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The Rio Puerco Irrigation Company

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WHEN COLONIZING NORTH AMERICA, the Spanish usually organized their efforts meticulously and carefully carried out their plans. Large groups of pioneers, generally under a military leader and protected by a few soldiers, struck out to establish a colony. Once committed to the enterprise, a colonist could not change his mind; to turn back was often considered mutiny and harshly punished.¹

By contrast, American frontiersmen moved west on a voluntary, sometimes individual basis. "Gobacks" were numerous and faced neither animosity nor persecution from their more determined peers.² Only the Mormons came close to matching the Spanish in planning, organizing, and executing their efforts.³

On the other hand, less is known of the organized efforts of private companies to colonize the newly acquired lands. Land speculation and colonization companies were firmly established in American experience; they had played a significant role in conquering and settling the trans-Appalachian West, including Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee; in fact, Daniel Boone was one of the better known speculators.⁴ Almost immediately after the Mexican cession, speculators moved into the conquered territories. They were exceptionally successful in Colorado, Utah, Texas, Arizona, and California, where land was cheap and unencumbered, for the most part, with international entanglements.⁵

The land companies were not, however, immediately successful in New Mexico. It was the most densely populated of the acquired regions and the natives, Hispanic and Indian, had already claimed most of the desirable land. Organized colonization efforts required large sections of land, but the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo unconditionally protected the holdings of former Mexican sub-
jects. If speculative projects were to succeed, the proper legal and business climate had to be created to circumvent this annoying reality. The recently conquered residents of New Mexico could not prevent the newcomers from imposing a superstructure of new legalisms onto the existing social order.

An economy previously based on peonage and barter was suddenly confronted with unsettling amounts of money, especially from Army pay and entrepreneurial investments. A paternalistic social order had to cope with the fact that each individual was now responsible for his fate and could not rely on a powerful patron. Most important for the speculator, land, whose ownership had been based on usufruct, now became merchandise that could go on the market and be taxed like any other commodity. Unable to adapt quickly enough to concepts of nineteenth-century American capitalism, many natives lost their holdings.

Another factor to be considered when colonizing the West was water. In the Southwest rainfall was sparse, and irrigation was necessary to open new lands. The numerous ditch associations that had operated for three centuries in New Mexico, while adequate for subsistence agriculture, could not handle the new demands. The enormous canals and dams that had to be constructed required large amounts of capital that few individuals could provide. Irrigation companies floated bonds in the East and opened up millions of acres of land throughout the West. In New Mexico alone, eighty-eight companies had been chartered by 1890 and were responsible for 40 percent of all lands brought under irrigation since the Mexican cession. This is the story of one such irrigation and colonization venture along the Rio Puerco.

The Rio Puerco of the East, twenty miles west of Albuquerque, is presently an ugly arroyo fifty to one hundred feet deep. It originates in the mountains north of Cuba and parallels the Rio Grande for approximately 150 miles until the latter river bends west to receive its ephemeral waters. Recently, the Rio Puerco has been contributing less than 1 percent of the Rio Grande's water but more than 50 percent of its silt—the reason for its name, the "dirty river." In the mid-eighteenth century, the Spanish government had issued numerous land grants to settlers along the Puerco. The
southernmost grant was the Antonio Sedillo, also known as Los Quelites (lamb’s quarters, a type of edible wild spinach). This tract lay west of the river and south of the point where Interstate-40 crosses the valley. North of the Antonio Sedillo and east of the river was El Bosque Grande, later part of the Atrisco grant. Northwest of the Atrisco and straddling the river for several miles lay the Bernabe Montaño grant. Directly west was the Miera y Pacheco and north of this the Antonio Baca. The Baca ran north several miles and, in those days, touched the Ignacio Chavez, an enormous rectangular grant whose long axis ran westward from the river. Northeast of the Chavez and still on the west bank nestled the Miguel y Santiago Montoya grant. Directly across the river, running almost to the Nacimiento Mountains stretched the tremendous Ojo del Espiritu Santo. To the south, between the Ojo and the Montaño, was Indian land. Sandwiched between the Espiritu Santo, the Montoya, and the Chavez was the disputed Capitan Garcia grant. All were enormous tracts of land, the smallest being the Montoya with some 2200 acres (see map, page 68). These lands were coveted by Anglo-Americans and eventually fell into their hands, despite the protection offered by treaty. One of these Americans was Charles Lewis.

In the 1830s before the Mexican war, the parents of Charles Lewis had emigrated from Kentucky. In 1844 Charles was born near Peralta, a village south of Albuquerque. He later attended St. Louis University where he met and married a Missouri girl named Jessie. The couple had four sons. Rancher, merchant, insurance man, politician, treasurer and assesor of Bernalillo County, Lewis became a prominent man in the community. He also entered the real estate business and soon owned a great deal of property in Los Barelas (a street is still named after him) and most land east of the railroad tracks, where the present-day stadiums are located. In the late 1870s, he began investing in the valley of the Rio Puerco. His first recorded purchase, on 23 June 1879, was one-fifth of one-half interest in the Antonio Sedillo grant. Within a few months he owned land and mining claims all over Bernalillo County. These acquisitions were small and seemed designed to turn a quick and high profit.

In 1880 Lewis began expanding his holdings on the Rio Puerco,
a once-lush and fertile valley that had been abandoned because of deep channelization by the river. He employed Florencio Sandoval, a dealer in rural lands, to begin buying the 50,000-acre Montaño grant. Quitclaim after quitclaim fell into Sandoval's hands. Before being transferred to Lewis, most of the deeds passed through yet another person, Jesús Sandoval. Jesús, who also had interest in the Miera grant, then transferred these lands to Lewis.

In December 1881, several dozen heirs of the Montaño grant, probably sensing that something was afoot, gave lawyer Lorenzo Montaño power of attorney to sell their interests. He did so, to Lewis, without any apparent advantage to the owners. In December of 1883, Lewis, probably in gratitude, gave him power of attorney to look after his interests in the grant.

In the meantime, Lewis himself began buying the Miera grant. He made his first purchase on 1 November 1881 and, within two years, had purchased most of the tract. Probably impatient at the progress being made by the Sandovals, he started purchasing the Montaño directly and, in a flurry of buying that lasted more than a year, acquired the greater part of it. Most of the remainder he bought in 1889 for unpaid taxes, taking advantage of one of many American-imposed legalisms. (Under Hispanic customs, land taxes were based on usufruct; if the land produced, the owner paid a portion in taxes, and if it produced nothing, he paid nothing. It could not be taken from him for unpaid taxes.)

During this time, Lewis seemed to be merely speculating, with no intention of developing his vast holdings. In fact, in 1883 he gave Moritz Lippman power of attorney to sell the Miera grant, a right he had already transferred to Lorenzo Montaño in respect to the Montaño grant. Lewis busied himself acquiring the remainder of the Sedillo.

While Lewis was absorbing the mid-Río Puerco valley, another prominent New Mexican, Mariano S. Otero, was acquiring land throughout the county, including the Baca grant and some holdings on the Miera and Sedillo. He and Lewis would later join hands in business partnership.

Speculation did not seem to pay off for Lewis, so he decided to develop his property. For development, however, he needed permanent water, and his search for a perpetual source led him to the
headwaters of the Puerco. There, in the Nacimiento Mountains, he
found a tiny, semi-permanent stream called the Nacimiento Creek,
which emptied its waters into the bed of the Puerco. The amount
was so small, however, that it did not reach his land, many miles
to the south.

Earlier, Rio Puerco inhabitants had solved the problem. In the
1870s they had begun spreading up the valleys of the Nacimiento.
Only two tiny creeks, the Nacimiento and La Leche, provided
them with permanent water. A larger stream, El Rio de las Vacas,
was nearby, but it emptied into the watershed of the Jemez river
that ran southwest into the Rio Grande. The settlers dammed this
creek and, with several ditches, diverted its waters into their
watershed.23

On 10 July 1889, Lewis formed the Rio Puerco Irrigation and
Improvement Company (RPI) in partnership with two powerful
New Mexican politicians, Mariano Otero and Thomas B. Catron.
The diversity of interest in the venture is apparent in the inclusion
of Jessie Anthony of California and Harvey Wells of Denver.24 In
December the company bought right-of-way through the San Joa
quín de Nacimiento grant, a tract near Cuba. In January it bought
ditchen miles of ditch with a right-of-way 150 feet wide. This was
one of the ditches that brought water from the Rio de las Vacas
into the headwaters of the Puerco where a man-made lake had
been constructed. A few days later the company bought most of
the rights to another eight-mile ditch located four miles farther
south; it bought the remaining interests in March.

The company did not intend to allow residents along the Rio
Puerco to use this water. Already in December it had started to ac
quire right-of-way for passage through the Ojo del Espiritu Santo
grant from its owners, Otero and Catron. It then acquired passage
south of the Espiritu Santo through the Garcia and Baca Grants
from Otero. Lewis gave it right-of-way through the Montaño,
Miera, and Sedillo.

On paper, the RPI planned two canals, one on each side of the
Puerco, each 120 miles long, from the mountains to the mouth of
the San Jose at the southern end of the Sedillo grant.25 That it
made no attempt to acquire right-of-way on the west side of the
river indicates that the company was not really interested in the
west canal. Every community south of Cuba lay on that side, and the canal would pass through them, entailing sacrifice of the precious water. As it was, the RPI could now dig a canal along the east bank, by-pass all the dams on the Puerco, and empty the water into the river south of Guadalupe at the east end of the Chavez grant. From there, the water could run unimpeded to the Montaño grant where a dam was to be built.

Lewis, however, was having trouble getting the Montaño and the Miera confirmed in the newly revived Court of Private Land Claims; without a firm patent, all his efforts would go for nothing. In February 1892 he hired Archibald Yell to attend to the confirmation of all his grants. Yell was to do this at his expense for a one-third interest in the Montaño and Miera grants. Within two months, the grants were confirmed. We shall see how Yell was rewarded.

In January 1890, while still acquiring rights-of-way, the company re-incorporated into the Rio Puerco Irrigation and Agricultural Company. Absent was Jessie Anthony, but George Lewis, son of Charles, filled the gap; there were other jobs for Anthony. Now the company had even grander plans. It was going to dig canals all the way to the mouth of the Puerco, 170 miles away. Land on the Rio Grande was to be acquired and irrigated. In contrast to the original sum of $500,000, the capital stock was now to be $2,500,000 in 25,000 shares of $100 each.

People make irrigation pay. But people were not flocking to buy Rio Puerco land on the tenuous premise of future abundance; the Puerco had defeated too many dreamers in the past, and the memory of a dozen vanished villages from along its banks was still fresh. Lewis turned to the colonization companies. On 16 March 1892, the American Colonization Company was incorporated in New York by a group of East Coast businessmen. The articles of incorporation stated that New York City was to be the principal place of business, but an addendum dated three months earlier stated that Albuquerque was really the home office. In Albuquerque the company’s agent was to be Frank Clancy, a man who later acquired most of the Cebolleta land grant, west of the Miera. Abel French Spawn was the Albuquerque president and Evans Whitmore Thomas, the secretary. On 30 June, Lewis posted
$25,000 bond with Spawn, allegedly of New Jersey, and with Thomas, allegedly of New York City. The agreement stated that if Lewis or his heirs sold any Montano land, the bond would be forfeited. On 4 December, the company re-incorporated under the laws of New Mexico. The incorporators were E. W. Thomas, now allegedly a resident of Albuquerque, and several others from New Jersey, New York, and Chicago, including a Peter McChesney who was later to play another role in the exploitation of the Rio Puerco. 29

Two days later, Evans, in partnership with two New York men, formed yet another colonization company, the Fruitvale Association. One of its directors was Jessie Anthony, an original founder of the RPI. As his domicile he listed Fruitvale, New Mexico, the name given to the Montano grant. 30 Under that name, the land was advertised in England. The permanent streams and rich lands, so went the advertisements, would bring health and happiness to eager investors. Some fifty retired East Coast and British small businessmen bought land and came west to make a go of it. But their efforts came to nothing; the company went bankrupt in 1895. 31 The American Colonization Company, whose secretary was now Evans, released Lewis from his $25,000 bond.

In the meantime, in October 1894, McChesney of New York City, William McMasters of Chicago, and Martin Tygart of Albuquerque formed a new company, the Western Homestead and Irrigation Company (WHI) with a capital stock of $500,000 consisting of 5000 shares at $100 each. Among the seven directors were E. W. Thomas, several newcomers, and L. Bradford Prince, a former governor of New Mexico. 32

Lewis also had not been sitting on his hands. Already in November 1894, he had mortgaged the entire Montano grant to the Chicago Title and Trust Company (CTT) for $150,000. Although not officially a partner of the WHI, he planned with this money to back the company. The CTT was to issue 300 bonds at $500 each.

In April 1896, soon after the demise of the American Colonization Company, the WHI arose, phoenix-like, with the avowed purpose of settling the Montano. In the center of the grant, a town was planned and to be named, not surprisingly, Lewiston. A railroad was to connect the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe with
Durango, Colorado. Among other officials were Peter McChesney as president and, as general manager, E. W. Thomas, who now listed Chicago as his residence. William I. McMasters, director of the RPI, was secretary; Phillip E. Harroun was engineer for the WHI and RPI. "All are men of integrity," an Albuquerque newspaper lauded them, "whose word can be relied on." Two days later, the newspaper reported that E. W. Thomas was general manager of the RPI, but no mention was made of his connection with the WHI. Nothing else was officially heard of this company for more than a decade, yet it was so closely intertwined with the RPI that the misfortunes of one were those of the other.

Typical of the settlers the American Colonization Company enticed west was Daniel T. Ames of Elizabeth, New Jersey. On 16 February 1893, he bought forty acres at $35 per acre. The purchase included water rights from irrigation works of the RPI for which he promised to pay all fees. He obligated himself to keep his land free of "noxious weeds" and within two years to have one-third planted in first-class fruit trees and grapevines. By the fourth year, he was to develop another third. The company, probably with an eye on the future abundance of grapes, insisted that intoxicating liquors were not to be "manufactured, sold, or otherwise disposed of as a beverage in any place of public resort on the land."

Although he probably saw his East Coast and European neighbors pulling up stakes, Ames tarried for about a year, even buying a lot and house in the old townsite of San Francisco, by then deserted ruins. Nothing else was heard of Daniel T. Ames of Elizabeth, New Jersey.

During these comings and goings of the colonization company under its various names, the RPI—also under its various names—was pushing ahead with its plans. On 29 April 1895, after completing the necessary surveys, it reincorporated as the Rio Puerco Irrigation Company. Among the new partners were familiar names: McMasters, Lewis, Clancy, McChesney, and Thomas. On 14 June the partners met in Albuquerque and voted to issue 200 bonds at $500 each, payable in 1900. The $100,000 was to be secured by holdings on all company assets, and the CTT was chosen to issue the bonds. In September, the company set to work.
In December, a few months after Lewis had mortgaged the grant for $150,000, the sheriff of Bernalillo County sold, for taxes, all the interest that Lewis had in the Montaño grant. The highest bidder, for $210, was Alfred Grunsfeld, an Albuquerque businessman. Two months later, Lewis bought back his previous interest from Grunsfeld. Where this immediately left the CTT was not recorded, but later this transaction would come back to haunt the descendents of Lewis. On the other hand, Archibald Yell, who was to have paid for the confirmation of the grant out of his pocket for one-third interest, realized several months earlier that something was happening. He got word that Lewis was manipulating something with two lawyers from Washington, D.C., and Yell desperately tried to forestall whatever was being planned. Too late he found out what it was, and he refused to pay what he owed for confirmation. Lewis took him to court and forced him to do so. The hapless Yell was out several hundred dollars and a large chunk of real estate.

The irrigation project continued. At the northwest corner of the grant, the company built a masonry dam on the solid bedrock of the Vado Pedregoso, or Rocky Ford. The dam was sturdy enough to withstand any rush of water the river could hurl against it and to divert the water into a huge canal on the east side of the Puerco. This canal ran southeasterly along the foothills for about a mile, where it entered a dry wash called Arroyo del Cuervo. The mouth of the arroyo was dammed to form a 170-acre reservoir. From the south side of the reservoir, another canal ran south along the foothills to the southern boundary of the grant, a distance of seventeen miles. Several miles south of the Cuervo, another canal split off to the west and leapt the Puerco to a natural hollow where a 546-acre reservoir was to be built. From there, the west canal was to conduct water along the foothills of the Puerco and into the Miera grant.

Those were the plans. In charge of construction was Phillip Harroun, a self-taught engineer respected throughout the Southwest. Also a self-taught photographer, he photographed the project extensively. Under his capable leadership, the masonry dam was constructed, and soon a lake, two miles long, had formed. Har-
roun then built the earthen dam across the arroyo and began work on the system of canals. Before he had completed his works, however, a flood hit the Rio Puerco and its numerous tributaries. The dam, strong as Gibraltar, stood its solid-rock ground and is, to this very day, still in place, about to be listed in the National Register of Historical Places. Its creators, however, had failed to take into account the peculiar soil of the valley. Above the bedrock, the highly fertile and stone-free soil is extremely rich in gypsum, alkali, salts, and lime—all highly soluble materials. Around the edges of the dam the turbulent waters dissolved the land like sugar. Subterranean tunnels formed, working their way around the unyielding masonry. The ground above collapsed of its own weight, and the water rushed around the dam, leaving it standing majestic, but useless above the widened channel.

The dam across the Arroyo del Cuervo needed no subterranean tunnelling. It had been constructed of alkaline earth and mancos shale, both easily weakened by water. As the water rushed down the arroyo, the dam gave way and Reservoir No. 1 added its water to the turbulent Puerco. The company, lacking funds, gave up.

At the turn of the century, Charles Lewis died, still relatively young, and left his holdings to his second wife, the former Candelaria Yrisarri. In August 1902, she transferred her interests in the Montano grant to her stepson, John.

In January of the same year, the RPI had decided to make another try at taming the Rio Puerco. A new survey was made, relocating the canals and reservoirs, but work remained at a standstill for several years until August 1907. At that time, the company filed for permission to appropriate enough water from the Puerco to irrigate 19,000 acres. The territorial engineer approved the petition the following July. According to law, the work was to commence no later than March 1909. One-fifth of the work had to be complete the first year and the entire project by July 1912.

While this was going on, the descendents of Lewis could not keep up with the taxes on their vast holdings. In 1906 Frank Clancy, who was now district attorney for Sandoval County, along with the Bernalillo County district attorney, sued for back taxes. At the same time, an Albuquerque attorney, A. B. McMil-
Construction on Rio Puerco Dam, ca. 1897 (s)

Construction of Rio Puerco Dam, ca. 1897 (s)

lan, appeared on the scene, claiming to represent the interests of some 650 descendants of the original Spanish settlers. He filed to apportion the grant.

A thorough genealogical search revealed that the more than 650 claimants were indeed owners, but that the Lewis estate already owned most of the grant—mortgaged to the CTT. The court ordered the grant sold. The proceeds were to pay the taxes, amounting to a little over $4,000. The remainder was to be apportioned to each claimant, in proportion to the amount of interest he held in the grant. One of these claimants was the U.S. government, which still had not been paid more than $200 for the survey leading to confirmation. The portion belonging to the Lewis estate was to go to satisfy the 300 holders of the WHI bonds.

The public sale was advertised, as required by law, for four weeks in an Albuquerque newspaper called the *Weekly Citizen*. On Valentine’s Day, 1908, the auction was held on the steps of the county courthouse. The highest bidder was H. A. Jastro from Bakersfield, California, who bid $12,000. 44 After all taxes and expenses had been paid, a little more than $6,500 remained. Of that, McMillan received half for his share in representing the owners. The remainder, $3,316.53, was distributed among the owners. Some got as much as $35, others as little as 32¢. The biggest share, some $1,500, went to the Lewis estate, and it was apportioned to those bondholders who could be traced. The bonds were thereby redeemed at less than one-tenth of a cent to the dollar. The case was declared closed forever; no other claims were ever to be recognized as valid. (If justice is not blind, it was in this case poetic; each of the Lewis children had purchased, on the average, fifteen bonds each from the CTT.)

Some strange antics surfaced from this case. The judge handling the trial was McMillan’s ex-partner in a law firm. McMillan not only represented the heirs of the Montano grant, but H. A. Jastro as well; McMillan himself did the actual bidding. To complicate matters further, the special master conducting the sale had advertised in a tiny weekly newspaper in exquisitely fine print. Angry persons later claimed that nobody read the paper, that the sale should have been advertised in a larger, more generally read daily paper. They were probably right; the only bidder had been Mc-
Millan. The same angry persons insisted that it could have, and should have, been sold for at least $60,000 and demanded that the case be reopened. The court refused the appeal. 45

In February 1909, the RPI applied for an extension of the time required to commence work. Given a six-month extension, it again could not meet the deadline because of its inability to sell bonds. The territorial engineer refused another extension, so the company went to court. The court ruled that financial inability was not sufficient justification for an extension.

On 19 August 1909, Jastro applied for water to irrigate 7,800 acres of Montano land. The Water Commission approved the request. The RPI, seeing its raison d'etre threatened, appealed the decision, but again the court rejected the appeal. 46 Although the RPI sputtered along for another year, 47 this was the end of the company.

Even Jastro could not seem to make a go of his holding. In October 1911, he sold his interest to the Fernandez Company, a cattle-raising outfit. 48 So ended the last and most ambitious effort to control the Rio Puerco. Decades later, the Laguna Indian Reservation bought the Montano grant.

Even before Charles Lewis moved into the valley, changing climatic conditions had caused the Hispanic farmers to abandon the land. What had once been a shallow river lined with bosques and productive farms began channelizing during the mid-nineteenth century. As channelization progressed upstream from the mouth, containing the water with primitive brush and rock dams became more and more difficult, finally impossible. Because of solubility of the soil, American capitalists fared no better, even with their superior methods. Eventually, most of the land along the Rio Puerco fell into government hands.

The full details of the story of the RPI have not been made public before, but its methods of acquiring land were typical of other land and irrigation companies. Its story is the story of speculation in the West. Although the RPI failed, the result was the same: land was transferred to American enterprise. In many other cases, it was developed and made productive. The West was colonized and millions of acres of heretofore barren lands were made to bloom. The Rio Puerco valley, although it has defeated all
its would-be conquerors, played a small role in the westward movement of American civilization by, if nothing else, illustrating the limitations of its technology.

NOTES


9. The Rio Puerco of the West originates near Gallup, N.Mex., flows northwestward, and empties into the little Colorado. The Rio Puerco of the North is a tributary of the Chama.


11. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870 Population*, Valencia County, Peralta, New Mexico, Schedule I. History books simply state that Lewis was born "near Albuquerque," and the census states "New Mexico." However, his brother William, six years his senior, was born in Peralta, and there is a possibility that Charles was also.


15. See W. C. Willits's map drawn in 1898, now encased in glass in the Albuquerque City Hall.
16. Book H, p. 238, Bernalillo County Records, State Records Center and Archives (SRCA), Santa Fe.
17. Bernalillo County Records, passim, SRCA. These records, documenting the years between 1850 and 1912, consist of about seventy-five massive books, each containing approximately 500 handwritten pages. The story of the Rio Puerco Irrigation Company was partly garnered from thousands of deeds, declarations, affidavits, and other documents scattered without order throughout the books. Therefore, only those pertinent documents are cited from these records.
20. It was common practice for Anglos to buy land through Hispanic intermediaries because if landowners knew an Anglo was interested in their lands, they tended to raise the price.
22. Last Wills and Testaments, Book I, pp. 50–60, Sandoval County Records, Sandoval County Courthouse, Bernalillo, N.Mex.
24. Corporation No. 1085, State Corporation Commission, Santa Fe. These papers are available on microfilm.
27. Book 3 D, p. 65, Sandoval County Records.
32. Corporation No. 1779, State Corporation Commission.
34. Corporation No. 1845, State Corporation Commission.
35. U.S., Bureau of Land Management, Surveyor General's Reports, New Mexico Land Grants, Records of Private Land Claims Adjudicated by the U.S. Surveyor General, 1855–1890, Bernabe M. Montaño Grant, report no. 49, reel 18, SRCA.
37. Albuquerque Daily Citizen, 17 April 1876.

39. U.S., Department of Interior, nomination form submitted by New Mexico Planning Office, Santa Fe, 18 December 1971, SRCA.


42. Biannual Report.


44. H. A. Jastro, German immigrant, cattleman, cotton farmer, land developer, speculator, established himself in Kern County, Calif., and began buying land: 460,000 acres in California, 100,000 in Arizona, 225,000 in Mexico, and 610,000 in New Mexico, including 40,000 acres where Elephant Butte Dam was constructed. His interests included streetcars in Albuquerque. See Wallace Melvin Morgan, *History of Kern County, California, with Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men and Women of the County Who Have Been Identified with Its Growth and Development from the Early Days to the Present* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1914), pp. 195–97.

45. Cause 3506, U.S. District Court 2, SRCA.


48. Book 2 DR, p. 8, Sandoval County Records; A. B. McMillan was, for a time, attorney for the Fernández Company, so called because it owns the Fernández grant near San Mateo, N. Mex. (Book 1, Miscellaneous, p. 210, Sandoval County Records).