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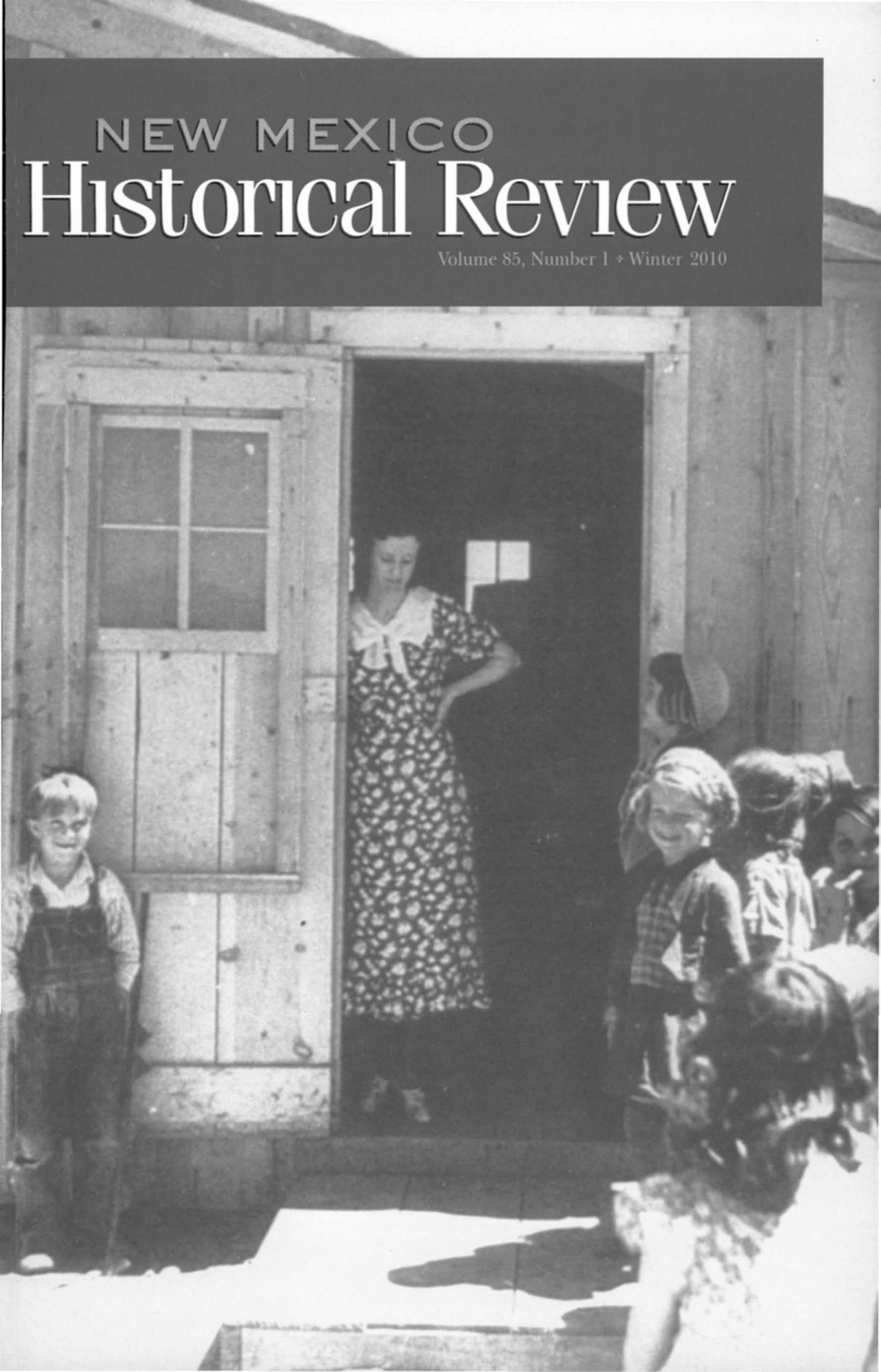

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ON THE COVER

TEMPORARY SCHOOLHOUSE, BOSQUE FARMS, NEW MEXICO, 1936
(Photograph by Arthur Rothstein, courtesy Farm Security Administration–Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USF34-002974-E)

NEW MEXICO
Historical Review

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New Deal Success or "Noble Failure"?

BOSQUE FARMS' EARLY YEARS AS A FEDERAL RESETTLEMENT PROJECT, 1935–1939

Richard Melzer

The federal government hired a cadre of talented photographers to capture images of personal misery and chronic rural poverty during the nation's Great Depression of the 1930s. Working for the New Deal's Farm Security Administration (FSA), gifted photographers such as Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Russell W. Lee, Arthur Rothstein, and Ben Shahn provided compelling evidence that Congress could not ignore while enacting legislation to assist the nation's most destitute families. Indefatigable FSA photographers shot more than 164,000 images of people and places across the United States from 1935 to 1943.[1]

More than 3,230 FSA images documented the depths of poverty suffered by diverse groups of people in New Mexico, including sheepherders on the Navajo reservation in the northwest, Anglo homesteaders near Pie Town in the west, and Hispanic farmers near Taos in the north. Using their keen artistic and observational skills, Rothstein and Lange also photographed residents of a fledgling agricultural community known as Bosque Farms, New Mexico.[2]

Taken by Lange in December 1935 and by Rothstein in April 1936, the FSA's thirty-two photos of Bosque Farms depict the early stages of a government

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resettlement project during some of the darkest days of the Great Depression. Unfortunately, other than this small photo collection and a comparative study of twelve resettlement communities in the Rocky Mountain West, historians know little about this federal government project located twenty miles south of Albuquerque.[3] In fact a popular belief prescribes that despite its original settlers' abject poverty, Bosque Farms developed rather quickly into a peaceful, relatively prosperous small town, the beneficiary of good planning and government largess.[4] We now know that nothing could be further from the truth during Bosque Farms' turbulent early years from 1935 to 1939.

Bosque Farms' original settlers arrived in the Middle Rio Grande Valley in the spring of 1935 as part of a national resettlement program initiated by Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration under the leadership of agricultural economist Rexford G. Tugwell. Tugwell later wrote that FDR became "immediately interested" in the program and made it an important part of his New Deal "because it touched matters he cared about . . . great[ly]." According to Tugwell, "We both thought it must surely succeed and serve a highly useful purpose."[5] Roosevelt created the Resettlement Administration (RA) by Executive Order 7027. Bosque Farms was one of sixty-four similar resettlement communities created by the RA (and later administered by the FSA) between 1935 and 1945.[6]

The government's ambitious resettlement program made perfect sense, in theory and intent. As many as 650,000 farm families in the United States lived on approximately 100 million acres of submarginal land with little economic potential in the best of times, no less during the Great Depression. Most of this largely unproductive land lay in arid portions of the U.S. West, where late-arriving farmers had tried their luck after earlier pioneers had claimed the best, most fertile lands. Overusing poor soil with outdated farming practices made a bad economic situation far worse. Drought, dust storms, and grasshoppers only heightened the disaster for thousands of desperate western farmers by the early 1930s.[7]

Land-use planners hoped to assist farmers for environmental as well as economic reasons. The misuse of millions of acres of land had caused an environmental disaster that threatened to affect the country's natural resources for decades to come. Planners, reformers, and agricultural economists like Tugwell sought to acquire and control endangered land either to return it to its natural state or use it for more appropriate pursuits, such as grazing.[8]

Bosque Farms' original settlers had attempted to farm on submarginal land in Taos Junction, thirty miles west of Taos in northern New Mexico. Ironically, many of these farmers had recently migrated to Taos Junction from Roger Mills County in western Oklahoma where they had already experienced a series of economic and environmental disasters. Participants in the land rush of 1892, farmers in Roger Mills County had prospered in the early years of the twentieth century when the region enjoyed unusually abundant rainfall. The same region, however, experienced extreme drought in ten of the twenty years from 1914 to 1934. By the early 1930s, the county's most destitute farmers qualified for federal government relief. Over 1,500 county farmers agreed to significantly reduce their cotton acreage, and many agreed to sell their cattle to the government in an effort to affect farm prices. While most residents opted to remain in Roger Mills County, many of them migrated, resulting in a 24 percent net loss of the county's population between 1930 and 1940.[9]

Several families from western Oklahoma went to Taos Junction, only to be disappointed again. Joining other farmers in this section of northern New Mexico during the late 1920s and early 1930s, migrants from Oklahoma soon realized that much of the land they had purchased or leased was so poor that families were often forced to cut firewood or apply for relief in order to survive. In 1935 U.S. government representatives urged Taos Junction farmers to sell or abandon their unproductive farms and relocate to a new RA project elsewhere in New Mexico. Enough families in Taos Junction showed interest in the government's resettlement offer that they formed a small committee to inspect possible relocation sites in the state. After trips to various locations, the committee unanimously chose Bosque Farms as the best alternative.[10]

Why members of the farmers' committee chose Bosque Farms as their preferred resettlement site is difficult to fathom. Perhaps the site's proximity to Albuquerque and its potential market for whatever cash crop the farmers would eventually grow influenced their decision. Perhaps committee members were interested in irrigation farming along the Rio Grande after years of dry-land farming with unpredictable, often disappointing results. Or perhaps, with the encouragement of overly optimistic government agents, farmers were convinced that any change was better than what they had experienced at Taos Junction. In the words of historian Walter Prescott Webb, the American West can be seen as a "perpetual mirage," forever drawing settlers from one horizon to the next, especially if the last horizon had failed to meet their sometimes exaggerated expectations.[11] According

to the *Albuquerque Journal*, the resettlers truly believed that "Within a years' [*sic*] time the Bosque Farms [project] will be a [quiet, industrious] community of little farms, each with its neat, comfortable house and garden."[12]

Ironically, the area that became Bosque Farms had never been conducive to agriculture. Covering the terrain were large cottonwood trees that would have to be cleared, sandy hills that needed to be leveled, and swampy land that would have to be drained before agricultural activities would be possible, no less profitable. Supposedly, the trees surrounding Bosque Farms were so densely packed that a truck could not drive between them. If it did manage to maneuver around such obstacles, the vehicle probably got stuck in the area's prevalent sand or mud. To make matters worse, even the most cursory analysis would have revealed a high alkaline content in much of the soil meant for farming.[13]

The government's selection of Bosque Farms must also be questioned for all the same reasons. The RA had reportedly scrutinized each resettlement site to find the best options and avoid costly mistakes. RA officials had found such a high alkaline content in the soil at a proposed site along the Green River in Utah that they had wisely scrapped the entire project before it began.[14] Why had the RA not drawn a similar conclusion at Bosque Farms?

There are three probable answers to this question. First, good, relatively inexpensive land in the Rio Grande Valley was scarce by the mid-1930s, limiting options for RA officials. Second, the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District (MRGCD), founded in 1923, had just completed its storage dam at El Vado and diversion dams at four locations, including Isleta Pueblo, making irrigation farming more feasible and the valley less prone to disastrous flooding that had plagued its residents for centuries. Finally, political expediency, rather than objective criteria, may have caused the government to favor Bosque Farms as the site of New Mexico's main resettlement project. Although not always true, charges of political influence in New Deal projects prevailed in New Mexico as a whole and Valencia County in particular.[15]

Bosque Farms had been part of a Spanish land grant dating from 1716. Known as Bosque del Pinos, or simply Los Pinos, the grant had been sold several times to various owners, including Francisco X. Chavez, who bought it in 1819, and Eduardo Otero, a member of the powerful Luna-Otero family, who purchased it in 1906. Although he had attempted to raise Berkshire horses, had built a hay barn, and had employed as many as thirty workers, Otero, with all his wealth and influence, could not turn a profit. Otero sold some of his land to individual farmers, but repossessed much of his property

when most of the buyers defaulted on their scheduled payments, especially during the first, and worst, years of the Great Depression. When Otero died in April 1932, his 2,425 acres were sold to the New Mexico Rural Rehabilitation Corporation, which in turn sold the large tract to the recently created RA for $72,720 in 1935 (approximately $1 million today).[16]

A smaller group of eleven families from Mills, New Mexico, soon joined those from Taos Junction in Bosque Farms. Located in Harding County on New Mexico's eastern plains, Mills was largely populated by small farmers who had purchased their 160- to 200-acre farms from the New York–based Wilson Land Corporation in the early 1920s. Unfortunately, like many land sale companies in the West, the Wilson Land Corporation had employed hyperbole to advertise its deficient product. A company brochure promised farmers an average rainfall of twenty-three inches per year in a "delightful climate" where "crop damage from hot winds is unknown." According to the Wilson Land Corporation, Harding County's "exceptionally choice farm land" had been "producing excellent crops since 1915," as drought was "a calamity unknown in this section." Calling Harding County the "heart of the grain belt," the company enticed interested buyers with "easy terms" and "small cash payments."[17]

Of course the Wilson Land Corporation's sales pitch was too good to be true. Rainfall in Harding County averages fourteen inches per year, and, while years of good rain have occurred, most years are dry. Although good wheat crops existed during the best years of the early twentieth century, the company had depleted much of the soil's nutrients with its aggressive farming techniques during World War I, when the price of wheat had skyrocketed in response to wartime demands. As one historian aptly puts it, "The aftermath of the bonanza [caused by World War I] destroyed farming [land in much of Harding County] as efficiently as trench warfare had wrecked the wheat fields of France [in combat conditions]."[18] Unable to farm their submarginal plots, most families could not pay their mortgages, let alone cover the debts they had accumulated in the Wilson Land Corporation's local mercantile store, grocery store, grain elevator, and mill. As one measure of their poverty, 25 percent of all Harding County landowners owed delinquent taxes by the mid-1930s.[19]

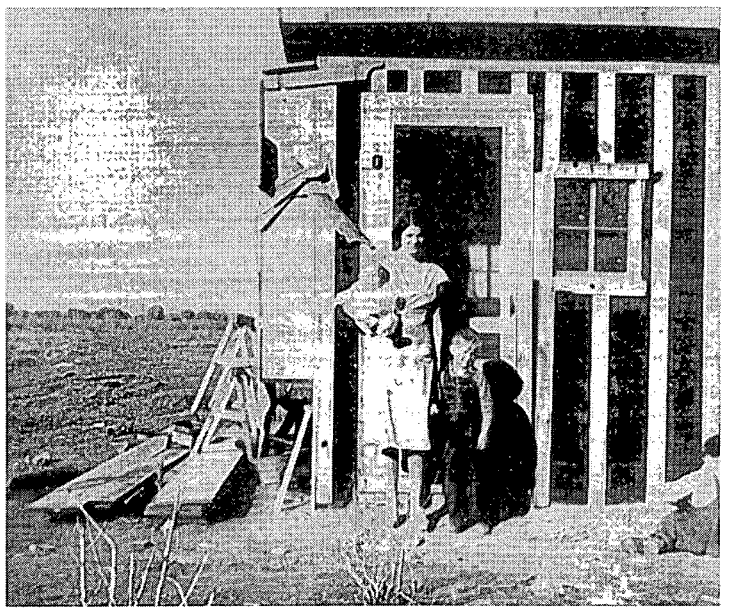
Conditions grew far worse when northeastern New Mexico fell victim to the drought and terrible windstorms of the Dust Bowl era (1933–1939). Frightful stories of the Dust Bowl abound. Dust storms, known as Black Blizzards, blew fine dust over every exposed surface, eventually burying thousands of

acres of land as well as whatever vehicles, farming equipment, and fences had been left in the open. Layers of dust blanketed home interiors. Food had to be covered with towels. Dust in the air made it difficult to breathe, particularly for children and the elderly. Although many wore masks to cover their mouths and noses, thousands caught dust pneumonia, commonly known as the "brown plague." Nine men, women, and children from Harding County died in a five-day period in 1935. Visibility was so poor that drivers often got lost during the day; few dared to travel at night. When Lange arrived to photograph conditions in Harding County in 1935, she was caught in a particularly powerful blizzard. A year later, Rothstein visited another area impacted by the Dust Bowl and recalled, "I could hardly breathe because the dust was everywhere." Rothstein had great difficulty photographing what he witnessed because blowing dust made "my hands and face sting."[20]

While some farmers vowed to "tough it through," most could not afford to stay; an estimated 250,000 men, women, and children fled the Dust Bowl region during the 1930s. Those who chose to leave were vulnerable to federal government agents who used many of the same exaggerated promises that the Wilson Land Corporation had used to entice small farmers to Harding County during the 1920s. Government brochures depicted planned resettlement communities as veritable Gardens of Eden with good soil, fine housing, and abundant sources of water. While many refused to be duped again, eleven families saw no viable option and agreed to migrate from Mills to Bosque Farms in 1935. The federal government bought most of the submarginal lands those eleven families and others left behind. By 1941 Mills, New Mexico, was little more than a ghost town.[21]

Who were these men and women who had agreed to join a resettlement project approximately two hundred miles from their homes in Taos and Harding counties? As reflected in a sample group of seventeen individuals, the farmers' ages averaged thirty-nine in 1935. Fifty-six percent were born in either Oklahoma or Texas. Eighty-eight percent were married, with an average of 2.4 children per family, according to the U.S. Census of 1930. The percentage of married men and the number of children per family undoubtedly increased five years later. Several families knew each other as friends or relatives before migrating to Bosque Farms. Most of them had engaged in "hit or miss" tenant farming on poor land during much of their adult lives. Each family had moved at least once between 1930 and 1935, before migrating to Bosque Farms. Many of them had been so mobile that they had not been located, no less identified or counted, by U.S. census takers in 1930.[22]

Having decided to migrate to Bosque Farms, resettlers began to move their few possessions south or west to their new homes in the Rio Grande Valley. Everett W. Archer of Taos Junction arrived first on 1 March 1935. Often using unreliable means of transportation, many resettlers resembled the "Okies," or displaced farmers of the Dust Bowl region, who traveled on U.S. Route 66 to California in scenes like those depicted by writer John Steinbeck in his classic novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). Lacking any other means of transportation, 21-year-old George R. Rogers of Taos Junction drove his string of mules 130 miles in four days by foot. With no money to shoe his livestock, Rogers got as far as Albuquerque before his animals "crippled up." Other families made equally unusual trips to their new homes. Ray H. Mitchell, from Harding County, transported a hundred chickens in cages atop an old school bus he owned. The chickens continued to roost, with many of their eggs dropping from the top of the bus. "With the eggs rolling off on the pavement as we went," said Mitchell, "you could track me by those eggs."[23]



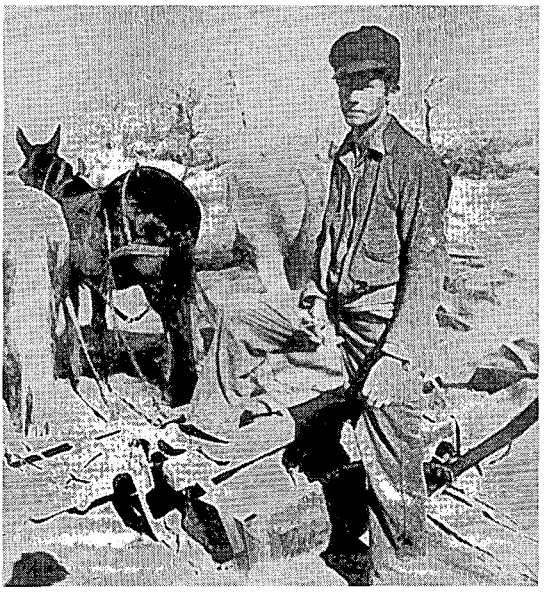
ILL. 1. TAOS JUNCTION MOTHER AND CHILDREN IN TEMPORARY HOUSING, BOSQUE FARMS, NEW MEXICO, 1935
(Photograph by Dorothea Lange, courtesy Farm Security Administration–Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USF34-002770-E)

With no housing awaiting them in Bosque Farms, newly arrived resettlers faced months of primitive habitation in makeshift quarters. Some families lived in tents. About a dozen families lived in Otero's old hay barn, with blankets draped over ropes to afford a small degree of privacy. Most of the resettlers eventually lived in small wooden structures, later used as farm-utility buildings. Archer, his wife, and four children (one of whom was epileptic) lived in a sixteen-by-thirty-two-foot shack "filled with holes and cracks." Women often washed their families' clothes in the nearby Rio Grande. All the families shared four outhouses until additional "sanitary units" could be built. Distressed by these adverse living conditions, Valencia County political leader Joe Tondre wrote to New Mexico governor Clyde Tingley as winter approached in 1935 that the resettlers' troubles "are REAL, and I dont [*sic*] mean maybe." Some resettlers expressed their concerns to Tugwell when he inspected Bosque Farms during a brief trip to New Mexico in mid-1935. Three months later, a delegation of five resettlers requested a private meeting with Governor Tingley to describe their plight and seek his assistance. Little, however, changed. In the words of one settler, "[W]e suffered misery and untole [*sic*] privations."[24]

Arriving too late in the season to clear much land and plant a crop in 1935, resettlement farmers grew a vegetable garden on a small plot of land on the project's north side. The families had planned to work the land and share its bounty, but the little amount of vegetables produced was unequally distributed, and those constituents who met with Governor Tingley in October 1935 judged it a failure. Some families resorted to picking wild asparagus that grew along county roads. The federal government shipped 120 head of cattle by train to nearby Los Lunas, New Mexico. Resettlers Ray Mitchell and Eloy Burns herded the cows down Main Street in Los Lunas and then to Bosque Farms, where the animals were shot, butchered, and offered to resettlement families for ten cents a pound. Many resettlers were too poor to afford the luxury of eating meat even at this low price.[25]

Meanwhile, work began on cutting down trees, leveling the land, draining its swampy terrain, and digging miles of irrigation ditches. Although the MRGCD helped drain the swamps, enough water remained that health officials feared an outbreak of malaria in 1937.[26] Earning small daily wages, resettlers and hundreds of local workers arduously cut trees and leveled the land. So many cottonwood trees were cut down that simply disposing of the wood became a problem. Resettlement families used much of the wood for fuel, while residents from up and down the valley hauled away most of what remained.[27]

Leveling the hilly terrain posed much larger problems for project engineers. They used horses to extract tree stumps and to pull leveling apparatuses, known as fresnos and slips, but it soon became apparent that not enough horses were available to do the work. To help solve the problem, over a hundred wild horses were rounded up from the Organ Mountains in southern New Mexico and transported to Bosque Farms, where Mitchell and other resettlers who had past experience with this rugged work broke the horses. This solution, however, was insufficient. Tractors and caterpillars were eventually brought in to help, but only after project managers dealt with frequent delays and miles of bureaucratic red tape. The land was not completely cleared until September 1936. The clearing project cost sixty dollars per acre, making it one of the most expensive resettlement projects not only in the Rocky Mountain West but among similar communities across the nation.[28]

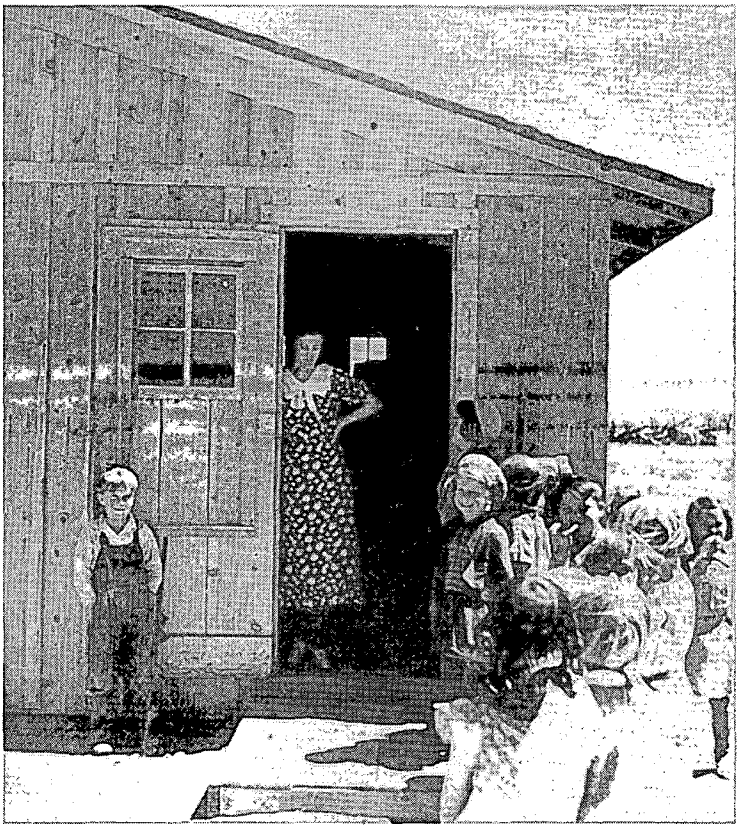


ILL. 2. RESETTLER WITH LAND LEVELING EQUIPMENT, BOSQUE FARMS, NEW MEXICO, 1935 *(Photograph by Dorothea Lange, courtesy Farm Security Administration–Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USF34-001642-E)*

Next, men dug miles of ditches in preparation for irrigation and drainage. A difficult process became more arduous with major changes in planning, often caused by poor coordination between and within RA departments. Farmers complained that frequently altered plans resulted in sometimes digging irrigation ditches in the middle of a tract of land only to cover them up and being told to dig new ditches somewhere else. Each change in plans caused frustrating delays in planting, no less harvesting crops. Farmers—and the taxpaying public—grew more and more impatient.[29]

As work progressed slowly, resettlers attempted to live as normally as possible. Delfino Gonzales Jr. and Minnie Lora Smith, the first boy and first

girl born in Bosque Farms, arrived on 18 April and 27 June 1935, respectively. A three-room wooden schoolhouse was hastily built in time for school to start in the fall of 1935. Older children were transported six miles to Los Lunas High School, traveling in the back of a pickup truck with an attached wooden covering to protect them from the elements. As often happens when male youths arrive in new social settings, so many fights broke out between local teenagers and those from Bosque Farms that the high school's principal had to separate the groups, even at lunch. High school students from Los Lunas and Bosque Farms later admitted that relations between the two groups eventually improved.[30]



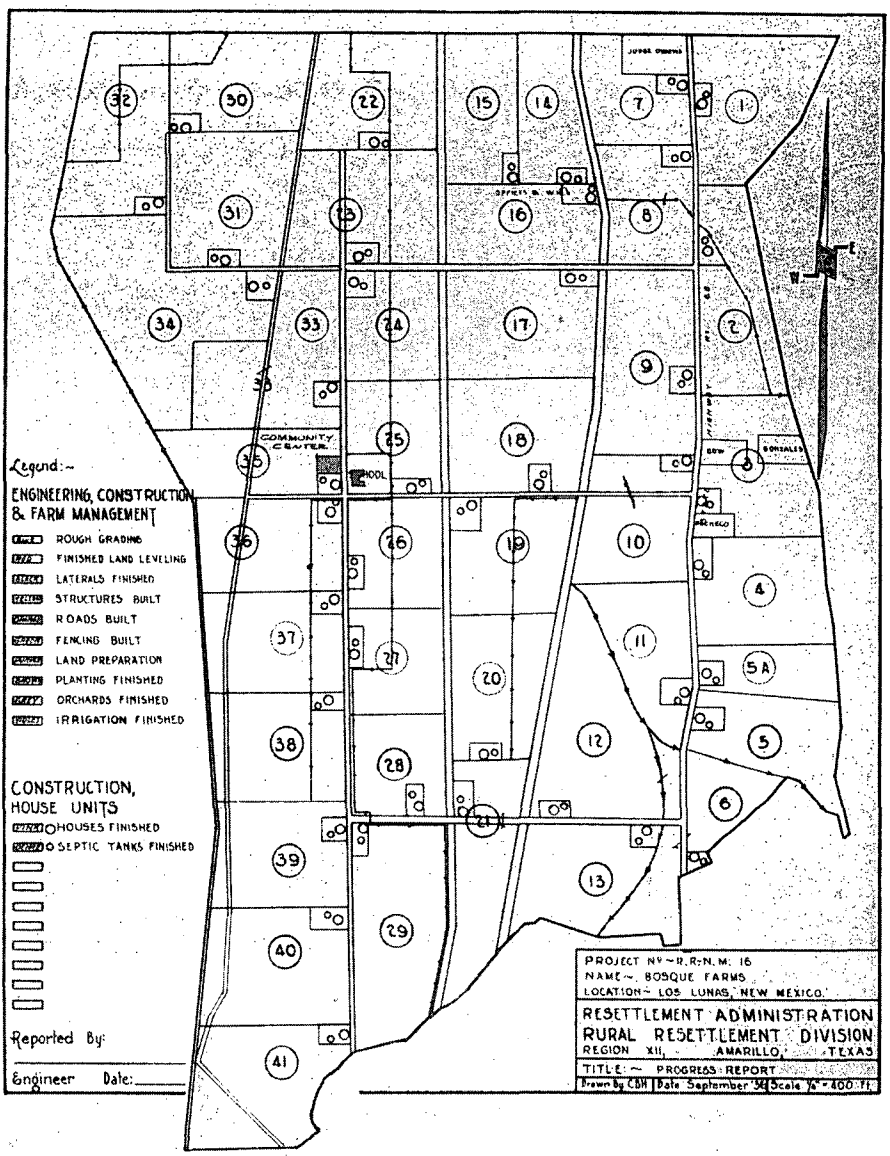
ILL. 3. TEMPORARY SCHOOLHOUSE, BOSQUE FARMS, NEW MEXICO, 1936
(Photograph by Arthur Rothstein, courtesy Farm Security Administration–Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USF34-002974-E)

Tensions, however, continued to mount in Bosque Farms, culminating in the resettlement project's greatest crisis, which occurred in August 1936. On 1 May 1935, shortly after resettlers from Taos Junction and Mills first arrived, project manager John Conroy had held a drawing to determine which families would receive which plots of land to rent and eventually purchase. Using a hat to hold slips of paper with family names, the men from Taos Junction drew first, perhaps because it had been their committee that first chose the Bosque Farms site. The families from Mills drew next. By the end of the drawing, all families had been allotted plots of land ranging in size from thirty to eighty-seven acres, with the average farm equaling fifty-three acres.[31]

Most families seemed satisfied with the results of the drawing. Then, in August 1936, seventeen resettlers were called into Conroy's office and told that a new government survey had revealed that enough land did not exist for everyone. Only forty-two families could remain. The seventeen that had been summoned would have to leave, albeit with the understanding that the government would attempt to assist them if and when more land was available at other resettlement projects in New Mexico. With plans for only two other small projects in the state, the odds of re-resettlement were slim.[32]

The RA could not have anticipated the firestorm of protest that followed. Within days of the notifications, resettlers from both Taos Junction and Mills launched a well-organized, unified political campaign, insisting there was ample room for all families to remain on the site and prosper. Individuals and groups corresponded with key political leaders in New Mexico, including U.S. senator Dennis Chavez and U.S. representative John J. Dempsey.[33] Many addressed their concerns to RA officials, especially Tugwell and Joseph L. Dailey, a former New Mexico state district judge who had been called to Washington, D.C., to help administer the RA in 1935.[34] Resettlers organized a petition drive, gathering 44 signatures and representing 56 percent of the families that had moved from Mills and 81 percent of the families that had come from Taos Junction.[35] Delegates met with RA officials and Governor Tingley.[36] Some resettlers eventually retained an Albuquerque lawyer who went so far as to write to President Roosevelt on his clients' behalf.[37] In each instance, the resettlers asserted their "honest desire that each and every client who now resides on the Bosque Farms Project be given the privilege of resettlement on this project."[38]

Why did the farmers of Bosque Farms remain rational, nonviolent, and united in their protest against the expulsion of seventeen families, many of whom had been strangers until fate had brought all fifty-nine families to-



MAP 1. RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION MAP OF BOSQUE FARMS, NEW MEXICO

"Highway 66" (U.S. Route 66) on the map ran through the east side of Bosque Farms until 1937. Today it is State Road 47.

(Map courtesy National Archives and Records Administration, box 429, State Projects File, Record Group 96, National Archives, College Park, Maryland)

gether in a federal resettlement project?[39] Perhaps resettlers from Taos Junction and Mills had quickly bonded, given the analogous circumstances that had brought them to Bosque Farms and the similar problems they had faced since their arrival. In addition, those families not threatened with expulsion undoubtedly worried that the experiences of the ill-fated seventeen families might well happen to them if nothing was done to stop the expulsion proceedings. Finally, as was often repeated at meetings and in their correspondence, the farmers sincerely hoped the Bosque Farms project would succeed "in a big way" for the benefit of each family and the project as a whole. Despite everything that had happened since the spring of 1935, most resettlers were still committed to their new community and the dreams that had drawn them to this place from the start.[40]

Despite their determined efforts, protesters lost the struggle to save most of the families expelled from Bosque Farms. Without access to confidential government correspondence, resettlers could not have known the real reasons why seventeen of their neighbors had been asked to leave when officials claimed that enough land did not exist for everyone. Upset already, the resettlers would have been outraged (perhaps to the point of violence) if they had known the RA's true thinking, as revealed in a government report dated 7 September 1936.

Summarizing each family's status, the report disclosed that seven resettlers in Bosque Farms had been asked to leave for legitimate, if not always compassionate, reasons. Four farmers, aged sixty to seventy-one, had agreed with project leaders that they were too old to farm large tracts of land, preferring to settle on smaller plots elsewhere. Three other resettlers allegedly had "no valid claim for resettlement" as they had not gone through the qualifying process and had simply tagged along with other resettlers, mostly relatives, when the latter had migrated to Bosque Farms in 1935. The government maintained a majority of the affected farmers lagged far behind in repaying their debt. Five of the seventeen were singled out for "bad attitudes" regarding their financial responsibilities.[41]

Explanations for the remaining farmers' expulsion were far more subjective and prejudicial. RA officials accused each farmer of having one or more fatal character flaws. They claimed one thirty-two-year-old man was a "weak character," an "undesirable citizen," and a philanderer, all based on "evidence that he has had immoral relations with one of the settler's wives." Another resettler had a large debt, a "poor reputation for honesty," and a family prone to illness. A third individual had five children, including a

little girl with polio, but was known to "spread dissention and dissatisfaction" in the community. He reportedly belonged to a faction that believed "the government owes them a living and the more trouble they cause, the more the government will help them to secure it." The report identified a fourth resettler as "the most undesirable" of all the farmers in Bosque Farms, despite his claims that he had a college education, had taught public school for ten years, and had served as an "amateur preacher." Government bureaucrats classified this individual as an "agitator with none too many scruples" who talked of organizing his "oppressed" neighbors and defending their rights as American citizens. In his opinion, conditions at Bosque Farms were worse than in "Red Russia."[42]

RA officials accused the remaining exiled farmers of similar troublemaking activities. None were confronted with these charges, no less given a chance to defend themselves or their reputations. All were told to simply pack up and leave, based on the excuse that there was not enough land to farm. Whether the miscalculation of land use was real or contrived, the RA had exploited the moment to carry out a purge of "undesirables" in Bosque Farms. The seventeen families could not leave soon enough for acting community manager G. L. Seligman. In early 1937, Seligman complained that the "excess clients" had "not moved fast enough" and were now "in the way" because their temporary houses were "located in the middle of the fields [about] to be leveled."[43]

Despite their inability to save their ousted neighbors, the remaining resettlers in Bosque Farms continued to employ nonviolent, rational methods to address problems as they arose. While some observers have claimed that resettlers were often too "uneducated," "contentious," and "intractable" to be effective citizens, the residents of Bosque Farms proved by their actions and words that these accusations were biased and grossly unfair.[44] Farmers used admirable skills when dealing with three issues in particular: arbitrary management, intrusive decision making, and adjusting to new irrigation farming techniques.

First, many resettlers expressed their dissatisfaction with project supervisors. Farmers blamed management for the slow pace of work in both the preparation of land for farming and the construction of permanent housing. Twenty-six petitioners asserted that while "we are all very proud of the Bosque [Farms] Project [we are kept] in doubt all the time" regarding current activities and future plans.[45] The government's failure to explain policy shifts and other crucial information undoubtedly increased feelings of inse-

curity and alienation among resettlers who were seldom encouraged to ask questions, no less voice their opinions. One letter writer claimed that many resettlers "are afraid to express their sentiments . . . as those who have criticized the work and inefficiency of the Farm Management have been made to suffer in various ways while the yes men are a privileged class."[46] Several men claimed that they had been reticent in their remarks when Tugwell visited the site in 1935 because they had feared retribution by management.[47]

Resettlers criticized some managers for their personal arrogance when dealing with individual farmers. Former project manager Conroy, now Bosque Farms community manager, seemed to have little time for resettlers who came to his office, appearing curt and impatient with those who finally saw him. Residents said Conroy made them feel like "a bunch of paupers [with] no head [*sic*] of their own." They even accused later community manager John R. Curry of trying to dictate morals when he banned all dances at the recently opened community center in early 1938. Curry claimed that the dances had led to drinking and fighting among those who attended the events from Bosque Farms and neighboring villages. Curry supposedly went so far as to have beer cans and broken glass scattered on the community center's floor to "prove" how far conditions had deteriorated.[48]

Disgruntled resettlers confronted Curry on 11 February 1938, telling him that "if they had to ask the community manager or anyone else about the use of the building that they were under a 'Stalin' government and were no better than serfs."[49] Reporting this confrontation to his regional director in Amarillo, Texas, Curry believed that "this is going to be a finish battle . . . on the same old issue which is: whether the clients will govern the Project or whether it will be governed by the Farm Security Administration."[50] Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed and a crisis was averted. The resettlers' allusion to Stalinist dictatorial rule, however, was telling. Having restricted their protests to legal, rational means, resettlers simply hoped to exercise their democratic rights as American citizens, especially within a New Deal government project.[51]

Well aware of managerial problems at Bosque Farms, government officials at the regional and national levels spent considerable time and energy visiting the site, holding meetings, and writing interoffice memos to consider what to do. While some of the resettlers' complaints about managers were dismissed as simple scapegoating, others were taken more seriously and investigated. As a result, some managers were supported, but others were dismissed or transferred. Conroy was "relieved" of duty as were three

lower level supervisors whom bureaucrats found to be incapable, inefficient, frequently intoxicated on the job, or "overly friendly with the wife of one of the clients." Resettlers appreciated most of these changes but objected when some managers were retained while others, whom they admired as "square shooters," were dismissed.[52]

The resettlers' second main concern was directly related to their first. Most resettlers had sold their submarginal land to the RA in 1935, agreeing to leave their money in the government's hands in anticipation of the day when they would pay off their accumulated debts and be able to purchase their new land and homes in Bosque Farms. Until that day, families were required to submit annual budgets, a sound financial practice meant to increase the odds of their future economic success. A review board, which often insisted on revisions, had to approve each farmer's budget. In a system known as "supervised credit," the community manager had to approve all purchases based on a family's budget. Families were required to keep track of their spending in exacting record books throughout the year.[53]

As independent farmers, the resettlers in Bosque Farms were not accustomed to anyone, particularly the federal government, dictating their purchases, invading their privacy, and controlling a major portion of their lives. The procedure became particularly irksome and humiliating when resettlers had to deal with condescending project managers who reportedly favored some families over others. In one case, a farmer requested money from his account to purchase a new washing machine. He reported that his appeal was "repeatedly refused," while other requests for washing machines, made by families with younger wives and fewer children, were approved. Resettlers encountered similar problems in buying essential items such as cook stoves and heating stoves.[54]

Resettlers were also disturbed because they were required to purchase certain items at higher prices than they were able to find in Valencia County, owing to the government's negotiated contracts for the same items at a higher cost. Hay, for example, sold at $7.50 a ton locally, but resettlers were required to pay twice as much because of a government contract with suppliers. Often unable to plant a crop until 1937, many farmers slipped further and further into debt. "We are all in worse condition now then [*sic*] we were before we came to Bosque Farms," wrote a frustrated Albert B. Smith.[55]

Government control of individual decision making went far beyond the financial realm. It seemed that government planners in far off regional or national offices, usually without consultation with the very people who were

expected to abide by these decisions, dictated nearly every aspect of the resettlers' lives and farming operations. Strangers who may or may not have ever visited the Middle Rio Grande Valley mandated everything, from the kinds of crops and fruit trees that could be planted to the exact location of each row of crops and trees. Plans for a typical farm in Bosque Farms called for a 100 x 125 foot orchard with one pear, one quince, two cherry, three peach, three plum, and ten apple trees. A 95 x 100 foot garden was placed by the orchard, with crop fields and pasture land beyond.[56] Once made, plans were difficult to alter, no matter how obvious the mistake or problem. Government architects in California went so far as to omit windows from the west side of each Bosque Farms house in an effort to reduce afternoon heat in the new homes. These designs proved "obviously wrong" to workers building west-facing homes since each of the dozen affected houses would be without any view of the front or the street. It took a representative from the RA's regional office to visit Bosque Farms, inspect the situation, and finally order appropriate design changes.[57] Resettlers objected to such rigid planning, as did contemporary commentators close to the scene. Calling Bosque Farms a "comedy of errors," one Albuquerque newspaper editorialized that the project was planned so that "every broom . . . was to stand in the same corner [and] each field was to be planted in [exact rows]. . . . And, boy, what a mess they have made of it. You can't regiment a bunch of farmers [with] goose step [methods such as these]."[58]

As with financial planning, agricultural assistance had its advantages, especially in the hands of well-meaning, expert planners. But, as with financial planning, this level of interference was upsetting to any independent-minded American, particularly farmers who by heritage and practice believed that they surely knew more about their work and personal affairs than any government bureaucrat sitting behind a desk in Washington, D.C. With little opportunity to exercise their own judgment, resettlers often felt that project managers regarded them as little more than "dumb driven cattle and thoroughly incapable [farmers]."[59]

Dry-land farmers also faced frustrations as they attempted to adjust to irrigation farming for the first time in their lives. Such a transition required new work habits alien to men and women set in their ways by family tradition and years of experience. Instead of anxiously waiting for rain to water their crops, resettlers now found themselves endlessly dealing with irrigation techniques to water their crops at all hours of the day and night. As with all major changes in life, the shift to labor-intensive irrigation farming caused

considerable stress and fatigue. Mitchell described the exhausting task of irrigating sixty-one acres by himself: "[One night] I had one [head of] water that I knew was running a little slower. So I went down to the end out in the alfalfa and took off my shoes and went to sleep. . . . When that cold water hit [my feet], I came awake right quick and went back and changed my water to a different border. And when I got through the next morning at sunup, I could hardly put one foot in front of the other."[60] Some farmers never made a successful transition, especially when the RA experienced delays and extra expenses in irrigation preparation and when project managers, such as Curry, were not always experienced in irrigation farming themselves. The local soil's high alkaline content meant low crop yields and poor profits even for those who adjusted well. Understandably, many resettlers felt a sense of betrayal, given the glowing government promises that had first lured them from Taos Junction and Mills to Bosque Farms.[61]

All these problems plus a lack of satisfactory response from contacted political leaders led to frustration for some farmers and decisive action by others. Dozens left of their own volition, following a tradition of mobility among transient farmers. Most of the seventeen ousted families that had not yet left finally departed by 1939. On a cold, overcast day in April 1939, everything the exiled families left behind was put up for auction. An estimated three-hundred residents throughout the valley bid on animals, from horses to a "bellowing bull," and farm equipment, from metal plows to mowing machines. Purportedly, bidding was slow, reflecting the somber mood of most in attendance. A vocal farmer whose belongings were about to be auctioned told a newspaper reporter, "They change plans and management so often and switch around so much, a fellow just can't figure out what to do. . . . I kicked about . . . things I thought a bunch of farmers should kick about. . . . But there stands my old equipment [on auction]. Let 'em go."[62]

Despite this dismal scene, conditions gradually began to change for resettlers who coped and persevered. As social scientist Paul S. Taylor reported after visiting Bosque Farms, the "qualities of pioneers" were needed in resettlement projects, "for there are [bound to be] hardships and discouragements" of all kinds. Taylor found that "as on the old frontier," women at Bosque Farms often supplied "the courage when the hearts of men flag." As one optimistic woman told Taylor, "My husband was going to quit, but I talked to him and we are going to stay. On this project we'll be able to have more than we ever had before."[63]

All forty-two houses in Bosque Farms were finally completed by 1938, thanks

to the resettlers' hard labor and workers recruited from nearby communities in Valencia County. Hired by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) or contracted for specific tasks, over 450 men made thousands of adobes, cut and hauled hundreds of logs, and worked countless hours to complete the vast undertaking. George Sichler of Los Lunas used his truck to haul wood from the Manzano Mountains for vigas and fence posts.[64] Happy to have even a temporary job, John E. Aragon went so far as to drop out of high school to make money and gain work experience; young Aragon painted parts of every one of the forty-two resettlement homes.[65] Mostly Hispanic men whose families had lived in the valley for generations, WPA laborers worked side-by-side with their new neighbors in Bosque Farms, helping to create mutual respect that persisted long after the construction project had ended.[66]

Once completed, the Bosque Farms project was small compared to sixty-four similar resettlement projects in the Rocky Mountain West and the rest of the United States. While the average number of farms on resettlement projects equaled sixty-three in both the region and the nation, Bosque Farms had forty-two. Although forty-three resettlement projects in the United States had more farms than Bosque Farms, only twenty-one had less. In addition, while the average acreage per project in the Rocky Mountain West equaled 7,297 acres, Bosque Farms had but 2,421 acres. This smaller size and smaller number of farms may have created greater cohesiveness and less factionalism among farmers and their families in Bosque Farms.[67]

In another important development, FSA officials conceded that the RA's original agricultural plans for Bosque Farms had failed. It was apparent that the project's best chance for success would come with a transition to another form of agriculture: dairy farming. In 1939 the FSA financed the building of twenty dairy barns and the purchase of four or more cows per farm, plus a registered jersey bull for the community. Rather than dictate from above, the FSA now met with farmers to make plans at open meetings held early each year. Fertilizer was added to the soil and, after experimentation, officials determined that growing sweet clover could enrich the soil in preparation for later alfalfa crops used to feed cows and other livestock. Dairy farmers milked their cows morning and night, transporting milk north to Albuquerque's Creamland and Valley Gold dairies in ten-gallon galvanized cans twice a day, seven days a week. The work was hard but profitable, especially as Albuquerque's population grew from 35,449 in 1940 to 96,815 a decade later. By 1944, thirty-one of Bosque Farms' forty-two families operated dairy farms, with an average of sixteen cows per dairy.[68]

Social conditions improved as well, at least for those individuals with time and energy left to participate and enjoy them. Bosque Farms evolved into an increasingly strong, cohesive community, partly as a result of government-orchestrated activities, but mostly as a result of informal, natural bonding among neighbors. Families visited one another, borrowed goods, and exchanged work; children, like Delfino Gonzales Jr., played with other children, like Grant Mitchell, Delfino's closest friend. Adult education classes were offered in various useful subjects, including cabinet making, rug making, and curtain making. Claiming 100 percent membership among women living in Bosque Farms, a Women's Extension Club had been organized in 1936. Local residents formed a nondenominational Sunday school in 1939 and a Baptist church in November 1943. An active Boy Scout troop (115) was organized, as was a 4-H Club where children learned dairy-farming skills they could share with their parents, practice on their own, and apply in their own dairies once they reached adulthood. A boys basketball team played opponents from as far north as Albuquerque to as far south as Los Lunas, winning some games and losing others "by quite a large score," in the words of a forgiving fan. Regardless of its record, the team helped unify the Bosque Farms community as much as high school athletic teams helped unify schools and towns across the country.[69]

By 1936 an impressive new elementary school had replaced Bosque Farms' temporary, three-room structure; enrollment at the centrally located school grew to forty-five students in 1939. Led by principal Iverson H. Burgess, the school was soon recognized not only for its pedagogy, but also for its hot lunch program, said to be the first of its kind in New Mexico. The new school offered a stable educational setting, usually superior to the rural schools most resettlers' children had attended prior to their arrival in Bosque Farms. Under Burgess's energetic administration, the school produced a mimeographed monthly "newspaper," called the *Bosque Carry-All*, filled with news of school activities and upcoming local events. The names of older students from Bosque Farms soon appeared on the Los Lunas High School honor roll, and several local youths had graduated from the high school by the start of World War II.[70]

The community-building activity that proved to be most popular, meaningful, and enduring, however, began on Labor Day in 1939. Resettler Crystal Carpenter's idea of a community fair had received enthusiastic support when she had proposed it at a Women's Extension Club meeting earlier in the year. The first community fair was held at the project's elementary school

ILL. 4. MAKING ADOBE BRICKS FOR NEW ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND HOUSING, BOSQUE FARMS, NEW MEXICO, 1935 *(Photograph by Dorothea Lange, courtesy Farm Security Administration–Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USF34-001648-E)*

with promising results. Events, from toad racing and rolling-pin throwing to 4-H exhibits and rodeo competition, reflected the fair's homespun, western character, free from project management's often overbearing influence. The fair in 1939 enjoyed so much success, including $7.50 in profits, that it was held again the following year, and every year since without interruption.[71]

Bosque Farms had clearly reached a turning point by 1939. The project had suffered four years of usually well-intended, but often intrusive, counterproductive government control. Hampered by the added burden of poor farming conditions, most of the original settlers had left, often attracted by new opportunities in the improving pre–World War II economy.[72] A majority of Bosque Farms' original families were soon replaced by a second wave of settlers more firmly committed to irrigation farming and dairy operations. Some new settlers had moved to the area of their own volition, while others, such as William and Pearl Gilcrease, were recruited by project management as good potential dairy farmers.[73] In all cases, project managers expected potential farmers to meet a litany of new requirements. Each farmer had to file an application with information on the size of his family; his previous farming experience; his outstanding debts; organizations to which he belonged; finances in his last year of farming; and six references,

including one creditor and one landlord, if he had previously leased land to farm. Farmers even had to pass physical exams to prove that they were sufficiently fit to work in agriculture. Finally, prospective resettlers had to meet with the project manager to review expectations of them as farmers and as members of the community. The FSA had clearly defined what it considered an "ideal" resettler in an effort to avoid "undesirable" resettlers like the seventeen who had been ordered to leave Bosque Farms in 1936.[74]

The federal government still owned the site and nearly everything on it, but the FSA had wisely loosened its grip, trusting farmers to make most of their own decisions, especially in the profitable Albuquerque market just prior to and during World War II. Farmers formed a committee to coordinate a ditch-cleaning campaign, much like the well-coordinated *limpias*, or traditional acequia-cleaning events of the valley's Hispanic past. In addition, when the supply of irrigation water ran low in 1939, farmers displayed a "fine spirit of cooperation" in the fair distribution of available water.[75]

An *Albuquerque Tribune* reporter visited Bosque Farms and wrote a five-part series about what he observed at the site by May 1940. Recalling conditions in the project's first four years, the reporter wrote that "for a time the project withered on the vine," serving as an example of "New Deal lavishness and ineptitude." After years of trouble, however, the "sturdiest" of the "pioneers" had made "the most of [a] magnificent opportunity [to create] just about an ideal or model farming community," where families lived "by all accounts, happily." A more subdued farmer admitted, "Of course we [still] gripe. We wouldn't be farmers if we didn't. But things are going along all right."[76]

Change continued with the creation of an elected community council during World War II. The council consisted of five representatives, including four from their respective districts and one for the community at large. In a dramatic shift in decision making, the council, rather than a project manager, dealt with issues and resolved local disputes identified at monthly meetings.[77] As rural sociologist Charles P. Loomis observed at the time, "The more the local groups shoulder the responsibilities of administration, the less reason they have to find fault with the resettling agency."[78] The council existed until 1944, when the federal government finally ended its role in Bosque Farms (and eventually all resettlement projects) by selling public land and houses to private individuals. Given the option to buy, qualifying farmers paid an average price of $6,858 for their homes, which included, on average, sixty acres each.[79]

Prosperity continued well into the 1950s, or until many dairy farmers needed to expand their operations to meet the growing demand for dairy products produced with modern electrical equipment. In the words of one farmer, "you had to get big or get out."[80] While some farmers remained in Bosque Farms and expanded their operations by purchasing land from their neighbors, others sold their land at relatively high prices and moved to larger farms on less expensive land in southern Valencia County, northern Socorro County, and beyond. Out of twenty dairies that existed in the late 1950s, only three remained by the early 1970s. The last large dairy farm, owned and operated by Emil "Huck" Desmet, closed in 1999.[81]

Bosque Farms' fate was again tied to Albuquerque's growth in the 1960s, when many urban dwellers searched for new rural settings in which to live and raise their families. A total of 284 new homes were built in Bosque Farms in the 1960s, while 527 more houses were built in the 1970s, a record decade of growth for the village. Many Bosque Farms residents sold much of, if not all, their land to make way for new housing. Longtime residents Kirk Gilcrease and Arthur Gilcrease entered the construction business, building about a hundred new houses in their community by 1985. As one old-timer put it, farming families in Bosque Farms stopped growing crops and began "growing houses."[82]

Although old families often profited from this development, some bemoaned the loss of their rural surroundings. "People move out here from the city to avoid the city," said one resident, "but by coming here they bring more of the city with them."[83] Hundreds of local residents commuted to good-paying jobs in Albuquerque, especially at Sandia Labs and Kirtland Air Force Base.[84] Bosque Farms' population grew from 2,496 in 1974 to 3,400 in 1980. To deal with this rapid change, community residents voted to incorporate as a village, complete with a village council, a mayor, and a police department, in 1974.[85]

Despite all its modern changes, Bosque Farms has somehow maintained its strong cultural roots. All forty-two original houses are still standing, a testament to their excellent construction; three are now listed on the state's register of cultural properties. Many residents keep horses, and horse trails are well marked and well protected. The local police strictly enforce the village's low speed limits. While there are stores and businesses along State Highway 47, most are small family operations and no unsightly strip malls mar the landscape. Remodeled RA houses on Bosque Farms Boulevard have been used as professional offices, sales offices, and, most recently, a doughnut shop. As

proof of the residents' determination to protect their rural lifestyle against encroaching urban sprawl, recent arrivals and old-timers still hold community fairs, which are as popular and as western as ever. Vastly expanded and moved to larger grounds on the community's north side, the fair remains the number one social event of the year. In the words of recent fair leaders, "No matter how large the community might grow, we hope it never outgrows the . . . community togetherness . . . the fair strives to preserve."[86]

As with every small town, Bosque Farms still faces its share of problems, but these troubles dim in comparison to the pervasive problems that wracked the community in its early years as an RA project. Other RA projects suffered similar problems; the program achieved only about a tenth of its original goal of permanently resettling over 100,000 families.[87] In the words of Marion Clawson, a former agricultural economist for the Department of Agriculture, "The record on these projects was shockingly bad; far from being [models] which should be imitated, they were examples of what should be avoided."[88] Another observer offered a similar appraisal: "The catalogue of reasons for [the RA's] failure is virtually endless."[89] Like Prohibition in the 1920s, the resettlement projects of the 1930s should be regarded as "noble experiments," but tragically, like Prohibition, they should also be classified as government fiascoes. Even Tugwell concluded that his Resettlement Administration had largely failed. "It was a noble failure," wrote Tugwell in 1951, "but that nobility was small comfort to those who had hoped for its success."[90]

What held true for the resettlement program in general especially held true for Bosque Farms from 1935 to 1939. By nearly every measure, the Bosque Farms project ranks among the greatest failures in the Rocky Mountain region and the nation as a whole. The alkaline content of Bosque Farms' soil was so high that it should have caused officials to abandon the site before the project even began. The same can be said of land preparation. The government lost money in preparing the land at each of its resettlement sites, but the terrain in Bosque Farms was so hilly, swampy, and covered by cottonwood trees that it took many months, extensive labor, and a huge expense to clear the land before farming and construction could begin. With a deficit of $12,969 per farm (or approximately $190,000 today), the government lost more money per unit in Bosque Farms than at any other project in the Rocky Mountain West with only one exception. The average cost of development per resettlement farm was higher in New Mexico than in forty-four states in the nation. Disgruntled with management's often controver-

sial decisions and abrasive style, over 89 percent of resettlers expressed their opposition to the administration in Bosque Farms. While other projects in the region experienced evictions, few matched Bosque Farms' high number (seventeen) and proportion (29 percent). If the RA honestly miscalculated the viable number of farms at the project, it was a terrible blunder. If the RA used this ploy as a means to purge "undesirable" farmers from Bosque Farms, however, it was a colossal betrayal of the farmers' trust.[91]

Most tragically, the Bosque Farms project failed in its primary goal to relocate rural families to new homes and property that they could purchase and enjoy as permanent dwellings and productive farms. Instead, the project experienced such a high out-migration that only two of the original settlers of 1935 still lived in the community and qualified to buy their farms and homes by 1944. Elsewhere in the Rocky Mountain region, an average of almost 38 percent of resettlement families remained and bought their farms and homes.[92]

While most of Roosevelt's New Deal can be judged a remarkable success in New Mexico, the government's initial resettlement project in Bosque Farms cannot.[93] Only drastically altered FSA policies, hardworking farm families, effective community building, and a revived state economy saved Bosque Farms from a dismal destiny in the last years of the Great Depression and the first years of World War II in New Mexico.

Notes

1. Beverly W. Brannan and Gilles Mora, *FSA: The American Vision* (New York: Abrams, 2006); Stuart Cohen, *The Likes of Us: Photography and the Farm Security Administration*, ed. Peter Bacon Hales (Boston: David R. Rodine, 2008); and F. Jack Hurley, *Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972). Roy Stryker led the Farm Security Administration's (FSA) photographers from mid-1935 to late 1943. FSA photographs are housed in the Library of Congress, thanks largely to Stryker's heroic efforts to preserve these valuable images. They are accessible on the library's website, entitled "America from the Great Depression to World War II: Photographs from the FSA-OSI, 1935–1945," at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/fsowhome.html.
2. For FSA photographs in New Mexico, see Marta Weigle, ed., *New Mexicans in Cameo and Camera: New Deal Documentation of Twentieth-century Lives* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985); Nancy C. Wood, *Heartland New Mexico: Photographs from the Farm Security Administration, 1935–1943* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); and Joan Myers, *Pie Town Woman: The Hard*

Life and Good Times of a New Mexico Homesteader (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001).

3. Brian Q. Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream: New Deal Rural Resettlement in the Mountain West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996). Other works on resettlements, albeit with only brief references to Bosque Farms, New Mexico, include Charles P. Loomis, *Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities*, U.S. Farm Security Administration Social Research Report, no. 18 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1940); Paul K. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959); and Robert D. Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment: The Forgotten Legacy of the New Deal*, Social Problems and Social Issues series (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007).
4. For example, see Pat Salazar, "Bosque Farms a Product of Depression Victory," *Valencia (N.Mex.) News*, 1 May 1969; Berdie Tuttle, "Bosque Farms History Preceded the Spaniards," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 15 June 1981; Bart Ripp, "They Came to a Swamp and Made It a Home," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 6 October 1986; Kyra Kitlowski, "Bosque Farms was Refuge from Dust Bowl," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News*, 31 October 1998; and James W. Abarr, "Country Fair," *New Mexico Magazine*, September 1959, 30.
5. Rexford G. Tugwell, "The Resettlement Idea," *Agricultural History* 33 (fall 1959): 159. While economist Rexford G. Tugwell may have suggested the idea of resettlement to Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, he was hardly the first person to support and recommend such projects. See Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 9–10. Eleanor Roosevelt also favored these communities, albeit "on a scale that [her husband believed] we can't afford." Harold L. Ickes, 19 November 1934, in *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*, vol. 1, *The First Thousand Days, 1933–1936* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), 227–28. Tugwell resigned his post in December 1937 after months of criticism for alleged wasteful spending and mismanagement. For criticisms of Tugwell, see "Tugwell's Waste Goes On and On," *Belen (N.Mex.) News*, 11 June 1936; and *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 11 September 1936. Tugwell defended himself against these "brutal attacks." Tugwell, "The Resettlement Idea," 161–63.
6. Tugwell, "The Resettlement Idea," 159. The Resettlement Administration (RA) became part of the FSA in the U.S. Department of Agriculture in September 1937.
7. Tugwell, "The Resettlement Idea," 160.
8. Ibid.
9. The land rush on 19 April 1892 was Oklahoma's third, held three years after the territory's most famous land rush on 22 April 1889. In the twenty year period from 1914 to 1934, Roger Mills County suffered from drought in 1914, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1921, 1925, 1929, 1930, 1933, and 1934. Mary Jane Warde, *Washita* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society and the National Park Service for Washita Battlefield National Historic Site, 2003), 69–70. On the deteriorating economic conditions in Roger Mills County, see the *Cheyenne (Okla.) Star*, 20 July 1933, 25 January 1934, 12 April 1934, 26 July 1934, 13 December 1934.

10. Paul S. Taylor, "From the Ground Up," *Survey Graphic*, September 1936, 326; and James Craig, interview by author, Rio Communities, New Mexico, 1 April 1994. Rumors of a resettlement project in the Albuquerque area circulated as early as the spring of 1934. "Government Aids Back to Soil Movement," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Health City Sun*, 4 May 1934. Except for L. H. Hauter and J. R. Thomas, RA officials who visited farmers in Taos Junction were only identified by their last names: Wager-Smith and Moline. "Bosque Farms Project: A View of the Present Status of Client Affairs," 1 September 1936, folder 315, box 9, Governor Clyde Tingley Papers, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico [hereafter TP, NMSRCA]. Hauter served as the RA's regional director, based in Amarillo, Texas. Resettlers from Taos Junction included Everett W. Archer, B. W. Baxter, Clifford R. Baxter, E. H. Baxter, Samuel Baxter, F. W. Boldt, Antonio H. Brown, Clint Byrne, Loy Byrne, David M. Craig, Marvin S. Dunlap, A. B. Evans, George Evans, C. N. Howard, M. J. Howard, R. C. Howard, Cas B. Jackson, William M. Landall, A. E. McKenzie, Claude Justiss, C. E. Manning, Jasper E. Morris, W. E. Morris, Robert L. Mowles, Clyde Murray, William R. Noble, John D. Norris, John H. Norris, W. C. Norris, Charles L. Parks, George R. Rogers, Oscar F. Rogers, Clarence A. Schwab, Charles E. Shoop, Albert B. Smith, J. H. Stout, and John Tolman.
11. Walter Prescott Webb, "The American West: Perpetual Mirage," *Harper's Magazine*, May 1957, 25–31. Webb discusses the frustration of human attempts to settle what he called the West's eight "desert states" (New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana). Also see Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 29–31.
12. "Bosque Tract Settlers Set Up Community Work," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 19 May 1935.
13. Valencia County Historical Society, *Rio Abajo Heritage: A History of Valencia County* (Belen, N.Mex.: Valencia County Historical Society, 1981), 75.
14. C. B. Baldwin to John L. Dailey, 30 March 1938, box 429, State Projects File, Record Group 96, National Archives, College Park, Maryland [hereafter SPF, NA]; and Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 17. C. B. Baldwin was an FSA administrator. The author thanks Thomas L. Hedglen for his research in the National Archives.
15. For a brief history of floods in the Rio Grande Valley, see Dan Scurlock, *From the Rio to the Sierra: An Environmental History of the Middle Rio Grande Basin* (Fort Collins, Colo.: Rocky Mountain Research Station, U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1998), 32–39. Minutes for the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District's Board of Commissioners' meetings are housed in the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District (MRGCD) Headquarters, Albuquerque, New Mexico. For the RA's site selection process, see Brian Q. Cannon, "Keeping Their Instructions Straight: Implementing the Rural Resettlement Program in the West," *Agricultural History* 70 (winter 1996): 251–67.
16. C. B. Baldwin to A. E. Keller, 29 February 1936, box 429, SPF, NA. Local farmers who had purchased parts of Otero's land in the early 1930s and continued to live in Bosque Farms after 1935 included Vincent Amor, E. B. Anderson, Fred R. Barker,

Delfino Gonzales Sr., C. C. Pacheco, Maximiliano Saavedra, and Joe Sullins. *Valencia (N.Mex.) News*, 1 May 1969; Ralph R. Will, "Clients Living on Bosque [Farms] Land at Time of Government Purchase for Project Purposes," 7 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA; and Delfino Gonzales Jr., interview by author, Bosque Farms, New Mexico, 8 July 2008. The New Mexico Rural Rehabilitation Corporation was a locally directed corporation set up to spend Federal Emergency Relief Administration funds in New Mexico. Bosque Farms in northern Valencia County should not be confused with the community of Bosque in southern Valencia County, founded in the eighteenth century. Robert H. Julyan, *The Place Names of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 46–47. Confusion regarding the two communities dates back to at least 1942, when the New Mexico state guide, written by Works Progress Administration (WPA) authors, merged the two settlements' histories and descriptions as if they were one. Joseph Miller, *New Mexico: A Guide to the Colorful State* (New York: Hastings House, 1942), 250.

17. Wilson Land Corporation, *Northeastern New Mexico: The Last Great West; Harding County, New Mexico*, Sales Brochure (Arcade, N.Y.: n.d.). On false claims in western land sales, see Jan Blodgett, *Land of Bright Promise: Advertising the Texas Panhandle and South Plains, 1870–1917*, The M. K. Brown Range Life series, no. 17 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988).
18. Sharon Karpinski, "Tough Country: Portraits from New Mexico's High Plains" (master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 2007), 69. Dry-land farming requires fifteen to twenty inches of annual rainfall.
19. Wood, *Heartland New Mexico*, 36; and Karpinski, "Tough Country," 77.
20. *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 28 April 1935, 2 May 1935; and Arthur Rothstein, "The Picture that became a Campaign Issue," *Popular Photography*, September 1961, 42. For two of the best sources on conditions during the Dust Bowl, see Mathew Paul Bonnifield, *The Dust Bowl: Men, Dirt, and Depression* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979); and Timothy Egan, *The Worst Hard Time: The Untold Story of Those Who Survived the Great American Dust Bowl* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006).
21. "Bosque Farms Project: A View of the Present State of Client Affairs," 1 September 1936, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA; Aubrey Notman, "The Ray Mitchell Story," in *Rio Abajo Heritage*, Valencia County Historical Society, 177; and Karpinski, "Tough Country," 79–81. Those people who moved from Harding County to Bosque Farms included the families of Lee Ault, W. L. Ault, Leo Bauler, Bailey B. Cox, F. B. Grasier, Cecil Holmes, George R. Jackson, Ray H. Mitchell, O. W. "Hack" Mitchell, and Albert Woodward. The eleventh family who migrated to Bosque Farms from Harding County is unknown. These families fled Mills, New Mexico, just prior to the worst dust storm of them all, better known as "Black Sunday," on 14 April 1935. On that single day, three hundred thousand tons of soil blew away from the Dust Bowl region, totaling more than twice as much dirt as was excavated to build the Panama Canal in seven years of incredible labor. Egan, *The Worst Hard Time*, 8; and Mike Smith, "Dust Bowl Apocalypse," *New Mexico Magazine*, September 2008, 46–49.

22. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930), rolls 1924, 1394, 1400; *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 19 May 1935; and Loomis, *Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities*, 17.
23. Everett W. Archer to Joseph L. Dailey, 3 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA; John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Viking Press, 1939); George R. Rogers, Ray H. Mitchell, quoted in Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 34–35; and Wood, *Heartland New Mexico*, 48. Ironically, U.S. Route 66 went through Bosque Farms until 1937, when it was rerouted, meaning the resettlers of Bosque Farms watched many hapless Okie families trek west. The resettlers were doubtlessly glad they were not among the homeless (see Map 1).
24. *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 19 May 1935. See also Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 58; Wood, *Heartland New Mexico*, 48; Craig interview; José U. Otero, interview by author, Peralta, New Mexico, 31 July 2008; Joe Tondre to Clyde Tingley, 12 October 1935, folder 314, box 9, TP, NMSRCA; *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 10 June 1935; "Notes on Meeting of Clyde Tingley and Bosque Farms Delegation," 14 October 1935, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA; and Charles E. Shoop to [Joseph L. Dailey], n.d., box 429, SPF, NA. The delegation that visited New Mexico governor Clyde Tingley included resettlement participants Everett W. Archer, F. S. Brown, Marvin Barnett, Clarence A. Schwab, and M. B. Talmon. Tugwell returned for a brief second visit to Bosque Farms in October 1936. *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 29 October 1936.
25. Wood, *Heartland New Mexico*, 48; Notman, "Ray Mitchell Story," 177; and Craig interview. Mitchell, the last surviving resettler to live in Bosque Farms, died at his home on 20 March 1990. He had remained an active leader in the community for years. Sharon Tolbert (Mitchell's youngest daughter), interview by author, Peralta, New Mexico, 30 July 2008.
26. More than 27,700 trees were cut and removed at the project. For the malaria scare of 1937, see J. O. Walker to W. W. Alexander, 16 September 1937, L. H. Hauter to W. W. Alexander, 20 September 1937, and Dr. R. C. Williams to W. W. Alexander, 7 October 1937, box 429, SPF, NA. Dr. R. C. Williams served as the FSA's medical director, while W. W. Alexander served as its administrator. Despite the MRGCD's efforts, FSA officials also believed that Bosque Farms was in "eminent danger" of flooding in 1939. Lewis Long to W. W. Alexander, 11 February 1939, box 429, SPF, NA. On the beginnings of the MRGCD, see Pearce C. Rodey, "Conservancy Seen as Valley's Greatest Need," *New Mexico State Tribune*, 30 November 1929; "Celebration to Mark Starting of Work on Conservancy Project," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 18 February 1930; "Conservancy Work to Begin," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 18 February 1930; "Fifty Miles of Drainage Ditches Completed in Conservancy District," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 22 September 1930; J. D. Holmes, "Work on $10,000,000 Middle Rio Grande Irrigation Project Progressing Rapidly," *El Paso (Tex.) Herald*, 22 November 1930; "Middle Rio Grande Project Has Made Rich Valley Safe," *Denver (Colo.) Post*, 22 March 1931; and "First Unit of Conservancy Project Goes Into Service," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 3 April 1932. In a

typical year, the FSA paid the MRGCD $8,168.96 for water usage in Bosque Farms. "Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District Board of Commissioners Meeting Minutes," *Record Book*, no. 9 (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District Headquarters, 18 December 1939).

27. Salazar, "Bosque Farms a Product of Depression Victory"; "Bosque Farms Land Preparation Cost Estimate," 7 October 1936, box 429, SPF, NA; and Frank Schmitt to W. W. Alexander, 18 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA. Frank Schmitt served as the RA's Construction Division supervisor. Nine resettlers were hired as skilled laborers (mostly tractor operators), while two were hired as assistant foremen and the rest were hired as day laborers. F. P. Bartlett to L. H. Hauter, 11 May 1936, box 429, SPF, NA. Bartlett served as an assistant to the administrator in the FSA.
28. On the acquisition of land clearing equipment, see L. H. Hauter to W. W. Alexander, 23 March 1938, box 429, SPF, NA; "Bosque [Farms] Work Expected by New Trackers," *Belen (N.Mex.) News*, 19 March 1936; Salazar, "Bosque Farms a Product of Depression Victory"; and Wood, *Heartland New Mexico*, 47. For a comparison of land clearing costs among Rocky Mountain West resettlement projects, see Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 77–79.
29. Cannon, "Keeping Their Instructions Straight," 259.
30. Craig interview; James Williams, interview by author, Los Lunas, New Mexico, 25 June 2002; Kirk Gilcrease, interview by author, Rio Communities, New Mexico, 17 June 2008; Gonzales interview; Harriet Monk, "First Baby Born on Bosque Farms," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 5 July 1935; "Bosque [Farms] Work Expected by New Trackers"; and Salazar, "Bosque Farms a Product of Depression Victory."
31. "Bosque Farms Project: A View of the Present Status of Client Affairs," 1 September 1936, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA.
32. *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 5 July 1935; and "Bosque Farms Project: A View of the Present State of Client Affairs." The RA planned new settlements near Fort Sumner (known as New Mexico Farms, with twenty-two farms on 1,114 acres) and near Las Cruces (known as Doña Ana Farms, with five farms for Hispanic families on 207 acres). Neither project was deemed successful. Two other projects, known as New Mexico Scattered Farms (with 24 farms) and Silver City Farms (with four farms) were never developed. *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 20 March 1937; and Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 3–6.
33. A. B. Smith to Congressman John J. Dimpsey [*sic*], 27 September 1933, box 429, SPF, NA; and Milo Perkins to John J. Dempsey, 19 January 1938, box 429, SPF, NA. When Sen. Dennis Chavez requested information about conditions at Bosque Farms, the FSA responded. Dennis Chavez to the FSA Administration, 19 October 1937, box 429, SPF, NA; and W. W. Alexander to Sen. Dennis Chavez, 4 and 12 November 1937, box 429, SPF, NA.
34. Charles E. Shoop to Rexford Tugwell, 14 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA; and Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 120. Playing the political card, resettler Charles E. Shoop wrote that project manager John Conroy had told Shoop that "he [Conroy] never had the interest of the New Deal at heart and was openly going to fight the New Deal from Governor Tingley to [President] Roosevelt." Charles E.

Shoop to [Joseph L. Dailey], n.d., box 429, SPF, NA. Shoop was the most active of the seventeen ousted resettlers.

35. "Petition of Twenty-six Settlers to Joseph L. Dailey," 3 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA; and Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 104–5.
36. Regarding the meeting between Bosque Farms residents and Joseph L. Dailey in Albuquerque, see Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Murray to Joseph L. Dailey, 14 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA. Regarding the meeting between Bosque Farms residents and the governor in Albuquerque, see Clyde Tingley to L. H. Hauter, 10 September 1936, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA.
37. Robert H. LaFollette to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 20 November 1937, box 429, SPF, NA. For the Roosevelt Administration's response to Robert H. LaFollette, see Ralph R. Will to Robert H. LaFollette, 3 January 1938, box 429, SPF, NA. Ralph R. Will, based in Amarillo, Texas, served as assistant regional director of the RA. LaFollette's letter to the president resulted in the delayed removal of three resettlers and a new inspection of the project in 1938.
38. "Petition by Forty-four Resettlers to Rexford G. Tugwell," 15 September 1936, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA.
39. With resettlers coming and going, the use of precise numbers is difficult. Although an RA document in mid-1936 listed as many as sixty-four resettlers, the number fifty-nine represents the number of family units built (forty-two) plus the number of resettlers told to leave for lack of space (seventeen). "Analysis of Accounts of Bosque Farms Clients to June 30, 1936," box 429, SPF, NA.
40. While some observers, such as Charles P. Loomis, noted early disunity between the Taos Junction and Mills families, historian Brian Q. Cannon minimized their differences and stressed their solidarity. Loomis, *Social Relationships*, 16–19; and Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 102–5. Undoubtedly, resettlers also hoped to avoid the violent protests that had led to tragedy in Gallup, New Mexico, just as the first resettlement families had arrived in Bosque Farms in 1935. Eviction proceedings in Gallup had resulted in the shooting deaths of Sheriff Mack R. Carmichael and two others as the sheriff tried to lead three evicted men out the back exit of the McKinley County Courthouse on 4 April 1935. More than one hundred suspects were rounded up and jailed. Many of the accused and their defenders were labeled as Communists. Ten men went on trial for the sheriff's murder; three were convicted and given long prison terms. In the end, the evictions took place and little good was accomplished, despite a great loss in lives, freedom, and reputations. News of bloodshed and its disastrous results in Gallup reminded resettlers in Bosque Farms that pursuing a prudent, nonviolent course served the best interest of their families and their pressing local cause. Harry R. Rubenstein, "Political Regression in New Mexico: The Destruction of the National Miners Union in Gallup," in *Labor in New Mexico: Unions, Strikes, and Social History since 1881*, ed. Robert Kern (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 91–146. Other than their common concern with evictions or expulsions, similarities between the protestors in Gallup (mostly Hispanic coal miners confronting private companies) and the protestors in Bosque Farms (mostly Anglo farmers confronting a government agency) are limited.

41. Ralph R. Will, "Information Regarding Bosque Farms Clients Who Will Not be Recommended for Permanent Resettlement on the Project," 7 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA. Ironically, the average debt of the expelled families equaled $580, or $21 less than the average debt owed by all resettlers by mid-1936. Converted to current value, $580 equals $8,678, and $21 equals $314. "Analysis of Accounts of Bosque Farms Clients to June 30, 1936," box 429, SPF, NA.
42. Will, "Information Regarding Bosque Farms Clients Who Will Not be Recommended for Permanent Resettlement on the Project."
43. G. L. Seligman, "Narrative Report: Bosque Farms," 16 September–31 December 1937, box 429, SPF, NA. RA officials also asked a number of resettlers to leave other RA projects, overtly for nonpayment of debts. Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 140.
44. Cannon asserts that most RA resettlers employed rational, legal methods of protest in all twelve resettlement communities of the Rocky Mountain West, including Bosque Farms. Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 90–93, 97–113. Also see Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 156.
45. "Petition of Twenty-six Resettlers to Joseph L. Dailey," 3 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA.
46. D. M. Craig to Rexford Tugwell, 12 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA.
47. "Minutes of Meeting with Bosque Farms Representatives," 14 October 1935, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA. Resettlers at other projects also criticized their managers, viewing them as elitist and patronizing. Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 127–28. According to Cannon, "some administrators richly earned much of the enmity that they reaped." Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 153.
48. John R. Curry to L. H. Hauter, 12 February 1938, box 429, SPF, NA. For other complaints regarding management, see Charles E. Shoop to Joseph L. Dailey, 3 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA.
49. John R. Curry to L. H. Hauter. In another effort to dictate moral behavior, project managers cracked down on cock fighting in Bosque Farms. According to one resettler, "fighting cocks on a farm resettlement project seemed [akin to playing] dice at a church picnic." "Hundreds Gather to Buy Bosque [Farms] Tools," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 1 May 1939.
50. John R. Curry to L. H. Hauter.
51. Charles E. Shoop to [Joseph L. Dailey]; and "Petition by Forty-four Resettlers to Rexford G. Tugwell," 15 September 1936, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA.
52. For examples of RA communication regarding project management, see L. H. Hauter to W. W. Alexander, 31 March 1937, box 429, SPF, NA; B. B. Jackson to Sanford P. Wilson, 9 July 1936, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA; and Sanford P. Wilson to Frank Schmitt, 21 July 1936, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA. Resettlers were especially fond of Sanford P. Wilson, Bosque Farms' resident engineer during much of 1936, who had lived his entire life in the valley and "has taken an interest in us clients and give [*sic*] us an even break." Your Friends and Fellow Citizens to Joseph L. Dailey, 11 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA. Despite this show of sup-

port, Wilson was transferred from Bosque Farms because, according to RA regional director L. H. Hauter, Wilson had "no scruples against stirring up trouble for us among the clients on the project." L. H. Hauter to Rexford Tugwell, n.d., box 429, SPF, NA.

53. Charles E. Shoop to [Joseph L. Dailey]. The average resettler owed $601 ($8,992 today) as of mid-1936. "Analysis of Accounts of Bosque Farms Clients to June 30, 1936," box 429, SPF, NA.
54. Charles E. Shoop to [Joseph L. Dailey]; and "Minutes of Meeting with Bosque Farms Representatives," 14 October 1935, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA.
55. Charles E. Shoop to [Joseph L. Dailey], n.d., box 429, SPF, RG 96,–NA; and A[lbert]. B. Smith to John J. Dempsey, 5 and 25 October 1937, box 429, SPF, NA. Similar complaints were registered at other resettlement projects. Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 83–84, 123–25.
56. "House and Farm Plans for Plot #28," Bosque Farms, 26 November 1935, in possession of current homeowners. Originally occupied by the Cas Jackson family and later owned by George K. Shore, this house has been owned by Joseph F. Arvizu and Joan Arvizu since 1972. Joan Arvizu shared documents specifying these exacting plans in her interview of 7 July 2008. Joan Arvizu, interview by author, Bosque Farms, New Mexico, 7 July 2008. The Arvizus' home, an original Bosque Farms house, was described in Katherine Saltzstein, "This Old Bosque Farms House," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News*, 1 July 2000.
57. Cannon, "Keeping Their Instructions Straight," 263.
58. "Under the Hammer," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Health City Sun*, 17 February 1939.
59. Your Friends and Fellow Citizens to Joseph L. Dailey.
60. Ray H. Mitchell, quoted in Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 63. See also Craig interview; Gilcrease interview; Otis Howard, quoted in Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 139; and Brian Q. Cannon, "'Quite a Wrestling Match': The Adaptation of Dryland Farmers to Irrigation," *Agricultural History* 66 (spring 1992): 120–36.
61. L. H. Hauter to W. W. Alexander, 31 March 1937, box 429, SPF, NA; and Frank Schmitt to W. W. Alexander, 18 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA. The FSA unsuccessfully attempted to secure a New Mexico State College experimental farm at Bosque Farms. See L. H. Hauter to W. W. Alexander, 25 March, 30 March, 10 and 12 April 1937, box 429, SPF, NA; and L. H. Hauter to New Mexico State College president Ray Fife, 10 March 1937, box 429, SPF, NA.
62. "Hundreds Gather to Buy Bosque [Farms] Tools," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 1 May 1939. At least three of the seventeen families asked to leave in 1936 remained in Bosque Farms after 1939, with two finally leaving of their own volition in 1940 and one departing in 1941.
63. Quoted in Taylor, "From the Ground Up," 527. Taylor did not identify this woman by name, so learning whether her optimism was warranted and if her family in fact enjoyed success in Bosque Farms remains impossible.
64. George Sichler, interview by author, Los Lunas, New Mexico, 16 April 2004; and Walter Shoemaker, interview by author, Bosque Farms, New Mexico, 1 July 2008.

Walter Shoemaker's uncles, Milo and Ormand Shoemaker, also worked as contractors. Local men most likely secured contracts for their labor if they owned trucks or other needed equipment and had strong connections in the Democratic Party.

65. John E. Aragon, interview by author, Belen, New Mexico, 24 November 2000. After working at Bosque Farms, John E. Aragon returned to high school, finished college, taught, and served as the superintendent of schools in Belen, New Mexico. Most resettlement houses were built around a loop called Alameda Road, now known as the Bosque Farms Loop, and Esperanza Drive, a road dividing the loop. Fittingly, *esperanza* translates as "hope" in English (see Map 1).
66. Eighty-eight percent of all WPA workers at Bosque Farms were men from local Hispanic families. "Laborers Roster, Bosque Farms Project," 22 April 1936, folder 315, box 9, TP, NMSRCA. Seven floor plans were used in the Bosque Farms project. Some plans included two bedrooms, while others had three. Still, other plans included three bedrooms and a porch. James Cox, interview by author, Bosque Farms, New Mexico, 31 May 1993; and Arvizu interview.
67. Kathryn A. Flynn and Richard Polese, *The New Deal: A 75th Anniversary Celebration* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2008), 120–21; Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 3; Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 149, 152–53; and Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, 334–37. The Bosque Farms project is measured here in comparison to similar New Deal farming projects only. Conkin counts as many as ninety-nine New Deal resettlements of various kinds. "Appendix: Complete List of New Deal Communities," in Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, 332–37.
68. Karl Buster to Baird Snyder, 27 February 1939, box 429, SPF, NA. Karl Buster served as the FSA's district engineer, while Baird Snyder was its chief engineer. Also see, "Dairy Project at the Bosque Farms," *Belen (N.Mex.) News*, 16 March 1939; *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 7 October 1940; Cox interview; Gilcrease interview; and Shoemaker interview. C. D. Braught, Charles Bristow, Chester Carpenter, Roland Cox, William Gilcrease, Cas Jackson, George Jackson, and George K. Shore were among Bosque Farms' earliest dairy farmers. Cox interview; and Paul Shore, interview by author, Bosque Farms, New Mexico, 19 May 2006. For annual planning meetings, see the *Belen (N.Mex.) News*, 26 January 1939; and *The Independent of Valencia County (N.Mex.)*, 8 February 1940.
69. Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 107–13; Gonzales Jr. interview; *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, December 1941; and *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 18 November 1993. Loomis discusses the importance of child play in creating social bonds between families. Loomis, *Social Relationships*, 134–35. A short-lived Sunday school had existed in 1935. Construction of the Bosque Farms Baptist Church began in 1944. "First Baptist of Bosque Farms Celebrates 50 Years," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) Villager*, 18 November 1993. On Boy Scout Troop 115 and the Bosque Farms 4-H Club, see "Boy Scout Proving Popular," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 21 June 1939; "Extension News," *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, August 1939; Junior Pacheco, "Boy Scouts," *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, September 1939; "Community News," *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, February 1940; James A. Curry, "Boy Scouts," *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, December

1941; "Bosque Farms 4-H Club," *Belen (N.Mex.) News*, 20 July 1939; and "Los Lunas [News]," *Independent of Valencia County (N.Mex.)*, 8 February 1940.

70. Iverson H. Burgess took a leadership role in elementary school curriculum development. "Study Group Meets at Bosque Farms," *Belen (N.Mex.) News*, 18 November 1937. The FSA's regional director praised Burgess's leadership role. L. H. Hauter to W. W. Alexander, 26 January 1939, box 429, SPF, NA. Hot lunches were prepared and served in the original schoolhouse, directly east of the new school. The Women's Extension Club created the hot lunch program, with members taking turns at cooking and serving food for the children at the Bosque Farms Elementary School. "Kitchen and Clubroom for Bosque Farms," *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, April 1941; and "Celebrate Completion of Lunch Room," *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, October 1941. Educational opportunities in New Mexico and Arizona ranked the lowest in the nation in 1930. According to the U.S. Census of 1930, 13.3 percent of New Mexicans were illiterate. Virginia Cocalis, "The Joads' Kids Get a Break," *The American Teacher* 25 (April 1940): 25; and George I. Sánchez, *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Calvin Horn, 1967), 29. At least one Bosque Farms mother had written to Tugwell that her family came to the resettlement project "mainly because we believed the change would enable us to educate our [six] children." D. M. Craig to Tugwell, 12 September 1936, box 429, SPF, NA. The *Bosque Carry-All* began publication in 1939, and continued until the United States entered World War II in late 1941. In addition to news, the small newspaper included jokes with local humor and tips on better health and improved social relations, usually written for children but undoubtedly meant for adults as well. Copies of the *Bosque Carry-All* are housed in box 429, SPF, NA; the University of New Mexico-Valencia Campus Library; and the Bosque Farms Public Library. For Bosque Farms honor students and graduates at Los Lunas High School, see the "Los Lunas News," *Belen (N.Mex.) News*, 9 February 1939; and "Los Lunas News," *Belen (N.Mex.) News*, 25 May 1939.

71. Crystal Carpenter, "Bosque Farms Fair," *Bosque Farms: Our Community, Past and Present, 1939–1964*, distributed at the 1964 community fair; "Bosque Farms Marks 45th Year," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 1 August 1984; and Abarr, "Country Fair," 32. Literature on the impact of community fairs on community building is thin. See Leslie Mina Prosterman, *Ordinary Life, Festival Days: Aesthetics in the Midwestern County Fair* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

72. The reasons for leaving Bosque Farms were typical among families who abandoned other resettlement projects in the Rocky Mountain West. Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 139–47.

73. Pearl Gilcrease, "William P. and Pearl Gilcrease," in *Rio Abajo Heritage*, Valencia County Historical Society, 123.

74. "Much Data Required of Bosque [Farms]," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 8 October 1940.

75. Cannon, "Quite a Wrestling Match," 127–28. For the community-bonding value of *limpias*, see José A. Rivera, *Acequia Culture: Water, Land, and Community in the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 83–90, 147–48.

76. "Bosque Project a Garden within a Garden," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 5 October 1940; "Bosque is Laboratory for All Valley," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 7 October 1940; "Much Data Required of Bosque [Farms]"; "Bosque Farmers Appear to Like the Place," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 9 October 1940; and "Bosque Project Has Cost Nearly Million," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 10 October 1940. FSA leaders were pleased with the *Albuquerque Tribune*'s series, calling it a public relations victory for the Bosque Farms project. Jesse B. Gilmer to C. B. Baldwin, 19 November 1940, box 429, SPF, NA. Jesse B. Gilmer served as the FSA's acting regional director. Changes in FSA policy reflected political changes in the FSA and the New Deal as a whole when a conservative reaction to the Roosevelt administration set in by 1938. Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 214–15.
77. In 1941, councilmen included resettlers Cecil E. Holmes, George R. Jackson, Ray Mitchell, Talbot L. Santo, and Lynn Smyth. *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, December 1941.
78. Loomis, *Social Relationships*, 19.
79. Valencia County Clerk's Office, *Record Books*, 55 (Valencia County, N.Mex.: Valencia County Clerk's Office, 1944). Data researched by Kathryn McKee-Roberts. In 1944, $6,858 would equal approximately $82,000 today. Plots were as small as four and as large as eighty-four acres. Most interest rates equaled 3 percent. Also see Cox interview.
80. Shore interview; and Shoemaker interview. While electrical outlets had been prudently installed in the forty-two resettlement homes when they were built in the mid-1930s, electricity was not available in the community until the mid-1940s.
81. "Area's Dairy Industry Mushrooms into Major Agricultural Program," *Belen (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 3 April 1953; *Valencia (N.Mex.) News*, 6 April 1967; Jane Moorman, "Pareo Farms Receive State Award," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 26 November 2003; Jordan Pareo and Beverly Pareo, interview by author, Vegita, New Mexico, 10 July 2008; and Emil "Huck" Desmet, phone interview by author, 27 July 2008. Sunshine Farms, with one milking cow and three goats, has recently opened on two acres of Bosque Farms land. Duane Barbati, "Raw Milk from Cows and Goats Offered by Bosque Farms Dairy," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 2 July 2008.
82. For housing statistics in Bosque Farms, see http://www.city-data.com/city/Bosque-Farms-New-Mexico.html; Gilcrease interview; and Otero interview. Arthur Gilcrease, the first Bosque Farms resident to enter the military during the World War II era, served in the Philippines, survived the Bataan Death March, and endured years of confinement in a Japanese prisoner-of-war (POW) camp. By 1944 eight young men from Bosque Farms had served in the armed forces. Gilcrease interview; "Of Community Interest," *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, April 1941; *Bosque (Bosque Farms, N.Mex.) Carry-All*, December 1941; and Farm Security Administration, *Part 3 Hearings before the United States House Committee on Agriculture, Select Committee to Investigate Activities of Farm Security Administration*, 78th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1944), 1083.

83. Arley Sanchez, "Village Struggling with Growing Pains," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 13 May 1982.
84. Shoemaker interview; and Gonzales Jr. interview. Thousands also commuted through Bosque Farms from southern parts of Valencia County. By the mid-1980s, seven thousand vehicles traveled through Bosque Farms on State Road 47 each day (see Map 1). Wood, *Heartland New Mexico*, 48.
85. "Census Reveals 2,496 People in Bosque Farms," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 18 April 1974; "Bosque Farms Approves Incorporation 3-1," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 3 June 1974; "Bosque Farms Gets Post Office," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 25 July 1977; Colonel Swar Jr., "Life in Bosque Farms: 1990 Census Paints Portrait of County's North," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) Villager*, 20 October 1994; Clara Garcia, "Bosque Farms Residents Celebrate 30th Anniversary of Incorporation," *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 6 April 2005; and Shoemaker interview. Bosque Farms already had a fire department prior to incorporation.
86. Cox interview; Arvizu interview; *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 1 July 2000; *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 26 July 2008; and Abarr, "Country Fair," 30–33, 36. Ironically, some descendants of early settlers resent restrictive village ordinances much as their parents had once resented federal government directives of the resettlement era.
87. Cannon, "Keeping Their Instructions Straight," 251.
88. Marion Clawson, "Resettlement Experience on Nine Selected Resettlement Projects," *Agricultural History* 52 (January 1978): 2–4. Unfortunately, Bosque Farms was not among the nine projects in Clawson's study, written as a government report in 1943 and eventually published in 1978.
89. Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, 216. See also, Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 154.
90. Rexford G. Tugwell, foreword to *Government Project*, by Edward C. Banfield, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), 11. Tugwell specifically referred to the Casa Grande, Arizona, project, as "a failure—one of many." Tugwell, foreword to *Government Project*, 11.
91. Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 79, 151. The government lost more money per resettlement farm at the Boundary Project in Idaho than in Bosque Farms. The three states with higher average costs in developing resettlement farms were Idaho, Ohio, and Arizona.
92. Cannon, *Remaking the Agrarian Dream*, 115–16, 134–35, 150–51. The Leo Bauler and Ray Mitchell families were the two original families who purchased homes and farms in Bosque Farms.
93. For examples of highly successful New Deal programs in New Mexico, see Richard Melzer, *Coming of Age in the Great Depression: The Civilian Conservation Corps Experience in New Mexico, 1933–1942* (Las Cruces, N.Mex.: Yucca Tree Press, 2000); and Kathryn A. Flynn, ed., *Treasures on New Mexico Trails: Discover New Deal Art and Architecture* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Sunstone Press, 1995).

"A Matter Very Close to My Heart"

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, THE TINGLEYS, AND THE CREATION OF THE CARRIE TINGLEY HOSPITAL FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN

David Kammer

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Franklin D. Roosevelt's ascension to the presidency renewed attention to the many programs his administration initiated in its effort to raise the country and its citizens out of the Great Depression. Promising the American people that they would receive a "new deal" as he accepted his party's nomination in Chicago in 1932, his campaign offered voters a new vision of government. As he campaigned, he pledged to actively create programs that would put the unemployed back to work and offer them more security in the future. The programs his staff unveiled, beginning with the whirlwind of initial activity known as the "one hundred days," produced a plethora of new agencies and bureaus that administrators humorously, and critics wryly, labeled the "alphabet army."

While the various manifestations of the alphabet army contributed to the emergence of many new bureaucracies in New Mexico's state government, three programs accounted for most of the jobs created under the New Deal in the state.[1] These programs included the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), both enacted in 1933, and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), formed under the Federal Emergency Relief Appropriations Act (FERA) in 1935. Each differed significantly in the types of workers employed and the projects undertaken.

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Whether federally initiated projects, such as the construction of Conchas Dam, or locally initiated, such as the construction of the University of New Mexico's Zimmerman Library, PWA projects were generally capital intensive and used many skilled workers not listed on relief roles. The CCC recruited companies of men, many hailing from other states, who were assigned to various state and federal agencies to undertake a variety of conservation projects. In New Mexico these agencies generally included the national and state park systems and various services within the Department of Agriculture.

In contrast the WPA drew the vast majority of its workers from the county work relief roles composed of locally unemployed citizens. Generally labor intensive because of the emphasis on creating jobs in local communities, WPA projects were proposed and sponsored by local governments or other public authorities and reviewed by state administrators who sometimes offered technical support as well. Typically, the federal government provided funding for workers' wages, and the local sponsors supplied resources such as land and construction material. Nationwide the WPA covered 78 percent of all project costs and local sponsors contributed 22 percent. Totals for the WPA's approximately four thousand projects carried out in New Mexico show that $48.9 million (76 percent) of WPA funding came from the federal government and $15.4 million (24 percent) came from local sponsors. One such project in New Mexico was the Carrie Tingley Hospital for Crippled Children in Hot Springs, devised in 1935 and opened in 1937. The hospital demonstrates how the process of local sponsorship, project funding, building design, and construction worked in New Mexico and, ultimately, how this project brought a "new deal" to those in need.

The idea for constructing a hospital devoted to helping New Mexican children suffering from infantile paralysis, talipes, and other crippling diseases first arose in 1935. More than any other New Deal project undertaken in the state, the hospital held the personal attention and interest of President Roosevelt from its initial planning to completion. Proposed by Gov. Clyde K. Tingley shortly after he took office, the project was sponsored by the state and funded by the WPA. Its plan and intent were based largely on the design and medical practices developed at the Warm Springs Foundation located at Warm Springs, Georgia. The Carrie Tingley Hospital for Crippled Children opened in Hot Springs, New Mexico, in 1937, and treated thousands of the state's children at that location for over four decades. The hospital was relocated to Albuquerque in 1981, but the buildings of

the original complex, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2003, remain one of the notable legacies of the New Deal in New Mexico.

Although evidence of humans afflicted by polio dates to archeological investigations in Egypt, and the sixteenth-century artist Pieter Brueghel depicted victims of poliomyelitis, medical treatment for its victims was relatively new during the New Deal era. Practitioners of western medicine did not begin to seek remedies for the disease until the mid-eighteenth century. In 1780 Dr. Jean Andre Venal opened the first children's hospital in Orbé, Switzerland. In the United States, Dr. John Ball Brown first began to undertake orthopedic surgery at Massachusetts General Hospital in the mid-nineteenth century and a clinic opened at Harvard University around the same time.[2]

Even as orthopedic surgery sought to reduce the crippling effects of polio, advancements in public health and hygiene ironically contributed to the rise of polio epidemics. In earlier, less hygienic societies, children were generally exposed to the polio virus as infants when they still carried maternal antibodies. As a result, attacks were usually mild, and these children emerged not only unscathed but with a lifelong immunity to the disease. In effect polio became a "disease associated with cleanliness"; children of the wealthier classes, often segregated from mainstream urban life, were not exposed to the virus.[3] Shielded from exposure to mild forms of the virus in early childhood, wealthy children became more susceptible to polio in later life when an attack carried the potential for greater harm.

By the early twentieth century, the increased frequency of polio epidemics prompted greater medical attention to treating those afflicted with the disease, as well as a greater emphasis on finding the means to eradicate it. Evidence of this new frontier in medicine appeared in the 1920s, when the Gillette Hospital in Minnesota and the first Shriners' hospitals, supported by the Freemasons, began to offer therapeutic treatment to children.

New Mexico offered no such hospital to help its paralyzed children. The state was sparsely populated and economically poor and its skeletal state bureaucracy had only two agencies, the New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department and the Board of Public Welfare, with offices in each of the state's counties. The state and the Southwest in general, however, did have a long history of people coming to the region to regain their health. Most notable were those afflicted with pulmonary diseases that came to take advantage of the dry climate and high elevation prescribed by physicians. Seen as a "zone of immunity," the region had attracted these health seekers since the era of the Santa Fe Trail in the nineteenth century. Many

prominent New Mexicans, including Carrie Tingley, wife of the governor, had come to the area seeking climatological therapy. Many of those who "chased the cure" and survived remained and made substantial contributions to both public and private life in New Mexico.

While "lungers," as those with tuberculosis were often labeled, comprised the majority of health seekers, others came to New Mexico seeking cures for other ailments during the late territorial period. Many were attracted to the natural hot springs scattered around the state, such as those found in Hot Springs, New Mexico, along the west bank of the Rio Grande in Sierra County. Located in a small thermal basin less than a square mile, the springs were fed by hot waters rising along a fault line between the area's Magdalena limestone upthrust and the alluvium lining the base of the hogback adjacent to the basin.

The hot springs had long attracted people to the area. Dating to prehistoric times, the springs had been frequented by Native Americans. Later, soldiers stationed at nearby Fort McCrea during the territorial period visited the springs, then referred to as Palomas Hot Springs, and sometimes endured Indian attacks to do so. When the Bureau of Reclamation began the construction of Elephant Butte Dam in 1911, just a few miles north of the town, the workers and their families, comprising a temporary city of four thousand people living near the dam site, visited Palomas Hot Springs. Unlike the government's prohibition of alcohol at the work site, the town had no such restrictions and became a destination not only for its mineral baths but for the opportunities it offered for revelry.

Even prior to the completion of the dam in 1916, the town began to grow, dropping Palomas from its name in 1914 when the post office at Hot Springs near Las Vegas, New Mexico, closed. In 1916 the community incorporated, and in 1917 Pres. Woodrow Wilson removed the settlement restrictions imposed on the area during the construction of the dam, reopened it to public entry, and provided pre-emptive rights for those who had "squatted" on the now former government land. The U.S. Census of 1920 listed 455 residents in Hot Springs, a sharp spike from the 100 residents living there just six years earlier.

Much of the growth stemmed from the booster activities of the town's leaders. The Commercial Club, founded in 1914, became the Chamber of Commerce in 1917 and actively promoted the town. Similarly, the town's two newspapers provided weekly listings of health seekers and their hometowns and offered anecdotal accounts of miraculous recoveries attributable

to the mineral waters available at a growing number of bathhouses. Encouraging residents to retain their optimism as the town sought Wilson's approval to grant them pre-emptive rights, the *Sierra County Herald* predicted that "when the worst is over we will have one of the best hot springs resorts in the world."[4]

During the 1920s the town's population nearly tripled. Indicative of its growing identity as a health resort community, the U.S. Census of 1930 listed several occupations associated with health resort operations, such as bathhouse operator, attendant, masseuse, apartment manager, and tourist camp operator. Despite its identity as a health resort, Hot Springs developed in sharp contrast to most contemporary health spas. Resorts such as Montezuma Hot Springs near Las Vegas, New Mexico, and facilities in towns like Manitou Springs, Colorado, offered luxurious hotels and attracted a wealthy clientele who traveled by railroad to their destination. Hot Springs, in contrast, catered to more penurious visitors who arrived by car or by jitney from the nearest railroad stop eighteen miles to the east in Engle, New Mexico. The newcomers had the option of staying in a limited number of hotels, in the growing number of tourist courts, or in canvas tents scattered on vacant lots. By the 1930s, Hot Springs appeared to be a minimally planned community with bathhouses and tourist courts located on irregular parcels, which were reminiscent of the irregular plots formed during the earlier squatter era.

Despite the onset of the Great Depression, the town's boosters continued a vigorous promotional campaign into the 1930s. Labeling the town "Hot Springs in the Land of Sunshine," they extolled the "Vim, Vigor, [and] Vitality" that the mineral waters offered. In 1931 they unsuccessfully attempted to bring the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team to Hot Springs for spring training. That same year, town boosters encouraged local residents to write letters to national magazines proclaiming the effectiveness of the mineral waters in overcoming paralysis. The *New Mexico Highway Journal*, forerunner to *New Mexico Magazine*, featured Hot Springs in an article in 1931, noting that the town "is rapidly gaining a national reputation as a health center." It further proclaimed that its mineral waters and balmy climate were "beneficial to pulmonary and bronchial troubles" and offered a "cure for rheumatism in all its forms, blood and skin disorders, ulcerated stomachs, genito-urinary and kindred diseases."[5]

When Tingley became governor of New Mexico in 1935, his efforts to promote the state coincided with the ongoing promotional endeavors of Hot Springs' residents. No stranger to boosting a New Mexico community,

ILL. 1. GOVERNOR CLYDE K. TINGLEY, 1938
(Photograph courtesy Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico)

as he did when he was mayor of Albuquerque, Tingley broadened his promotional horizons when he shifted his residence to the Governor's Mansion in Santa Fe. In the fall of 1934, he had run on a platform that included improving the state's highways to promote tourism. Tingley was also an unabashed New Dealer and a Roosevelt supporter dating to the Democratic National Convention held in Houston in 1928 when, as a delegate, he had heard the "Happy Warrior" speech Roosevelt gave to nominate Al Smith for president. In 1932 Tingley considered running for governor, but did not gain the necessary support from the Democratic Party leaders. Instead, Tingley was chosen to meet Roosevelt's campaign train as it passed through New Mexico and thus he was unable to remain at the state convention as it convened to nominate Gov. Arthur Seligman for a second term.[6]

In retrospect this calculated shun by party leaders benefited Tingley who met Roosevelt personally for the first time as he accompanied him across the state. Instead of becoming governor in 1933—a great likelihood as New Mexico voters made a seismic shift to the Democratic Party that year—Tingley was forced to wait until 1935. Doing so meant that he entered office when key New Deal programs, especially the WPA, were implemented and began distributing newly available funds to states for local projects. Throughout his four years as governor, Tingley remained acutely aware of the opportunities that the New Deal offered states to improve all facets of public infrastructure from airports to zoos. In 1935 he asked county school superintendents throughout the state to list their school construction needs, and he closed his letters to them with "There will never be an opportunity like the present to correct the conditions now existing," in the state's school districts.[7]

In her biographical manuscript of the Tingleys, Erna Fergusson mused: "Tingley and the New Deal might have been made for each other. Money to put men to work on projects of use to city and state and for beautification."[8] Certainly, his actions as governor during his four-year tenure show that Tingley understood the potential WPA projects held for constructing

ILL. 2. CARRIE TINGLEY, 1938 *(Photograph courtesy Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico)*

new public buildings, creating parks, improving farm roads, and, ultimately, restoring its citizens' faith in themselves and their nation. Tingley's pragmatic political instincts were reinforced and broadened by his life partner, Carrie. Her success in "chasing the cure" to overcome tuberculosis imbued her with a commitment to help others facing the challenges of poverty and ill health. A privileged only-child, she and Clyde had no children. Instead, she directed her energies toward helping others. Carrie's longtime friend William A. Keleher stated, "her hands and purse . . . have never been withheld to help cure the sick, to bury the dead, and to say a kind word of sympathy and consolation to those left behind." During the 1920s, as the wife of Albuquerque's ex-officio mayor, she "modestly and quietly, saw that things were done for poor children—a pair of shoes, a new doll or a longed for toy airplane, especially for holidays, Easter, Christmas, Memorial Day and birthdays."[9] During this period, Carrie kept a notebook of her visits to the sick and infirm, listing as many as 125 calls a month.[10]

As Clyde's political influence grew, Carrie's generous actions expanded commensurately, extending to the entire state when Clyde became governor. Increasingly, Carrie's attention turned to children; nothing was closer to her "heart than doing things for the kiddies" or finding "ways to make life gayer for somebody's children."[11] Thus, during their first months in the Governor's Mansion, the Tingleys began to contemplate establishing a hospital exclusively dedicated to caring for the physically challenged children of New Mexico. Just two months after Clyde was elected governor, he and Carrie attended a banquet in their honor at the Buena Vista Hotel in Hot Springs. With over two hundred people in attendance, Clyde proposed that the town become the site for a hospital treating infantile paralysis. Declaring that the town's mineral springs were "God's gift to health," he envisioned that the facility would be constructed incrementally. To fund the project, he offered a number of possible sources, including charitable donations, proceeds from the annual New Mexico Governor's Ball, and federal support from either the PWA or WPA.[12]

Over the next few months the preliminary steps to realize a children's hospital began. State FERA officials accompanied Governor Tingley to Hot Springs and offered technical advice concerning New Mexico's application for WPA funding of the project. Subsequently, a local hospital committee formed, and the state's WPA architect, Willard C. Kruger, visited the town. In August when Tingley returned to Sierra County for the dedication of the Black Range Highway, he announced that a hospital committee had arranged the purchase of a fourteen-acre parcel of land, with a tourist court, located on a bluff south of town for ten thousand dollars. Tingley also stated that officials at the New Mexico State Penitentiary had agreed to provide 475,000 hollow tile bricks for the project. And when Tingley traveled to Washington, D.C., to confer about the PWA project at Conchas Dam in Quay County, he discussed the hospital plans with WPA officials.[13]

By the fall of 1935, the Tingleys' vision of a hospital for children with polio and other crippling diseases had begun to materialize. Local leaders, now joined by the New Mexico Federation of Women's Club, began to raise funds, acquire the property, and, with Governor Tingley's leadership, secure firm commitments from the State Penitentiary for bricks and from the National Forest Service for construction timbers. Local relief rolls in Sierra County provided lists of unemployed residents eligible for the labor paid by the federal government. At this point, the proposed project received further impetus when President Roosevelt took a personal interest in it.

In his unpublished history of the Carrie Tingley Hospital for Crippled Children, Dr. William L. Minear observed that Clyde "probably had in mind President Roosevelt's poliomyelitis and the Warm Springs Georgia Foundation." He further noted, "at the time, it was believed that the hot mineral water was beneficial in the treatment of poliomyelitis."[14] Certainly, Roosevelt's experiences following his contraction of polio in 1921 at his summer home in Campobello, New Brunswick, impacted his perspective. After three years of pursuing expert medical treatment with New York's leading doctors and seeing few results, Roosevelt resorted to a regimen of helio and hydrotherapy in an attempt to restore the muscles in his legs. On the recommendation of a friend, he sought treatment at the Meriwether Inn, a dilapidated Civil War–era resort in Warm Springs, Georgia. Between 1924 and 1927, Roosevelt spent more than half of each year at the resort. He eventually purchased the property in 1927 and renovated it so that other "polios," as the disease's victims termed themselves, could benefit from the resort's therapeutic warm waters. Although he never regained muscle strength

in his legs, through great effort Roosevelt was able to give the appearance of walking with the assistance of one of his sons or an aide standing beside him and providing subtle support.

Roosevelt selected architect Henry J. Toombs to renovate the property. Suggestive of the plans of Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia campus, Toombs incorporated colonnaded porticos and adjacent pavilions into the design and construction of the resort's new building, Georgia Hall. Roosevelt also constructed his personal cottage, known as the Little White House during his presidency, nearby. He would die there in 1945. Renaming the facility the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation in 1927, Roosevelt persuaded the American Orthopedic Association to approve it as a "permanent hydrotherapeutic center" and, in 1934, he sought to underwrite the foundation's expenses through his annual Birthday Balls.[15] In New Mexico, Tingley chaired Roosevelt's local Birthday Balls until Roosevelt's staff, seeking to dispel any appearance of impropriety with money being sent to the White House, created the March of Dimes to receive and expend future contributions.

Remaining a fervent advocate of hydrotherapy for polio victims, Roosevelt summoned Tingley to San Diego, California, in October 1935 and introduced him to Keith Morgan, vice president of the Warm Springs Foundation. The meeting significantly advanced Tingley's plans for a hospital in Hot Springs when Roosevelt proposed that Kruger meet with Toombs and visit the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation. Aware that the project at Hot Springs would be entirely new, Roosevelt felt that Kruger could render a better design informed by the lessons learned at Warm Springs. A month later, WPA director Harry Hopkins announced that the proposal for the project in Hot Springs had been approved and funded for $275,000. Over the next twenty-eight months the WPA made two additional appropriations totaling $47,000 to complete the hospital staff's quarters and power plant.[16]

Once funds were appropriated, little time was lost in moving ahead with the project. Kruger undertook a series of visits to orthopedic hospitals around the country, met Toombs in Warm Springs, and then hosted Toombs in Hot Springs. When Toombs, now in the position of consulting architect, visited the Hot Springs site with Kruger in January 1936, he recommended that the entire plan be on a single plane and that only staff quarters be located on a second story. He also advocated wide halls so that children, whether in wheelchairs or beds, could move or be moved about freely. Toombs's suggestions were based on the challenges posed by the design of the Warm Springs facility. Most notable among Toombs's concerns were the varied

contours of the Warm Springs site and the incremental growth of the facility. With its rolling hills, the uneven grounds of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation made moving about the complex difficult for patients with crutches, in wheelchairs, or in beds. The pools offering hydrotherapy were located in a nearby glen; with Georgia Hall and other residences located along a ridge, patients required wagons for transportation to the thermal baths. Similarly, since the floors in older buildings were often on multiple planes, the staff had to assist patients moving from room to room. The design challenges in Warm Springs, then, helped Kruger and Toombs construct a practical and comfortable site for patients in Hot Springs.[17]

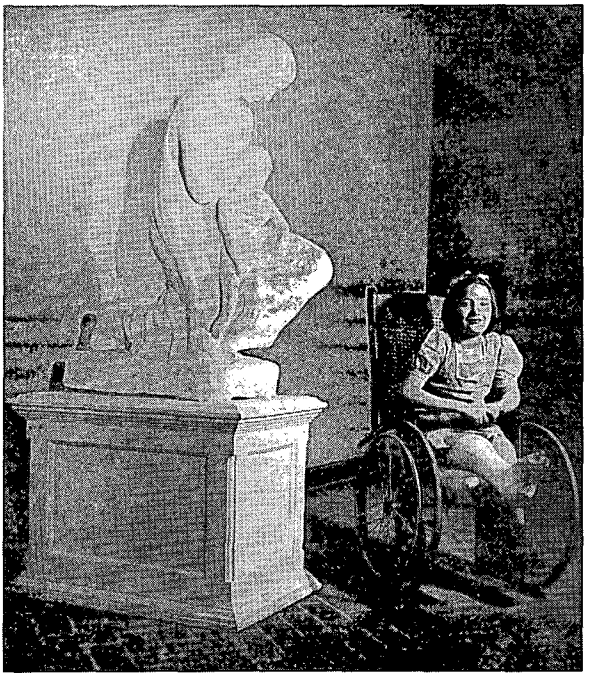
By February 1936, Kruger had completed his preliminary plans, and with New Mexico's most powerful radio station, KOB, providing live coverage of the breaking-ground ceremony, Carrie turned the first shovel.[18] Later that month, construction of the hospital began with an initial crew of fifty workers. Supervising the project was Jesse K. Morrison, who had overseen earlier WPA projects in New Mexico, including the FERA's Public Welfare Building in Santa Fe and additions to the Miners' Hospital in Kruger's hometown, Raton. Over the next fifteen months as the project in Hot Springs moved toward completion, it exemplified the ideal of the WPA—a high degree of cooperation and coordination among various New Deal and federal agencies and its local sponsor, the state of New Mexico.

Locally, Hot Springs residents provided ample and varied support. Having already benefited from previous WPA projects, including the construction of a Spanish-Pueblo Revival style community building, the town's boosters quickly linked Hot Springs with the project. Local landowners contributed an additional sixty-six acres to the original hospital site, increasing it to eighty acres, and additional acreage was added in subsequent years. The site was located on a bluff outside of the thermal basin with no possibility of a hot water well on the property, so the town also dedicated a wellhead within the basin, a half-mile to the north, to the hospital and provided space for a small pump house as well. The town also supplied electricity, free of charge, to the project site. By 1937 the WPA project was an integral part of the town's identity as a health resort—even the letterhead of the Hot Springs Chamber of Commerce included a rendering of the hospital.

Within a few months, more than two hundred laborers on work relief were employed at the site, laying concrete foundations and erecting the reinforced concrete posts that would support the building's hollow clay-block curtain wall. The bricks fabricated in the kilns located at the State

Penitentiary in Santa Fe and promised by Tingley began to arrive at the Hatch depot, thirty miles to the south, and were shipped at cost by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway. Trucks then hauled them to the site. The National Forest Service supplied fir wood, cut in the Gila National Forest, that had been milled for ceiling beams and squared posts to support the building's various porticos.

Besides manpower and building materials, New Mexicans made other contributions to the hospital's construction. Reflecting the synergy of New Deal projects within the state, two sculptures completed under the auspices of the WPA's Federal Arts Projects were designed for the hospital. The artwork added to a notion, embraced by both Roosevelt and Toombs, that children's hospitals should minimize their inherent institutional atmosphere and instead embrace a residential feeling. Oliver La Grone, an art student at the University of New Mexico, completed a mounted life-size likeness of



ILL. 3. MERCY STATUE, 1939
Oliver La Grone sculpted the Mercy Statue as part of the WPA's Federal Arts Project
(Photograph courtesy Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico)

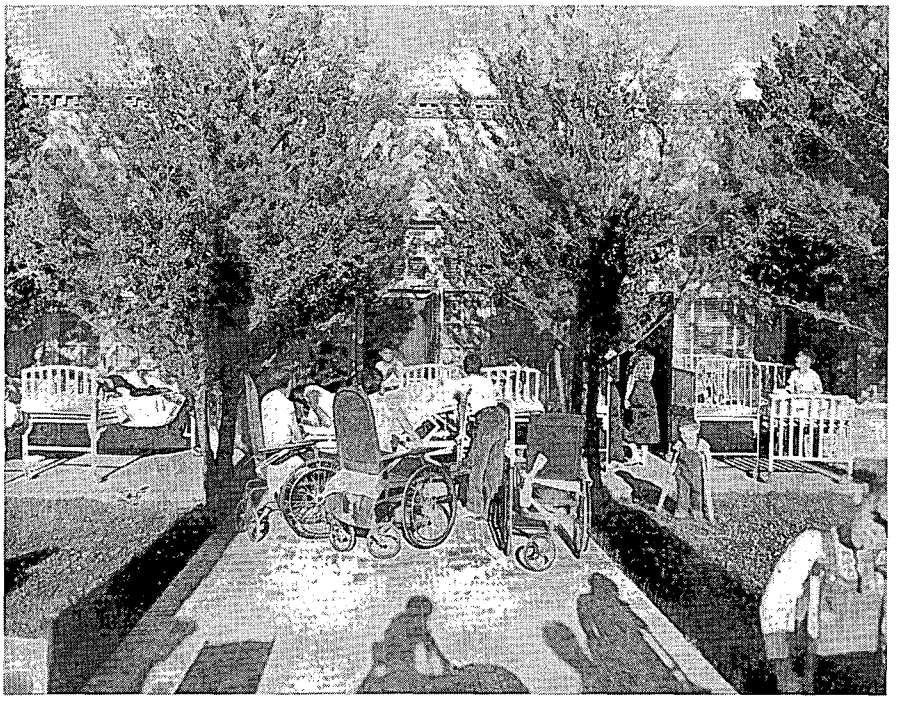
a serene female caressing a child; the sculpture recalled the care La Grone's mother provided him during his own childhood illnesses. In the courtyard behind the hospital's main hall, sculptor Eugenie Shonnard created a large stone fountain decorated with carvings of frogs and turtles. Named the Turtle Courtyard, the space would become a gathering place for the hospital's patients. To provide some of the furnishings for the hospital, young people, hired and trained in manual arts under the National Youth Administration (NYA), fabricated tin ware, leather and wood chairs, and handwoven textiles.

As the hospital took shape in 1937, Kruger's design revealed the lessons he had learned at Warm Springs, as well as the regional sensibilities that began to define much of New Mexico's public architecture under the New Deal. Kruger located all of the patients' private spaces on a single plane. He also placed the operating and therapeutic spaces and the dining hall on the same plane, under a single roof. Moreover, Kruger's design linked the all-important brace-making shop to the hospital with a portico. Early photographs

ILL. 4. PATIENTS HARD AT WORK IN A CLASSROOM AT THE CARRIE TINGLEY HOSPITAL FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN
(Photograph courtesy Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico)

of the hospital show this ease of movement, depicting children, many of them in wheeled beds, assembled in the dining hall that also functioned as an auditorium for a Saturday night movie. Kruger acknowledged the reality that many patients would remain at the hospital for extended periods, and therefore included a classroom in one of the building's front wings. Finally, consistent with the tenets that Roosevelt had established at Warm Springs, the mineral springs–fed therapy pool offered both indoor and outdoor sections, permitting simultaneous helio and hydrotherapy.

Although New Mexico's arid climate precluded including spacious lawns immediately around the building, Kruger's plan provided for a series of landscaped courtyards. The front wings and portico lining the façade created a broad entry courtyard, while the enclosed Turtle Courtyard lay in the back of the main hallway. To the rear of the second transverse hallway was the Rabbit Courtyard. With the natural light from the courtyards, the amply fenestrated hallways permitted natural light to illuminate most of the building's public spaces. Not only were all the rooms adjacent to the well-lit



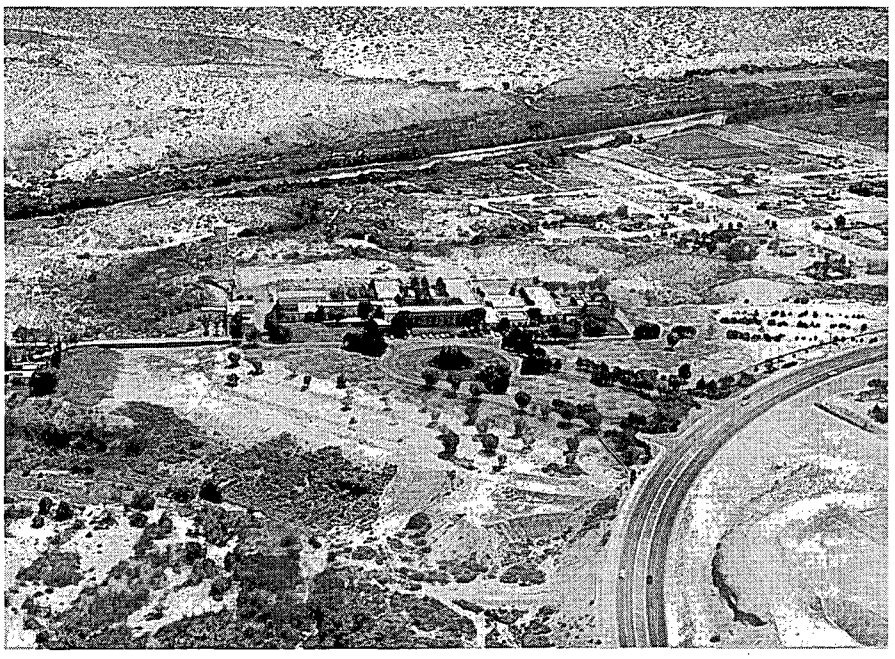
ILL. 5. PATIENTS RECEIVING HELIOTHERAPY IN THE RABBIT COURTYARD
(Photograph courtesy Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico)

hallways, but all the rooms had outside windows. Therefore, the structure was designed so that every room was bathed in natural light.

Just as Georgia Hall at Warm Springs employed regionally inspired Georgian Revival details, the new hospital at Hot Springs celebrated its regional history. The building's flat roof, as well as brick-cornice parapets with dentil course moldings and a stately two-story portico lining its façade, demonstrated Kruger's efforts to present a historically inspired style, while serving the needs of a modern hospital. The generous use of large multipane windows, plus sidelights and transoms at principal entries, further complemented the style, while making use of the year-round sunshine that contributed to Hot Springs' reputation as a health resort located in the Southwest's "zone of immunity."

Like other large New Deal projects, such as the PWA-constructed Zimmerman Library at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, the New Mexico Supreme Court Building in Santa Fe, and the WPA-constructed Albuquerque Air Terminal, the hospital's design details revealed the history of the region. During the 1930s, architects such as John Gaw Meem, Gordon Street, and Ernst Blumenthal built modern, functional buildings that also reflected architectural traditions of the area's past. While the Spanish-Pueblo Revival style marked the earliest efforts of this regional revival, the 1930s saw an expanded use of historical design elements such as Classical details that first appeared in some of the territorial-period forts. Termed the Territorial Revival style, examples began to appear in many New Deal–funded projects, including schools, offices, courthouses, and the New Mexico Supreme Court Building. By the end of the New Deal, elements of these styles had been extensively incorporated into new public building construction. Therefore, a lasting and profound legacy of the New Deal was a regional public architecture that defines New Mexico to this day.

As the hospital moved toward completion during 1937, construction of additional support buildings, including the director's home and the power plant, began. An additional pump house capable of raising water from the Rio Grande to irrigate the lawn facing U.S. 85 was constructed on the banks of the river. A landscaping project was also undertaken at this point, which included the construction of a low masonry wall fronting the property and the planting of cypress trees. Governor Tingley demonstrated his enthusiasm for the hospital by frequently making the ten-hour round trip from Santa Fe to inspect the project. In February 1937, he brought the entire state legislature to Hot Springs to view the hospital's progress.[19] Consistent

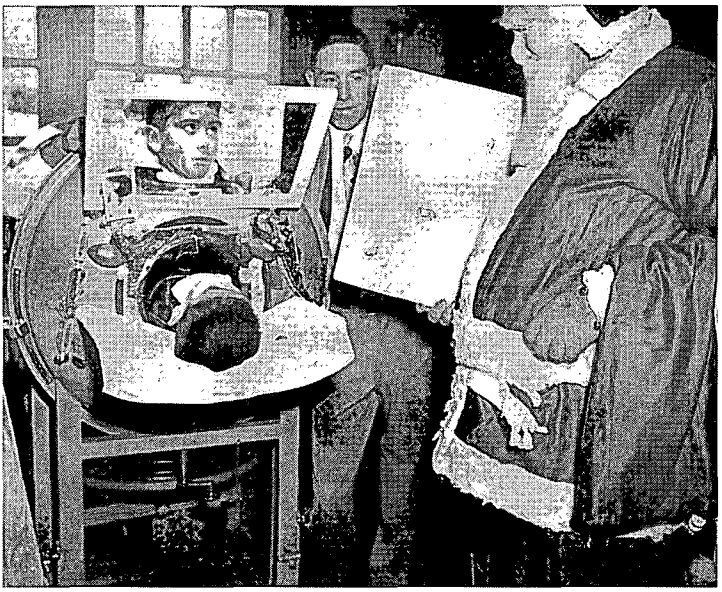


ILL. 6. AERIAL VIEW OF THE CARRIE TINGLEY HOSPITAL FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN, CA. 1950
(Photograph courtesy Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico)

with his vow that politics would never play a role in the development of the hospital, Tingley declined the invitation of local citizens to name it after him, "but when the name Carrie Tingley Hospital was proposed, he registered only pleasure."[20]

With the dedication approaching in May, Tingley invited President Roosevelt to attend. Unable to do so, Roosevelt instead sent Postmaster General James Farley as his representative. For the dedication, however, the president telegraphed Tingley his "felicitations on the dedication of the Carrie Tingley Hospital," congratulating him on the completion of the project. Striking a tone apparent in letters that he had sent Tingley regarding the hospital, he hoped that the hospital would "grow and prosper and restore to health and happiness all the little patients who find refuge under the friendly roof [of the new hospital]."[21]

The first patients were admitted to the hospital on 1 September 1937. The facility they entered offered "the best obtainable [equipment] of the time."[22] In addition to the two warm mineral pools, the physical therapy department also included a stainless steel Hubbard tub for children who



ILL. 7. SANTA CLAUS VISITING A PATIENT USING AN IRON LUNG
(Photograph courtesy Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico)

ILL. 8. THE BRACE MAKER JIMMY CROWNOVER
(Photograph courtesy Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico)

required specialized hydrotherapy. There were sterilizers capable of cleansing three mattresses at a time. A state-of-the-art surgical table and a full range of orthopedic instruments filled the operating room, and a postoperative ward stood ready for patients requiring convalescence periods with special diets. The hospital also had its own iron lung and x-ray laboratory. Essential to many patients, the brace shop was fully equipped and staffed by an experienced brace maker who had trained at the Children's Hospital in Los Angeles, California. A nurse trained in the Kenny Method, a form of muscular therapy in which moist warm towels were frequently applied to patients' atrophied limbs, also joined the staff. The planners incorporated amenities intended to create a home-like environment at the hospital. The grounds contained a playground, the auditorium had a movie projector, the kitchen boasted ice cream makers, and the classroom had a teacher provided by the Hot Springs Public Schools.

In 1939 the Crippled Children's Division of the U.S. Department of Labor offered an initial assessment of the facility.[23] With incremental funding, the WPA contributed $553,788 to the project, and the state of New Mexico contributed $273,953, much of it to equip the hospital. In percentage terms, the state of New Mexico paid approximately 33 percent of the project's cost, about 10 percent greater than the average cost paid by a sponsor. In the eighteen months after the hospital opened, the New Mexico Department of Public Welfare contributed another $30,000 for hospital equipment, and the state legislature appropriated $120,000 for its annual operation.

ILL. 9. NURSE AND CHILD, MARCH 1951
(Photograph courtesy Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico)

Roosevelt and Governor Tingley intended the Carrie Tingley Hospital to be a "new deal" for children with paralysis in New Mexico. A hospital report

released in 1943 offered statistics regarding the patients who had been served at the new facility. Since its opening, the hospital's staff had examined 2,260 children with polio from every county and every ethnic group in New Mexico; 933 of these patients were admitted to the hospital. The hospital administered some twenty thousand treatments, including exercises, helio and hydrotherapy, massages, and walking sessions, and fabricated over seven thousand braces, splints, and other appliances.[24] The statistics told a short history of service to and care of the state's physically challenged children.

One of the first articles about the hospital to reach a broader public readership appeared in *New Mexico* in 1938. Written by Anna Nolan Clark, a frequent contributor, the article focused on how the children adapted to the new hospital's environment. Clark noted that the children hailed from all types of backgrounds but were united by their suffering caused by the ravages of paralysis. The hospital, however, offered an opportunity for "these little soldiers of suffering, fighting inch by inch to gain health, to gain the use of feet, of hands, of poor twisted backs." For Clark the environment was conducive to successful recovery since the building was "beautiful with sunlight and color, and the feeling of movement" throughout the complex. So striking was the contrast with traditional institutions that she felt "this hospital is a world that belongs to the children—a world of their own making."[25] For the forty years that the hospital remained in its first location, this positive attitude continued.

In 1937 New Mexico voters rejected an amendment to the state's constitution that would have permitted a governor to serve more than two consecutive terms. A year later, as Tingley prepared to leave office and to return to Albuquerque, he reflected on what he had accomplished as governor. For the citizens of New Mexico, he prepared a broadside, "Record of Accomplishments," depicting a series of concentric circles divided into slices representing each of the state's counties and his visage in the center. Within each segment of each county slice were statistics listing the projects, such as schools, parks, and roads, that had been completed under his administration. Many were accomplished with New Deal funding.

Tingley also sent President Roosevelt photographs of the Carrie Tingley Hospital for Crippled Children. Thanking him for the photos, Roosevelt noted their significance, stating that the completion of the hospital was a "matter very close to my heart."[26] As Tingley prepared to leave office, he received a final letter from Roosevelt in which the president thanked him for his "fine and loyal cooperation" and then noted their mutual efforts "in

that great cause in which we are both so interested, the welfare of handicapped children."[27] Even as the Tingleys left Santa Fe and Clyde regained his seat on the Albuquerque City Commission, they remained involved with the children's hospital, serving on its board of directors. When visiting the hospital, the Tingleys stayed on the second story of the property and Clyde still gave patients rides on his speedboat, *Carrie Tingley*, at Elephant Butte Lake. When Carrie died in 1961, she left $75,000 to the hospital in her will.

During the 1940s and early 1950s, the hospital continued to treat many New Mexican children who succumbed to the polio epidemics that swept across the state. With the invention of the Salk vaccine, funded in part by the March of Dimes, the risk of polio greatly diminished, and the hospital shifted more of its resources to treating children with tuberculosis and congenital birth defects. Dr. George Omer, who joined the staff in the 1970s, notes that during the last decades of widespread polio, the hospital had "national stature for its state of the art polio treatment" and that, beginning in 1948, provided a twelve-month training program in pediatric orthopedics. By the 1960s, residents from both the University of Colorado and University of New Mexico medical schools served resident rotations at the hospital, making it, in Omer's words, the "most important post-graduate institution in the state with a national program."[28]

As the hospital's mission evolved and the staff visited communities around the state through their outreach program, it became more difficult for the facility to retain a complete medical staff at the hospital in the town, recently renamed Truth or Consequences (T or C).[29] As a result, in 1979 the hospital's Medical Advisory Board voted to relocate it to Albuquerque, near the University of New Mexico's School of Medicine. Two years later the New Mexico State Legislature voted to turn the vacant state property in T or C into the New Mexican Veterans' Center. While its patients are of a different generation, many of the facility's resources, including the thermal water pool, therapy rooms, and landscaped courtyards, continue to serve New Mexicans.

Popular perception in New Mexico has long held that the state benefited disproportionately from New Deal programs. This view, in part, arises from the frequent trips that Governor Tingley made to Washington, D.C., the efforts of New Mexico's largely Democratic congressional delegation to bring projects to the state, and state legislation that facilitated the sponsorship of New Deal projects by local governments and authorities. Tingley's aggressive style of lobbying, in fact, prompted Roosevelt's third-term vice president, Henry

Wallace, to describe him as "hard driving in the action to get the most possible out of the federal government" for New Mexico.[30]

In assessing how individual states benefited from the New Deal, historian Leonard Arrington concluded that large, lightly populated states with a small tax base and few state agencies were among those that received the largest per capita share of New Deal funds.[31] Since these states were also likely to have a large percentage of federally owned lands, including forest and grazing lands, national parks and monuments, and Indian reservations, they were also most likely to receive extensive funding for CCC projects as well as Indian-based New Deal programs. In some instances, New Deal monies were also appropriated for highway projects across federal lands that were funded solely by the national government. Thus, from the inception of the New Deal in 1933 until 1941, as the nation began to prepare for eventual entry into World War II, only Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, and Arizona ranked ahead of New Mexico in per capita New Deal funding. As a result, the legacy of the New Deal is often apparent in these states where public works served to transform and expand historically modest state and local government services.

Such was the case with the Carrie Tingley Hospital for Crippled Children. A long tradition of health seeking in the Southwest often centered on the use of thermal waters, a growing national interest in providing hydrotherapy for children afflicted by poliomyelitis, and the absence of such a hospital in New Mexico created a need that Clyde and Carrie Tingley articulated. The need fit within the Roosevelt Administration's overarching goal of devising federal programs to support specific projects and ultimately create community programs that would enable citizens to recover from the crippling effects of economic depression. On a personal level, Roosevelt's commitment to advancing ways of overcoming polio resulted in his taking a personal interest in the Carrie Tingley Hospital project. Seventy-five years after the New Deal began, the hospital, now with a different clientele, continues to manifest the legacy of these combined efforts.

Notes

1. David Kammer, "The Historic and Architectural Resources of the New Deal in New Mexico" (prepared for the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, listed in the National Register of Historic Places, 1994), 49.
2. George Omer, M.D., interview by author, 4 December 2002. Dr. Omer served at the Carrie Tingley Hospital from the 1970s through the 1990s as an orthopedic surgeon.

3. Hugh Gregory Gallagher, *FDR's Splendid Deception* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1985), 5.
4. *Sierra County (N.Mex.) Herald*, 9 August 1916.
5. George Hardaway, "Fountains of Youth," *New Mexico Highway Journal*, May 1931, 24.
6. Erna Fergusson, "The Tingleys of New Mexico," p. 235, folder 8, box 13, Erna Fergusson Papers, 1846–1964, MSS 45 BC, Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico [hereafter EFP, CSWR].
7. WPA Correspondence, Governor Clyde K. Tingley Papers, 1935–1938, Collection 1959–104, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico [hereafter TP, NMSRCA].
8. Fergusson, "The Tingleys of New Mexico," p. 240, folder 8, box 13, EFP, CSWR.
9. W[illiam]. L. Minear, "Carrie Tingley Hospital for Crippled Children, The Founders," p. 1, William L. Minear Papers, 1933–1990, HHC 15, New Mexico Health Historical Collection, University of New Mexico Health Sciences Library and Informatics Center, Albuquerque, New Mexico [hereafter WMP, HSL]. Dr. Minear was medical director of the hospital from 1947 to 1955.
10. Fergusson, "The Tingleys of New Mexico," p. 124, folder 8, box 13, EFP, CSWR.
11. Ibid., p. 53.
12. *Sierra County (N.Mex.) Advocate*, 3 March 1935.
13. *Sierra County (N.Mex.) Advocate*, 7 July 1935.
14. Minear, "Carrie Tingley Hospital for Crippled Children," p. 3, WMP, HSL.
15. Geoffrey C. Ward, *A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 769. For more on Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, see Richard Thayer Goldberg *The Making of Franklin D. Roosevelt: Triumph over Disability* (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Books, 1981); and Jean Edward Smith, *FDR* (New York: Random House, 2007).
16. Kammer, "The Historic and Architectural Resources of the New Deal in New Mexico," app. B, 70–71.
17. Toombs regarded Roosevelt, who in 1934 told members of the American Institute of Architects that he had once considered becoming an architect, as a challenging client. Consequently both Toombs and Roosevelt acknowledged ways in which the Warm Springs facility might also be improved. For more on Roosevelt's influence on the Warm Springs design, see William B. Rhoads, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Architecture of Warm Springs," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 67 (spring 1983): 4.
18. *Sierra County (N.Mex.) Advocate*, 13 February 1936.
19. *Sierra County (N.Mex.) Advocate*, 6 February 1937.
20. Fergusson, "The Tingleys of New Mexico," chap. 12, p. 16, folder 14, box 13, EFP, CSWR. Chapter 12 of Erna Fergusson's manuscript has separate pagination.
21. Roosevelt-Tingley Correspondence, 28 May 1937, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, New York [hereafter FDRPL].
22. Minear, "Carrie Tingley Hospital for Crippled Children," p. 6, WMP, HSL.

23. WPA Correspondence, 651.101, TP, NMSRCA.
24. Carrie Tingley Hospital for Crippled Children, *Report 1941–1943*, pp. 22–28, Carrie Tingley Hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
25. Anna Nolan Clark, "You Can See Them Getting Well," *New Mexico*, January 1938, 21–25.
26. Roosevelt-Tingley Correspondence, 25 May 1938, FDRPL.
27. Roosevelt-Tingley Correspondence, 28 December 1938, FDRPL.
28. Omer interview.
29. Hot Springs residents voted to rename the town Truth or Consequences in 1950.
30. Henry A. Wallace to Erna Fergusson, 10 November 1956, folder 3, box 13, EFP, CSWR.
31. Leonard J. Arrington, "The New Deal in the West: A Preliminary Statistical Inquiry," *Pacific Historical Review* 38 (August 1969): 315.

The Meeting

AN ESSAY ON MEMORY

Thomas Bowen and R. James Hills
With contributions by Jock Favour, David Yetman, and Richard Yetman

We—Tom Bowen and Jim Hills—met in January 1980. At least, that's when we think it was. The meeting itself was of no particular importance—we already knew each other from correspondence because we had both conducted research involving the Seri Indians. The fact that we met unexpectedly is not important either, except that the encounter took place on Isla San Esteban, a small uninhabited desert island in the middle of the Gulf of California and about as isolated a place as you can find in North America (see map). That isolation triggered some pretty strange behavior, which nobody who was there remembers in quite the same way.

In the years since, we have had some good laughs about this goofy event, but we never discussed the details of what happened with each other or with the other people who were there with us. Thus we came to realize, nearly thirty years later, that we might be able to use the incident as an informal test of the reliability of eyewitness accounts, which of course is the raw material of history, both oral and written. Eight people, including us, were involved, and we decided to ask each person to write what he or she recalls of the meeting and how it came about. By comparing these accounts, we hoped to

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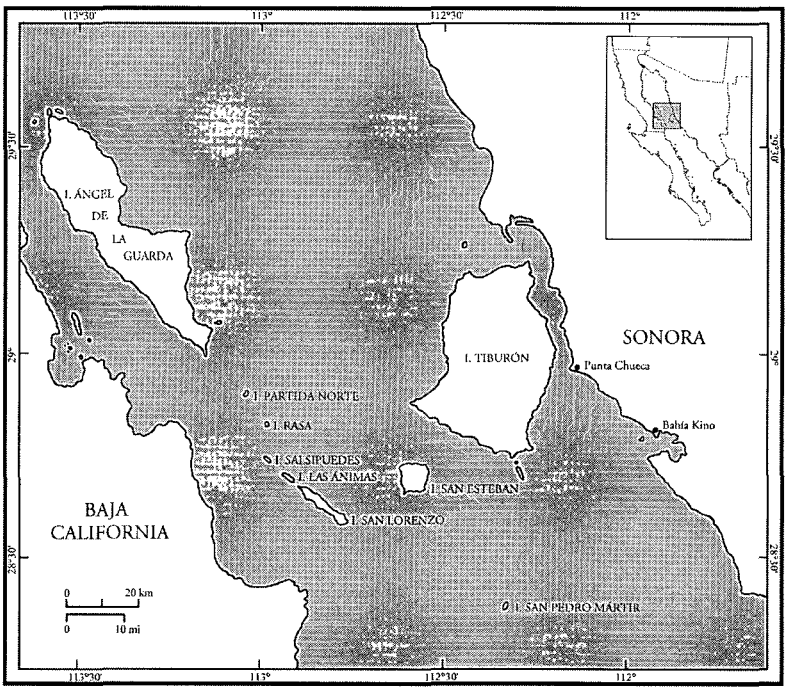
Thomas Bowen is professor emeritus of anthropology at California State University, Fresno, and a research associate at the University of Arizona Southwest Center in Tuscon. Jim Hills has worked with the Seri Indians in Sonora, Mexico, since 1969, when he was a graduate student at Arizona State University. Jim is still involved in on-going projects with the Seri Indians in Sonora, Mexico, and with the potters of Mata Ortiz in Chihuahua, Mexico.



MAP OF ISLA SAN ESTEBAN

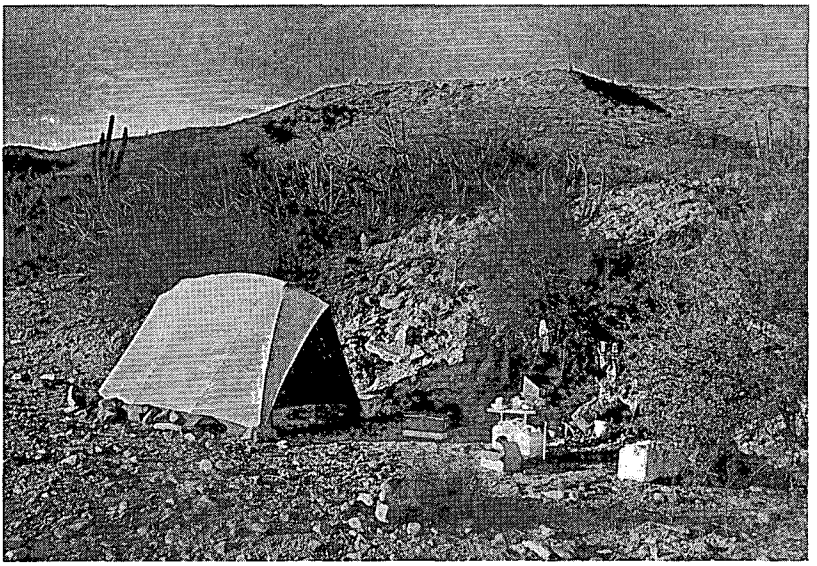
Isla San Esteban and surrounding region of the Gulf of California. *(Map courtesy Thomas Bowen)*

gain a sense of how well our own memories had preserved this little slice of mutual experience. The results are, to say the least, humbling.

We successfully contacted all but one participant. We reminded them of the meeting and the events leading up to it but minimized our mention of specifics in order to avoid altering their recollections or implanting false memories. We asked each person to write his or her account independently and entirely from memory—without the aid of journals or input from any of the others. Five people recalled the events well enough to write about them. Only after the pieces were completed did anybody see what the others had written. For presentation here we have excerpted the portions that pertain specifically to the meeting, and we have lightly edited the pieces for grammar, spelling, and continuity. We have altered neither content nor style.

Context

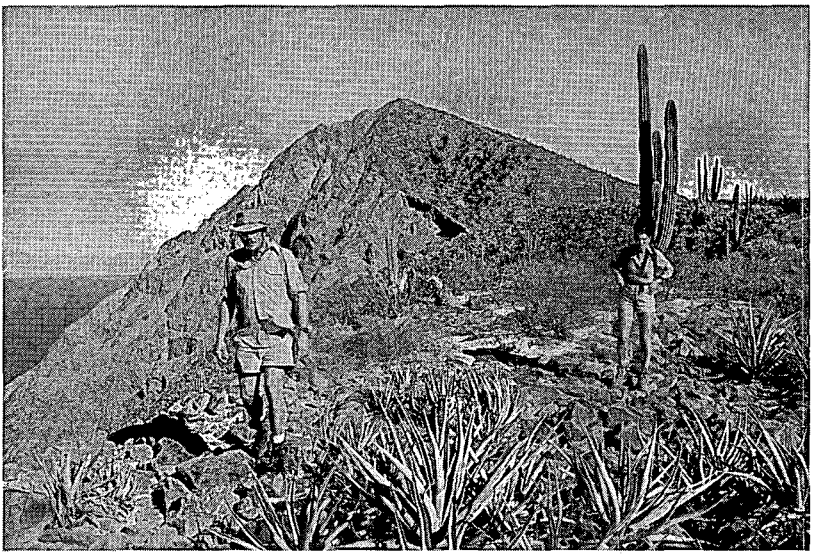
The four of us in the archaeology group—Tom Bowen, Dan Bench, Dana Desonie, and Elisa Villalpando—had come to Isla San Esteban to conduct



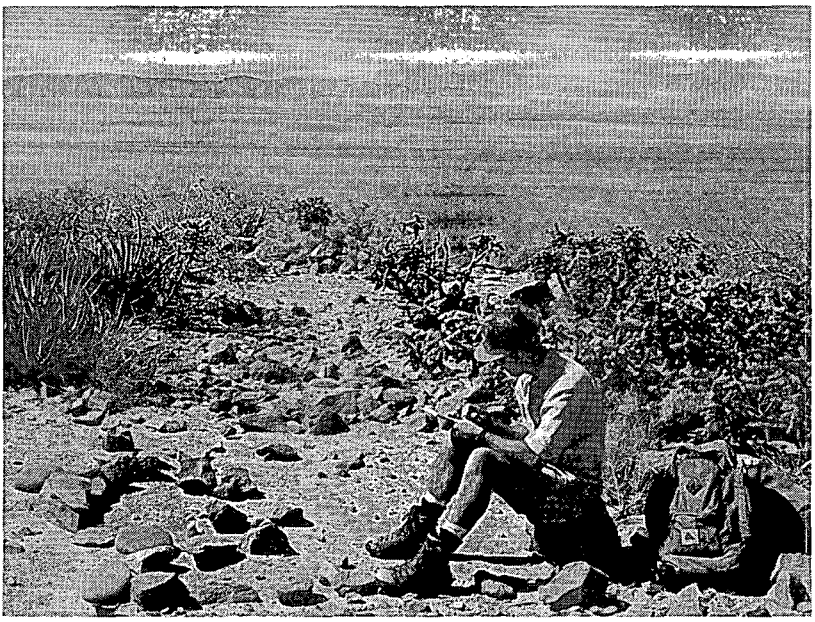
ILL. 1. ARCHAEOLOGY CAMP, ISLA SAN ESTEBAN
(Photograph courtesy Thomas Bowen)

a site survey. It was the first of several field trips to the island over the next few years. We launched from Bahía Kino on 28 December 1979, in two inboard sport-fishing boats and were dropped off later that day. We set up camp against the bank of Arroyo Limantour, the main drainage on the eastern side of the island. We chose a spot about four hundred yards from shore around a bend and behind an ironwood tree, in a vain attempt to find shelter from the wind. As we began our survey, we quickly slipped into a routine—up at dawn, down to the fifteen-foot terrace above the beach to watch the always magnificent sunrise, breakfast, and then to work. Often we would hike deep into the interior of the island, recording sites as we found them, and return dog-tired to camp around sunset. Then we would have dinner, do dishes, write up the day's notes by the light of the Coleman lantern, relax with a sip of tequila, and try to last until nine o'clock before collapsing in our sleeping bags. Although a couple of times Mexican fishermen arrived for brief stays, we had little contact with them. Their camp was a good half mile from ours, and they spent their days at sea. Much of the time we felt we had the entire island to ourselves. It was a great way to spend two weeks. San Esteban was a really spooky place, but we loved it and relished the isolation. We had been there nearly two weeks when the panga group showed up.

Those of us in the panga group—Jim Hills, Jock Favour, Dave Yetman, and Dick Yetman—went to San Esteban as something of a historical experiment.



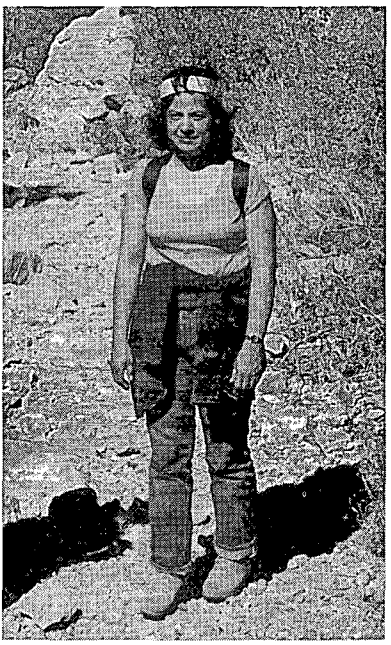
ILL. 2. SURVEYING ISLA SAN ESTEBAN
Dan Bench and Dana Desonie above the sea cliffs on the west side of the island.
(Photograph courtesy Thomas Bowen)



ILL. 3. SURVEYING ISLA SAN ESTEBAN
Tom Bowen recording a site on the western side of the island.
(Photograph courtesy Thomas Bowen)

We wanted to replicate the experience the Seri Indians must have had during the 1940s and 1950s when they navigated the treacherous waters of the Gulf in the heavy old wooden *pangas* (small open fishing boats) with their tiny ten-horsepower outboard engines. For three of us—Jim, Dave, and Dick—it was our second trip. Jim had bought one of the last of the old pangas, which Dick dubbed the *Seri Queen*, and we took it to San Esteban for the first time the year before. Crossing the infamous channel between Islas Tiburón and San Esteban with an inadequate engine was a very scary experience, which Dave recounted in his book *Where the Desert Meets the Sea* (1988).

Having learned something from that trip, this year we installed a twenty-five-horsepower outboard engine and towed an aluminum dinghy as insurance. We left on 8 January 1980 from the Seri Indian village of Punta Chueca amidst the local folks' laughter at the foolishness of our undertaking. We spent the night on Isla Tiburón and started across the channel the next morning. But again the crossing nearly ended in disaster. The bigger engine was too heavy for the old motor mount, and part way across the channel, the mount broke and we barely saved the engine from a quick trip to the bottom. With enormous effort we managed to use the dinghy and its tiny engine to tow the heavy panga the rest of the way to San Esteban, nearly capsizing several times along the way. Fortunately, some Mexican fishermen showed up and helped us craft a makeshift motor mount from driftwood, which we fervently hoped would last long enough to get us back to the mainland. At least we had arrived on San Esteban in one piece. We set up camp just behind the beach, in a little cave under the fifteen-foot terrace at the mouth of Arroyo Limantour. We were looking forward to the next couple of days exploring the island, and we especially wanted to revisit the strange site with stone alignments we had seen the year before. The fishermen who helped us left, and as we settled in, we were sure we had this weird island all to ourselves.



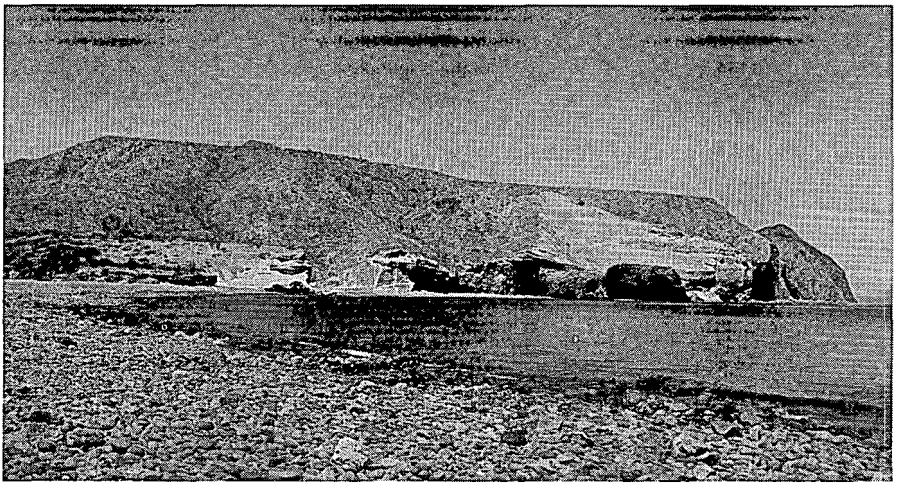
ILL. 4. SURVEYING ISLA SAN ESTEBAN
Elisa Villalpando negotiating an arroyo on the eastern side of the island.
(Photograph courtesy Thomas Bowen)

The Meeting

Dave's Account. We made our camp on a knoll above the little bay where we could see our panga and dinghy and look across the channel to Tiburón Island, some eight miles away. Our sleeping bags were located close enough to the water that the waves could lull us to sleep, but we were situated high enough that we had no worry about rising water. We spent the remaining few hours of daylight kicking around the shore and wandering a little way up the big wash whose mouth forms our little bay.

The afternoon waned all too quickly and we built our fire and cooked dinner, all the while staring at the sea. One of the finest parts of camping on the Gulf is the evenings sitting around the fire with the Gulf in the background. On this particular night there was no moon and the ocean, though calm, took on an eerie effect. So far as we knew, we were the sole human occupants of Isla San Esteban. It was a most satisfying thought.

After we had finished dinner, had a beer or two, stared at the fire for a couple of hours, and swapped a few dozen lies, I felt the urge to pee and headed out behind our camp, i.e., inland, to where our knoll, actually a flat ridge, headed down into the wash. It was pitch-dark and I had to move carefully to keep my footing. I looked inland as I peed, and what I saw made



ILL. 5. PANGA GROUP'S CAMP, ISLA SAN ESTEBAN
The panga group camped under the low terrace at the far left center of the photograph.
(Photograph courtesy Thomas Bowen)

my skin crawl. A quarter mile or so up the wash there was a most unnatural glow coming from the rocks that bordered the watercourse. I recall that I stopped breathing and my heart raced. I had never seen a more otherworldly sight, for the light was not a natural color. It had to be one of two things: *narcotraficantes* (drug traffickers) with huge spotlights come to rob us, or a UFO. Nothing else in the world could explain it.

I remembered to zip up my fly (good policy, that) and tiptoed back to the fire. "Guys," I said, half whispering, breathless, and still caught between astonishment and fright, "you've got to come see this right now."

The rest of the group sprang to their feet and followed me. They saw the same sight. Their reactions were expressed in low breathy tones and mixed with words not repeatable in polite company. None of us was able to guess what we were seeing. However, there was no hesitation. We had to venture up the wash and find out what was producing that unearthly glow.

Dick, Jock, and Jim headed out. I bravely volunteered to stand fearlessly guarding our camp just in case the aliens chose to launch an amphibious attack (one never knows when a glow might just be a ruse to divert attention). I waited forever, probably ten, fifteen, twenty minutes. Not a sound. Finally I heard a loud whoop from up the wash, a happy one, not a fear-driven call of desperation. The three scouts tramped back into camp. "Yetman," Hills said, "you're not going to believe this."

"What in the world is it?" I asked.

"It's Tom Bowen and some students. They are camped around the corner of the wash and the glow is the reflection from their Coleman lanterns."

I don't remember whether I was disappointed or elated, but I do know I was relieved. Better by far it be Tom and students than aliens or narcos.

We slept fine that night.

Dick's Account. That night the sky was relatively clear. I went out to urinate, and looking up to the interior of the island, I saw a glow coming off the cliff. I remember the hair on my neck standing up and thinking, this is weird—this is something totally strange—foreign to what I'd expect to be here. I went back and said something to everybody else and we all came back and looked, and sure enough, it was a light. And finally we all determined that there must be somebody camped up there. And then I remember Jim Hills making the worst coyote sound I ever heard—an embarrassing coyote sound that wouldn't have fooled my mother. Anyway, we went to bed knowing that we weren't alone on the island anymore. We had thought

we were in Shangri-La, the Promised Land, and it turned out there was somebody else there.

The next day Jim and Jock, I believe, took a hike into the interior of the island and encountered the group that was up there. I subsequently learned that it was Tom Bowen. I didn't meet him and I don't believe my brother Dave met him, but I know Jim did and Jim had known him in the past as well.

Jock's Account. San Esteban felt like an evil place but we were glad to be on solid ground [after the scary voyage]. We set up camp in the big cliff overhang on the east shore, moving aside the garbage left by former occupants. The cave had been used since prehistoric times and made a good shelter out of the wild Gulf weather.

After dinner [the next evening] Jim went up the hill to take a crap. He returned to camp, alarmed at seeing the obvious glow of a large light inland toward the main arroyo. "What the hell is going on," he asked us. "No fisherman would be camped back there and we have the only boat on this side of the island. Too weird."

The next morning revealed fine weather and we were off to explore the island. Jim and I took off toward Arroyo Limantour.

Late in the afternoon we headed back toward the shoreline. As we came across a big flat area, we spotted humans that were not of our group. Through our binoculars we made out *dos hombres y una mujer, de gente ajena* (two men and a woman, strangers). The group was examining large stones that had been laid out in parallel lines by some earlier occupants. The pattern reminded me of Seri face paintings.

The three coldly responded to our greetings as we walked up to them. We all shook hands and they informed us that they were collecting data and doing site surveys on the island. The head man said his name was Tom Bowen, an archaeologist from the University of California. Jim recognized the name from his contacts [with other Seri researchers]. I left them talking and I went back to camp.

I told Dick and Dave that we had solved the mystery of the light last night. "Three scientists from California! They're probably out here getting in touch with their inner feelings, financed by our tax dollar." Natives of Arizona have learned to be a little put off by Californians.

Dave said, "A large boat will come and pick up the science people, so we can get back to the mainland if our boat fails us."

Dick said, "Yeah, and if we run out of food we can pull off a raid on their camp."

Jim returned to the cave and had an idea of what the San Esteban Seris would do. "They would take the woman scientist and eat the two men."

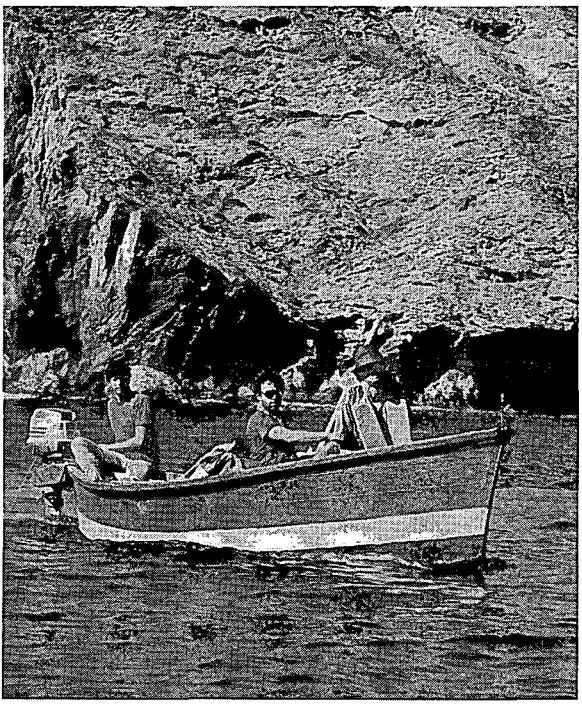
The next morning early, we left the sinister San Esteban Island and the "data-eating" archaeologists.

Jim's Account. This was the second trip we made to San Esteban in my traditional eighteen-foot Seri wood-plank boat, and I believe it took place in the fall of 1982. It was either the first or second night [on the island], after dark, when Dick Yetman wandered out from under the shelter to take a pee and made a very weird discovery. He came back shortly and told us of a strange light—"a glow" I think were his words—emanating from the island's interior. We all jumped up and moved inland just a few yards to see the light and began discussing what in the heck that light could mean. Drug runners was the first thought since there were no other boats in sight. We were sure they were hiding out up the arroyo about half a mile or so, staying out of sight, probably guarding their stash, waiting for the pickup. Since we were camping in exactly the spot where the pickup would likely take place, our level of concern quickly rose to a crescendo. After a few minutes we decided that Dick and I would have to sneak up on the group to figure out just what was going on. We sure wished we had guns for protection. We began moving out, sneaking up the valley toward the light. I remember thinking, this is crazy, but we all knew that until we could find out who these people were, we would never be able to sleep or feel comfortable staying in our chosen spot for the night.

After picking up a couple of large rocks to throw if we needed to, we followed the glow of the light inland. When we got closer, about two hundred yards inland, we could see a couple of tents and from one of those tents it was obvious a lantern of some kind was burning brightly. We got down on our hands and knees and sneaked up close enough to satisfy our curiosity by listening to the voices of a woman and a man coming from inside the tent. They were speaking English and the woman was giggling, so we assumed it was a couple of students working on the island and maybe having a bit of extracurricular fun that evening. We returned to camp, much relieved, and decided all was OK and that we didn't have to worry about drug runners, machine guns, and large knives. We slept well that night, in spite of the rain.

The following morning I wanted to show Jock Favour the strange arrangement of rocks about a mile up the arroyo that we had discovered the year before. So after breakfast Jock and I set out to find them. As we walked

up the arroyo we noticed the students' camp was empty and figured they were out hiking. After a few side trips checking out *tinajas* (bedrock pools) and a small side canyon, we got to a spot in the arroyo that looked familiar to me. I said that it looked like the spot we needed to climb up to get to the terrace where I remember the rocks being set out in bizarre alignments. As we climbed up the twenty-foot side of the arroyo to the terrace, we saw people looking at the site. As I approached them I remember saying to a tall fellow that he must be Tom Bowen, an archaeologist who had been working in the area for years, and probably the only other person besides me who was crazy enough to venture to San Esteban. As it turned out, it sure enough was Tom, with another man and a woman, who we assumed were in the tent the night before. It appeared to Jock and me that Tom was leading some students to the island, since he was teaching somewhere in California, and that this was some kind of university sanctioned event. After some brief words, I showed Jock around a bit and then we departed to look around San Esteban some more. We returned to our beach cave camp later that afternoon.



ILL. 6. THE PANGA AT ISLA SAN ESTEBAN
Left to right: Dick Yetman, Jock Favour, and Dave Yetman. *(Photograph courtesy R. James Hills)*

Tom's Account. The meeting took place in January—it must have been 1981 or 1982. The first inkling we had of anything unusual was when we saw the panga. We were working along the sea cliffs when we noticed what looked like an old-style wooden panga in the water far below. It was moving slowly, and it looked like there were four people in it. Seris? They didn't seem to be fishing, and we didn't know what to make of it. We watched for a while and then went back to work.

Late that afternoon we dragged our tired bodies into camp. Soon afterward, Dana headed down to the beach—probably to fill a bucket with sea water for washing dishes. A few minutes later she came half-running back into camp, looking worried and a little shaken. "There's a bunch of guys down there on shore," she blurted, "and it looks like they're setting up camp in the little cave under Sunrise Terrace. I think it's the people in the panga. I'm pretty sure they didn't see me."

"Oh, crap," Dan and I said, thinking the last thing we needed was visitors. You have to understand that when you get dropped off on a desert island and spend a lot of time exploring, you get very proprietary. San Esteban was *our* island, and whoever those guys were, they were trespassing on *our* turf. Worse still, they were taking over "Sunrise Terrace," one of our favorite spots where each morning we would sit and watch the "Morning Miracle," as we called the sunrise. But we sure couldn't do that with a bunch of strangers camped right below.

We decided that Dan and I needed to see what was going on. With Dana leading, the three of us cautiously worked our way down toward the shore. We kept high because by sneaking up on them from above there would be less chance of being seen. As we approached the edge of Sunrise Terrace, we crouched low and moved silently. We could hear voices. Suddenly, a couple of heads appeared below as two of them moved out of the cave and down toward the panga. Damn it! Almost reflexively, we ducked back out of sight and started running, still half-crouched, back toward camp. Going down there was a really stupid thing to do—they might have seen us!

Back at camp, we tried to figure out what to do next. The only thing we could think of was try to stay hidden and, with luck, they would leave in the morning. We knew we were far enough up the arroyo that they couldn't see or hear us. By then it was getting dark, so we lit the Coleman lantern, cooked dinner, and washed the dishes. For an hour or so I wrote up my notes for the day. About nine o'clock we crawled into our sleeping bags.

The next morning, as usual, we got up at dawn and made coffee. But instead of our usual cheery selves, we found ourselves grousing darkly about

missing the Morning Miracle. The main thing now was how to avoid contact with those people. We figured that if we ate a quick breakfast and headed out right away they wouldn't see us. Even if they found our camp, they might be gone by the time we returned at sundown. We ate quickly and loaded our packs.

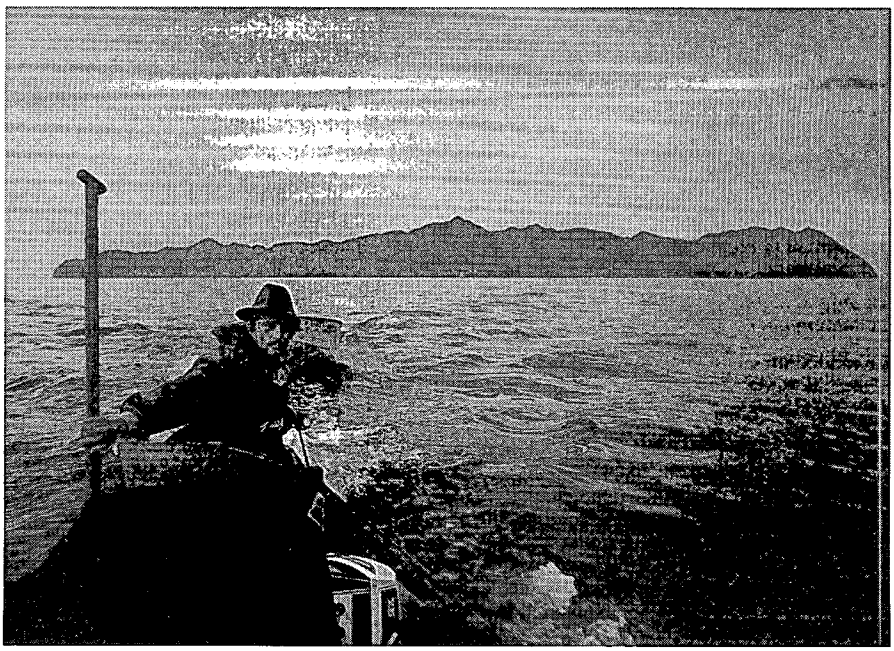
But not fast enough. Voices! They were coming up the arroyo. In a blind panic we scrambled up the arroyo bank, the only thing we could think of to avoid being seen. We stood there silently, fifteen feet up, as the four men appeared around the bend, trudging single file toward our camp. We were angry but also starting to feel pretty silly, standing up there like a bunch of Hollywood Indians in a B-movie looking down at the hapless wagon train. If we kept quiet, they might still just walk right on by and not see us.

And then, for no obvious reason, one of them looked up.

"JESUSCHRISTOHMYGOD!!!"

Well, that was some consolation—at least we scared the hell out of them.

Now that our cover was blown, we knew we had to try to be civil to them. So down we came.



ILL. 7. DEPARTING FROM ISLA SAN ESTEBAN
Jim Hills driving the panga with Isla San Esteban in the distance.
(Photograph courtesy Dick Yetman)

"Hi," I said, half hoping my flat intonation would let them know they were not welcome.

"God, you scared the hell out of us," said the guy who had let out the exclamation. We must have mumbled something quasi-conciliatory in reply. Then I realized he was looking at me a little quizzically. Suddenly he asked, "Are you Tom Bowen? Tom Bowen is the only person I know of who would be crazy enough to be out here."

Now the shoe was on the other foot—I had never seen this guy before, and I was totally flustered.

"What . . .?" I stammered, "Where did . . .? I mean, how do you know my name? Who are you?"

"I'm Jim Hills."

"You're Jim Hills? This is unbelievable! What are *you* doing here?"

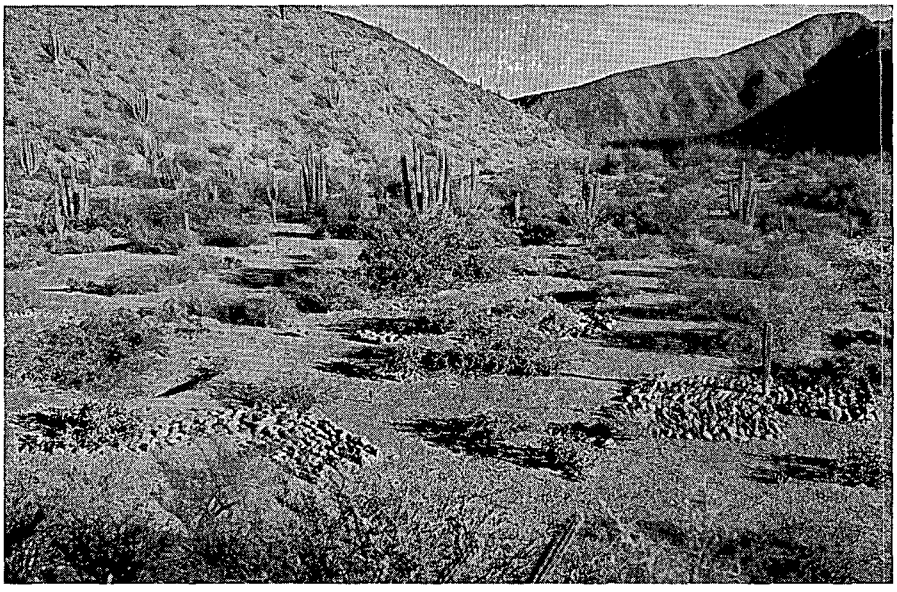
That broke the ice. I had never met Jim, but I sure knew who he was. He had been a trader with the Seris while I was first doing field work in Seri country. A bit later, Jim wrote his master's thesis on the prehistoric human ecology of the Seri area, and we had corresponded several times. We shook hands, introduced ourselves all around, talked for maybe ten minutes, and then went our separate ways. As we parted, Dan and Dana and I felt a lot better about these guys sharing our island. When we returned to camp that evening they were gone. Was that a slight twinge of disappointment we felt when we realized we were once again alone on the island?

Discrepancies

Not surprisingly, all five of us portray the events in terms of our individual personalities, attitudes, and perspectives. We also recall differently some of the basic facts of the experience. Here we point out some of the important discrepancies.

Who in the panga group first saw the light? The accounts agree that it was just one person, but three different people are credited with the discovery. Dave says it was Dave, Dick says it was Dick, Jim says it was Dick, and Jock says it was Jim. Interestingly, Dave and Dick both remembered their discovery of the light as a unique personal experience not shared with anyone else.

Who investigated the light? Dick says they all did, Dave says it was everyone but him, Jim says it was he and Dick, and Jock implies that nobody did, since the "mystery" was not solved until the meeting took place the next day.



ILL. 8. SITE WITH STRANGE ROCK ALIGNMENTS, ISLA SAN ESTEBAN
These rock figures, which have puzzled many visitors, were probably built by Mexican entrepreneurs who tried to produce *mesçal aguardiente* (a traditional distilled spirit) from San Esteban's agave plants for a short time in 1877. *(Photograph courtesy Thomas Bowen)*

Who met the archaeology group the next day? Dick, Jim, and Jock all agree it was Jim and Jock. Tom says it was all four of them. Dave implies it was Jim, Jock, and Dick, and that it took place the previous evening when they investigated the light; otherwise they could not have specified Tom by name when they returned.

Where did the meeting take place? Jim and Jock say it took place at the rock alignment site while Dick mentions a nonspecific inland location. Dave implies it was at Tom's camp. Tom remembers it being at his camp.

What was the composition of the archaeology group? Dave recalls it was Tom and "some students." Dick recalls it was Tom and an unspecified "group." Jim and Jock both remember it being three people—Tom, another man, and a woman. Tom also remembers it being three people—himself, another man (Dan), and a woman (Dana). But this raises a perplexing question. Where was Elisa while all this was going on? Although Elisa played a vital role in the 1980 trip, which Tom remembers well, he has absolutely no memory of her in the context of the meeting. Because of this, he assumed the meeting

must have taken place in 1981 or 1982, which were both years when Elisa was unable to come to the island.

Truth from the Written Word?

Dick, Jim, and Tom all kept journals of the trip but none of us wrote much about the meeting or the events preceding it. Jim's journal contains the only written record of the eerie light. In his entry for 9 January, he wrote: "Light in the night—Jock, Dick and I off to inspect it—dope runners, miners, fishermen?—only college kids."

As for the meeting itself, Tom alludes to it in his notes for 9 January: "Jim Hills is here with some friends. He says last year he found [a] tinaja that held 10+ gallons high in the 1st arroyo that flows N. into the A. Limantour."

Jim describes the encounter in his journal entry for 10 January: "Jock and I went up to the [rock alignment] site I saw the year before, and there were 4 people there—Tom Bowen and biologist and 2 chicks. Tom was evasive—he doesn't really think these people [who made the rock alignments] were Seri. Also he jumped to conclusion about the water hole [we found last year]."

Dick also described the meeting in his journal entry for 10 January: "After we ate we took a short hike up the canyon to the 'site.' There were 5 people camping up the canyon. Two men & 3 women. One was an anthropologist that Jim knew & the other was a botanist."

These records, although written, contain their own discrepancies. Contrary to what Jim wrote, Dick's journal implies that he was present at the meeting. He recorded five people in the archaeology group whereas Jim noted four. Dates are also inconsistent. Tom's journal has the meeting on 9 January while Jim and Dick place it on 10 January; at least all three journals agree that the year was 1980. Not so Dave's book (cited above), which places the *first* trip to San Esteban in January 1981, implying that the second trip, and hence the meeting, did not take place until 1982.

And What to Make of All This?

First of all, since the meeting was not particularly important, one might wonder why any of us remember it at all. For two of us—Jim and Tom—it was noteworthy because we were at the epicenter and because we had already established a personal relationship. The other three members of the panga group may have remembered the meeting largely because of its

connection with the ghostly light, which was itself memorable because of its spookiness. More importantly, we suspect that these events were preserved in memory mainly through their association with the frightening—and hence literally unforgettable—voyage to the island. This seems clear from the fact that all four members of the panga group wrote much more, and much more consistently, about the voyage itself than about the events surrounding the meeting.

Because Tom's narrative differs sharply from the others in both perspective and certain basic facts, it is a pity we have no accounts from other members of the archaeology group to corroborate or contradict his memory of events. For Dan and Dana, the entire episode was apparently neither significant nor associated with anything outstanding that would fix it in memory, since neither of them recalls anything at all.

Second, we note that we all resented the presence of others apart from our own group. One might conclude from this that we are all just a bunch of antisocial misfits who self-select for trips to wild and uninhabited islands. But even if true, it does not explain the intensity of the emotion or the exaggerated avoidance behavior that some of us engaged in. In fact, avoidance behavior in isolated situations is rather common—many ordinary people off by themselves feel an overwhelming need to hide when strangers appear. People in such circumstances will even dive for cover when an airplane flies low overhead. Could this be a legacy of our deep past when our ancestors lived in small kin-based groups and strangers were viewed as potential enemies?

Third, we are acutely aware that as Euroamericans, we almost always consider the written word to be inherently more trustworthy than oral history, especially when the words are set to paper shortly after the events they report. To be sure, the accounts of the meeting derived from our memories thirty years later contain numerous discrepancies of fact. However, we point out that even the written records disagree among themselves on two fundamental points—the date of the meeting and the composition of the archaeology group. Did the meeting take place on 9 January, as Tom's notes specify, or on 10 January, as Dick and Jim wrote? Did it occur in 1980, as all three journals indicate or in 1982, as Dave's book implies? Were five people from the archaeology group at the meeting, as Dick stated, or four, as Jim wrote? Or were there just three, as Jim and Jock and Tom all remember? Do two mutually contradictory written sources trump three consistent memories?

Finally, we note the enormous disparity between the richness of our memories and the poverty of our written records—which give only the

faintest hint of the raucous events we recall so vividly. None of the three journals makes any mention of our bizarre behavior on the day before the meeting, when each group sneaked up to spy on the other. Could it be that we are all suffering from false memories and that very little of what we think we recall actually took place? Or could it be that the three of us who wrote about what happened all considered these antics too embarrassing to commit even to the privacy of our personal notes? Is written history inevitably sanitized in this way, while the real richness of human behavior persists only in memory?

Conclusions

So what have we gained from this informal experiment? We have certainly unearthed some delightful accounts of the meeting, but in so doing have we come any closer to learning what "really" happened? Maybe the Western exclusionary "single-truth" paradigm is a fundamentally flawed way to approach history, whether it be global events or trivial incidents in our own past. As for us—Tom and Jim—we feel that by assembling this collection of contradictory accounts we have greatly enriched one small corner of our lives. We now know that there were many different ways that the meeting took place.

Acknowledgments

We are deeply indebted to Jock Favour, Dave Yetman, and Dick Yetman for taking the time to share their memories with us and for permission to publish their recollections. We also thank Dan Bench and Dana Desonie for responding to our inquiries even though they no longer recall these events. We regret that we were unable to make contact with Elisa Villalpando, our friend and colleague in the archaeology group and eighth member—we think!—of our exclusive Club de San Esteban. We thank Scott Copeland and Tracy Davison for their expertise and care in preparing the photos and map for publication. As always, we are grateful to Marty Brace and Deb Francine for their thoughtful comments and suggestions on the manuscript.

Spanish Lead Shot of the Coronado Expedition

A PROGRESS REPORT ON ISOTOPE ANALYSIS OF LEAD FROM FIVE SITES

Nugent Brasher

In September 2004, I attended a presentation concerning the Coronado Trail by historians Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint. I learned that the trace of most of the trail followed by Spanish explorer Francisco Vázquez de Coronado during 1540–1542 was both unknown and the subject of vigorous historical debate. This puzzle inspired me to begin exploration in October 2004 for evidence of Coronado's route between Señora (Río Sonora valley, Sonora, Mexico) and Cíbola (Hawikku, New Mexico), and for the legendary Red House called Chichilticale. My study of the historical documents convinced me that identifying Chichilticale was integral to solving the mystery of the expedition's route across present eastern Arizona and western New Mexico. My ongoing effort has resulted in the likely discovery of both Chichilticale at the Kuykendall Ruins in southeastern Arizona and the camp that the expedition's advance party made on 23 June 1540. Two reports of my search for Coronado's route have been published by the *New Mexico Historical Review*.[1]

My 2009 report recommended that "lead isotope ratios should be obtained for the four lead balls" discovered at Kuykendall Ruins, and that these data should be compared to those from lead balls found at other known or suspected Coronado sites.[2] My team followed this analytical course by using Thermal Ionization Mass Spectrometry (TIMS) to measure isotope ratios of lead shot found at Kuykendall Ruins (Chichilticale), Doubtful Canyon (advance party's camp of 23 June 1540), Hawikku-Kyakima in New Mexico, and the Jimmy Owens site in the Texas Panhandle. The team added

to its data the isotope ratios presented by Charles M. Haecker for two lead shot found at Piedras Marcadas Pueblo (LA 290, Mann-Zuris site). For comparative purposes, the team assembled a database using published data from Spain, Mexico, New Mexico, the Rocky Mountains, the mid-continent United States, the Caribbean region, Central America, and the Mediterranean region. In this analysis, each region was treated as a conceivable source location for lead carried by members of the Coronado Expedition of 1540–1542 or by travelers who visited Coronado sites after 1542. The team compared its ratios to those in the database to conduct a robust analysis and to produce an internal report that assigned lead source provenience to the shot under consideration. Subsequently, with the intention of obtaining corroboration or objection to the team's conclusions, lead isotope abundances (Pb_{204}, Pb_{206}, Pb_{207}, Pb_{208}) from its database and from its samples were analyzed independently by an unaffiliated party to determine numerically their similarity for the purpose of designating origin of the lead.[3] The team's isotope ratios of the lead shot, a discussion of its analytical methods and conclusions, and a report on the discovery of likely sixteenth-century iron artifacts in Doubtful Canyon will be presented in an article published in a future issue of the *New Mexico Historical Review*.

The team's isotope analysis strongly supports the interpretation that shot composed of Spanish lead sources were present at five proposed Coronado Expedition sites: Kuykendall Ruins, Doubtful Canyon, Hawikku, Piedras Marcadas Pueblo, and Jimmy Owens. The positive correlation between Spanish lead and these five individual Coronado sites suggests a nexus between the otherwise disparate locations. The common thread connecting all five sites of Spanish lead, the team believes, is the Coronado Trail. The results of the lead analysis has caused the team to modify its ever-evolving exploration model to include the likelihood of Spanish lead at Coronado sites and the probability that Spanish lead found within specific geographical corridors is diagnostic of the Coronado Expedition.

Notes

1. Nugent Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado: The Search for the Red House," *New Mexico Historical Review* 82 (fall 2007): 433–68; and "The Red House Camp and the Captain General: The 2009 Report on the Coronado Expedition Campsite at Chichilticale," *New Mexico Historical Review* 84 (winter 2009): 1–64.

2. Brasher, "The Red House Camp and the Captain General," 54.
3. TIMS measurements were conducted by geochemist Dr. Franco Marcantonio at the Radiogenic Isotope Geochemistry Laboratory in the Department of Geology and Geophysics at Texas A&M University. Isotope ratios for the Piedras Marcadas Pueblo are from Charles M. Haecker, untitled presentation to Society for Historical Archaeology, January 2008, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Dr. Michael J. Rothman, Michael J. Rothman & Associates, LLC, a data analysis and visualization consulting company, in Hopewell, New York, conducted a comparative data analysis.

Book Reviews

Kenneth Milton Chapman: A Life Dedicated to Indian Arts and Artists. By Janet Chapman and Karen Barrie. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008. xiv + 370 pp. 13 color plates, 13 halftones, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4424-3.)

Kenneth Milton Chapman (1875–1968) is an iconic figure in New Mexico: an individualist, renowned artist, scientific illustrator, meticulously detailed scholar, museologist, administrator, educator, supporter of the arts, community organizer, and important member of the Santa Fe community during its formative years. As the title of this superlative biography of Chapman so aptly states, he is iconic because he dedicated his life to studying the beauty of Indian art, especially pottery, and helping Indian artists secure a market for their work. And what a market it is today, creative, secure, and multimillion dollar in scope. Chapman is also iconic because he respectfully helped Indian artists ensure that art thrived in their communities and that traditions survived the corrosion of changing economies, museums' massive collecting efforts, and colonialism's attempts to undermine Native cultures.

I have long been intrigued by Chapman. I knew about his innovative design and motif cards distributed to schools and Native communities to help provide visual templates of ancestral and historic pots to help revitalize aesthetic traditions. I read Chapman's publications; his definitive studies of San Ildefonso and Santo Domingo designs; articles on ancestral and historic pottery; and recordings of the activities of the Indian Arts and Crafts

Fund, the Santa Fe Indian Fair and Market, the School of American Research, the Laboratory of Anthropology, the Museum of New Mexico, and the University of New Mexico. Chapman was a pivotal figure, admired by everyone, especially for his organizational abilities, his scholarship, and his likability. In a world of prima donnas, he was foundational and brought a distinct perspective to the world of ethnography, archaeology, and museums, and an appreciation for beauty. Unfortunately I knew little about the man who kept turning up in my research projects.

With Janet Chapman and Karen Barrie's years of dedicated research, this vacuum has been filled. Relying on unpublished materials, family memories and papers, Kenneth Chapman's episodic memoirs, professional correspondence, and publications, the authors set out to produce a book that would "convey the extent to which he [Chapman] lived his life by approaching professional issues with responsibility and awareness while at the same time pursuing, with a singleness of purpose, his personal passion for Indian art" (p. xi). They have accomplished this goal exceedingly well, critiquing each source for reliability and discussing the lacunae in their data. Chapman and Barrie follow Kenneth Chapman's life from his early childhood in Indiana, through his years as an art student in Chicago, and as an illustrator for Frank Springer in New Mexico. They document his early archaeological work with Edgar Lee Hewett at Las Vegas Normal University and later at the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research. The authors expertly contextualize Chapman's activities with life in New Mexico, especially Santa Fe's artistic and scholarly community. As a result, Chapman the unknown, quiet professional becomes a nuanced man and his individuality and work become melded into a single personality for the first time. I highly recommend this book for anyone interested in New Mexico history.

Nancy J. Parezo
University of Arizona

Chaco's Northern Prodigies: Salmon, Aztec, and the Ascendancy of the Middle San Juan Region after AD 1100. Edited by Paul F. Reed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008. xiv + 441 pp. 27 halftones, 48 line drawings, 18 maps, 43 tables, 22 graphs, notes, index. $55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87480-925-1.)

Chaco Canyon is an UNESCO World Heritage site in recognition of the spectacular masonry buildings called "great houses" that were built there

between ca. AD 860 and 1150. Each year tens of thousands of visitors endure bone-rattling dirt roads to see Chaco, and even more students from elementary schools to elite graduate programs see films about the social and technological achievements underlying great house architecture. A steady production of scholarly books and articles debate the reasons why such a dry, cold, uninviting place gave birth to so sophisticated a cultural phenomenon. This intense focus on Chaco tends to overshadow the fact that the people who constructed the canyon great houses were not alone in the northern Colorado Plateau, and what happened in Chaco was surely connected to other people and places in dynamic ways.

A new book edited by Paul F. Reed offers a welcome and long overdue perspective on some of those people who lived north of Chaco in the San Juan River system and experienced a historical development nearly as astonishing. *Chaco's Northern Prodigies* integrates archaeological research on the great house sites of Salmon and Aztec with recent field research at other sites in the *Totah*, the name given to the region between the San Juan River and southern Colorado. Salmon was likely built by migrants from Chaco in the late eleventh century, and Aztec incorporates architectural canons that seem to have originated in Chaco, pointing to a complex shift in regional sociopolitical networks toward the end of the great house period in Chaco. Archaeologists have long suspected this temporal relationship between the two areas, but the contributors to this volume have firmly established that the San Juan was not simply a vacant zone colonized by Chaco migrants, but instead a vital population center that selectively incorporated Chacoan people and cultural traits. The history of interaction between Chaco and the San Juan communities is traced through detailed analyses of material culture, from synthetic studies of museum collections that have been dormant for many decades, to new data from excavations. In quality, breadth, and tone, this volume represents a scholarly benchmark for the prehistory of the Colorado Plateau.

The volume also represents two important contributions that might be passed over by nonspecialists. First, the book brings to fruition a long-term research program at Salmon Ruin started by the late Cynthia Irwin-Williams in the early 1970s. Irwin-Williams coined the term *Chaco Phenomenon*, and was one of the first archaeologists to promote a systemic regional approach to understanding Chaco. Second, the volume was supported by the Center for Desert Archaeology, a nonprofit educational organization.

The success of this endeavor offers a valuable model for new kinds of research collaboration in the twenty-first century.

W. H. Wills
University of New Mexico

The American Far West in the Twentieth Century. By Earl S. Pomeroy, edited by Richard W. Etulain, foreword by Howard R. Lamar, bibliography by David M. Wrobel. The Lamar Series in Western History. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008. xxv + 570 pp. 46 halftones, 16 maps, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-300-12073-8.)

Earl S. Pomeroy (1915–2005) was a quietly brilliant man, and this is a quietly brilliant book. Pomeroy worked on it for many years—forty, according to Howard R. Lamar's intriguing foreword—constantly (rumor has it) revising, adding, tweaking, and inevitably postponing its publication. When Pomeroy's former student Richard W. Etulain retired after a luminous career at the University of New Mexico, he moved to Oregon to help the failing Pomeroy complete it, and did so after Pomeroy died. It is a labor of love by Etulain, Lamar, and Pomeroy himself. Within the 128 pages of notes, there are almost no references later than 1995, and to help keep the book useful, it includes a substantial "supplemental bibliography" by David M. Wrobel.

In this work, as in all his writings, Pomeroy commands a vast range of primary sources and secondary scholarship. The research is deep, the coverage encyclopedic, the style clear and unobtrusive. The emphasis is strongly on economic, social, and demographic change after 1900. The book's "far West" includes the Great Plains states from Oklahoma north—but not Texas (too southern)—and everything to the west, including Alaska and Hawaii. The opening chapter, "The West in 1901," heavily employs statistical material to describe economics, population movements, and the crucial role of railroads. This chapter is less a snapshot of the West in 1901 than a retrospective of the 1880s and 1890s. It also tells the reader what is coming: factual, source-based description rather than insistent theses. Five pairs of chapters follow: two on agricultural frontiers, breaking at 1920; two on new forms of economic growth, until about 1940, demonstrating maturation beyond extractive-based activity; two on rails, roads, and cities, pre- and post-1945; two on social relations and social attitudes; and two on politics and changing

electorates (more an analysis of electorates and voting groups than a narrative of events and personalities).

The concluding chapter, "Frontiers of Land and Opportunity: The Variously Far West," emphasizes migration and population change, the reduction of vast distances, the replacement of mining by tourism, and other matters. Intellectual and artistic developments (aside from higher education) are missing, which is surprising given Etulain's deservedly eminent reputation as an intellectual historian. Mentions of banking and finance are infrequent. On the other hand, the treatment of technology—aviation and aerospace, and best of all, the development of Silicon Valley and the whole world of microprocessors and computers, how new business models evolved, how and why these new high-tech industries differed from the old eastern and midwestern heavy industries, and how demography and economics changed as a result—is superb.

The book is rock-solid throughout. Etulain, Lamar, and Wrobel have done the field of western history a great favor by completing and publishing Pomeroy's opus. It is a precious gift to students and scholars of the West at all levels and will remain so for a long time.

Walter Nugent
University of Notre Dame (emeritus)

Playing the Odds: Las Vegas and the Modern West. By Hal K. Rothman, edited by Lincoln Bramwell, foreword by William deBuys. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. xix + 262 pp. Halftones, index. $24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-2112-1.)

In his op-ed piece "Do We Really Need the Rural West," Hal K. Rothman writes "I'm not often speechless" (p. 204). This truism shines forth in *Playing the Odds: Las Vegas and the Modern West,* a collection of Rothman's writings for the general public that William deBuys aptly christens an "engaging and feisty volume" in his thoughtful and perfect foreword. Anyone who knew Rothman will instantly recognize his voice—articulate, opinionated, passionate, yet hopeful. Anyone who did not will find in this assemblage of articles, editorials, and opinion pieces a fine introduction.

Editor Lincoln Bramwell organized *Playing the Odds* into four parts, each containing fifteen to twenty missives. Parts 1 and 2 focus on Rothman's adopted home of Las Vegas, which he champions as a model for the New

West. Dismissive of the "culturati" who clearly do not understand his city, Rothman is an unabashed cheerleader, calling Las Vegas the "first wonder of the postmodern world," a "city of hope," "home to the hippest club scene in the nation," and even, after a rain, "one of the earth's most beautiful places" (pp. 39, 40, 73, 151). Despite the hyperbole, Rothman also sees challenges—affordable housing, loss of community, corrupted parochial politics, immigration, and growth—that this "center of American and world leisure" must face (p. 39). His role is as goad. Las Vegas needs to "grow up," he asserts, as its bifurcated population of retirees and children and regressive tax system put an unbearable strain on the shrinking middle class unable to make ends meet on service-industry wages. Now that the "Mirage Phase," Rothman's term for the megaresort boom period between 1989 and 2000, has ended, Las Vegas must reinvent itself yet again.

Part 3 on the western environment is arguably the strongest and meatiest section of the book. Rothman's forte was environmental history and he has the luxury of longer articles here. His arguments, however, are a strong reminder of the dynamic nature of the field. "Wilderness is dead," he declares, "not as reserved land, but as a movement or a viable political strategy" (p. 134). Recreation has replaced it, Rothman continues, but this new phase of environmentalism is still too self-interested to have developed a much-needed ethic of sustainability. Rothman's "Perils of Ecotourism" offers a succinct summary of his "devil's bargain" thesis while other essays focus on the West's most controversial resource: water. He calls for a scrapping of the outdated Colorado River Compact, demands cooperative water management, and posits Las Vegas as a model for water conservation. In the process, Rothman does not shy away from swiping at the rural West, which he argues needs to get out of the way: "America will not starve without Nevada's alfalfa" (p. 167).

Part 4, "Looking Beyond Las Vegas's Borders," is somewhat of a catch-all in which Rothman opines on everything from amenity towns like Santa Fe and Steamboat Springs to homeowners' associations, nuclear power, election reform, September 11th, public gyms, eminent domain, and the Nuclear Energy Institute. Yet the overarching theme here is the need for community, which Rothman passionately believed he was promoting through his writing and his life. The vast majority of the pieces in *Playing the Odds* were written after Rothman's diagnosis of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS or Lou Gehrig's Disease), and there is a certain feverishness to them as if he is racing against his own deteriorating body. Several of the last posts, for

example, offer no solutions, but stand simply as a challenge. *Playing the Odds* is classic Hal Rothman. It is not to be missed.

Sara Dant
Weber State University

Navigating the Missouri: Steamboating on Nature's Highway, 1819–1935. By William E. Lass. (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark, 2008. 464 pp. 43 halftones, maps, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87062-355-4.)

Samuel Clemens may have inextricably linked the Mississippi River to steamboating in the eyes of most Americans, but those of us who live on the Missouri River know that these boats were also critical to the economic, social, and cultural development of the wider American West. William E. Lass ably tells that story in this informative book, the end result of an entire career devoted to thinking, researching, and writing about the "Big Muddy."

What Lass has written is really an economic and commercial history of the Missouri, with steamboats serving as one key mode of transport among many on and around the river. He skillfully describes the interplay between mackinaws, roads, steamboats, railroads, and barges as the region was explored, exploited for its resources, and permanently settled by the advancing Anglo American population. The river, dangerous and unpredictable as it could be, provided the most efficient means of moving bulk commercial and military cargos until the railroads came. Even then it provided access to areas not served by rail and provided north–south linkages when most rail lines ran east–west. Lass consistently drives home the point that steamboating's success or failure was always linked to its commercial viability. The side-wheelers and stern-wheelers were engines of commerce, not convenience or nostalgia. They lost their dominance when replaced by more efficient modes of land- and water-based transportation capable of operating in all seasons.

Lass approaches his subject chronologically, with St. Louis as the center of trade on the lower Missouri River before the Civil War. The city was already prominent in the Mississippi River trade, which made it a natural base to support westward expansion. The Missouri's shifting channel, hazardous sandbars, and ever present snags pushed steamboat evolution, but most boats had a relatively short life. As America moved west, so too did the steamboats. As railroads became more common on the lower river, the

steamboats shifted to the upper river, first to Omaha; then Sioux City, Iowa, and Yankton, Dakota Territory; and finally to Bismarck, Dakota Territory. The boats got bigger after the Civil War and then smaller toward the end of the century as priorities shifted from long-haul to short-haul trips. The upper Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, where railroads did not penetrate until the early twentieth century, were the last bastions of the trade, which disappeared by 1935.

Lass's narrative is supported by exhaustive research. He has thoroughly mined archival collections up and down the river, government documents, newspapers, period publications, and relevant secondary sources. If anything, he risks inundating his reader with too much factual information, and one sometimes worries about losing sight of the forest for all the trees. That quibble is minor, for the author has done an excellent job of enhancing our understanding of Missouri River steamboats in the context in which they operated.

Kurt Hackemer
University of South Dakota

Seizing Destiny: The Relentless Expansion of American Territory. By Richard Kluger. (New York: Vintage Books, 2008. xviii + 649 pp. 10 maps, appendix, bibliographical notes, index. $17.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-375-71298-2.)

Seizing Destiny is a sweeping narrative that begins with Spanish exploration in the Americas in the fifteenth century and concludes in 1999 with the United States' return of the Panama Canal. A Pulitzer Prize–winning author and a masterful storyteller, Richard Kluger chronicles the sometimes sordid and often aggressive American quest for continental dominance. He concentrates his story on the period between 1800 and 1900 when the United States made eleven treaties to purchase or annex land. The rapid expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century was indeed surprising and significant. The new nation swept the major European powers from the continent with a mix of bluster, savvy, firmness, and military fortitude. Left without European allies, the remaining Indian tribes, according to Kluger, could hardly resist the U.S. expansion. At the same time, the United States initiated a war to remove Mexico from the West and Southwest.

From its original boundaries encompassing 895,415 square miles, the United States went on to acquire more than 2.3 million square miles by

conquest, purchase, or negotiation. Building chapters around these moments of expansion, Kluger devotes his narrative to the diplomatic, political, and military events that surrounded these acquisitions. The most useful parts of this book are its detailed and complex descriptions of the various treaty terms and how they were crafted, revised, and adopted. His stories are compelling and his characters sharply drawn, but the book's overarching argument falls flat. Kluger wants to show how the United States today took its shape and so to reveal a unifying theme of American history: the taking of land and resources. For Kluger relinquishing the Panama Canal in 1999, therefore, seems to mark a break in this historic process as it was the first time the United States foreswore continued occupation of territory it once possessed. But Kluger does not clarify how we should think differently about this process. Six hundred pages of dense text without footnotes, *Seizing Destiny* concludes that "fortunate geography" has brought wealth and power to the United States and that Americans, bloated with success, have squandered their free ride through history (p. 603).

Despite its brilliant passages and seductive narrative, this book leaves a curious impression. Kluger relies on secondary sources three generations old, and so narrowly focuses on diplomatic exchanges that we have little sense of the social world beyond the elites. Indians remain entirely on the margins of this story, and recent histories of the destruction of the bison, environmental change, and Indian geopolitical strategies are entirely ignored. Kluger's conclusion asserts that Americans transferred their territorial expansionism into "other forms of expansionism" and along the way neglected the "social pathogens" alive in their society (p. 603). Kluger's emphasis on telling the "darker side" of American history, moreover, sounds off-key with the triumphant tone of much of his diplomatic narrative (p. xviii).

Early in the book Kluger warns, "there was little innocence to begin with—only ambition and the resolve to make the most of what destiny had kindly dealt them" (p. 42). The American character was grasping and land hungry, ruthless and self-justifying, and gluttonously optimistic and unapologetic. The resulting sense of entitlement among Americans is what Kluger hopes to skewer in this book. To do so effectively, however, he needs to move beyond the diplomatic drawing rooms into the broader society and explain the deep processes underway in the conflicts over expansionism.

William G. Thomas
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

The Comanche Empire. By Pekka Hämäläinen. The Lamar Series in Western History. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008. viii + 500 pp. 12 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-300-12654-9.)

Pekka Hämäläinen's *The Comanche Empire* expands as well as challenges current approaches to early American history. Whereas many have highlighted the centrality of indigenous peoples to the development of various imperial spheres, Hämäläinen presupposes such historical truths. He maintains that to fully gauge the ultimate legacies of America's colonial encounters, alternative perspectives to indigenous-imperial relations are needed, perspectives that do not foreclose the range of outcomes for all involved. In this impressive study, colonial expansion does not always come at the expense of indigenous peoples. Indeed, the boundaries between imperialist and colonized become both blurred and recast.

Synthesizing and reinvigorating recent debates in Borderlands history, Hämäläinen charts the rise and fall of the most iconic of all Southern Plains Indians, the Comanches. These "lords of the plains" have preoccupied western historians for generations. Predominantly characterized as impediments to Spanish, Mexican, and lastly American imperial projects, Comanches range across western historiography but generally do so in sidebars or as subplots to other stories. While a handful of recent works have provided important insights into Comanche diplomacy, warfare, and ecological practices, far too often the Comanches appear sporadically in narratives of the West. Their dominance of the vast interior between New Mexico and Texas has largely escaped the attention of Borderlands historians, until now.

Following a masterful introduction that challenges the teleology of colonial history, Hämäläinen assesses the multiple phases of Comanche expansion. From their first documentation following the reconquista to their subsequent expansion into Texas, Hämäläinen launches an incredible argument, one that "may sound implausible" (p. 140). With firm command over the sources and secondary literature, he suggests that much of western history must be attributable to the power of an emergent confederation of Comanche bands. Rather than seeing colonial New Mexico, for example, at the center of the Borderlands, Hämäläinen details an "Empire of the Plains," suggesting that the Comanches, and not Spanish and later Mexican authorities, ultimately dictated the pace and scale of the region's nineteenth-century past. An indigenous empire, in short, emerged after the first century of Spanish colonialism and subsequently eclipsed the imperial forces

that had engendered its creation. This empire endured throughout two centuries and comprises a missing variable in the calculus of American history.

To sustain his argument, Hämäläinen meticulously plots the origins as well as forms of the Comanche dominion. The first two chapters trace their conquest of the Southern Plains and reorganization of its riverine economies, respectively. Following the dispersal of Apache horticulturalists throughout the 1700s, Comanches subsequently straddled New Mexican and Texan, as well as French and British, imperial zones. They dramatically recreated themselves, becoming supreme equestrians as well as consummate diplomats, traders, and warriors. The endnotes to these two chapters extend across twenty pages and highlight the author's painstaking attempt to reconstruct the origins of Comanche supremacy. Chapter 3 brilliantly reexamines the Bourbon Reforms in northern New Spain and transitions to the bulk of the remainder of the study, a provocative analysis of the maintenance of an indigenous empire alongside the expansion of an Anglo American one. Hämäläinen interweaves these parallel imperial projects, and all scholars of the early American West will have to contend with the relentless claims found throughout this remarkable and unrivaled study.

Ned Blackhawk
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Making Peace with Cochise: The 1872 Journal of Captain Joseph Alton Sladen. Edited by Edwin R. Sweeney, foreword by Frank J. Sladen Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. xxiii + 179 pp. 24 halftones, map, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-3978-4.)

This slender volume provides a close-up glimpse of the American effort in 1872 to achieve peace with Cochise and his Chokonen Apache followers in southern New Mexico and Arizona. It does so via the journal kept by Capt. Joseph Alton Sladen, personal aide to Gen. O. O. Howard, while he accompanied Howard on the dangerous trek to locate the Indian leader and negotiate an end to the fighting. The war they hoped to end had begun with scattered raids in 1860 and escalated into a bitter conflict because of the Bascom Affair in 1861 when the young lieutenant had members of the chief's family killed. For the next decade, the Chokonens killed Americans whenever they could. By 1870 the Apache leader and the administration of Ulysses S. Grant both sought peace, and General Howard traveled to Arizona to achieve it.

Sladen's journal relates how Howard located Tom Jeffords, one of the few whites Cochise trusted who agreed to help. Then it gives a detailed account of the two young Apaches related to Cochise who were recruited to help. With them and Captain Sladen, Howard set out from Ft. Apache in late August 1872, crossing east into New Mexico and then south and west back into Arizona, finally meeting the Apache leader and negotiating a settlement in mid-October of that year. Captain Sladen's account of their journey reads more like a narrative than the usual nineteenth-century travel journal. He rarely gave a date or even the day of the week, but fashioned an interesting discussion of their travels that may be followed on the clear map the editor provides. The difficulties of travel, frequent shortages of water, interesting geographic features, the realization that the Apaches knew of their travels, and the recognition of real personal danger all come through clearly. Often Sladen used negative comments such as when he says that Cochise had a "crafty mind" or that the Indian interpreter had a "sensual, cruel, crafty face" (pp. 86, 97). At the same time, Sladen came to respect Cochise, to like the two Apache guides who helped locate the chief, and to feel some sympathy for the Indians. The captain gave a clear idea of the mixed feelings about Indians that existed in the nineteenth-century American West.

Editor Edwin R. Sweeney brings years of research to his task. The annotations and careful bibliography combine his long-demonstrated knowledge of Cochise and the added research for this edition. His explanations are clear and the judgments he offers about Cochise, Howard, and Jeffords appear reasoned and fair. This journal gives readers an unusual view of Apache life and strategy as they sought to retain their homeland and way of life.

Roger L. Nichols
University of Arizona

Plains Village Archaeology: Bison-hunting Farmers in the Central and Northern Plains. Edited by Stanley A. Ahler and Marvin Kay. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2007. xxi + 321 pp. 30 halftones, line drawings, 44 maps, 31 tables, notes, references, index. $50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87480-905-3.)

What we have come to know as Plains Village archaeology is a highly variable discipline that covers the last thousand years of prehistoric and early

historic American Indian existence on the Great Plains of North America. The eclectic collection of articles entitled *Plains Village Archaeology* is as fickle as its subject matter.

The Plains Village tradition is one of the major prehistoric archaeological taxa of Native North America, as defined by Gordon Willey in his seminal work *An Introduction to American Archaeology* (1966). Breaking down the Plains Village supertradition into finer taxonomic units has been and continues to be a major problem, fraught with confounding, sometimes illogical, but always complicated terminology. The authors of *Plains Village Archaeology* have done little to alleviate this situation, which is readily acknowledged by the volume editors. Rather, they have assembled a group of diverse articles that deal with a variety of contemporary archaeological topics. A general topical classification arrives at the following results: five articles on culture history; three articles on artifact classification or analysis; one article on trade; three articles on settlement pattern or village site analysis; two articles on warfare and fortifications; two articles on subsistence; one article on geophysical mapping; one article on archaeological history; and one article on ethnographic archaeology. Such breadth of subject matter is impressive, but what the volume really lacks is a common cord beyond the general subject, as well as a concluding synthesis, to bind it all together. Much can be learned from this collection of papers, but there is little if any consideration given to where this new information fits into the larger context. This lack is a failure on the part of the volume editors, not the individual authors.

Three articles address the issue of Middle Missouri subtradition (early Plains Village) origins in the Northern Plains. This issue comes down to two different points of view: local development versus population influx—in other words, diffusion versus migration. In the case at hand, the Initial Middle Missouri variant (IMMV) is split into eastern and western divisions. The eastern division (IMMVe) is based in the northeastern Plains subarea, while the western division (IMMVw) is centered in the southern Middle Missouri subarea, in the Missouri River valley proper. The author makes a convincing argument for the in situ development of the IMMVe from a Late Woodland (Great Oasis) base, under the distant impetus of Mississippian culture. However, when one tries to extend the diffusion argument to the west, to the IMMVw, it quickly breaks down. Not only is there little evidence of appropriate Late Woodland antecedents in the Middle Missouri subarea, despite certain assertions to the contrary based more on

wishful thinking than hard data, but also evidence of Mississipian influence declines rapidly. Thus, the view from the west, in my opinion, clearly favors the migration argument over one of diffusion.

All in all, there is much interesting and thought-provoking reading among the articles that make up *Plains Village Archaeology*. However, the reader should be aware that some of these articles, particularly those of a cultural-historical nature, espouse particular viewpoints that are not necessarily those of all Plains Village archaeologists.

Dennis L. Toom
University of North Dakota

Living Through the Generations: Continuity and Change in Navajo Women's Lives. By Joanne McCloskey. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. 228 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. $50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-2578-2, $24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8165-2631-4.)

Living Through the Generations is an ode to Navajo women. It celebrates their strength, knowledge, and dignity as they have worked to maintain continuity of family and culture over the past century in a vastly changing world. Based on a life-history approach and interviews conducted in 1988 and 1990 in Crownpoint, New Mexico, with seventy-seven Navajo women, ages eighteen to ninety-three, author Joanne McCloskey explores attitudes regarding motherhood; family; and childbearing in three generations described as "grandmothers," "midlife mothers," and "young mothers." Rejecting a traditional-modern dichotomy and emphasizing women's agency and resourcefulness, McCloskey finds that, despite changed material conditions, there is remarkable continuity in the value placed on having children, in the importance of women being economic actors, and in the role of women—especially grandmothers—as repositories and transmitters of cultural knowledge. This cohesion is seen in Navajo women's identification of motherhood as the preferred route to adult status and their expectation that they will combine motherhood with continuing education and wage employment.

Especially important is the new insight the book offers into the meaning and experience of teenage pregnancy and single motherhood, which are seen as "social problems" by mainstream agencies but are interpreted and accommodated by the women themselves within the terms of the age-old

matrilineal principles of Navajo culture. Also valuable is the women's range of responses to McCloskey's questions about birth control, abortion, and adoption. The author's style is direct and there is little analysis or debate of theoretical issues. This complements and respects the direct voices of the Navajo women who tell their stories.

The book's strength is the rich picture of the diverse positions, challenges, aspirations, and achievements of the women. A possible weakness is that there is little introduction to Navajo culture for the non-Navajo or non-Navajo-specialist reader. The central importance of the deity, Changing Woman, as the symbolic representation of motherhood and matrilineality is briefly discussed in the introduction but the rituals and practices around women's life-course events are not. For example it is assumed that readers will already be familiar with the Kinaaldá, the coming-of-age ceremony for Navajo girls. As we learn from the women interviewed, this puberty rite is re-emerging as important in grandmother-granddaughter relations today, and this discussion would have been much enriched by a review of the anthropological and historical literature on this and other life-cycle practices.

The book is recommended for undergraduate courses on oral history, women's lives cross-culturally, and Native American studies.

Sally Cole
Concordia University

One Step Over the Line: Toward a History of Women in the North American Wests. Edited by Elizabeth Jameson and Sheila McManus. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008. xxvii + 446 pp. 31 halftones, notes, index. $34.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-88864-501-2.)

In "Latitudes and Longitudes: Teaching the History of Women in the U.S. and Canadian Wests," an essay in this splendid volume of notable presentations from the "Unsettled Pasts: Reconceiving the West Through Women's History" 2002 Conference at the University of Calgary, historian Mary Murphy notes that she has arrived at a new insight. Teaching a course on western women at Montana State University that combines women of Canada with those of the United States, she always understood "that race, class, and ethnicity are part of the constructions of gender and of identity." "But I confess," she adds, "that the role of the state in the construction of

gender had been something of a sleeping monster in my teaching." "Organizing a class that deals with women in different nations," Murphy continues, "makes clear how integral the state is in that process, and further, it allows students to see more clearly how gender is constructed in different times, places, and societies" (pp. 421–22).

Comparative history is an especially fruitful field since people in different nations develop in unique ways because of their pasts and the ways that they structure their institutions. Also, they respond differently to such processes as settlement of the land, colonization of Native or First peoples, and the establishment of agencies of law and order. In all countries, people discover who they are, in large measure, by learning who they are not. All these differences are sharpened at the borderland that encompasses the territory of the northwestern United States as it merges into Canada. Here individuals and families often move back and forth and come to understand fully how residency from one nation to another affects their legal status and rights. The impact on women is usually more profound than the impact on men. At times, however, as Sylvia Van Kirk discovers in "A Transborder Family in the Pacific North West," it was the sons of the Métis fur-trading families "who had great difficulty securing an economic niche for themselves and maintaining the family's status" (p. 91).

The essays and the introductions to the volume as a whole and to its separate parts are, without exception, excellent. The entire work addresses the central issues of the differing experiences of individuals and families who lived in the northern borderland. The volume also weaves into the connecting narratives the ways that Canada, for example, developed differently from the United States, in part because of what it learned from its neighbor. Elizabeth Jameson, in her lucidly written "Connecting the Women's Wests," states that although Canadians relied less on warfare than their counterparts to the south, "it happened in part because the people of Canada's First Nations sought to avoid the carnage they knew had already happened in the United States" (p. 17).

This is a vitally important contribution to the history of western women. All who teach and research in this field will profit from the work the individual scholars have done, and the wonderful unity of purpose that the editors have imposed on the book as a whole. In addition the individual essays are beautifully penned narratives that tell individual and family stories that are often moving. They will linger in the readers' memory long

after they have finished the final page of the book. Few history volumes have that impact.

Shirley A. Leckie
University of Central Florida

Their Own Frontier: Women Intellectuals Re-Visioning the American West. Edited with an introduction by Shirley A. Leckie and Nancy J. Parezo. Women in the West series. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xiv + 397 pp. 18 halftones, notes. $27.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8032-2958-7.)

Few Americans suffer more stereotype and caricature than the pioneering women of the West. Studies of white women feature sturdy helpmates, refined ladies taken west against their wills, "hysterical" women who languished and died, "soiled doves" of the dance hall and brothel, and mannish Calamity Janes. Proponents of the West have tended to regard women as banal trivialities or secondary props to the main actors: the glamorous cowboys and gunfighters or the solid settlers and town builders.

Their Own Frontier presents something entirely different. More accurately, it represents the third book in a collection that seeks to venerate historians and anthropologists who made incalculable contributions to our understanding of Native American cultures of the Great Plains and Southwest. The book presents innumerable lessons regarding the importance of commemorating women who were sadly forced to cobble together careers at the edges of the academic world and yet valiantly provided current scholars with invaluable ethnographic information that would have been erased had it not been for their research and publications. The names of a handful of these women, such as historians Angie Debo and Mari Sandoz, ring familiar but the majority remain virtually unknown.

With few exceptions, several common patterns emerge regarding these women's paths and, in so doing, provide lessons about how talented women became (and still in many circumstances become) intellectuals. As children and young adults, most of these women profited from supportive family members who valued women's education and who dismissed gendered expectations when their daughters or nieces sought nontraditional paths. Many benefited or at the least learned from mentors who guided their intellectual pursuits and provided monetary support during the lean war and depression years or because universities and other grant-

lending institutions refused to fund women. Above all, these women regarded gender as a legitimate and valuable field of study in disciplines that, in the early decades of the twentieth century, focused almost exclusively on men and male activity.

On the negative side, women faced real obstacles advancing academically and professionally. Unsupportive faculty, male bias, the belief that women were not suited for field or archival work, and in some instances the deliberate efforts to withhold funding or fellowships blocked women's avenues to success. Women of color faced double oppression as both females and minorities and oftentimes found themselves straddling two worlds. Ella Deloria, for example, experienced trouble reconciling the research expectations of her acclaimed mentors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict with her experiences as a Dakota woman. Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) periodically advocated for assimilation and accommodation and at other times counseled Indians to honor and maintain their traditional lifeways.

Little detracts from this wonderful book. An index and a bibliography or at least a list of suggestions for further reading would have proved valuable. The greatest omission, however, concerns an analysis of the land and these women's sense of place and belonging within the landscapes they inhabited. Intellectuals are rarely remembered for their appreciation of the physical environment but clearly an inkling of that reverence for the West percolated through most of these biographies. Further development would have enhanced an already splendid volume.

Laura McCall
Metropolitan State College of Denver

The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during World War II. By Luis Alvarez. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. xiii + 320 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-520-25301-8.)

In eight tantalizing chapters, Luis Alvarez links the zoot suit culture to the riots in Los Angeles in 1943 and to the racial turmoil throughout the country that year, drawing a thought-provoking picture of Americans in crisis. After a fascinating presentation of "Dignity Denied: Youth in the Early War Years" (part 1 of the current volume), he offers interpretations (more sociological and psychological than historical) of the relationship between the zoot suit style and "The Struggle for Dignity" (part 2). Alvarez is at his

most convincing when discussing "Violence and National Belonging on the Home Front" (part 3).

Although colorful, entertaining, and frequently enlightening, his thesis does not always connect convincingly—especially when he attempts to image such diverse people as Mexican Americans, African Americans, and Japanese Americans in one culture (p. 7). By focusing on Los Angeles and New York, Alvarez may have simplified his connections, but he left many ethnic/racial zoot suiters almost untouched. Still, he leads us to a better understanding of the less-than-united America during World War II.

Letting us peek at captivating images, Alvarez leaves us asking for more. When discussing race and political economy, for example, he tells us that middle-class Mexican Americans were "able to more effectively declare a white racial identity" than African Americans and thereby "demand equal citizenship" (p. 21). He states that the Mexicans, Filipinos, and Chinese were less likely to be discriminated against in employment and unionization, but does not really help us understand the growing racial divide between blacks and these other racial minorities. Youth often shared the zoot, the music, doubts about their military service, the dance floor, and the perplexities of maintaining identity, but almost never shared their physical space (pp. 78–80, 116–17, 121). Why? One wants to know more.

The tales of racial violence and riot in 1943 have been told by other historians, but Alvarez offers us a unique transgender and transracial perspective on them from the youths' point of view. It is a bit of a stretch to say that the Los Angeles riots of 1943 "foreshadowed" the other riots to come and that they "illuminate instances when ordinary people articulate critiques of society" (pp. 201, 202). Still, his approach helps us understand that riots are about myriad deep-seated, conflicting issues, none of which stands alone. In this case, Alvarez cleverly connects the cause of riots to an identity-frustrated youth, the group that was at the forefront of the rioting and looting.

Except for his sweeping generalities of ethnic- and race-specific zoot suiters—especially his attributing perhaps too many subtle, psychological considerations for wearing the zoot suit—Alvarez is quite informative about how race and "rebellious" youth culture added a troubling dimension to the American wartime scene. As such this book has value in the classroom, since the issues are relative to today's urban youth.

Jere W. Roberson
University of Central Oklahoma

Tascosa: Its Life and Gaudy Times. By Frederick Nolan. (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2007. xviii + 361 pp. 139 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89672-604-8.)

Perched in a cottonwood grove on the sandy bank of the Canadian River in the northeastern reaches of Texas—where Comanche and Kiowa hunting parties once roamed—the town of Tascosa never achieved the notoriety of Dodge City, Deadwood, or Tombstone. Nonetheless, for several years in the late 1800s, this raucous adobe village was known far and wide as the "cowboy capital of the Panhandle."

In Tascosa human life was often as cheap as the whiskey, harlots, and other carnal enticements offered at the array of flourishing drinking establishments, dance halls, and brothels that catered to thirsty buffalo hunters, drovers, and sheep herders. Saloon and street fights were frequent and gunplay was not rare. A Texas Ranger who experienced Tascosa in its heyday described it as "the hardest place on the frontier" (p. xvii).

At last this long-overlooked settlement with a checkered past has been revealed in its entire boisterous splendor in *Tascosa* by English author Frederick Nolan. The first book to chronicle the rise and fall of Tascosa since the publication of John L. McCarty's *Maverick Town: The Story of Old Tascosa* (1946), Nolan's detailed account of this remote outlaw hangout is yet another of his efforts to present a detailed and accurate portrayal of an American West that all too often has been mythologized and romanticized.

Born in Liverpool, England, in 1931, Nolan has turned out scores of historical novels and thrillers using various pen names such as Donald Severn, Daniel Rockfern, and Christine McGuire. Nolan's books about Billy the Kid and the Lincoln County War, however, have established him as one of England's authorities on the American West, and in 1954 he cofounded the English Westerners' Society.

In his lively examination of Tascosa, Nolan relates the multilayered story of the town first known as Hidetown when it served as a gathering place for buffalo hunters. Later the town was named Atacosa ("boggy creek")—after a nearby tributary notorious for quicksand—and eventually the "A" was dropped. After the arrival of Hispanic ranchers from neighboring New Mexico Territory with their great flocks of sheep, Anglo cattlemen—also attracted to the free grass of the Llano Estacado (Staked Plain)—established even more ranches. Soon Tascosa blossomed as a trade center and cattle trail stop.

Tascosa's life as a boom town was fleeting but before the railroad bypassed the place and ghosts began moving in, an assortment of colorful characters were either residents or frequent visitors. Among the more notable were Henry McCarty, better known as Billy the Kid, and Pat Garrett, the man who shot and killed the Kid at Fort Sumner in 1881. The descriptions and accounts Nolan offers of this celebrated pair, as well as many others not so well known, are infused with humor and often obscure bits of history uncovered during what had to be painstaking research.

The book contains many historic photographs, although the inclusion of a map showing the Panhandle and surrounding territory would have been an immense aid for the reader. Perhaps that can be added in a future edition. Lack of a map aside, all in all Nolan did a credible job in this biography of a once thriving town that time has forgotten.

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Half-Lives and Half-Truths: Confronting the Radioactive Legacies of the Cold War. Edited by Barbara Rose Johnston. School for Advanced Research Resident Scholar Series. (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007. x + 326 pp. 16 halftones, maps, tables, graph, notes, references, index. $27.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-930618-82-4.)

The anthology *Half-Lives and Half-Truths* is more a work of political advocacy than scholarship. The fifteen contributing anthropologists explore the environmental and health effects of the American and Soviet "nuclear war machine" on the communities near atomic weapons and uranium mining facilities (p. 1). Several essays look at well-known Cold War communities, such as Native Americans near the Hanford Reservation in Washington, downwinders near the Nevada Test Site, victims of fallout in the Marshall Islands, and Navajo uranium miners. Others look at less notorious episodes among the Inupiat in northern Alaska and radioactive poisoning in Soviet Kazakhstan.

Editor Barbara Rose Johnston argues in her introduction that rather than preventing Armageddon, as is commonly assumed, the superpowers waged nuclear war on the environment and their own people, particularly targeting minority communities with the processing of waste and fallout of nuclear testing. The damage to these "radiogenic communities" by the half-life decay

of radioisotopes has led to people with "half-lives" who struggle with compromised health (p. 2). Despite this damage, government scientists were able to pacify public concern with "calculated half-truths" (p. 7).

If Johnston's inflammatory thesis sounds like the claim of a political advocate for the aggrieved communities, it is because these scholars have willingly assumed that role. As Laura Nader and Hugh Gusterson claim, their profession has much to atone for given the cooperation that anthropologists such as Margaret Mead gave to the federal government during the Cold War to the detriment of indigenous cultures. Rejecting Mead's faith in Western civilization, these scholars offer what they claim is a "more muscular interrogation of received wisdom" (p. 305). Since all science is rife with politics, they claim it is their responsibility to abandon neutral posturing and become representatives of marginalized communities.

The positive result of their political activism is that they portray the victims of radiation exposure with great compassion, although some of the essays oddly devote little time to discussing their field work and show little original research. With the exception of Theresa Satterfield and Joshua Levin's fine essay on the flawed decision-making process at Rocky Flat, Colorado, the authors never come close to understanding what made the scientific and technical agents of nuclear pollution tick. With little evidence, the scholars waste their words in a mostly futile effort to prove that scientists and medical professionals deliberately poisoned marginal communities as an experiment and spun half-truths about their intentions to their victims. Any scientists with a conscience, they conclude, must have silently gritted their teeth for fear of losing research funding. This campaign to locate evil in the heart of the atom establishment is misguided. Rarely do these anthropologists entertain more benign explanations, such as the possibility that rightly or wrongly most of America's scientists believed that low dose exposures were safe and inevitable given the nation's costly Cold War fight for existence. But that would require that they explore all possible explanations, follow the evidence, and abandon their activist role. It might not be good politics, but it would be better scholarship.

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Book Notes

Hispanic Folk Songs of New Mexico: With Selected Songs Collected, Transcribed, and Arranged for Voice with Piano or Guitar Accompaniment. By John Donald Robb. Revised edition reissued by the Robb Musical Trust with new arrangements for guitar. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008. xv + 81 pp. 17 songs in musical notation. $29.95 spiral bound, ISBN 978-0-8263-4434-2.)

Oral History Collections Catalog for New Mexico, 3d ed. (Las Cruces: New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum, 2009. xx + 243 pp. Maps, appendixes, index.)

Ghosts of Glen Canyon: History Beneath Lake Powell, rev. ed. By C. Gregory Crampton, foreword by Edward Abbey, photographs by Philip Hyde and W. L. Rusho. (Salt Lake City: Bonneville Books, a joint imprint with the University of Utah Press and the J. Willard Marriott Library at the University of Utah, 2009. xv + 150 pp. 14 color plates, 215 halftones, line drawings, 51 maps, bibliography, index. $29.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-87480-946-6.)

Winchester Warriors: Texas Rangers of Company D, 1874–1901. By Bob Alexander. Frances B. Vick series, no. 6. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2009. xiv + 402 pp. 100 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-268-0.)

The Deadliest Outlaws: The Ketchum Gang and the Wild Bunch, 2d ed. By Jeffrey Burton. A. C. Green Series, no. 8. (Denton: University of North

Texas Press, 2009. xiii + 504 pp. 59 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-270-3.)

Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon. By Lynn Stephen. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007. xxii + 375 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $89.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-3972-4, $24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-3990-8.)

Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity. By John Mraz. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009. xiv + 343 pp. 53 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. $84.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4429-2, $23.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4443-8.)

Elite Craft Producers, Artists, and Warriors at Aguateca: Lithic Analysis. By Kazuo Aoyama.Vol. 2, *Monographs of the Aguateca Archeological Project First Phase.* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009. xiv + 210 pp. Halftones, 67 line drawings, maps, 131 tables, appendixes, references, index. $60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87480-959-6.)

The Enduring Legacy: Oil, Culture, and Society in Venezuela. By Miguel Tinker Salas. American Encounters/Global Interactions series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009. xvi + 323 pp. Map, notes, bibliography, index. $84.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4400-1, $23.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4419-3.)

Ancient Human Migrations: A Multidisciplinary Approach. Edited by Peter N. Peregrine, Ilia Peiros, and Marcus W. Feldman. Foundations of Archaeological Inquiry series. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009. xii + 208 pp. 20 line drawings, 36 maps, 21 tables, bibliography, index. $30.00 paper, ISBN 978-0-87480-942-8.)

News Notes

Announcements

The *New Mexico Historical Review* congratulates Crocker Ltd., the Bernalillo County Parks and Recreation Department, and the Hubbell House Alliance for receiving the Preservation Honor Award for the restoration of the Gutierrez-Hubbell House in Bernalillo County, New Mexico. The project was one of twenty-three award winners honored by the National Trust during its 2009 National Preservation Conference in Nashville, Tennessee.

Archives, Exhibits, and Historic (Web) Sites

The Albuquerque Museum of Art and History has opened three new exhibits. "Time Exposures: Picturing a History of Isleta Pueblo in the Nineteenth Century," a visual history of Isleta Pueblo through historic photographs, artifacts, and songs organized by the Pueblo of Isleta, will run through 25 April 2010. "Where's Albuquerque? Three Hundred Years of New Mexico Maps" will run until June 2010. "Albuquerque's New Town," a story of Albuquerque following the Civil War to the heyday of U.S. Route 66, will run until July 2010. The Albuquerque Museum of Art and History is located at 2000 Mountain Road NW in Albuquerque. For more information, call 505-243-7255 or visit the website: www.cabq.gov/museum/events.html.

The Georgia O'Keeffe Museum announces "Susan Rothenberg: Moving in Place," which will run from 22 January to 16 May 2010. The Georgia

O'Keeffe Museum is located at 217 Johnson Street in Santa Fe. For more information, call 505-946-1000 or visit the website: www.okeeffemuseum.org.

The New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum presents "Building for the Future: Rural Schoolhouses of New Mexico 1880–1965." The exhibit tells the story of these iconic structures through a mix of historical images, contemporary photographs of surviving buildings, and objects from the museum's collections. This exhibit will be on display until 18 July 2010. The New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum is located at 4100 Dripping Springs Road in Las Cruces. For more information, call 575-522-4100 or visit the website: www.nmfarmandranchmuseum.org.

The *New Mexico Historical Review* has launched a new website at www.newmexicohistoricalreview.org. Readers can now view the table of contents for every past issue and order back issues online.

Calendar of Events

7–11 *April* The 57th Annual Conference of the Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies (RMCLAS) will be held in Boulder, Colorado, at the Millennium Harvest House. The RMCLAS Annual Conference provides an opportunity for scholars and graduate students to share original research on Latin America. More information will be posted at the RMCLAS website, www.rmclas.org, as it becomes available.

7–10 *April* The Organization of American Historians will have their 102d annual meeting in Washington, D.C., at the Hilton Washington. More information about the conference is available on the website: meetings.oah.org.

29 *April–1 May* The Historical Society of New Mexico will have its annual New Mexico State History Conference at the Lea County Event Center in Hobbs. For more information, visit the website: www.hsnm.org.