national convention, unsure whether she represented New Mexico or herself. During the convention, a resolution to support the Prohibition party was submitted for adoption. When Willard asked for New Mexico's position, Morley expressed confusion as to her status:

Mrs. Ada M. Morley, New Mexico: I have only one question to ask. This the first time in my life I have been in a convention. I have lived always on the frontier, and perhaps I don't know my duty, but I know this is an awful question. For thirty-six hours I have been on the anxious seat. Now I will state my position. I am here in a dual position. I am here as Mrs. Morley, and I am here as a representative of New Mexico. As Mrs. Morley, I beg for a third party; but, am I Mrs. Morley, or am I simply the delegate from New Mexico, I cannot get it through my head.

Miss Willard: You are not certain of the attitude of your territory?

Mrs. Morley: O, [sic] no, I am not certain: we have Texans, and Mexicans and Indians out there, and I don't know what I represent.

Miss Willard: We are here to represent the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the place from which we come.

Mrs. Morley: I have nothing to report; we have no Band of Hope even; but I want to ask this convention, will they tell me, if I can vote here as my conscience dictates? For years I have wanted a third party. O, [sic] how the Republicans have whipped us in New Mexico. If you will allow me to vote for conscience sake, I will vote for a third party.

Miss Willard: The chair is of the opinion that all delegations, including Iowa, will allow
Mrs. Morley to vote according to her convictions.

Mrs. Morley: But I am not a delegate.
Miss Willard: We made you a delegate. Mrs. Morley will vote her own convictions; she can't help being a delegate for we have made her one.
Mrs. Morley: Then I am for the third party."

As the biographies of Smith, Breedon, and Morley illustrate, the early WCTU leaders represented a powerful Euro-American elite. Their family ties to powerful men and class status guaranteed them the time and leisure for reform activism. Child care and other domestic responsibilities could be hired out. In addition, NMWCTU members like Morley and Smith demonstrate the multiple cultural reform agendas of these temperance crusaders. Overall, their participation illustrates the cultural and political power of the organization.

As the NMWCTU membership increased, the organization began to reflect Willard's 1881 "Do-everything Policy," which expanded the union's attention from temperance alone to a broader agenda." The organization added departments of works, such as prison works and children works, to take its temperance message to jails and schools, and began to move beyond temperance. Consequently, WCTU members empowered themselves by extending their domestic mission and, in turn, became quite influential in attempting to mold the moral character of their communities.

The NMWCTU's influence was broader in part because it united activists across denominational lines. Members were
At the present time, we are making progress on our work to develop a

more effective and efficient system for the management of the

National Medical Program. This is a critical phase in the development

of our program and we are looking forward to the challenges that lie

ahead.

As a member of the Medical Program, you play a vital role in ensuring

that our program is effective and efficient. Your contributions are

critical to the success of our program and we value your participation.

Thank you for your dedication to the work of the Medical Program.

[Signature]

[Date]
recruited from the major Protestant denominations to unite New Mexico's women. Protestant church and local business leaders endorsed the goals of the NMWCTU and lent support to the women's network, thereby increasing their influence.

Although there was strong Protestant support, too few Protestants and too much denominational strife undermined organizational growth. A year after her visit to New Mexico, Willard did not think the NMWCTU was growing fast enough and sent Mary Allen West, the Illinois WCTU president, to investigate the situation. West noted in her report to the national office that "the Catholic element largely predominates, and . . . also whiskey rules supreme." She further emphasized the lack of cooperation among the Protestant churches. Each church competed for members, and "there is little concentrated religious effort, indeed, little aggressive Christianity." West concluded that Protestant disunity was the cause for NMWCTU's slow beginnings. "Sabbath-breaking and intemperance" were major problems she thought required the union's attention. She concluded: "With few exceptions, the churches . . . seemed powerless."23

Obviously, future WCTU success rested on stronger Protestant unity. Continuing rivalry among Protestants would undermine the temperance crusade's effectiveness; NMWCTU leaders had to form an interdenominational network to strengthen their campaign. Although Willard had courted the
Catholic hierarchy, Protestant denominational unity was more important than Catholic-Protestant solidarity.

As they pondered the situation in New Mexico, NMWCTU leaders were convinced that the transient character of the territory's Euro-American population was the primary obstacle to organizing. Anna A. Aldrich, recording secretary of the Albuquerque Union, wrote in 1888:

The American population here is largely transient; few come to stay. Under such circumstances, churches and temperance societies have much to contend with. People do not feel the interest in such things they would probably feel if they expected to make a permanent home here. Sometimes a union will be officered and prosperous, when, by the removal of a few families, it will be so crippled as to nearly die. . . . This is the experience . . . of all our unions, and explains the fact that we have not made any wonderful progress here."

A review of the 1880 and 1900 U.S. censuses of New Mexico territory confirms Aldrich's frustrations about transience. Of forty-seven union members researched, nineteen could not be located in either census."

Distance and transportation costs were additional organizational challenges for the NMWCTU. Faced with dwindling resources, the organization requested financial assistance from the national office to pay for transportation to allow officers to canvass distant and isolated towns. In one effort, Mrs. C. T. Jones, a member of the Springer WCTU and corresponding secretary for the territorial union, tried to educate eastern sisters about western distances. She emphasized that one New Mexico
county was "as large as the entire state of Massachusetts." The NMWCTU, she wrote, did "not have the money to meet such traveling expenses," and many women had domestic and career responsibilities that prevented "much traveling in any capacity."

A profile of some of the NMWCTU leaders illustrates some of these competing demands for time and attention. A sample of ten members, reveals that six were married, and five had children under the age of 18. The remaining four were single or widowed. Interestingly, only three of these ten women were homemakers. The remainder had professional careers in such diverse fields as teaching, medicine, and ranching (See Figure 1). Three of the women had careers related to missionary work, including ministry, child care, and teaching and mission newspaper editing. The women with small children had occupations that allowed them to stay home and be close to their children. For example, Grace Breedon and Katherine Heald, who between them had seven children, were homemakers. Sarah Brown managed her household not only as a private residence, but also as a boarding house, while raising two children. Ada Morley, a widow, directed a cattle ranch while raising three small children. The combination of child care responsibilities and career obligations, joined with long distances between towns, made organizing the territory a demanding challenge.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME*</th>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>MARITAL STATUS</th>
<th>HUSBAND’S TRADE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grace Breedon 1883</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Borden 1890#</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Builder</td>
<td>2 (adults)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Brown 1900</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Boarding House Mgr</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Railroad Welder</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama A. Carey 1894</td>
<td>Children’s Home Matron</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Child Care Director</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (adult)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clara Carruth 1900</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Postmaster &amp; Printer</td>
<td>1 (adult)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. S. Easterday 1900</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Physician</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine P. W. Heald 1900</td>
<td>Member (Vice-Pres 1908)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily J. Harwood 1900</td>
<td>Superintendent, Spanish Works</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Teacher, Newspaper Editor</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ada Morley 1890</td>
<td>Superintendent, Franchise</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Rancher</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nellie Smith 1883</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The year indicated with the name is either the year she was elected to NMWCTU position or the census year that age was determined.

# Borden lived separately from her husband. The 1880 census indicated she was married, but the 1900 census showed her as the head of household and married, but no husband listed.

Fig. 1. Sample Profile of NMWCTU Membership
Willard, understanding the unique conditions of New Mexico and other western territories, bemoaned the fact that the WCTUs in the West were "practically at a stand still," because of the lack of aggressive leadership. She thus appealed for more teachers, "consecrated, clearheaded women," to go west. She sought women with the ability to "speak well enough to instruct and entertain an evening audience thus pay as they go. For such the field is boundless."

In 1887, four years after organizing the first NMWCTUs, Willard urged the national membership not to give up on the western territories and requested funding to expand the WCTU in the West. She wrote:

For several years we have had upon our roll Indian Territory, Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico and Utah, but thus far only initiatory work has been done and the field left fallow. Distances are so great and traveling so expensive that organizing becomes a very difficult matter, and yet organization is the basis of our work, and not a department can be successfully carried on without these stations.

Despite the difficulties of distance, transience, and denominational divisions, the NMWCTU grew. At the Fourteenth Annual WCTU Convention in 1887 in Nashville, Tennessee, New Mexico was recognized for increasing its membership 125 percent. Two years later in 1889 the NMWCTU claimed exceptional growth and announced that it had established eight English-speaking unions and two Spanish-speaking unions, thus organizing ties in numerous locations and expanding its influence throughout New Mexico. Members
had extended operations by establishing several departments of works, committees that concentrated their efforts on a specific WCTU goals. These included fair work, to publicize their cause at local fairgrounds; railroad work, to convince railroad employees of the advantages of temperance; flower missions, to pass out flowers and evangelical temperance messages to hospital patients and prisoners; press work, to gain greater publicity for the cause; and a social purity department, to eliminate vices such as prostitution and saloons.32

These NMWCTU expansions demanded tremendous organizing skills. Hence, education and culture were important attributes, with union publications emphasizing the importance of these qualities in their members. As Figure 1 indicates, the territorial union membership included talented and educated women. The leadership consisted of professionals and businesswomen with considerable education and organizational skills. They worked as teachers, physicians, ministers, ranchers, newspaper editors, and boarding house managers. Other members, for whom partial data is available, had attended college or had had other educational advantages. Ten of the fifteen NMWCTU members traced through the 1880 and 1900 censuses, and through obituaries and other sources, appear to reflect the background of other middle-class women who apparently dominated the NMWCTU. For instance, another member, Mary
Ella Owen Wood of Santa Fe, who joined in 1897, was a graduate of De Paul University where she studied "classical courses." Another early Santa Fe member, Mary Jenne Warner, elected as the local union's corresponding secretary in 1895, was a music teacher, originally from Vermont where she received a "fine musical education." 32

With the election of Mary J. Borden, a transplant from Kentucky, as the territorial president in 1890, the NMWCTU began a period of growth and expanded programming (see Figure 2). By then, the organization included fifteen unions, five hundred members, and eighteen departments of work. Forty-three-year-old Borden, later a Congregational minister, led the union for almost two decades, undaunted by threats from "liquorites." 34 She initiated membership drives and pledged to the national office that each NMWCTU member would "add one name each to [the territory's] membership list before the close of the year . . . [and] continue to wage our peaceful war, hoping, praying and believing for victory." 35

Borden believed that members could enlighten themselves and others by presenting informative lectures. Flora Ellice Stevens, superintendent of press work, also used this method to motivate members, presenting a paper at the 1890 territorial convention entitled, "The Importance of Press Work." Borden reported that Stevens's address "contained many good and practical suggestions as to the best methods
Reverend Mary J. Borden, 1847-?
President of NMWCTU, 1890-1906"

Figure 2
of winning for the cause the united and continued influence of the local press.”

Borden's career foreshadowed the growing influence of the NMWCTU. Under her leadership the NMWCTU became the organizational means to extend the influence of the Protestant women's network into the public arena. Just as Willard extended the national mission of the WCTU to include "home protection" through woman suffrage, the state organization focused on the protection of women and children through legislation and community reforms. In the process it prompted individual members to extend their moral influence.

The first step was to overcome denominational divisions and unite Protestant women. Hence the NMWCTU maintained close alliances with Protestant denominations and with local business leaders, expanding and cementing the network of activists, and the male support on which the union was dependent. Union meetings were held in Protestant churches. If more than one church existed in the community, meetings rotated from church to church. Pastors were also invited to meetings and to territorial conventions.

Socorro was a community that especially recognized the importance of a united Protestant front. The first two meetings of the local union were "ably assisted by the pastors of the denominational churches" that supported the cause. The Socorro women also recognized the need to extend
their moral mission through politics and therefore enlisted male political support. They allowed the mayor ("an accomplished lawyer and honorary member") to preside over the second meeting and permitted several businessmen to make brief speeches."

Allowing men to participate in a women's society was an organizing tactic and lobbying technique, not an abdication to male authority. The Socorro union, like other WCTUs in New Mexico and elsewhere, realized the political importance of securing male support. Women initiated reforms using their moral persuasion; men had the political authority to legislate reforms. Thus, the NMWCTU lobbied the male-dominated political system to endorse women's issues. New Mexico followed the pattern of women elsewhere, as historian Barbara Leslie Epstein suggested:

And through their acceptance of domesticity, . . . women did acquire a certain dubious power. . . . And to the extent that both men and women accepted the idea that women had special access to . . . religion and morality, women . . . acquired a particular kind of authority within their families. . . .

In addition, Protestant unity of denominations and of women and men was a desirable strategy to create community. Although the Protestant clergy was itself part of the male power structure, the Santa Fe union, by including rather than challenging male authority, aimed to establish a strong, united Protestant front. To encourage additional fellowship, it sponsored a public meeting on Christian temperance in the local Presbyterian church featuring
addresses by several ministers from different denominations. Clergy, male laity, and women of at least four denominations participated.

The program consisted of an anthem by the choir; invocation by Reverend George G. Smith, pastor of the Presbyterian Church; reading of Scripture, by Reverend E. Lyman Hood, pastor of the [Albuquerque] Congregational Church; singing by the choir; an essay on Christian temperance by Mrs. S. E. Carpenter, principal of the Santa Fe Kindergarten; address by Reverend A. J. Moore, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church; a chant by the male quartette of the Congregational Church; reading of a poem written for the occasion, by Miss Gyer; History of the Woman's Crusade in Ohio, and the origin of the WCTU, by Mrs. Samuel Hull, president of the local society; . . . singing by the choir; benediction by Reverend Mr. Harwood, superintendent of Methodist Missions."

The Santa Fe union, like the Socorro union, was forming a coalition with men to enhance opportunities for influence and political success.

Male temperance workers also helped foster cross-gender cooperation. For instance, the NMWCTU joined forces with the Sons of Temperance, a fraternal organization that advocated abstinence. At the fourth annual convention in 1889, Mrs. C. P. Jones reported, "The Sons of Temperance visited the meeting in their regalias, showing their interest in the temperance cause and their hearty cooperation with the ladies of the WCTU in their war upon the traffic."

By joining forces with men of their own race, Anglo women avoided overtly criticizing Euro-American men, opting instead to try to convert them to temperance. Union members
The program consisted of an overview of the country's national security needs, as well as an introduction to the various government agencies and their roles in the country. The conference also featured a keynote session, address by the Prime Minister, and a panel discussion with experts from various fields. The event concluded with a networking reception and a farewell dinner.

In conclusion, the conference was a tremendous success, and the network of contacts made during the event will continue to benefit the participants. The conference provided a valuable opportunity for professionals to connect and share ideas, fostering a collaborative environment for future projects and initiatives.

By joining forces with like-minded professionals, we can face the challenges of the future together, building a brighter future for ourselves and our communities.
were more critical across racial boundaries and did not hesitate to reproach Hispanic behavior. For instance, while Willard was in Albuquerque she concluded that intemperance and sexism were Hispanic problems.

As I returned from a pleasant visit to the Indian school under the care of Prof. [R. W. D.] Bryan, . . . we passed through the old Mexican Albuquerque, nearly as ancient . . . as Santa Fe. It was Good Friday, and wagons of nondescript appearance thronged the streets, while teams were in the corral, and men lounged about the street corners and saloons. "That's the way the men go to church here," dryly remarked the Professor, "they think they've done their whole duty when they fetch the women to mass." Sure enough, the dingy old church was full of devout women, prostrate in acknowledgment of sin, while their liege lords were drinking "ardent" at the next corner. It needs no prophet to declare the doom of such an unequal civilization. Whatever makes the beliefs, tastes, habits and education of men and women more congenial, providing that we must level up and not down, will most rapidly hasten the sway of happy homes and regenerated hearts."

Overall the territorial union's focus continued to reflect Willard's assumptions in 1883. These racist and classist assumptions fueled an ideology and an organizing strategy that linked temperance with perceptions of drunk "liege lords," whereas middle-class Euro-American Protestant men were courted as allies in the union's moral mission. Unlike Willard, however, most New Mexico union members focused less on female oppression and more on creating ties with men of their own class, race, and faith. Even though Willard saw exploited Mexican women, union members did not identify with the Hispanics as part of their crusade. The values WCTU women used for self-empowerment also limited
their ability to compare their condition as women with those of women of other cultures. Protestant community support took priority as the NMWCTU sought male advocacy for reform.

If organizational growth was the goal, this strategy succeeded. The NMWCTU's focus expanded to reflect a wider set of goals than its own organizational survival. The women continued the union's missionary tradition, concentrating on educating children. As some of the union members who were missionaries or lay teachers instructed children, they introduced temperance and other related issues into the schools. Getting women to expand their activities beyond their own denominations was the least controversial way for the NMWCTU to begin extending its mission. The women could stay within their accepted role as moral guardians who supported Protestant issues of sobriety and other middle class values."

This enlarged civilizing role was part of a national pattern among middle-class women who moved from informal moral influence to social activism. A women's culture was developing that didn't challenge the imbalance of power between the sexes, but worked within the assumptions of domesticity to secure change. Likewise, New Mexico's reform leaders were not ready to challenge the territory's male power structure. The women were comfortable fortifying themselves by advancing their domestic mission into the public sphere and working within the established power
structure.

Their social activism focused primarily on child welfare. The NMWCTU organized a variety of activities that included reform for children and by children. One member, Anna A. Aldrich, the NMWCTU corresponding secretary, summarized children's work as "the favorite and most hopeful line with all our unions." 146

For example, on September 18, 1894, the Albuquerque union founded the Albuquerque Day Nursery and New Mexico Children's Home, a refuge "for homeless children, in the name of Him who took little children in His arms and blessed them." 147 J. S. Reynolds, a banker and philanthropist, donated the use of "a commodious building," and other residents donated "furniture, clothing, provisions, [and] fuel." When the home opened, Albuquerque WCTU member Mrs. A. A. Carey served as matron and cared for "four motherless little ones, the youngest eleven months old." 148 The national office praised this achievement and noted that it was the "First institution of the kind under protestant [sic] management in the territory." 149 Eva May Tucker, NMWCTU's Territorial Reporter, considered the children's home the Albuquerque union's "most important work." 150 The Albuquerque Day Nursery and New Mexico Children's Home operated until September 8, 1924, when it closed after thirty years of caring for needy children.

The establishment of the Albuquerque Day Nursery and
New Mexico Children's Home provided a social service and validated the women who supported it. They moved into the public sphere as pious and pure social guardians of reform and, at the same time, expanded the missionaries' credo of "woman's work for woman." As in other parts of the West, women created and managed institutions that provided for less fortunate women and children. The children's home also served part of the NMWCTU's "indoctrination tactic" of teaching children who, later, as adults could epitomize temperate middle-class behavior and continue to support the NMWCTU's cause.

In another effort, organizing youth groups called Bands of Hope the women extended the children's mission. Like the WCTU, the youth program was founded on a model of voluntary labor. Albuquerque and Socorro unions organized Bands of Hope in which children were divided into classes and required to read Willard's Band of Hope Manual. One leader, Mary Allen West, Illinois WCTU president, thought the Bands of Hope were "the department[s] best suited to these frontier towns. In many places a band ... once organized, could be sustained where a union could not." Further expanding its organizational network, the NMWCTU attended to children of other races and religions by supporting Protestant missionary work. Like the missionaries, the NMWCTU wanted to "convert" the Native peoples and adopted the missionary cultural conversion
tactic of indoctrinating children to its temperance message. The union furnished Las Vegas mission schools "with the needful books for temperance instruction." In addition, the union leaders established a department of Spanish works that took the union's Protestant message to the "less civilized." A leading educator and missionary with the Methodist-Episcopal New Mexico Spanish Missions, Emily J. Harwood presided as the national WCTU superintendent of Spanish works.23

At the fourth annual convention of the NMWCTU in 1889, there were "reports from superintendents of . . . juvenile work among the Spanish and Chinese." The Las Vegas union apparently extended its mission to Chinese children, reporting that the "Chinese school [was] well sustained."24

Besides expanding their network to children of other races, women also took their message to Euro-American public school students. The NMWCTU worked to convince the schools to include "scientific temperance" instruction, lessons on the moral and physical dangers of alcohol use, as part of the regular hygiene and physiology curriculum.25 In 1894, Eva May Tucker, wrote that the women had succeeded in persuading many schools to include temperance instruction as a regular part of the daily program. She added: "Scientific temperance instruction is receiving more . . . attention . . . from school superintendents and teachers." The NMWCTU was pleased that teachers in the Hispano and
As the fourth annual convention of the NMCTO in 1985, the purpose of this report is to emphasize the need for nonteaching staff to provide a well-balanced educational experience for the young. The NMCTO acknowledges the need for Chinese children to receive a comprehensive curriculum that prepares them for a successful future. The NMCTO also recognizes the importance of bilingual education. In order to encourage scientific competence, the NMCTO promotes the inclusion of science and math in the curriculum. In 1980, the NMCTO and other private and public organizations worked on behalf of the report. The central theme of the convention was "The Relevance of Science and Mathematics to the Future of Our Children."
American Indian schools were teaching to "the children wholesome truths concerning total abstinence from alcohol and tobacco in any of its forms." The Albuquerque schools supported temperance instruction, and Tucker wrote that she believed the superintendent was "doing all in his power to make pupils intelligent in regard to the effects of narcotics in the body, the home and community." The superintendent's support was another example of dependence on male advocacy and the importance of Euro-American male influence.

By 1897, "scientific temperance" instruction was required in the public schools, but WCTU members were no longer so sanguine about administrative support. They expressed concern that the requirement was poorly enforced. Seeking more effective community influence, the women sought state backing. They appealed to the territorial superintendent of public instruction "for a more complete enforcement of the scientific temperance instruction law. . . ." At the same time, they sought to persuade teachers to comply voluntarily. Thus, the Albuquerque union "emphasized its belief in the importance of scientific temperance work by placing the School Physiology Journal in the hands of sixteen public school teachers." The WCTU sought to save children from tobacco as much as alcohol. In 1895 the Las Vegas union recruited more than three hundred school boys to form an Anti-Cigarette League.
The boys promised not to smoke cigarettes and were given a badge or pin. The league held meetings once a month that included music, readings, and a talk on the effects of tobacco. A council of ten boys tried all members who broke their pledge. If found guilty, "the offending party [was] deprived of his badge, but after a second trial, if the council [found] him to be faithful, the pin [was] restored to him." Thus, the women, as nurturers, tried to exert female influence to mold the moral behavior of the next generation of husbands, fathers, and community leaders.

The NMWCTU also expanded its focus to prison works to reform criminals, which the women viewed as an extension of their nurturing skills. Prisoners were, they believed, misguided souls who needed a mother's moral influence and whose wrongdoings were rooted in intemperance. The NMWCTU assumed "over ninety percent of the crimes committed [were] due to drink." Prison work further reflected the national WCTU tenet that intemperance was the root of the nation's social evils from which women suffered disproportionately.

If Albuquerque specialized in children, the Santa Fe union adopted prison work as its primary focus. Mary E. Teats, a Santa Fe union member and territorial superintendent of union prison works, organized numerous temperance programs for inmates at the Santa Fe penitentiary. Most of the presentations took place on the
annual flower mission days, when the women took small flower
bouquets with temperance and related religious messages
attached and conducted other activities to "uplift" hospital
patients and prison inmates.

The Santa Fe union proudly described the details of its
1888 flower mission day observance to the national office.
H. P. Smith, corresponding secretary of the Santa Fe WCTU,
reported that the women and several Santa Fe ministers "took
their places on the platform, . . . and all the prisoners,
numbering over a hundred, were assembled by Deputy Warden
Gray in the . . . hall." Many other Santa Fe citizens,
including the warden and guards, attended the ceremony. The
prison choir enthusiastically rang out its rendition of
"What a Friend We Have In Jesus," and other traditional
hymns. For the Hispanic prisoners, Reverend Cordova recited
prayers in Spanish. Also, Reverend Hood read biblical
scriptures after which "Mrs. Samuel Hull, president of the
[Santa Fe] WCTU then explained the origin of [the] beautiful
ceremony, and read some appropriate extracts." Afterwards a
temperance story was read and "two little girls . . . sang
the 'Flower Girl,' after which they proceeded, under the
conduct of Warden Gray, to distribute . . . bouquets to all
the convicts present." One of the prisoners then "stepped
forward and expressed thanks on behalf of the fellow
prisoners and himself."* Using flowers, hymns, and little
girls, respectively symbols of beauty, celebration or
morality, and innocence, the women attempted to reach prisoners of all races with their message. By enlisting the help of local ministers, representatives of the territorial moral agenda and power structure, the women obtained male endorsement of their mission.

Their nurturing hit a responsive chord. The Santa Fe inmates referred to Mary E. Teats, superintendent of the NMWCTU prison works, as "mother," and portrayed her as a model of Victorian womanhood ("gentle," "patient, sympathetic kindness") and Christian activism ("untiring ministry"). Possibly the prisoners imitated the acceptable middle-class male expectations of women, in order to convince prison officials of their change. Nevertheless, such a letter from the prisoners reflects their attitude about acceptable Victorian womanhood in New Mexico. The inmates said:

This gentle and truly Christian lady, whose efforts to better the condition of prisoners in this territory well deserve the sobriquet of 'Mother' to which she so proudly responds, visits the prison on the last Sunday of each month; and these Sundays we account as the brightest days in our prison calendar. Her faithful and untiring ministry has drawn to her many hearts utterly invulnerable to anything except such patient, sympathetic kindness as she ever shows to the unfortunates with whom she comes in contact. . . . The work of the WCTU is to many here a theme of constant interest, because we know that our 'Missionary' is a member of that noble organization of Christian ladies; and surely, if their company includes many such as we know her to be, victory eventually must crown their battle against intemperance and its kindred evils."

Members of the NMWCTU prison works also periodically visited inmates, wrote letters, provided financial aid or
board, job referrals, and reunited families upon the prisoner's release. One Santa Fe resident, Anna N. Ashley, detailed her union's prison works:

Many letters are written to the prisoners themselves and also to their friends. Some on obtaining their freedom have been helped financially; some have been helped to work; others have been boarded for days and weeks until work could be found; families separated for years have been reconciled, children restored to parents, and husbands and fathers to wives and children. Men found in the jails enduring all the horrors of delirium tremens, have given up whisky, tobacco, cards, and all the attendant evils, and are today clothed, and in their right minds, living Christian lives."

The NMWCTU considered reuniting families with reformed husbands an important goal that could help maintain the traditional nuclear family structure and prevent further impoverishment of New Mexico's women and children. The union's temperance message was again extended to the less fortunate and into the public arena of prisoner reform. The women saw positive results from their temperance message, with Ashley reporting considerable success: "There have been in this jail during the last two years eleven conversions, and more than fifty signers to the pledge.""

As feminist scholar Suzanne M. Marilley rightly argues, temperance work was an extension of missionary rescue work and a protest against a male-dominated society that victimized women." The NMWCTU worked with children to prevent adult intemperance, with prisoners to reform the effects of intemperance, and with Hispanics to rescue women from intemperate husbands. Hispanics were, in this
formulation, victims of abusive drunk husbands. One WCTU member, Margaret Spencer, encouraged the union's work among Hispanics in San Pedro, a mining town thirty-two miles northeast of Albuquerque:

Liquor is the curse of this country and of this camp. . . . We are invited into one snug, neat little dugout, where we sat on sheep skins spread on the ground; their beds piled in one corner, onions and potatoes in another, scarlet chili hanging across the roof, . . . while grandmother, daughter, and three children lived in this space. The woman welcomed us . . .; and yet this same woman had just been beaten and turned out-of-doors in the cold night by her . . . husband, and all because of liquor. Our first Sabbath . . . was a terror to the soul! It was just after pay day, and while a few Mexican children with our own were having Sunday school . . . men were reeling past our windows, to the saloon, and gayly dressed parties of young Mexicans on their ponies, with whisky bottles . . ., were dashing past."

Notably, the WCTU criticized male excess in other races, working to reform "outsiders," groups to whom they felt superior. They had the support of their Euro-American men, and this assertion of female privilege "away from home" did not threaten these gentlemen.

In 1887 the NMWCTU began to formulate a new strategy to indoctrinate the Hispanic youth. As one writer noted: "The special work to be undertaken this year by the unions of the territory was discussed and the ladies concluded to concentrate their forces in trying to educate the young Mexicans." To begin with, the Albuquerque union translated, printed, and distributed Spanish temperance catechisms."

Some of the catechisms were given to Hispanic grape farmers, whose crops the Jesuits used to make wine. In an essay
In 1931, the National Committee to Combat Child Labor proposed a new strategy to reduce child labor. The strategy was designed to be implemented in rural and urban areas, focusing on education and economic opportunities for children.

The committee emphasized the importance of education, arguing that it was a key to breaking the cycle of poverty and child labor. They advocated for the establishment of vocational schools and technical training centers to provide children with skills that would enable them to earn a living.

The committee also called for the enforcement of existing child labor laws, which often went unenforced due to lack of resources and infrastructure. They recommended the establishment of a national child labor commission to monitor compliance and provide guidance to local authorities.

Furthermore, the committee emphasized the role of parents in preventing child labor. They suggested that schools and communities should work together to educate parents about the dangers of child labor and the importance of keeping their children in school.

The committee's proposals were met with resistance from some business owners, who argued that child labor was necessary for their economic survival. However, the committee persisted in its efforts, convinced that a society that values education and economic opportunity for all its citizens would be more stable and prosperous.
written for the *Union Signal*, Anna Aldrich, the Albuquerque
union’s recording secretary, spoke of the difficulty of
taking the temperance crusade to Hispanic Catholics:

The Mexican people raise grapes extensively, and
much wine is made, used and sold here. The wine made
by the Jesuit priests is considered especially fine.
It will, therefore, be very difficult to make the
Mexicans see any harm in using wine, when they know it
is made and sold by their own 'holy fathers.' However,
we are this year distributing a Spanish translation of
the Temperance Catechism among the native population,
and trust it may have some influence."

In 1889, at the fourth annual convention of the NMWCTU,
Emily J. Harwood reported that she had organized two Spanish
unions. Harwood's WCTU work was an integral part of her
missionary work, and Borden, the territorial WCTU president,
commended Harwood in her letter to the national office:

Mrs. E. J. Harwood is doing grand work among the
Spanish speaking people. The Spanish union there
numbering some sixty-five, with thirty men, women, and
children present at the weekly meeting, manifested an
interest and zeal in the cause which was, indeed, a
pleasure to witness. Such is an earnest of what may be
accomplished by consecrated effort, in this broadest of
fields.""

The WCTU never intended to train Hispanics to be
temperance leaders in Euro-American unions, nor did it seek
to challenge racial and class divisions in the territory.
Instead, Hispana temperance work was restricted to Hispanic
villages, under the supervision of Euro-American missionary
teachers. Indeed, no Hispana held an office in the
territorial organization."" However, Borden, enthusiastic
about the results of Hispanic temperance work, reported that
Spanish mission students carried the Protestant mission to
their own communities:

During the summer vacation when those young men were at their homes . . . our hearts were often rejoiced to hear of them holding temperance meetings among their own people, and repeating the recitations used in the contests, on several occasions creating a real wave of temperance enthusiasm. God speed the day when these young men shall be called to fill pulpits of Spanish churches in this territory . . . . For many years to come the controlling power of this territory will be in the hands of the Spanish speaking people, hence the great importance of this special line. Sisters, give it the added strength of your earnest prayers."

But finally, after more than a decade of extending their influence to the less fortunate, "less civilized," and infirm, the NMWCTU in 1887 began to focus their social activism closer to home and address inequities among the Protestant middle-class Euro-American communities. The union's cause became a political issue, and members began challenging the male-dominated community structure. The women now challenged the drinking habits of prominent Euro-American male citizens, no longer limiting temperance to children, prisoners, and Hispanics. The NMWCTU had relied on male support and the support of their communities, but now the women had sufficient self-assurance to challenge men of their own race and class.

As women's domestic role was extended into the public arena, men's patriarchal authority was challenged. Political empowerment began with leadership skills women learned lobbying for others. Work for children took women into the political arena as early as 1887 when the NMWCTU
successfully petitioned the legislature to enact laws that protected women and children from cruelty and abandonment. The women's action was similar to female activism elsewhere in the West, where women used courts and laws to construct better social relationships among husbands, wives, and children. On February 23, 1887, the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico passed without discussion or protest "An Act for the protection of wives and families." Section one of this act provided that, "Any person who . . . assaults his wife, or treats her with cruelty or violence, shall . . . be punished by imprisonment . . . at hard labor, for not less than one year nor more than five years. . . . " Section two addressed abandonment "without sufficient means of support." The husband who abandoned his family could be "imprisoned for such period not exceeding one year . . . ; and on a second or subsequent offense, the imprisonment [would be] for any period not exceeding two years."

Companionate marriages with mutual respect and responsibilities were expected; what was once a private relationship was now included in public policy. The NMWCTU also successfully lobbied for a law "to provide for the adequate punishment of crimes against women and children--Rape--Abduction--Carnal abuse of children and seduction." The law provided that a person convicted of rape would be imprisoned "for not less than five nor more than twenty years." Furthermore, any person who abducted "a
female under the age of fourteen years for . . .
prostitution or sexual intercourse" could be imprisoned "for
not more than five years or by a fine of not less than one
thousand dollars, or by both." 74

Both laws protecting women and children passed without
apparent controversy and without discussion in the local
press. Preventing cruelty against women and children and
forcing men to provide for their families excited no
organized opposition. Such bills reflected values common
elsewhere among middle-class Euro-Americans in the late
nineteenth century. An increasingly stable New Mexican
community valued companionate families that molded children
to be temperate and industrious citizens. The protective
legislation upheld a Protestant middle-class social order
and gender roles that promoted nineteenth century
companionate marriages. 75

Next, the NMWCTU moved into electoral politics. In
1890 Borden reported that the Albuquerque union, led by Mrs.
J. W. Granger, "is a felt power for good in the city. They
will place a prohibition ticket before the people at the
next municipal election" 76 In 1892, despite earlier
opposition, the union helped organize a Prohibition party at
the territorial fair and encouraged its members to organize
a chapter in Las Vegas. 77

Two years earlier, the Las Vegas press had protested
the formation of the party and opposed any movement that
limited citizens' drinking rights:

The question of temperance is something which can only be settled by each individual for himself. The man who can take a drink when he wants to, or let it alone, is as far superior to the prohibitionist as he is to the drunkard, and there is no reason why he should be deprived of the right to drink, because some other man makes a sot of himself. It would be just as reasonable to advocate the chaining in prison cells of the whole human race because some people who enjoy liberty have a propensity to rob, murder and steal.74

Although Borden campaigned aggressively throughout New Mexico for the Prohibition Party, the Republican press did not consider the party a major influence in the 1892 election. Instead, Republicans saw the White Caps (a secret, militant, oath-bound Hispanic organization75) and the People's Party as the prime threats in the 1892 election that resulted ultimately in a Republican victory. An East Las Vegas newspaper stated that it was "working for the defeat of their [White Caps and People's party] ticket." Another Republican newspaper saw the White Caps's "lawlessness" as a "powerful factor against admission of New Mexico" to statehood.76 The 1892 election was a Republican victory in most of the precincts of two of the most politically active towns, Santa Fe and Las Vegas.

Despite the 1892 Republican victory, the national office of the WCTU commended Borden on several occasions for her determined and aggressive style of organization and particularly for her extensive travels throughout New Mexico. From February to October 1892, she covered more than three thousand miles and visited every New Mexican
union, organizing and reorganizing. The national office, convinced of Borden's skills, assigned her to Iowa as a Prohibition Party campaigner. Finding that she spoke "very acceptably for the Prohibitionists," the WCTU also sent her to campaign in Nebraska and Colorado.

Even though the Prohibitionists lost, Borden continued to look to the state as an agency for temperance. In 1897 she lobbied the legislature to pass a prohibition bill. She knew that gradual restriction of liquor sales was the least controversial way to achieve the WCTU goals in New Mexico. The law limited liquor licenses to a "male person over the age of twenty-one years and . . . of good moral character," a responsibly productive individual without a criminal record. Further, the statute did not eliminate liquor sales, but limited the room size and location of liquor trade.

Besides political lobbying, much of the NMWCTU's work was aimed at community reforms, grassroots endeavors to achieve temperance and to extend its meaning to encompass Protestant women's civilizing mission. Every local union had at least one special project that enriched its community and, in turn, further extended the women's domestic mission to the public sphere. For instance, some unions established reading rooms in their towns, paving the way for local public libraries. At San Pedro Camp, the mining superintendent's wife constructed a "reading room for the
men in the small log school house, covering the walls with white cloth, the pine tables with scarlet cambrie, keeping it well warmed and lighted." The community also donated magazines, papers, and books. The Silver City WCTU and the local Temperance League likewise also founded a reading room. About one reading room Borden wrote to the national office:

The free reading room was thrown open . . . for a reception; refreshments were served, and the visitors were highly entertained. . . . It is supported by entertainments and is kept open daily till 10 P.M., and contains all the leading periodicals, magazines and dailies, including *The Union Signal*, and other temperance journals.

The Las Vegas WCTU, the most active New Mexico union, was reorganized in 1894. Eva May Tucker, territorial reporter and Las Vegas union member, reported:

The particular work of the WCTU, since its reorganization . . . is the maintenance of a public library. [Las Vegas union president], Mrs. Clara Carruth, leads well the little group of white ribbon women who believe that temperance is not only good, but good for something.

Las Vegas was pleased with having a library and appreciated its value to the community, as the Las Vegas *Daily Optic* stated:

The circulating library has become an especial feature of the society, new and good books have been added . . . until now more than 500 volumes of good and bright gems of literature grace the shelves of the WCTU library. . . . Can any man estimate the valuable influence that this has upon the community?

Sabbath observance by local businesses and taverns was another goal. Ada Morley Jarrett reported that the
Blossburg union, which served a coal mining town, had "done good, practical work with the children and in having the saloons closed on the Sabbath." At White Oaks, a gold mining town, the union "succeeded in having all business houses and the saloons of the town closed on the Sabbath day, while the saloons . . . closed at ten o'clock on weekday evenings." WCTU members ensured the enforcement of Sabbath observance for several years by standing guard "over the one saloon . . . preventing it from opening on the Sabbath." Borden was proud of the union's achievement in White Oaks: "Those brave workers may not fully realize all that this may mean to loving mother hearts whose boys have gone from eastern homes with the view of locating permanently in that high gold-producing district." Similarly, the women formed a "Civic Federation Club" in Albuquerque to guarantee that the Sunday law was enforced. Other towns, including Gallup and Santa Fe, passed Sabbath observance ordinances as the result of local WCTU lobbying.

Next, during the late 1890s, the NMWCTU appealed to local governments for curfew enforcement. The women "petitioned the [Albuquerque] city council for [the] curfew bell to ring at 8:30 P.M. after which children under fourteen years [were] prohibited from being on the street." The Gallup WCTU asked the town council for the "enactment of a curfew law." An ordinance was passed that
required "the ringing of a curfew bell at nine o'clock each evening, after which time children under sixteen years [were] not to loiter on the streets." 94

Local unions adopted numerous other projects to bring Protestant culture and morality to their communities. Catskill, a major lumbering town in Colfax county in the 1890s, did not have a church, so the Catskill WCTU expertly organized fund raisings and enlisted the help of local construction workers to build a nondenominational church. Many residents turned out to lay the cornerstone. 95

Meanwhile, Las Vegas WCTU women saw a need for a water fountain in their town center. They believed that an accessible water fountain would discourage men from spending their money at the local saloons in order to quench their thirst. Marry Ella Owen Wood, treasurer of the NMWCTU, organized the fountain project. She raised funds, enlisted local political support, and secured a promise from Aqua Pura Company for "perpetual freedom of water." 96

Marry Wood's husband, James A. Wood, superintendent of public schools, spoke at the unveiling. His speech was one instance of a common pattern in which husbands received public credit for women's community service. The project was important, he said, because "cisterns and wells [were] a rarity, the need of a free and abundant supply of good, fresh, cool water [was] evident to all." Wood linked the project to the goals of the WCTU, saying, "Here is the
fountain for youth, and . . . it is the earnest desire of the . . . WCTU that the youth . . . never partake of a stronger beverage than that which flows from this fountain so pure and free."" For the larger community, however, the temperance message may not have been paramount. The Daily Optic reported:

The work of the Las Vegas WCTU has been constant and quiet. Through it, each month, good literature has found its way to the jail, hospital, ladies' home, depot, and among the railroad men. Its work cannot be referred to in single decisive strokes, but in keeping everlastingly at it. Today, however, the good work takes tangible form in a beautiful public drinking fountain, which was dedicated with timely and impressive ceremonies, this afternoon. May it continue to beautify the streets of our city as the WCTU has our society in years past."

The press did not see temperance, however, as a primary issue and thus discounted the women's reform message and social activism. Instead, the newspaper praised their womanly virtues ("constant and quiet" and "beautifying"). It ignored the notion that the white middle-class might not be perfect. The press's tone clearly patronized the women's work. James Wood's leading role in the unveiling and the press's report also demonstrated how Euro-American men could simultaneously claim and discount the women's work.

Regardless of how men perceived such community-building projects, community service helped develop the women's leadership skills and, in turn, gave them the needed confidence to be resourceful social activists. For a few WCTU leaders, these accomplishments led to women's rights
activism. The women could reflect on their achievements—building churches, water fountains, libraries, day care centers, and an orphanage; enacting sabbath observance, curfew ordinances, and protective legislation—and see the importance of their contributions. But they couldn't vote. Even though woman suffrage was not a prime issue for many NMWCTU members, it did claim the energy of some of the leadership.

The national office began trying to organize support for woman suffrage among the children of New Mexico as early as 1884. The Union Signal featured a letter from "Captain Deborah," a fictional youth leader, to the territory's children, which encouraged their "fight with old King Alcohol." Captain Deborah further recognized the political value of converting children and wrote, "Soon you will be able to vote the liquor traffic out of existence forever. Of course I expect the girls to have a hand in the voting by the time that millennium arrives."75

The endorsement of woman suffrage developed from the WCTU's tradition of political activism. At the 1881 national convention the WCTU endorsed Willard's "Do Everything" policy and approved woman suffrage in the interest of home protection and temperance legislation. Although the national union supported suffrage, prior to 1885 only five state organizations supported full suffrage. Under the banner of home protection, support for woman
suffrage began to grow, and Protestant churches became more supportive of the woman's ballot. Historian Ruth Bordin concluded that "Churches liberalized their position on woman suffrage because they had been converted to prohibition by the WCTU and they saw the woman's ballot as the only way to achieve this goal."\textsuperscript{102}

The national union's success depended on the strength of local unions, and the national WCTU closely watched New Mexico's progress toward suffrage. The NMWCTU, like other state unions, slowly increased in size and, in turn, expanded its political influence.\textsuperscript{103} In 1889, The Union Signal reported that the "Constitutional convention of New Mexico... rejected the clause favoring women in the article on elective franchise."\textsuperscript{102} A year later the NMWCTU resolved to support a limited woman suffrage "with an educational qualification." In support of this new cause, Ada Morley Jarrett read a paper at the fifth annual convention of the NMWCTU in 1890 entitled, "Equal Franchise." Borden reported the union's enthusiastic reaction:

[It] was greeted with applause and bouquets of flowers from a crowded house, this being the first introduction of the subject by the territorial WCTU. The department of franchise was added to our work with Mrs. Jarrett as superintendent.\textsuperscript{103}

Having established this new department of works, the organization resolved, "That we favor woman suffrage and ask for the ballot, with an educational qualification, as
necessary to a wise use of the same, and as a weapon of home protection and the putting down of giant evils."

The educational requirement, as in other states, reflected the nativist upsurge of the 1890s. Nationally, a limited woman suffrage would help insure that white women and men had more influence than black or foreign-born women and men. National support of a limited woman's suffrage encouraged New Mexico's Protestant women's detachment from Hispanic and Indian women. In New Mexico, an educational qualification would effectively disenfranchise Native Americans and Hispanics, because they did not possess the "acceptable" education level of English literacy and citizenship responsibilities. Further, Willard equated gender equality with cultural superiority, and she voiced her concern for the empowerment of white women. Willard said during her 1891 presidential address:

"I do not see any way out for this country, which cannot very well go back on its position as to manhood suffrage except to improve the quality of the voting by admitting intelligent women, and barring out the ignorant women, thus putting a premium upon knowledge and character as conditions of the voter."

The NMWCTU adopted the national strategy of gaining the ballot for middle-class Euro-American women as a means to protect the home and rid the territory of liquor.

Although the territorial union resolved to support suffrage, not many women actively supported the issue. Mary J. Borden and Ada Morley Jarrett were the leading New Mexican suffragists during the 1890s. As the only two
in such a large territory, they ardently voiced their frustrations in trying to organize other women to advance suffrage. In 1892, Borden informed the national union that she would "keep an eye open for the statehood convention and be on the ground with a good, strong suffrage plank for the lords of creation to consider." She further vented her frustration about the lack of interest in suffrage, but remained optimistic:

The suffrage question could profitably be discussed oftener in the societies, but as yet it has received only indifference. But the time cometh when all women will see, even though exasperatingly blind nowadays to their own interests.108

In 1893, Borden, using her position as NMWCTU president, wrote to New Mexico's Governor L. Bradford Prince and asked him if he would sponsor a suffrage bill. She told him that she did not know of anyone else whom she "thought progressive enough in that direction to produce a bill favoring universal suffrage." She added, "whether it passes or not the effect will be education all in the right direction. . . ."110

Although Borden in 1894 was still battling women's indifference toward suffrage, she did not lose faith in its eventual adoption. She wrote:

Though ofttimes weary we are not discouraged, for we know the battle is God's and in proportion as we seek His guidance, we are slowly, perhaps, yet surely building sentiment, in favor of 'home protection' against the drink curse, which shall crystallize at the ballot box, to work out for home and humanity an 'exceeding and eternal weight of glory' in the universal prohibition of legalized rum.111
But Anglo New Mexicans had other priorities in 1894. Statehood and temperance took precedence over woman suffrage. Eva May Tucker, NMWCTU's territorial reporter, indicated that women's primary focus remained alcohol itself, rather than political strategies to achieve temperance.

While some of our Eastern sisters . . . are being 'stirred up' over the 'full enfranchisement of women,' one-half of New Mexico is working itself into an intermittent fever about the questions of 'statehood,' the other half is anxiously trying to prevent the growth in popularity of the saloon.112

Although woman suffrage did not become a key issue, the WCTU united Protestant women to move into the public sphere to civilize the less fortunate and the "racially inferior."113 That crusade remained more moral than feminist, compelling though it was.

In summary, Willard's visit to New Mexico in 1883 began the unification of New Mexico's Protestant women. The NMWCTU went on to unify denominationally separated women and to strengthen their influence and their alliance with the Protestant male power structure. Beginning with efforts to achieve temperance, the organization provided a foundation for the women to work for protection, community reforms, legislative safeguards, and, finally, suffrage. With Protestant support, community endorsement, and continuous encouragement from the national WCTU office, women were encouraged to assert their issues outside the private domestic sphere and to claim influence in the public sphere.
of their communities. New Mexico women's issues were carried over from the church to the community, setting precedents for expanding women's political influence. Although a temperance society, NMWCTU enacted Willard's "Do Everything" policy, despite such obstacles as a transient Euro-American population, distant and isolated towns, and expensive transportation. With interdenominational support and cooperation, the NMWCTU began the territory's far-reaching women's reform crusade.

By the turn of the century the union had not successfully challenged male authority within the Euro-American middle class, but it had empowered women in a wider public arena. In a few cases, the leadership allied with the national women's rights movement and recognized that only as equal citizens could women effectively influence their communities. Otherwise, no matter how productive their endeavors, they remained defined in relation to men—as wives, helpmates, and as community housekeepers whose husbands unveiled their accomplishments to other men.


12. Ibid.


15. Ibid.


20. Norman Cleaveland, 3.


22. Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of*

23. Mary Allen West, "In the Territories," Union Signal, December 11, 1884, 4.


25. Population Schedules of the Tenth and Twelfth Census of the U. S., 1880 and 1900, New Mexico. Possibilities that could hamper locating members include transience, marriage (eight of the researched member were single), divorce, death of spouse and remarriages. These individuals were extracted from a collection of members' names compiled from the Union Signal and local newspaper accounts. Also, numerous union officers arrived after the 1880 and 1900 census. Only three union members were listed in both the 1880 and 1900 census. I was unable to locate a member listed in the 1880 census but not listed in the 1900 census. As of this writing, no early NMWCTU membership list is available.


31. Union Signal, November 24, 1887, 1.

32. Union Signal, July 25, 1889, 11.

34. Margaret Connell Szasz, "Albuquerque Congregationalists and Southwestern Social Reform: 1900-1917," New Mexico Historical Review 55 (March 1980): 231-52. Since the publication of this article, I found additional documentation that counters earlier conclusions about the NMWCTU. Szasz correctly asserted that Evelyn E. Snyder was the first president of the territorial union, but she accepted this position in 1883, rather than 1885. The Reverend Mary J. Borden was the fourth president of the NMWCTU rather than the second. Lastly, New Mexico's first WCTU was not organized in Albuquerque in 1885, but in Santa Fe in 1883.


36. The Cobb Memorial Collection, Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico, Photo 000-119-0076.


39. Epstein, 85. Marriage manuals of the early eighteenth century illustrated women's spiritual and moral power within their family. To the extent that family members accepted the ideas of women's special influence, women gained a new sense of self-confidence to make authoritative decisions affecting the family. Nevertheless, women in New Mexico did not achieve suffrage until 1920. Thus, women had to strategize their moral authority to enhance their temperance crusade as a defense of the family, the basis of American society.

40. The clergy were also men who embraced a particular form of masculinity congenial to an alliance with women.

41. "New Mexico," Union Signal, June 28, 1888, 12.


44. Although women's moral message went beyond their denominations, the central idea of moral conservativism legitimated their position as the community's moral guardians. Epstein, 6.


46. Anna A. Aldrich, "New Mexico," Union Signal, December 13, 1888, 10.

47. New Mexico, State Corporation Commission, Corporation Department, Albuquerque Day Nursery and New Mexico Children's Home, "Application For Articles of Incorporation," State Corporation Commission Number 0017616. The Following NMWCTU members are listed as the incorporating officers: Rebecca Granger, president of Albuquerque WCTU 1890; Lou Lee; Hannah J. Harding, president of Albuquerque WCTU 1894-1901; Arvillia M. Vaughn, 1909 elected secretary of NMWCTU, president of Albuquerque WCTU 1914. Mary J. Borden, "New Mexico: In the Fight," Union Signal, March 22, 1894, 10. According to the Albuquerque City Directory (Albuquerque: Hughes and McCleirght, 1896), 56, Borden also served as president of the home in 1896.


49. Union Signal, April 5, 1894, 13.


52. Mary Allen West, "In the Territories," Union Signal, December 11, 1884, 4.


54. Ada Morley Jarrett, "New Mexico News," Union Signal, June 2, 1892, 11, citing Mary J. Borden's territorial report. In Census Reports: Volume 1, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, the U. S. Census Office reported that there were 369 Chinese living in New Mexico in
1890 (38 resided in Las Vegas), by 1900 the Chinese population had decreased to 341.


64. Ibid.


68. Anna A. Aldrich, "New Mexico," Union Signal, December 13, 1888, 10.

70. No women with Hispanic surnames are listed in conference reports. Also, U.S. census data for 1880 and 1900 (when available) on officers does not indicate any Hispanic family connection. Of course, Hispanics who married Anglos might have been present.


73. Legislative Assembly, Territory of New Mexico, 1887 Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, Twenty-Seventh Session (Las Vegas, NM: J. A. Carruth, 1887), 46. Interestingly, in this act for the protection of wives and families, no provision for divorce is addressed. One could speculate that an abandoned woman would remain married to her husband while he was in jail. Petrik, 26. Griswold, Family and Divorce, 5.

74. Ibid, 49-50. New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Territorial Administration New Mexico, Reel 6, Frame 798, New Mexico Law, 1887, 46, 49, WCTU lobbying for adequate punishment for crimes against women and girls, January 1887. Petition of the WCTU "was read and upon motion of Mr. Sanchez the petition was referred to the standing committee on vice and immorality."

75. Daily (Santa Fe) New Mexican, January 7, February 3, 8, 9, 1887. Griswold, Family and Divorce, 5. In examining nineteenth century divorce records of California, Griswold found "that the companionate ideal did, indeed, affect the lives of rural men and women from all social classes. . . . Men and women from all social classes conceived of family relations in affective terms, placed a premium on emotional fulfillment in the family, considered women's opinions and contributions worthy of respect and consideration, emphasized male kindness and accommodation, and assumed that children were special members of the household in need of love and affection." Petrik, 289. Petrik suggest that from 1885-1895 in, "both couples and the courts were busily restoring and affirming gender roles that sustained nineteenth marriages and creating lineaments of companionate marriage."


78. *Las Vegas (New Mexico) Democrat*, June 14, 1890.

79. The White Caps, or Las Gorras Blancas, formed in 1888 in San Miguel County. The organization was a Hispanic Populist social protest against Anglo encroachment. It wanted to prevent further Anglo intrusion on the Las Vegas Community Grant, given to the Hispanics in the 1830s when Luis Maria Baca family received the land from the Mexican government. The armed and hooded White Caps depended on terrorism and property destruction throughout San Miguel and neighboring counties to expel Anglo ranchers, whom they regarded as land-grabbers. Overall, Las Gorras Blancas were part of a New Mexico people's campaign to have a greater voice in government. Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico Populism: A Study of Radical Protest in a Western Territory* (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1974), xi-xii, 35-37.

80. *Las Vegas Weekly Optic*, November 13, 1892. *Daily (Santa Fe) New Mexican*, July 2, 1892. Both newspapers do not mention the Prohibition party in their numerous articles about the election. One suspects that the Prohibition party was not as popular as Mary Borden perceived it to be.


84. New Mexico, Legislature, Proposed WCTU Prohibition Bill, 1897, Territorial Administration New Mexico, Reel 12, Frames 898-906.


93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.


96. "News From the Field," *Union Signal*, February 18, 1897, 11.

97. Ibid.

98. *Daily Optic* (Las Vegas, New Mexico), December 17, 1896.


101. Ibid., 120.


104. Ibid.

105. Bordin, Woman & Temperance, citing Minutes, 1891 Convention, 123.

106. Bordin, Woman & Temperance, 118-20. Missionaries, reflecting the dominant society, questioned Hispanics' and Indians' readiness for United States citizenship. As a result, voting rights could not be considered until the Anglo population resolved their views about citizenship qualifications. Presbyterian Women's Executive Committee's Home Mission Monthly I-XI (September 1887-September 1897).

107. Soon after the NMWCTU adopted a limited woman suffrage referendum, territorial officers did not often write about woman's suffrage in their reports to the Union Signal. The territorial union's lack of suffrage reports indicates that the membership had other priorities such as protection of women and children, elimination of saloons, construction of churches and orphanages, and other quality-of-life community issues. Although women supported woman suffrage, they were busy organizing other projects and were probably satisfied with the influence they exerted.

108. Mary J. Borden's and Ada Morley Jarrett's names were often mentioned in connection with suffrage. Additional suffrage documentation from the 1890s of other New Mexico women is unavailable.


110. M. J. Borden to Governor L. Bradford Prince, January 24, 1893, Microfich, Roll 113, Frame 324 and 325, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.


113. Protestant churches, cultural agents of the dominant Euro-American society, asserted the inferiority of Hispanics and Indians due to their cultural heritage. Presbyterian Women's Executive Committee's Home Mission Monthly I-XI (September 1887-September 1897).
CONCLUSION

"Regenerate exceptional populations!" "Elevate humanity!" These were the mottoes and the essence of the nineteenth-century reform crusade from which New Mexico's Protestant women's network grew. This movement began when Protestant missionaries arrived. It evolved from a denominationally fragmented proselytizing operation into a unified Protestant crusade with the creation of the NMWCTU. The NMWCTU intensified the Protestants' Americanization of Native Americans and Hispanics and empowered women by extending their domestic mission to the public sphere of their communities.

The missionaries, most of whom were women, paved the way for the development of a Protestant middle-class women's reform crusade. Missionary teachers and Protestant lay women alike embraced the popular nineteenth-century female domestic ideology. They saw themselves as instrumental in the establishment of a Protestant social order in their new communities, and the community networks they built strengthened and expanded the missionaries' evangelical drive.

Throughout New Mexico women enthusiastically supported missionary societies and their churches. The resulting teamwork produced an influential Euro-American female network. These women held a common belief in the superiority of the United States' Protestant social order which linked women even though they were denominationally
divided. They recognized the importance of Protestant expansion in the West. For them, middle-class women were the moral guardians of their communities and the centers for community reform agitation.

Some men advanced this female network by supporting the women's community efforts because the male-dominated Protestant hierarchy viewed middle-class women as the nation's moral authorities, indispensable agents of the Protestant reform of the West. Protestant missionaries and lay women worked with what they called the less fortunate. In this work, missionaries taught Protestant cultural symbols to Hispanics and Indians, and the lay women worked within their own denominational communities' organizations and reform projects.

Deeply believing in the Protestant mission, Frances Willard took advantage of this cooperative environment and formed a territorial WCTU in 1883, spreading a message that endorsed the nation's Protestant social order and women's moral authority. She brought together New Mexico's Protestant women, and, from 1883 to 1906, the NMWCTU provided a unified platform for women to lobby community and religious leaders for reforms.

Consequently, the women expanded their scope of influence from home and church to public community social improvements. The Protestant cultural mission widened from the missionaries' "regeneration of exceptional populations"
to the WCTU's encompassing "elevation of humanity." In the process, women forged a broader evangelical women's network and reform movement that, to paraphrase Willard, "did everything." Reform was no longer limited to working for Hispanics and Native Americans, but was expanded to include working and middle-class Euro-Americans.

Although unification validated women's issues, they relied on the support of men of their own race and class and seldom challenged their dominance. Clearly, the creation of the NMWCTU marked a turning point in the empowerment of New Mexico's Protestant women. By establishing a consolidated evangelical and temperance crusade, rather than a feminist campaign, the NMWCTU sought, during its first twenty years, the protection of women and children rather than equality with men. Most of the members were not interested in overthrowing the power structure of their churches or communities. Instead, the women used their moral authority to convince men in positions of power to support their issues.

Now reflecting Willard's 1881 "Do Everything" policy, members worked to improve their communities, to extend their "mission" to the less fortunate, and to advance their cause into the public political arena. The organization likewise added departments of works, such as prison works and children works, to promote temperance with criminals and juveniles. The members also expanded their focus to include
public education, protective legislation, woman suffrage, and community reform projects.

These expanded goals politicized the NMWCTU. Nevertheless, New Mexico was the only Western state not to achieve woman suffrage by 1920. Because the WCTU was part of a successful women's rights coalition in other localities, the failure of suffrage in New Mexico raises questions about the limits of coalition building and of Protestant middle-class influence in the territory. Did New Mexico have unique characteristics, geographic or social, that impacted the establishment of a coalition? How widespread was Protestant influence in New Mexico as compared to other western territories?

This study marks the beginning of an investigation into the activities of the NMWCTU and the establishment of the Protestant women's network. As an introductory probe, this examination provokes more questions than answers. Why did New Mexico not achieve woman suffrage until 1920? Was it due to the lack of an organized woman's movement, as historian Joan Jensen asserts, or was suffrage plainly not a primary concern of most women, as the Reverend Mary J. Borden discovered in her early organizing endeavors? Why were women preoccupied with "civilizing" others rather than asserting their own equality? Why did race and class take priority over gender equality? What effect did the politicalization of New Mexico temperance leaders have? How
many women like Reverend Borden moved from evangelizing to working for equality? Additional NMWCTU manuscripts, if they can be located, will prompt further research into the work of the union and its leaders.

In this work, some of the roots of the women's movement in New Mexico are told. The NMWCTU became the cornerstone for a unified women's effort for suffrage, gender equality, and community reforms. Knowing the origin of the territory's women's movement is crucial since one must understand a crusade's beginning to comprehend its motivations, its outcome, and, in this case, its forgotten influence and, perhaps, its failures. Part of that mission, like part of the responsibility of recording its history, remains for the future.
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