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"If it came from Wright’s, you bought it Right": Charles A. Wright, Proprietor, Wright’s Trading Post

NANCY PEAKE

A party of Indians in full regalia and war paint invaded the city room of the *Los Angeles Times* on the morning of May 11, 1912, and “treated the great crowd that assembled there to a veritable war dance.”¹ A reporter who witnessed this anachronistic invasion described the “New Mexico boys” as having “all the breezy twang of the West about them. Physically they are as straight and athletic as a lot of Apaches, but their war paint is all on the outside. They are ready to smoke the peace pipe with anybody belonging to Los Angeles.”²

These same braves created havoc elsewhere in the city three days earlier, terrifying residents of the Paxton Hotel when their ceremonial snakes inadvertently escaped and “ran all over the hotel . . . even getting out on the roofs of nearby buildings” before they were caught.³

Nancy Peake is a doctoral candidate in American Studies at the University of New Mexico. Her dissertation, in progress, is an oral history/biography of a reservation trader who lived with and worked among the Navajos for over fifty years. She wishes to thank Juanita McFarland for sharing her father’s memorabilia in the preparation of this article.

1. *Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 1912, Scrapbook clipping, Charles A. Wright. All scrapbooks and photo albums are now in the possession of his daughter, Juanita McFarland.
One of the Los Angeles newspapers viewed the horrifying event in good humor and reported that “several of the snakes swallowed some bills and coin . . . and used the proceeds in getting on a glorious souse” before they could be taken to their rooms.4

The originators of this Old West excitement were in fact Nobles from the Ballut Abyad Temple in the frontier city of Albuquerque, New Mexico, members of the Shrine Indian Patrol. Their “chief” and founder was an Anglo Indian trader born in Kansas named “White Eagle,” or Charles Arthur Wright. The miscreant snakes, some of which were “real rattlers,”5 and the accompanying drummers were authentic Hopis. Wright’s Indian Patrol, adorned with jewelry from the glass-front showcases in his downtown trading post, enthusiastically performed Native American dances according to his instruction, “their success made possible by his thorough knowledge of Indian ceremonials, language and costumes.”6 Chief Wright, an ardent hometown booster and up-and-coming businessman representing the new state of New Mexico, had this to say about the stunts his patrol pulled at the annual session of the Imperial Council in California: “The net result, including newspapers with an aggregate circulation of hundreds of thousands, will mean publicity in every part of the United States before many thousands of people.”7 (Earl Pomeroy echoed this sentiment years later in his In Search of the Golden West when he said, hypothetically, “There is pathos and poetic justice in the spectacle of . . . businessmen doing snake dances in Indian costumes; there is also sound economic instinct.”8)

Clearly, the West was “won” when it reached a point of marketability, when it could be sold to Americans living in the rest of the country. The bulk of the civilizing salesmen were ordinary citizens who displayed extraordinary drive and originality in pursuing an amazing array of jack-of-all-trades careers. News of their endeavors traveled East and gave credence to the notion that

individualism historically had found the most fertile soil in a new and untamed country . . . and stood as a symbol, as a pillar supporting the concept that a unique society had sprung up in the

4. As reported in above clipping.
5. Interview with Charles W. Wright, Charles A. Wright’s son, Culver City, California, April 2, 1988.
wilderness, the domainant strain of which had produced a new breed of man. It was one of the West’s most potent myths. . . . To some it constituted a personal legacy, especially set aside for the individual.\textsuperscript{9}

The West as we know it today was built by such individuals, men and women who responded to the myth as perpetuated in dime novels, railroad propaganda, and journalistic hype. They followed the lure of adventure and opportunity, believing themselves to be typical of the “new breed,” worthy of the challenge new frontiers offered.

Charles Arthur Wright was one such individual. He bought all the myth, lock, stock and barrel, and made a career of selling it to others. An Indian trader and entrepreneur, Wright marketed the tangible evidence of indigenous peoples who so colorfully personified that myth to the rest of the country. He promoted not only his business but also himself. He wholeheartedly believed in his product, the American West; and Wright spent his lifetime cultivating a persona that embodied all the characteristics of the proverbial western man.

His personal scrapbooks and photo albums—now in the possession of his daughter, Juanita McFarland—testify to his success. He was first of all an Indian trader, pictured astride a large white horse, wearing a western hat, surrounded by “Navajo bucks.”\textsuperscript{10} He was a hunter, tramping through snowy mountain terrain with fellow woodsmen, tracking bear. He was a speculator, buying and selling mineral leases, optimistically pursuing underground riches in the land of opportunity. He was a true believer who lived and mimicked the myth, donning Native American costumes, dancing to the beat of Pueblo drums, promoting the mystique to colleagues across the country.

The call of the West, combined with the excitement and anticipation of a new century, found a ready customer in young Charles Wright, working for the family business in the small town of Rosedale, Kansas. His father, who himself ventured west via the Atlantic from England, had established Wright’s Geyser Mineral Springs where, combining business with pleasure, he invited potential prize fighters to train. “A real character,” the senior Wright was reputed by his granddaughter to have “drilled the first oil well in Oklahoma. He made millions and lost millions.”\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{10} Scrapbook photo caption, Wright.
\textsuperscript{11} Interview with Juanita McFarland, Charles A. Wright’s daughter, Albuquerque, November 2, 1987.
When he was twenty years old, Charles felt compelled to seek his own fame and fortune. He and his friend Patrick J. Goulding left Rosedale in much the same manner as had earlier pioneers, in pursuit of the western dream. He described this departure and personal turning point years later:

Way back in 1899 among the Kaw Indians of Kansas, the Osage, Creeks, Ponco, Pawnee, Sious, Fox, Shawnee, Cheyenne, Arapahoes and Kiowa of Indian Territory and Oklahoma, Chas. Wright and a boy pal came to the conclusion that the Indian Territory was not the only place to find and trade with the Red-Skins. Rigging up a prairie scooner these two boys travelled overland thru the state of Texas, thru the Monahan Desert into Old Mexico.  

The young adventurers took three months to make the trip, hunting and trading along the way, encountering everything from "Desprados, cattle rustlers . . . half breed Creek Indians . . . catarmounts and Panthers," and eventually found themselves in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, where young Wright landed a job as manager of W. G. Walz' Curio and Cigar Store, initiating a career that would last his lifetime.

Charles spent the next three years trading "among the Tierra Mora, Myo, Oaxaca, and Yaqui Indians in Old Mexico," returning to civilization just long enough to marry Katherine Fulwiler in Abilene and bring the red-headed "Kate" back to Juárez. While the newlyweds quietly celebrated the beginning years of the twentieth century in the old Rio Grande border town, just 270 miles upriver the railroad was bringing boom-town conditions to Albuquerque, in the territory of New Mexico. Twenty years after the arrival of the Iron Horse in that predominantly Hispanic community, the Albuquerque City Directory was boasting that their city of 12,000 was "the metropolis and trade center of the territory."

The architectural showplace and symbol of Anglo Albuquerque's New Town was the Santa Fe Railroad's Alvarado Hotel, glowingly described in a publication issued by the Albuquerque Indian School:

Of the many places of interest in and around the busy little city of Albuquerque, where the old world civilization and the new world thrift are mixed in more equal proportions than in any

13. Ibid. Spelling here and elsewhere follows that in Wright's journal.
14. Ibid.
Charles A. Wright, salesman, Harvey Curio Rooms, Alvarado Hotel, c. 1903–1904. Photo courtesy of Juanita McFarland, Charles A. Wright family collection.

modern city of the United States today, the “Alvarado” ranks first as being the most unique in its conception and the most perfect in its every appointment. . . . Neither the conqueror nor the cavalier could have planted upon the shifting sands of New Mexico so complete a little enterprise as the Alvarado Hotel.16

In 1903 Wright brought his young family to this promising new “metropolis.” He was hired, probably on the basis of his trading experience with the Mexican Indians, by Herman Schweizer to work as a salesman in Fred Harvey’s new Indian Curio Rooms in the year-old, $200,000 Alvarado Hotel.17 He could have found no more appropriate environment or employment for his final apprenticeship as Indian trader/

curio entrepreneur than to serve under Schweizer, the seasoned German patriarch and "Harvey anthropologist."  

Wright spent much of the next two years traveling throughout the southwest Indian Country on buying trips with his employer, becoming friends with traders and Navajos throughout the reservation, and making himself known up and down the Rio Grande pueblos. He obviously enjoyed his involvement in all phases of the local native lifeways, for his collected newspaper clippings and personal snapshots—proudly marked "Photo by Chas. A. Wright"—testify to his presence at such varied events as the "Moqui snake dance" with Lorenzo Hubbell of Ganado, the Penitente rites in northern New Mexico, and numerous Pueblo dances and celebrations, often in the company of his wife, Katherine. Such intensive on-the-job training from the acknowledged authorities of the day provided the foundation for Wright's personal career. Judging by the lengthy notes he kept from these early trading expeditions, embellished with excerpts from railroad promotional travel literature, Wright was working hard at learning about the people and customs that were to be his future livelihood. Apparently he even picked up bits and pieces of various languages and dialects through his business and social interactions with the Native Americans and Hispanic locals, for years later he boastfully described himself—in a draft for one of his own business promotional brochures—as a "well known authority in Indian Languages and Lore, both verbal and sign languages. . . ."  

Albuquerque, a featured stopping place of the Santa Fe Railroad, was the center of the new movement "to enhance the commercial exploitation of indigenous cultures," and the Fred Harvey Company at the turn of the century was the focal point of the retail industry of Indian curios. The Alvarado itself was the "Harvard and Yale" of prospective Indian curio dealers. Its museum collection rivaled the Smithsonian's in many aspects of contemporary Native American craftsmanship. Schweizer and Harvey's son-in-law, John F. Huckel, spent five years gathering archeological artifacts, both ancient and modern, representing North American Indians and the Eskimos, even including South Seas examples from the newly extended U.S. "empire." The Harveys had hired Charles F. Whittlesey to design the station hotel

and the adjacent Indian Building to house their archeological collection of arts and crafts and various salesrooms. Mary Colter, schoolteacher and aspiring architect from Minnesota, was given the job of decorating the rooms in the Indian Building and arranging the sales items for maximum appeal—a venture that proved so successful it launched her into a lifetime career with the Harveys and the Santa Fe Railroad. Colter’s innovative ideas were an inspiration to the new recruit from Juárez. Such imaginative Colter touches as the settee swinging “on a chain from the ceiling in front of the fireplace, in which a log was always burning” later became prominent features in both of Wright’s own Albuquerque trading posts.

His associates and coworkers during the days of his Alvarado employment were the best in the business. Fellow Alvaradoans included James Mooney, photographer and ethnologist first hired by the Smithsonian to gather data on the Navajo and Hopi cultures, and Otto Haan, who in a few years would himself succeed Schweizer as manager of the Alvarado Curio Rooms and become one of Wright’s business competitors.22 The Wrights’ personal friends also included the family of Elle Ganado, featured weaver at the Fred Harvey Indian Building, “most famous weaver of all the Navaho squaws.”23

Visitors and clientele at the Alvarado included the elite of turn-of-the-century public life and society. When Elle and the Albuquerque Commercial Club presented her personalized, hand-woven saddle blanket to former Rough Rider, President Theodore Roosevelt, in May 1903, the local newspaper reported that “Only a few had been told of the President’s desire to see the [Harvey] curio rooms and the doors had been kept closed all day. From the club the President was driven directly up to the front doors of the museum, where troopers were in line to keep the crowds back. Nearly a half hour went by while Mr. Roosevelt was shown over the place by the manager and the reception committee.”24 Salesman Wright, having carefully saved all the news clippings in his scrapbook, most likely had been an honored member of this committee and was surely sensitive to the merits of creating an environment so enticing as to attract the rich and famous, a fact he later bore in mind when designing the interiors of his retail outlets.

22. Clips, July 10, 1908.
23. Fred Harvey, “Indian and Mexican Building,” Fred Harvey Papers, Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, The University of New Mexico.
Riding along with the rising tide of tourism and the railroad's increasing desire to romanticize the Indian, Wright, now chief salesman, traveled to the World's Fair, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904, where he remained for several months in charge of the Harvey exhibit of Indian goods. While there, he rubbed shoulders with hundreds of imported southwestern Native Americans, including aged, nearly blind Geronimo, "still technically a prisoner" of the United States, but who by now "had become a fixture at [fairs and] expositions." The famed Apache warrior was "[g]iven a booth next to a group of Pueblo pottery makers, [where] he signed autographs for a fee and sold bows and arrows to eager fairgoers. . . ." Geronimo was, "[b]y all accounts, the most popular feature of the Indian Building," . . . "'endearing himself to whites and Indians alike.'" 25

But even when Wright was home in Albuquerque, the Kansas-born curio salesman, a renaissance man of sorts, was not one to bury himself in his place of work. He soon made his debut in the Albuquerque cultural community by organizing and directing a Mandolin Club for which he was soloist. One of the club's first performances in the Elks' public theater included among the out-of-town guest artists Miguel Otero of Santa Fe, son of Governor Miguel A. Otero. 26 The energetic Wright was also putting down roots and building personal contacts in places far removed from the local concert halls. A frontiersman at heart, he assembled a group of friends who liked to hunt and camp out. This clan of outdoorsmen created a Gun Club, and its members hunted everything from quail in "Corrallos" [sic], to black bear in the Jemez Mountains, to wild turkey in El Rito. The sportsmen even built a club house on Gun Club property near Isleta Pueblo for Sunday duck hunts. 27

On weekdays, however, Wright's mind and heart were in the curio business. The paths of Mary Colter and the novice entrepreneur crossed again in 1905 at the Grand Canyon in Arizona. And once again her work would inspire the future owner/architect of Wright's Trading Post. The Fred Harvey Company had commissioned Colter to design a building across from Whittlesey's El Tovar Hotel to house their Fine Arts Collection and the Indian arts salesrooms. Her biographer noted that "she wanted to create a building that was appropriate to the setting, something that represented the history of the area and the people who

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27. Charles A. Wright, scrapbook photos, 1904-1931.
had lived there"—a concept that would surface later in Wright's own prolific career. Colter's efforts resulted in the famous Hopi House, designed in the style of the Hopi dwellings at Oraibi. Charles A. Wright was sent out from Albuquerque to be its first manager. He and his family, now including two small children, moved into a small apartment above the "Rock House"; and Wright proceeded to broaden his experiences with the Navajo and Hopi cultures. His duties as Hopi House Manager included those of shopkeeper and Fred Harvey representative. He not only dealt with well-heeled tourists who visited the canyon by railroad, he was also the procurer of Indian goods for sale. The carefully labeled snapshots he pasted into his photo album are evidence that his job did indeed allow him to wear two hats—the businessman's derby and the Indian trader's western "cowboy" hat.

But Charles Wright was not the kind of man who could be content working for someone else all his life. After four years of learning the trade and its local peculiarities, he was ready to test the waters on his own terms. So in the fall of 1907, the twenty-nine-year-old manager of Hopi House resigned his position with the Harvey Curio Rooms. In October an Albuquerque newspaper announced that he had "purchased a half interest in an Indian trading store and ranch at Canonicito . . . and expects to reside there." Cañoncito was a long, narrow valley about twenty-five miles west of Albuquerque where the Navajo "Chief" Platero had settled with his relatives and friends after they had returned from captivity at Bosque Redondo. Apparently this was "fine farming country and quite a number of Navajo Indians had taken up claims near by."29

Wright's friendship with Gallup trader C. N. Cotton, cultivated during his traveling days for Schweizer, served him well, for "Cotton gave him all the rugs he needed on consignment to start his own business."30 The successful wholesaler had established his trading company in 1894 after a friendly dissolution of his partnership with Lorenzo Hubbell. Cotton's huge inventory of reservation rugs was the result of his astute "regional control of two items basic to Navajo trade: Arbuckle's coffee and Pendleton blankets."31 The newly independent Wright could not have found a better mentor than Cotton, recognized as prob-

ably the first person in the Indian trade to make a concerted, well-planned effort to develop an eastern market for Navajo rugs.

Wright's personal experience with his Indian customers left a lasting impression on the isolated trader whose Cañoncito post was a long day's wagon ride from Albuquerque and civilization. That first winter was harsh, and the small post was constantly exposed to the ravages of blowing storms. Seven years later, warm and well-established in Anglo Albuquerque, Wright penciled his recollection of the time he found the near-frozen body of Espegay, brother of Navajo Medicine Man Chugay, not far from Cañoncito, and the following days of singing and sweat house ceremonies, and the eventual death and ritual burial.32

His photo album contains numerous candid snapshots documenting his trading ventures throughout Indian country over the next two years. As interesting as these rare and unusual photos, but much more revealing with respect to the contemporary Anglo regard of the Indian and his "primitive" culture, are the typewritten captions Wright provided throughout his album. For example, identifying a group of Hopi men seated on the ground in front of a cliff wall, he wrote:

The Hopi bucks neither own, nor build the houses in which they live. The squaws build the houses and own them. If Mr. Buck behaves, and weaves the dresses and clothing, he may come up to the fire place, dip his fingers in the pot and eat with the rest, and sleep in pease [sic]. Otherwise he is turned out in the cold world.

These ethnographic comments must have stemmed from a sincere desire to preserve for others the experiences this self-employed Indian trader was having among his Native American acquaintances, because several years later Wright filled the back of a 1914 day calendar with penciled notes of the Navajo Reservation and the Rio Grande pueblos, and his personal interactions with their inhabitants. Detailed descriptions of each pueblo indicate that the project was not a random exercise but that Wright had done his homework, much of the factual information, though not credited as such, coming directly, often verbatim, from early Santa Fe Railroad publications about the Southwest Indians. Well read in popular regional literature, he also included references to the writings of Charles Lummis. Perhaps, because so much of his journal writing seems to dovetail with his photo captions, Wright was

32. Charles A. Wright, personal journal written on back pages of 1914 day calendar, 46.
thinking of publishing his own illustrated guide to the Indians of the Southwest.

Although his trading post business was outside Albuquerque proper, he continued to remain active in the downtown social and cultural community, joining the Masons, and giving benefit concerts with the Mandolin Club. Despite his efforts to maintain his connections with the city, life in Cañoncito must have been lonely, if not unexciting, for a man pursuing the western dream. If he had happened to bring home the Commercial Club’s latest “Booster Booklet” after one of his trips to town, he and Katherine would have read the following:

Seldom does one find a place where the southwestern Indian . . . can be seen to better advantage than in Albuquerque and the surrounding country, and nowhere can the southwestern Indian’s marvelous handicraft be studied so well . . . In the city there are a number of stores handling these Indian and Mexican goods and curios, and which maintain trading posts on the reservations. It is unique, the impress of the Spaniards, of the Aztecs and the desert people on this modern city of commerce.33

And if what he had read so far had not yet whetted his appetite, what followed next would have spurred him on to immediate action: “Albuquerque offers the chance of a lifetime for investor, healthseeker, professional or business man or the man looking for success.” It is not surprising then that in 1908, five years after he came to town as a Fred Harvey salesman, Charles Wright returned to the city, now “doubled in population,” and rented from John Borradaile an old adobe building on the corner of Third Street and Gold Avenue, reputed to have been “a Gambling Den in the early days.”34 Here he established his first trading post, “El Curio.”

The cover of an early Wright’s Trading Post catalog called out to rail travelers on their way to California via the Santa Fe: “Don’t fail to see the most picturesque store in the entire west!”35 Inside copy offered specific directions suggesting an alternative to visiting the Harvey Cu­rio Rooms at the station: “Located two blocks west of Santa Fe depot at Albuquerque, N.M., reached in five minutes walk. All trains remain thirty minutes, which gives you ample time to see the quaint ‘adobe’ Indian houses.” Wright then continued with detailed descriptions of

34. Wright, catalog draft, 1920.
35. Wright, Wright’s Trading Post catalog, prepared sometime between 1914 and 1917 as evidenced by a “2/17/14” patent date for “Skookum Indian dolls,” 24.
The first Wright's Trading Post, corner of Third Street and Gold Avenue, Albuquerque, c. 1908. Photo courtesy of Juanita McFarland, Charles A. Wright family collection.
his post's interior and various western accouterments, mentioning "the old adobe fireplace and many entertainments furnished to travelers in this room . . . Indian squaws weaving blankets, Silver Smiths and Pottery makers"—all sounding very much like the Harvey Indian Rooms where he had learned his trade.

Wright was also his own biggest booster. In a self-promotional pitch to his customers, the same catalog documents his business experience, noting that he had been "personally trading with the Natives for sixteen years, being able to speak their dialect, enabling me to collect the Genuine Indian and Mexican handwork." He further attests to his "honesty" and reputation with references to the First National and State National Bank, "known to every banker and business man throughout the United States . . . and whose words carry conviction regarding the financial means . . . and promises of this concern."

Thus assured, the prospective customer could lose himself among an amazingly diverse inventory, beginning with "the largest assortment of genuine native wool, fancy blankets to be found off the reservation." Supporting this advertising claim, an unidentified newspaper clipping in Wright's scrapbook, dated 1910, documents the receipt of a single shipment of "three hundred Navajo blankets by Wright's El Curio . . . some of the finest ever placed on sale in Albuquerque." Above an intriguing photo of Wright's Navajo Rug Room, the owner/manager provides his catalog reader with a historically oriented sales pitch for the Navajo blanket, which "has become a household article of great value, for useful and decorative purposes: the designs . . . are a mystery of secrecy. . . . Each blanket we find woven with the secret legends and superstitions of the Navajo Indians." Prices ranged from $12.50 for a small 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) ft. rug, to $125 for a 9 x 12 ft. rug. Wright also mentions "Chamillo and Chimayo Indian Blankets" (spelled both ways in the catalog) that—from either lack of real knowledge, Anglo ethnocentrism, or commercially inspired poetic license—are, he says, "woven by a tribe seventy-five miles northwest of Albuquerque," with no mention of the true artisans, the Hispanic weavers whose families had been weaving in New Mexico for generations.

The eastern tourist could also buy "genuine Navajo bucks' hand-beaten silver work" (for example, bracelets with turquoise sets priced up to $5), Apache bows and arrows, beaded bags and moccasins, gold rings and a wide assortment of "native gems." Mexican-made items included "zarapes" and sombreros, silver filigree, hand-made lace and drawn-work, even "photo postals" taken during the Mexican wars showing "Battles, Executions, different Generals, Yaqui Indians, etc." But perhaps the most unusual curio one could purchase at Wright's
Trading Post (featured on the same page with lace doilies) was the “Mexican Dressed Fleas—a real common flea, stuffed, mounted and dressed up in a suit of clothes to represent some character.” Certainly the man some people later remembered as “hard-nosed” and “standoffish” displayed some sense of humor by including this item in his otherwise serious sales catalog.

Wright’s buying trips took him down into Mexico, throughout southwestern Indian territories, and as far away from home as Alaska. Among his own “souvenirs” of the Indians of the Northwest was a thirty-foot totem pole he advertised as being carved by the “Hida” (Haida) Indians,36 which stood on the streetcorner in front of his successive downtown trading posts (and is now at another “Wright’s Trading Post,” a clothing store/boutique his great-granddaughter-in-law owns in Manhattan Beach, California). Closer to home, local trips expanded his business and artistic connections to include the Taos and Santa Fe elite, among them Doc Martin, Arthur Manby, Bert Phillips, and Gerald Cassidy (who gave two of his paintings to his friend, the Albuquerque trader).37

These were the early years of glamorous Hollywood and the new motion picture industry, and Wright was delighted that his trading post became a stopping place for movie stars. He photographed them in dramatic western poses, six-guns and all, in front of the adobe fireplace. His everyday clientele was diverse, from the tourist shopping for the cheap curio, to celebrities and wealthy Oklahoma Indians “who bought everything in sight.”38

So successful was Wright in creating an “authentic” atmosphere that New York artist Amedee Joullin, “who had gained much favorable criticism from eminent connoisseurs for his clever and conscientious Indian paintings,” found the “local color” he was looking for inside Wright’s Trading Post. A local reporter touted—in a story headlined: “Southwestern Redman in Typical Post, Subject of Canvas”—that the painting of a Pueblo Indian squatting before the fireplace “promised to be a masterpiece.”39

A booster from the beginning, Wright was well aware that his business future was linked to the commercial growth of Albuquerque.

36. Subsequent research by the author has determined that the pole has none of the Haida characteristics and is instead Coast Salish. See Nancy Peake, “Albuquerque’s Totem Pole,” 1988, unpublished manuscript.


38. Ibid.

39. Clips, April 20, 1910. The whereabouts of this painting is currently being re-searched.
Accordingly, he always cooperated with local efforts to promote the growing western tourist trade. Acknowledging his personal contributions in these community endeavors, he credits himself with the following:

Charlie is noted for his ability to pull off the real Indian stunts, when it comes to Indian Pow-wows, War Dances, Fire Dances, Squaw fights, games and races, which have been witnessed during the Cattlemen’s Convention and State Fairs. He is always ready to assist in furnishing these Western Sports for the entertainment of visitors and to help make their visit a pleasant one. 40

In his first year of operation the ambitious curio dealer participated in a local parade, and “Wright’s Trading Post was thought by many to have the handsomest display. A number of Indians in characteristic dress and carrying native pottery on their heads was the most characteristic New Mexico feature of the parade.” 41 Despite this most favorable press review, Wright felt strongly that Herman Schweizer, his former employer and manager of the Fred Harvey Curio Rooms, had “attempted to block [his] display.” In an open letter to the management of the Twenty-Ninth Fair Association via the Evening Journal Wright stubbornly stated his case. Apparently, he had “engaged several squaws” who sold their wares at the station and had told them to report to him after the early trains had gone. Wright had “decorated them up with blankets and pottery” and had just mounted his own horse to start for the parade when another squaw hurried over with a message from Schweizer: “If they entered the parade with me or for me, he would not allow them to again sell their goods at the depot.” But the persuasive promoter was able to convince the women to carry out his plans. However, after he paid them at the parade’s end and they left to take up their places at the station, the women returned in tears to report that Schweizer had indeed carried out his threat. Wright said he had tried to confront the Harvey manager “regarding his sub rosa methods,” but was unable to find him; hence, his published outrage. 42 This unpleasant incident and public altercation did not seem to dampen his enthusiasm for commercial participation in local celebrations, for five years later the Wright’s Trading Post Indians were reported as having

40. Wright, catalog draft, 1920.
41. Clips, October 14, 1909.
42. Ibid., October 16, 1909.
won the $25 second prize in the 1916 State Fair parade in the "best marching aggregation" category.\textsuperscript{43}

That particular State Fair was an active one for Wright who as "Superintendent of one of the Indian departments in charge of Indian events" was by this time a master at staging native extravaganzas. At one point during the fair competition, he was "forced" to intervene when one of his Pueblo olla racers collided with another, causing her water-filled olla to fall from her head. The ensuing scrap, complete with hair-pulling and throwing of pieces of shattered ollas, made for entertaining newspaper copy.\textsuperscript{44} In another unfortunate incident, three wild rabbits the governor of Isleta brought for the "squaws" rabbit race "passed into the Happy Hunting Grounds," forcing the substitution of Belgian hares that refused to run. The busy Indian Events chairman was fully redeemed, however, when the Laguna Indians danced with their prized Apache war drums that had "never before been brought away from Laguna until induced by the Laguna governor's friendship for Mr. Wright."\textsuperscript{45}

These kinds of extracurricular activities had become second nature to the proprietor of Wright's Trading Post. He thoroughly enjoyed dramatizing the public's ideal of the western man. Through one such activity Wright made his most flamboyant impact upon the Albuquerque community. On May 31, 1910, he was elected to membership in the Ballut Abyad Temple, sponsored by his landlord John Borradaile.\textsuperscript{46} Two years later Nobles Wright and Borradaile proposed and organized the Shrine Indian Patrol, its members to be "trained" by Indian trader Charles Wright. Throughout the next two decades this enthusiastic group of Anglo "Indian" ambassadors travelled across the country attending various Imperial Councils—causing a sensation in Los Angeles with the well-publicized "snake incident," dancing in the streets of Philadelphia for the city's 1926 Sesquicentennial International Exposition, and appearing in a command performance on the White House steps—always perpetuating the mythic West through their fully-costumed and Wright-choreographed renditions of Indian dances.

There might have been yet another dimension to Chief Wright's "boostering." Fellow Shriner Charles Lembke (prominent Albuquerque businessman and politician) was reluctant to talk about Wright because the chief would not "let him join" the elite Indian Patrol, telling him

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., September 18, 1916.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., September 27, 28, 1916.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{46} Ballut Abyad Temple, Recorder's Minutes, April 29, 1912.
he "couldn't dance well enough." Lembke suggested that "the only reason Wright formed the Patrol was so he could sell its members expensive Indian jewelry." However, an examination of expenditures entered into the Temple Recorder's Minute Book—which documents such varied and interesting items as wigs, material and labor on purple shirts, belt buckles, bracelets, moccasins, calf skins from Louis Ilfield for drum heads, and necklace rentals—reveals no payment to Wright specifically, except for the purchase of the peripatetic snakes.

Wright's reputation as a solid community booster grew in proportion to the success of his well-established trading post. He felt confident leaving the business in the capable hands of his wife while he roamed the country buying Native American handicrafts or dancing with his Shrine Patrol. Then in 1916, when the ambitious thirty-eight-year-old entrepreneur may have presumed himself to be at the height

of his business and social career, “Mr. Wright was notified by owners of the Old Adobe that it was to be torn down.”

The introductory page of the 1917 Albuquerque City Directory heralds Wright’s determined response to this mid-life catastrophe:

A unique building soon to be erected is projected by a large curio dealer to replace their own building, for so many years one of the city’s best known landmarks, and which was recently removed to make way for a modern office building. The plans call for a building after the Pueblo Indian style, both Taos and Zuni pueblos being drawn upon for special features.

At a meeting of the City Council Building Committee on May 25, 1917, which Aldermen Clyde Tingley and Wilmot Booth attended, Charles Wright was granted a permit to put up a $10,000 “curio store and warehouse in the Pueblo style” on the southeast corner of Fourth Street and Gold Avenue, “expected to be one of the show places of the downtown district.” Contemporary postcards and the 1918 City Directory listed both “C. A. Wright and E. Clyde Morgan, Architects.” But Wright’s son, Charles W., says that “although they were buddies and worked out all the architectural plans together, Dad did all the actual planning in the Pueblo style because he knew all about it. He never hesitated about the design.” Always his own best salesman, architect Wright wrote that he “spent days making a model of the . . . building which is an exact reproduction of the Indian Pueblos, which was made possible by his many years study of the Architecture. When this model was complete, one of the Santa Fe Railroad architects of Chicago offered Mr. Wright a neat sum for it, which was refused.” In fact, Wright says a prominent Denver architect even promised to furnish him a site if he would erect his proposed building in that city “saying Albuquerque was too small a place to support such a building. But Mr. Wright refused to do this on account of the fact that the climatic conditions in Albuquerque are much superior to those in Denver.”

Again, Wright had no qualms about billing his new trading post “The most picturesque store in the West,” and more: “Headquarters for fifty-three different tribes of Indians and their curios . . . . It is an exact reproduction of the Pueblo Indian Buildings built hundreds of years ago, and is the only true American Architecture as all other styles

50. Wright, catalog draft, 1920.
51. Ibid.
have been borrowed from Foreign Countries."52 Wright's labor of love became, in fact, a city landmark until it too was torn down and replaced by another modern office building in 1958.

But for forty years downtown Albuquerque had its own three-story pueblo, actively inhabited, during business hours, by authentic Native Americans. Each floor was recessed, with the roof below serving as its "front yard." There were round, dome-shaped bake ovens (hornos) on the upper corners where Wright's Indians actually baked bread. The "large dome shape" in front was a Navajo sweat house (a unique addition to this eclectic pan-Indian pueblo) where the "Medicine Man of the Navajo Indians put on a very elaborate ceremony."53 Wright even lit bonfires at night in the Indian pots placed atop the parapets.54 The eastern tourist who came to Albuquerque looking for the "real West" found it at the corner of Fourth Street and Gold Avenue in the Pueblo trading post that this western realist created "to fit the visions of these temporary pioneers with money."55

Using intuitive business acumen, Wright sought from the very beginning to gain the community's personal involvement in its new landmark. A newspaper story announced: "C. A. Wright Offers Piece of Spanish Lace Work, Valued at $25, to the One Suggesting Best Title for His New Home."56 The name was to apply only to the building, for the curios business would still be known as Wright's Trading Post. Nearly three hundred suggestions were received, and Wright had just about decided on the name "Hotivilli," but the winner was unanimously selected by those attending the opening when they heard the following poem submitted by Harold J. Keigwin:

Why change the name  
And spoil the fame,  
Why not leave it Wright's?

You built your trade  
By efforts made,  
Why not leave it Wright's?

Some Indian name, or Spanish, too,  
I'm almost sure it wouldn't do,  
So name it Wright's.

52. Ibid.  
53. Ibid.  
55. Athearn, Mythic West, 131.  
For visitors here, they wouldn't know,
    And to some other place might go.
Just leave it Wright's.

To make a change would be a pity,
    It's in the directory of the city.
Leave it Wright's.\textsuperscript{57}

More than five hundred people attended the dedication ceremonies of The Wright Building on December 12, 1917. According to Wright's son, "There were so many Indians, there was hardly any room for Americans—all friends of Dad. It was a real show thing; they were dancing in the street and all around outside. And Dad didn't have anything to do with it. We heard the drums beating and went outside, and there they were."\textsuperscript{58} Apparently Wright's Indian friends were genuine, his son continues; they "liked him because he didn't cheat them. They came to him when there was trouble—sometimes government

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., December 13, 1917.
\textsuperscript{58} Charles W. Wright, interview, April 2, 1988.
trouble, sometimes land. And he helped them. I can remember going out to the Reservation with him, following along points of land that the White Man was trying to take away from them.”

Among the honored guests attending the dedication was Dr. George Wharton James, author of *Indian Blankets & Their Makers*. His talk on the significance of Indian dances included appropriate references to the Hopi house blessing ceremony and tributes to the new Wright’s Trading Post, “a credit to the builder, to the city, and more like the genuine pueblo than even the university buildings.”

A year after the new post opened its doors, and the second and third floors of the building were finished and rented out as offices, Wright began looking for new opportunities. Seeing a ready market in the “officers and men of Camp Cody,” he opened a branch store in Deming, New Mexico, in April 1918, a few doors south of the Majestic Theater, bringing over many of his “choice Navajo rugs” from Albuquerque. The local newspaper, sounding very much like Wright’s personally authored promotional brochures, lauded Wright’s arrival, saying he was “not only a dealer in and authority on Indian goods, but is also considered an authority on Indian lore and languages and architecture, having spent many years in active association with various tribes in the southwest.” The supportive presence of his wife is briefly alluded to in one Albuquerque newspaper: “Mrs. Wright remains here to look after this store.” How long the Deming branch was open remains obscure, but the timing was such that the elusive presence of Pancho Villa must have added an interesting factor to this newest business venture. In fact, the following year, featured among the “museum artifacts” in the Wright’s Trading Post catalog draft, was “one of Pancho Villa’s buckskin suits all braided with buckskin in white and in various designs.”

Back in Albuquerque, the versatile Wright, ever the paradigmatic western pioneer, designed and built the new family home on the corner of Twelfth Street and Marquette (now the home of prominent Albuquerque architect Antoine Predock). The City Directory had by now added the title “Architect” to the listing for the “Owner/Manager, Wright’s Trading Post.” Charles and Katherine built the fireplace themselves, hauling the rock from their property, “Wright Rancho,” in San Antonio on the other side of the Sandia Mountains. This family weekend retreat,

59. Clips, n.d. Referring to the “new” Pueblo style architecture at the University of New Mexico initiated by President William George Tight, assisted by architect Edward Buxton Christy.
60. Clips, April 17, 1918.
eventually expanding to about ninety acres, Wright had purchased shortly after he arrived in Albuquerque.

The business letterhead for Wright's Trading Post—"Charles A. Wright, Trader since 1898"—lists, in addition to the expected Indian and Mexican wares, "Antiques, Real Estate, Oil, Mineral, Farm and Ranch Lands." As early as 1910 he had begun dabbling with mineral leases in Texas and Oklahoma. His personal record book of gas and oil transactions reveals hundreds of acres leased east of the Sandias, as well as several small ranch properties he purchased in the late 1920s and 1930s, some adjacent to his San Antonio property, others in the Rincon area. Confirming Wright's persistent pursuit of the mythical strike, his son said that his father "had this oil business on his mind and it took over most of his time. Mother took over the store pretty well."61

Wright would have been unable to maintain his active lifestyle had there not been someone he could trust tending the family business. Mrs. Wright was first acknowledged for her behind-the-scenes role in the 1923 City Directory, with her name now listed along with her husband's as "Manager" of Wright's Trading Post. Also that year another name appeared under the business listing of "Curios"—Maisel's Navajo Indian Trading Company, the firm that would become the competitive thorn in the side of Wright, the traditional Old West Indian trader.

But the next decade would bring hard times to the city of Albuquerque. "Tourism . . . wilted at just about the time when it had begun to flower."62 Although railroad passenger statistics bear out the grim news that tourist-related businesses were particularly hard hit in the thirties, local promotional literature seems to present conflicting data. Taking the stance of the optimistic booster, Albuquerque Progress reports that "1934 was one of the biggest on record for the number of tourists who visited New Mexico, being the first year the State went in for tourist advertising on a national scale."63 Undoubtedly, however, these were not "the best of times," and trading post owner/mineral speculator Wright was doubly hit when "fresh discoveries of oil in Texas and Oklahoma greatly increased the supply and sent the value of crude oil plunging."64 No wonder his frustrations sent him looking for someone to blame. An entry in his personal journal in August 1934 reveals the

62. Athearn, Mythic West, 93.
64. Athearn, Mythic West, 92.
status of Wright's curios business and suggests his assessment of probable cause:

Washington Government man in looking around. Said 5 years ago you had a big business. I said yes. The depression has put people traveling without money to buy luxuries and Maisel mfg and selling imitation jewelry. Ruining the Indian hand made work.65

Wright's daughter Juanita said her father "used to get upset about the Maisels' labelling of machine-made jewelry as 'hand-made Indian.' One day he went to Santa Fe and came home saying he 'had organized something' to make them label correctly."66 Robert Schrader, discussing the Maisel case in *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board*, mentions that Senator Sam Gilbert Bratton, Democrat from New Mexico, had received a written complaint from "a well-informed constituent . . . about the sale . . . of imitation Indian products in preference to the genuine article."67

Whether Wright was an instigator of the original investigation is unknown (the Bratton papers remain in the family's possession); but in 1933 "the Federal Trade Commission determined that Maisel's method [of Indian workers producing jewelry by means of modern equipment and machinery] had contributed to an increased depression in the Indian jewelry market beyond the effects of the general economic depression."68 Proceedings grew increasingly complex throughout the next three years, and numerous entries in his personal day journal referring to "the Maisel case," to Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, and to Indians and tools, indicate that Wright was very much concerned with the progress of the investigation.

The multifarious personality of this competition-conscious entrepreneur had another dimension of which few of his acquaintances were aware. In 1934, when the child of one of his Hispanic neighbors near Wright Rancho in San Antonio suffered a crippling disease, Wright arranged for the child's treatment in one of the Shriners' Crippled Children's Hospitals. Entries in his daily journal record his concern, his arrangement of the rail trip home, and his telephone call to the "padre" to report that the boy "could now walk with crutches."69

By this time, Wright's curios career had spanned thirty years.

69. Wright, journal, April 1934.
Brought up in the "old school" under Fred Harvey he had built his own business catering to the elite who patronized the Santa Fe Railroad. His ideas about his customers and the goods he offered them were based upon years of contact and experience, despite the fact that the rail "traveler" was yielding to the automobile "tourist"—the nation's east-west Route 66 only a few years away from becoming Albuquerque's "Main Street"—ushering in an era when vacation travel became available to the average American family. Juanita remembered that her father "did most of his business when the people came on trains—mostly wealthy. And when people began traveling by cars, they wanted cheap souvenirs. He was even rude to them sometimes."\(^70\)

Leaving Katherine in charge of the store, Wright began spending more time at his mountain property working on the buildings and orchards, and handling "people problems" with successive live-in managers who were supposed to be taking care of the place. He still maintained a number of oil leases and related properties in and around the Sandias. But he never lost sight of his well-earned place in the downtown business community—that pioneering group of commercial risk-takers, whose membership had alternately encouraged and competed with each other while collectively planting their urban roots.

Wright sought to strengthen the position of his downtown monument by adding more rental space for offices, apparently capitalizing on the growing opportunities and expansion projects coming to Albuquerque with federal relief programs. The June 1936 edition of Albuquerque Progress carried the following blurb: "The two-story which Charles A. Wright, Indian Trader, is building next to his picturesque "post" at 4th and Gold is nearing completion. A small addition has been built at the same time on the original corner building, just south of Gold, which will be leased for some small business or food stand."\(^71\)

Wright was not the only curio dealer who viewed these years with optimism. Less than a year later the same publication featured the "new Maisel Building, designed by John Gaw Meem in the Southwest Indian Pueblo tradition."\(^72\)

Business was increasing, spirits were rising, and the new year found local businessmen once again viewing the West as the land of new opportunities. Albuquerque was on its way to becoming the "sun-

\(^{71}\) Albuquerque Progress 3, no. 4, n.p.
\(^{72}\) Ibiv., 4, no. 6, n.p.
belt crossroads"—someday to be known throughout the country as a mecca for persons seeking the material culture of the Native American.

The Wrights’ personal outlook on the new year was over-shadowed when Katherine was called to San Diego a few days before Christmas to help her daughter care for their critically ill grandson. Wright, as always, continued to visit his beloved Rancho on the weekends, recording his trips in his journal. This was an especially wintery January, and he apparently became chilled doing outside chores. Late one night, from his home on Twelfth Street, he called out to his next-door neighbor for help. After a short stay at St. Joseph’s Sanitorium and Hospital, the 58-year-old Indian trader died. The front pages of both Albuquerque daily newspapers noted his passing to the community. The *Albuquerque Tribune* story proclaimed on Saturday, January 30, 1937:

Chas Wright Succumbs here  
Pneumonia Fatal to Pioneer Merchant  
Ill but a few days

Charles Arthur Wright had been a visible figure in the Albuquerque business community for almost thirty-five years—whether riding his horse in a downtown parade, playing his mandolin for a society benefit, dancing with fellow Shriners to Indian drums, or standing behind the counter of his architecturally inspired Indian Trading Post. He had come west believing in the myth and spent the rest of his life exploring its potentials. But he was, above all else, an image-maker, a salesman who spent his lifetime marketing the myth—through his booster-oriented interpretations of the cultures that represented both his business and the future of his tourist-conscious city—and through his curios themselves, lying in glass cases and draped over the beams of his trading post—all tangible evidence that the mythic west was, after all, a romantic reality well within the grasp of the average American tourist.

After his death Katherine took over the business they had managed together, and for almost twenty years she continued the tradition her husband began at “El Curio” on the corner of Third Street and Gold Avenue in 1908. When Mrs. Wright sold the business to Sam and Marguerite Chernoff in 1956, she signalled the end of an era. For half

a century, there had been a Wright at Wright’s Trading Post in Albuquerque, far longer than at any other Indian-made crafts dealership in the city. When she sold the Wright Building, two years later, to the Bank of New Mexico, that unique symbol of a significant phase of local history was destined to share the fate of too many of Albuquerque’s commercial and cultural monuments. Underneath a photo of Wright’s Trading Post in its former days of glory was Charles Arthur Wright’s final epitaph: “Landmark to vanish.”

In Colorado District Court for Water Division No. 3 (Alamosa) on July 5, 1990, Judge Robert W. Ogburn signed an order denying trial of a water dispute under Spanish and Mexican law. This dismissal resulted from a motion for Partial Summary Judgment by the Rio Grande Water Conservation District, the state of Colorado, and many other towns, irrigation districts, conservancy districts, and private entities. These objectors opposed the application of American Water Development, Inc. (AWDI), to withdraw 200,000 acre-feet of groundwater annually from aquifers underlying land known as the Luis María Cabeza de Baca Grant No. 4. As owner of the grant and principal applicant, AWDI asserted an absolute right to this water based on the law of prior sovereigns and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The law of prior sovereigns was articulated by Chief Justice John Marshall when Louisiana was purchased from France in 1803. It embraced the principle that an area's change of sovereignty should not alter the private property rights of citizens affected by the change. This concept was further developed in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

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dalgo. Article VIII of that treaty specified that Mexican property should be "inviolably respected" and that the heirs and future owners of the land should have the same guarantees as if the property belonged to United States citizens.1

For a variety of reasons, however, Judge Ogburn was unwilling to try the AWDI application for underground water based on Hispanic law. Basing his written opinion on the argument that the Baca No. 4 was not a legitimate Spanish land grant, because it was conveyed to the heirs of Cabeza de Baca by Congress out of the federal public domain, Judge Ogburn ruled that the applicants had "neither the facts nor the law on their side."2 Instead, he granted the objectors' motion for Partial Summary Judgment, leaving AWDI with the future possibility of appeal to a higher court should the company wish to pursue its contested rights to underground water under Spanish and Mexican law.

There is no denying the importance of this matter to the people of the San Luis Valley whose staunch opposition to AWDI has surprised no one. At stake is the right to export more than a million acre-feet of water presently underlying AWDI's 100,000 acres of private property. When AWDI filed its application in Division No. 3 Water Court in 1986, it applied for permits to drill 100 wells to a depth of 2,500 feet. Water pumped to the surface would be conveyed to the thirsty cities of Colorado's Front Range for sale or lease. AWDI has contended that its deep wells would have limited effect on senior appropriators in the San Luis Valley whose wells average only 100 feet in depth. Local residents disagree with AWDI engineering studies, but more importantly they simply do not want anyone transporting what they see as their water from the San Luis Valley to the profligate inhabitants of the Front Range.

The question of Hispanic rights to underground water remains. If AWDI decides to follow the appeal process, and if this right is granted them, the issue will be thoroughly dissected in court. Any trial of this complexity will take a long time. As water becomes increasingly important to the Southwest, other entities will surely ask similar questions.


Typical Mexican *noria*, or communal well, c. 1935. Photo by T. Harmon Parkhurst, courtesy of Museum of New Mexico.
about the rights of Spaniards and Mexicans to underground water and whether these rights, supposedly protected by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, are different from rights to surface water. The balance of this essay is an attempt to take a preliminary look at these questions with attention directed specifically to the situation in New Mexico as recorded in the Spanish and Mexican Archives.³

The legal rights of Hispanic settlers to appropriate subsurface waters on private property reflected limited technological skills and a paucity of information regarding underground hydrology. Spaniards and Mexicans did not fully comprehend the extensive nature and variety of water under the surface of the American Southwest, and their laws echoed this limited understanding, limited need, and a technology that had not changed much since the days of the Roman Empire. Their principal interest was in what Clesson S. Kinney has called percolating waters, i.e., waters that work their way through the subsurface, that are not part of a large body of water or the flow of any water course, and that may come to the surface through the force of gravity.⁴ Although they may have understood the existence and form of subterranean water courses or streams and artesian waters, their laws, customs, and occasional disputes reveal a primary concern with wells and springs, most, if not all of which, tapped into or enlarged the flow of percolating waters.

The extant body of documentation reveals, however, that Hispanic law and custom took into consideration the uniqueness of subsurface waters. Under certain conditions, rights to underground water were clearly distinct from rights to surface waters. Had they possessed greater

³ Additional background material on underground water rights in Hispanic law can be found in Michael C. Meyer, Water in the Hispanic Southwest: A Social & Legal History, 1550–1850 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984); see also Meyer, “The Living Legacy.” The monumental work of Ira G. Clark, Water in New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), deals with groundwater but primarily in the twentieth century. For a detailed description of the situation between American Water Development, Inc. (AWDI) and San Luis Valley residents, see High County News, November 6, 1989.

⁴ Clesson S. Kinney, A Treatise on the Law of Irrigation and Water Rights and the Arid Region Doctrine of Appropriation of Waters, 4 vols. (San Francisco: Bender-Moss Company, 1912), 2, Sec. 1186, p. 2150. Kinney writes that percolating waters are those “which slowly percolate or infiltrate their way through the sand, gravel, rock, or soil, which do not then form a part of any body of water or the flow of any water course, surface or subterranean, but which may eventually find their way by force of gravity to some water course or other body of water, with whose waters they mingle, and thereby lose their identity as percolating waters.” Kinney divides underground water into three classes: subterranean water courses or streams; artesian waters; and percolating waters. He discusses each category in Vol. 2, Part 10, chapters 59–62.
knowledge of the region's tributary and nontributary hydrology, Spaniards and Mexicans might have developed a more detailed system for the equitable distribution of all kinds of underground streams, aquifers, and artesian waters. Lacking this information and the requisite technical skills to develop the water, those officials who concerned themselves with percolating waters had to rely for the most part on common sense and an imprecise body of Hispanic law.

One of the earliest legal references to subterranean water is found in the *Siete Partidas*. Completed in 1265, this compendium of laws included Partida 3, Title 33, Law 19, providing that anyone may dig springs and wells on his land, even if by doing so he diminishes water in the springs and wells of his neighbors, who have recourse against him only if they can prove malice or the intent of causing prejudice. No other law in the Spanish corpus of land and water legislation better illustrates the singular status of underground water and the rights of landowners to develop it. On the other hand, Laws 5 and 7 of Title 17, Book 4 of the *Recopilación* make what appears to be a conflicting point, repeated in other Spanish laws of this period, that waters in the Indies were to be common to both Spaniards and Indians. Whether this meant all known water, all water that existed in the Indies, or just surface and flowing water is not clear. As noted above, colonial Spaniards did not pay much attention to the supply of water in underground aquifers, but New Mexican documents reveal that at least some officials acted on a conviction that underground water could be privatized under conditions outlined in the *Siete Partidas*. At the same time, Hispanic settlers in America were heirs to a long standing tradition in Roman law that "public things" incapable of human control—such as flowing rivers, air, and the sea—should remain accessible to all the people, because such things (*res omnium communes*) benefited all individuals and were not susceptible to human domination or dominion.

But springs (*fuentes*, *manantiales*, *nacimientos*, *veneros*) and wells (*pozos*, or *norias*) were not in the category of *res omnium communes*. If man-made, they were not at the disposition of all men, and if they


were on private property, and the water did not leave that property, they were appurtenant to the land.

Writers have long tried to distinguish between the private and public nature of water in Hispanic law. In 1852, for example, D. Teodosio Lares, Mexican professor of administrative law and ex-secretary of justice, wrote that a pool of water formed by a spring would not be considered a watercourse and would not require official approval unless such a pool interfered with the flow of water from a river or caused a public health problem.\(^8\) One hundred years later Licenciado Santiago Oñate, consultant and expert witness on Hispanic water law for the state of Texas, argued that “springs and wells were not subject to the same legal status as rivers. These were not things of the common, and were taken to be part of the land, being therefore of the property of ownership of the proprietor of the land. Over springs and wells the owner of the soil had dominion and no concession was required to use such waters.”\(^9\)

This argument was presented more recently in historian David Vassberg’s writings on public lands. Focusing on sixteenth-century Spain, the author noted that the principle behind the idea of public ownership in Castile was that “no individual had the right to appropriate for himself and monopolize a part of the resources of Nature that were produced without the intervention of man.”\(^10\) It would seem to follow, therefore, that if subterranean water could be made useful only through the application of man’s knowledge and energies, its status had to be distinct from that of public water.

In Spanish law, however, claim to the earth’s resources was never absolute because ownership of land and the usufructory right to water were always granted at the sovereign’s mercy (merced). Such grants might be revoked as circumstances changed, but revocation was not whimsical and did not deny property owners the right to press their case for continued use. Unless the exploitation of underground water created a health hazard or public nuisance, or unless it had continuously flowed off private property to be utilized by adjoining neighbors, the development and use of springs and wells remained a private matter under the control of property owners to whom the subsurface water sources were appurtenant.

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Local officials favored private ownership and development of underground water, even though exceptions to this rule occasionally appeared in Hispanic New Mexico. For the most part, however, springs and wells enjoyed a unique status. In the August 12, 1786, Instrucción of José de Galvez for the colonization of Baja California, land premiums were offered to those willing to open up norias (draw wells) in new areas to be settled (Article 11). The Instrucción stated further that everyone was to have equal use of water regardless of their position on the stream or date of water appropriation. The only private property in water (propiedad privada) attached to springs and wells on private property up to the moment when such water left the land of its owner. In one of few specific references to underground water, the gobernador intendente of Durango urged Indians and non-Indians to do their best to increase agricultural production through the exploitation of “las aguas corrientes” (surface water) and “subterráneas” (ground water). The goal was improvement of crop production. Nothing was said about water rights in the twenty-nine articles of this Instrucción.

Laws from the Mexican period say little about springs and wells, but there is an implied continuation of their unique status. If they constituted a public nuisance, their owners could be fined by local authorities. But the development of a spring, or seasonal waters on private land did not come under the jurisdiction of town councils even if such development diminished the flow of water into a nearby town. This view seems to echo the concept enunciated in the Siete Partidas and repeated more recently in the Texas case, State v. Valmont Plantations (346 S.W. 2d 855), in which the court said that “Springs and wells on

13. See, for example, the Plan de advitrios a que deven arreglarse las Alcaldías de este Territorio . . . , formulated by the Diputación Territorial of New Mexico, October 19, 1827, Roll 18, frames 4186, Mexican Archives of New Mexico [hereinafter cited as MANM]. See also the 1846 Ordenanzas Municipales of Santa Fe in which Article 134, title 7 of the Mexican Bases Orgánicas is cited, and in which is noted the need to clean public reservoirs and acequias to avoid flooding of public roads. Roll 6, frame 59, Spanish Archives of New Mexico, I (hereinafter cited as SANM, I), State Record Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
14. This opinion was expressed in 1849 by seven Spanish jurists who collaborated on the Enciclopedia Española de Derecho y Administración, o Teatro Universal de la Legislación de España e Indias (Madrid, 1849), as cited in Oñate, 1948, p. 41.
a man's private property were not for common use." Local authorities in New Mexico were generally instructed to distribute water to settlers, and special officials were chosen to make sure no one took more than he needed. Only if citizens engaged in a dispute over springs and wells, or if the public health and safety were jeopardized, would these officials have any legal authority over what were in essence private waters.

Local custom contributed to acceptance of these principles. As defined by the Mexican jurist Joaquin Escriche, custom is the "unwritten law that has been introduced by use." It is also the practice of a majority of the people in a particular place where the absence of written law, or the ineffective administration of laws, forces people to develop their own rules of social behavior.

In New Mexico, especially in the Mexican period, many laws that were intended for Santa Fe either failed to survive the long journey from Mexico City or were so contradictory and inapplicable to local problems that the citizenry soon learned to depend more on custom. Furthermore, the Spanish policy of recognizing Indian customs not only served to establish custom as an acceptable policy, but tended to give it a role that was at times more powerful than the law itself.

The power of custom was acknowledged in many ways. According to one New Mexican, lands in the "Vegas Grandes" were granted to Luis Maria Cabeza de Vaca without a title, but by means of the "costumbre antigua" (ancient custom) by which the governor held the right to approve or disapprove grants according to the merit of each. In a similar vein, New Mexican officials recognized the existence of la costumbre sistemada (organized custom), la costumbre bien recibida (well accepted custom), and the working together of derechos (laws) and customs in the settlement of land and water disputes.

In most water matters, custom and law were both active in influencing decisions of local authorities. Alcaldes were quick to point out that the "force of custom" had to be recognized in establishing the rules

16. In a Letterbook of Communications sent by the Jusgado Primero of Santa Fe to Mexico City, the ayuntamiento noted that it was unable to find the laws to which Mexico City referred in its order. Roll 28, frame 73, MANM.
18. Roll 6, frames 702, 703, SANM, I.
19. See Roll 21, frames 775, 776, and Roll 28, frame 80, MANM.
for acequias and their headgates. By 1841, justices of the peace placed the same emphasis on the importance of "ancient custom" in resolving water disputes. And in most grants of land, possession was given with the understanding, sometimes referred to as a custom, that the water, pastures, watering places, and other public areas were to remain free for all.

Sometimes authorities were just ignorant of the law. They covered themselves by inserting the phrase "según las leyes" (according to the laws). But in a surprising number of documents, they cited Spanish laws from the Recopilación and the Nueva Recopilación, as well as Laws of the Cortes, some of which included the date, title, and appropriate article. The main problem was that Spanish and Mexican laws were not sufficiently specific to resolve the many types of water controversies arising in the Americas. This situation allowed for a broad range of customs and practices satisfactory to the needs of the people but not always standardized between one geographical area and another. A decision to allow the use of spring water as part of a silver mine grant in Parral, even though citizens claimed they would be deprived of a water source to which they had a right through "ancient and established custom," did not establish a precedent for officials in other regions of northern Mexico who faced similar circumstances. As with matters strictly pertaining to water, land grant petitions presented officials with a variety of problems that had to be addressed individually on their merits and not as part of a system of legal precedents generally associated with a system of common law. In many cases, the petitions for land, and the formal grants that followed, took into consideration the location and availability of existing waters.

This procedure was especially true for community grants. When the Town of Chamita grant was requested in 1724, for example, petitioner Antonio Trujillo of Santa Cruz asked for the entrances and exits (entradas y salidas), uses and customs (husos y costumbres), rights and rights of way (derechos y servidumbres), and that the pastures, waters, watering places, and woods (pastos, aguas, abrevaderos, montes) remain common. He also stated that the land he requested would not cause prejudice to a third party and he would take full responsibility for bringing in settlers. This request was typical of language used in most

20. Roll 15, frame 194, MANM.
21. Roll 29, frame 115, MANM.
22. Roll 1797B, frames 930, 931, Parral Archives.
23. Town of Chamita Grant, 1724, Report 36, file 64, Roll 16, frame 2, Surveyor General Records, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe (hereinafter cited as SGR).
petitions. The phrases were also similar to those used by granting officials and alcaldes charged with placing grantees in possession.

One hundred years later, little change had been made in the basic form. Salvador Montoya requested land that would eventually become the town of Tecolote, stating in his petition that he was only interested in cultivating the area in order to increase agricultural production and that the grant should not include the waters, pastures, and watering places that were to remain common.\textsuperscript{24} The grant was approved.

Of interest to present-day descendants of all grantees of land in New Mexico is whether subterranean water was included in the waters that were supposed to remain public and unappropriated. The answer to this question seems to depend on whether a prior claim to the water could be made by other individuals.

In the 1760s, for example, a grant was made to Bartolomé Fernández in Navajo country for grazing livestock, but he was told that if the "Apaches" objected to privatizing land that included a spring, the boundary would have to be pulled back so the Indians could continue to use the water.\textsuperscript{25} The same warning was made to Felipe Tafoya who requested land in the vicinity of Atrisco where there was a spring of water. He, too, was told that the land could be his only if its occupation did not prejudice the Indians.\textsuperscript{26}

Resistance to the privatization of percolating water can also be seen in a 1752 grant to Juan de Gabaldón. He requested a tract of planting land in the Tesuque area and mentioned plans to build a reservoir from local springs. Governor Tomás Vélez de Cachupín replied that he could not dam the springs entirely, but if his neighbors agreed that such a reservoir would also be beneficial to them, and if they were willing to help in the construction and maintenance, the dam could be built.\textsuperscript{27} In another instance, citizens of the town of Atrisco complained that the spring water they had been using for their cattle was being directed to an individual's newly opened piece of cultivated land. Governor Juan Bautista de Anza sided with the townsmen, recognizing the public nature of this water and its usefulness as a resource common to all.\textsuperscript{28} The Taos ayuntamiento expressed a similar concern in 1837 when a community protested that its water rights would be

\textsuperscript{24} Town of Tecolote Grant, 1824, Report 7, file 8, Roll 12, frames 60–61, SGR.
\textsuperscript{25} Bartolomé Fernandez Grant, 1767, Report 178, file 54, Roll 21, frame 7, SGR.
\textsuperscript{26} Felipe Tafoya Grant, 1766, Report 99, file 173, Roll 22, frames 4–6, SGR.
\textsuperscript{27} Juan de Gabaldón Grant, 1752, Report 65, file 150, Roll 19, frames 16–28, SGR.
\textsuperscript{28} Town of Atrisco, 1768, C.45, Roll 37, frames 1–15, Court of Private Land Claims Records, hereafter cited as CPLCR.
diminished by the awarding of an upstream grant even though the petitioner assured officials that his irrigation would be effected through development of springs and not river water. A committee appointed by the ayuntamiento recommended rejection of the petition because of potential injury to some 300 settlers of Ranchos de Taos.

In each of the above examples, when spring water was viewed as an existing public resource, or when it had become available to more than the owners of the property to which it was appurtenant, authorities opposed privatization. Water that ran downhill from a spring onto neighboring property was not to be appropriated by a single individual. As the alcalde of Albuquerque said when making the Carvajal grant in 1819, “all [emphasis added] the waters will be worked in common allowing them to run to the last populated area.”

Under different circumstances, however, spring water was considered very private and was neither available to others for partial use nor a resource under administrative control of local authorities.

The strongest case for privatization of underground water was made when its owners physically controlled it in a responsible fashion. In 1818, a conveyance of land was made in which the sale documents included “un poso de noria” (a draw well). Instead of being part of the land deal, the well commanded a price of fifty pesos, and the deed noted that this was a separate transaction. In 1845, Juan Otero requested a grant of land in the area where he was opening up “una noria.” His request was also approved, although the amount of land he asked for was reduced to one league. One year later, Juan Bautista Vigil and two others offered to put in two wells in the Jornada del Muerto providing water to travelers “at very little expense.” They might have meant that the water would be sold cheaply or that it would not cost very much to put in the wells. Although the project did not

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29. Tomás Torres, Rancho del Rio Grande Grant, 1795 and 1837, C.10, Roll 34, frames 5–26, CPLCR.
30. Article 1, “Instrucción” for the teniente of the new population of Carnuá, April 21, 1819, Cañon de Carnuá Grant, 1819, Report 150, file 96, Roll 27, frames 36–37, SGR. The Laguna Indians were also protected in their right to a spring called the Ojo del Gallo, even though the water flowed through their land to the town of Cubero. The governor assured them that they had the best right to this water through antiquedad [antiquity]. See Governor Antonio Narbona’s letter to the people of Cubero, August 28, 1826, in Pueblo of Laguna, C.133, Roll 46, frame 32, CPLCR.
31. Book H, Santa Fe County Deed Book, pp. 144–45, as noted in El Pino, C.81, Roll 42, frame 47, CPLCR.
32. Juan Otero Grant, 1845, Report 106, file 181, Roll 23, frames 1–23, SGR.
33. Juan Bautista Vigil, et al. (Jornada del Muerto), 1846, Report 26, file 58, Roll 16, frames 12–13, SGR.
receive approval, the petition itself seems to indicate that its land-hungry authors expected officials to look favorably on a request for land if petitioners could develop the water and make it available to thirsty travelers. Perhaps, their failure could be interpreted as an indication that New Mexican officials doubted their humanitarian motives and feared their ability to control so much land on such an important overland route.

In other ways, springs and well water gradually developed a unique status in the land grant process. Petitioners frequently asked for land specifically watered by identified springs. They knew that officials occasionally investigated the availability of water on land requested, and to encourage approval of their request, they sometimes exaggerated the amount of water on the land hoping to impress the authorities with its agricultural potential. In 1768, when alcalde Bartolomé Fernandez placed settlers in possession of the Las Huertas grant, he noted the boundaries and the "seis beneros de agua" (six springs) on the land.

Other documents indicate that springs often formed the center or boundary landmark of granted land. The town of Torreon, for example, was granted land around the "Ojo de Torreon" with borders "up to where the water will reach." The Lucero Spring grant was measured one league in each direction from the Agua Negra Spring. Nerio Antonio Montoya was granted land by the territorial deputation (legislature) of New Mexico with limits described by the "ojo del inmedio" (the central or middle spring). These kinds of grants, and many others that mentioned springs on one of the perimeters, suggest that some grazing and farming operations were entirely dependent on a subsurface water source managed by and for the owners of the land. From the point of view of officials anxious to increase agricultural production, therefore, approval of a land grant petition might be directly related to the grantees' ability to deliver water from various underground sources.

Springs were occasionally granted for very specific purposes. Governor Ignacio Flores Mogollón granted a small spring of water in 1715 to a citizen of Santa Fe for irrigated farming. More frequently, springs

34. See for example the Eaton or Domingo Fernandez Grant, 1822, Report 19, file 16, Roll 14, frames 700–710, SGR.
35. San Antonio de Las Huertas Grant, C.90, Roll 43, frame 39, CPLCR.
36. Town of Torreon Grant, 1841. Report 22, file 20, Roll 15, frame 4, SGR; also see Nerio Antonio Montoya Grant, CD.20, Roll 34, frame 40, CPLCR.
37. Lucero Spring Grant, 1824, 1845, C.69, Roll 41, frame 63, CPLCR.
38. Sección del día 12 de Noviembre de 1831, Journal of the Diputación Provincial, Roll 42, frame 685, MANM.
39. Santa Fe Grant, C.80, Roll 42, frame 28, CPLCR.
were granted to individuals who wanted land and water for raising livestock. It was customary to ask for a *sitio* (one league of 5,000 varas on each side), but the ideal quadrangular dimensions were rarely adhered to.\(^{40}\) In at least one recorded instance, a New Mexican governor granted spring water for mining purposes. Citizens were placed in control of the "Ojo del Oso" so they would have spring water for the machinery needed to run the Ortiz mine.\(^{41}\)

Some grants were made in such a way that grantees would have full control of their water. Others, especially those that included lands already used by neighbors, or that were necessary for the survival of downstream residents, had to share their spring water. This action was also the custom with surface water under Hispanic law. Authorities hoped to prevent potential conflicts over water because litigation was costly and difficult. Few trained lawyers ever resided in New Mexico, and great distances separated New Mexico from higher courts to the south. At the same time, advancement of agriculture and livestock raising was extremely important to New Mexican officials. If economic gain could be achieved by granting land and waters for these purposes, government officials were generally found to be supportive of such requests.\(^{42}\) They tried to avoid disputes over spring water by requesting a review of the land's natural resources and potential use conflicts, but some problems were inevitable. How these difficulties were resolved sheds further light on the legal status of percolating waters.

Whereas a function of alcaldes, ayuntamientos, prefects, and other local officials was to distribute and regulate the use of surface water, these same officials exercised no control over subsurface water *unless* the water flowed onto other properties, was used by the public on land belonging to the sovereign, or was overflowing its boundaries

\(^{40}\) See Arroyo Seco Grant, 1707, C.114, Roll 45, frame 11, CPLCR; M. and S. Montoya Grant, 1766, Report 100, file 175, Roll 22, frame 4, SGR; Ojo del Espiritu Santo Grant, 1815, Report 44, file 36, Roll 17, frame 2, SGR; Bartolomé Baca Grant, 1819, Report 126, file 123, Roll 24, frame 17, SGR. In 1838, Governor Manuel Armijo granted land to José Sutton who promised not only to graze sheep around a spring (Ojo de Anil) but to construct a textile factory for his merinos. See José Sutton Grant, Report 45, file 61, Roll 17, frames 1–3, SGR.

\(^{41}\) Elisha Whittlesey et al., Ortiz Mine Grant, 1833, Report 43, file 28, Roll 17, frames 13–14, SGR.

\(^{42}\) See, for example, the encouraging response to Guadalupe Miranda in 1841 when he asked for an "ojío" in the San Marcos area. Because he would be expanding agricultural production where travelers could also take advantage of his settlement, the investigating commission recommended that the governor approve his request. Report of investigating commission, December 23, 1841, Roll 4, frames 160–61, SANM.
causing transportation or health problems. Three examples illustrate this point.

The first situation involves a squabble between neighbors over the right to fence off and stop the flow of two springs that had been used for some time before upstream neighbors decided to direct the flow into reservoirs. Litigation documents are incomplete, but those existing show a conflict between the right to water by virtue of prior appropriation (antiquedad and prioritad) versus the principle of sharing (equidad) a water source if it crossed over to other lands. The upstream developers of these springs were, in effect, depriving the downstream users of the spring water, and even though the final result of this dispute is not known, authorities probably insisted on both parties sharing the water. A second example involves the Indian pueblo of Tesuque. In 1805, the Indians began digging an acequia that cut off the spring water being used by a downstream neighbor. When apprised of the situation, Governor Real Alencaster ruled that the Indians could take out their ditch, but they would have to find a way to send the spring water to their neighbors. If they failed to do this, he said, they would be punished. The matter surfaced again in 1842 when Vicente Valdés complained that the Indians had tried to direct the spring water into a reservoir to irrigate a new piece of land. On this occasion, the prefect ordered the Indians to provide their neighbors with water in the fall months when they needed it most. Since these springs were located on Tesuque land, the judgment seemed fair.

A final example deals with a complicated dispute that may say more about the pettiness of local politics than about the accepted manner of resolving water disputes. In 1813 a citizen built a reservoir to collect water from two ojitios. Both reservoir and springs were on public land. The ayuntamiento of Santa Fe insisted that the reservoirs be removed because they constituted a health hazard and because no one should have the right to develop public water only for the benefit of one's farm lands and gardens. In this case, authorities decided that the springs could not be privatized.

Overall, existing documentation for New Mexico allows for a qualified conclusion that water under the surface was treated differently and less as an inalienable possession of the sovereign than surface

43. Roll 6, frames 1282-83, SANM, I; see also Sitio de Juana Lopez Grant, C.82, Roll 42, frame 36, CPLCR.
44. Santa Fe County Deed Book S, pp. 130-31, recorded December 26, 1887.
45. Roll 6, frames 1193ff, SANM, I.
water. The paucity of documentation is as much a result of the general illiteracy of New Mexicans as it is a reflection of a limited hydraulic technology and the common sense practices acceptable to New Mexican settlers. Disputes did develop; some of these have been cited above. But a need for accommodation and cooperation on a frontier where lives were in constant danger from marauding nomads helped to minimize them.

Percolating water developed by cleaning out a spring or digging a well allowed land owners to graze livestock and irrigate small cultivated plots without having to raise flowing water from deeply cut river channels. Furthermore, maintenance of dams and headgates against the sudden rise of streams during spring runoff, or an unexpected summer storm, was not necessary when underground water was utilized.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of developing percolating water was that it was generally considered to be the property of the immediate land owner. Nothing could deprive him of this right, unless he allowed the water to become a public nuisance, or unless, as in the case of some springs, its location demanded sharing with Hispanic neighbors or nearby Indians. Properly cared for man-made wells were actually encouraged by officials who wanted to see this kind of initiative for the expansion of agriculture and industry. Fines might be levied against those who allowed their water to damage public or private property,46 but the historical record gives no indication that Hispanic authorities ever deprived these well owners of their water. Even in an extreme instance in which the ayuntamiento of Santa Fe gave a property owner the choice of controlling his well water or completely shutting it down,47 local officials were concerned only with the public safety and health of all citizens, not the stripping of water from its rightful owner. These officials viewed their responsibility as one that balanced consideration for the owner's property with the public's right to safe and sanitary living conditions.

46: Plan de advitrios a que deven arreglarse las Alcaldías de este territorio para la creación de sus fondos formado por la Exsma. Diputación Proval. del mismo conforme lo a acordado en la Sesión del día 19 de Otubre de 1826. Copy, January 19, 1834. This plan says in part that well or spring water, which is polluted or allowed to cause other damages, and destined for the use of houses will result in a fine of 4 reales to the owner; Roll 18, frame 405, MANM.

47. Ayuntamiento proceedings, Santa Fe, June 2, 1832, Roll 14, frame 1003, MANM.
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Samuel E. Tillman traveled by railroad, stage, and "government ambulance" to reach Camp Apache, Arizona, in late August 1873. Here this Corps of Engineers officer reported to First Lieutenant George M. Wheeler for a tour of duty. Wheeler left for the East shortly afterwards, and First Lieutenant Tillman was put in charge of the party.

Wheeler commanded the United States Geographical Surveys west of the 100th meridian. The principal objective of the Wheeler Survey, as it came to be known, was the systematic topographic surveying and mapping of the western half of the country. Wheeler's field expeditions of the 1870s also made scientific observations and collected data concerning the region's ethnoLOGY, geology, natural history, climate and

Dwight L. Smith is professor emeritus of history in Miami University. This and other articles are an outgrowth of his investigation of the military career of Samuel E. Tillman. His current research concerns a United States judge for Mississippi Territory.
Samuel E. Tillman, c. 1876. Photo courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.
weather, and general geography. Tillman’s responsibility on this assignment was to survey the area from Camp Apache in east central Arizona southward to Camp Bowie in southeastern Arizona. From there he was to move eastward to Fort Cummings in southwestern New Mexico and northward to Laguna pueblo in west central New Mexico. His scrutiny was to include the neighboring country along this route.

While Tillman was still at Camp Apache surveying the Indian reservation he was able to make some observations about the resident Apaches. He was particularly amused by the mixed success of the medical officer to obtain height, weight, and chest measurement data of the adult male Indians. He was not impressed, however, with the process by which they made their own variety of home-brew or the product itself, and he was somewhat bemused by how they slaughtered their ration cattle.

In the field, as he had been all through his boyhood days, Tillman was always curiously interested in animal behavior. Hence he comments on an encounter with bears, a skunk experiment, a mummified sheep, coyote habits, and observations about deer, quail, wild turkeys, and rattlesnakes. He humorously explains how to catch jack rabbits. He is surprised by a deserted mining town. He calms his near mutinous workers. His cook and his orderly reveal some unusual and confidential matters about themselves.

Finally he traveled on to Fort Union, to the east of Santa Fe, where he transferred the animals to the Quartermaster Department and stored the pack train equipment. In mid-December he took a stage to Pueblo, Colorado, from thence he returned to the East by train, reporting back

to Washington at year's end to spend three months digesting the survey data his party had collected. ²

Subsequently, Tillman had three more tours of duty with the Wheeler Survey, in several western states and territories. As in the present instance, each assignment in the field carried over for several months into the following year in the Washington office to assemble field data, draft maps, and prepare reports. Generally, Tillman was typical of the Corps of Engineers officers Wheeler had in charge of the several parties simultaneously conducting surveys over various segments of the West.

Tillman (1847–1942) was born on a middle Tennessee plantation near Shelbyville, Bedford County. His father was prominent in local affairs and served in Congress after the Civil War. Young Sammy's semi-classical education in a nearby academy was interrupted by the Civil War. His community as well as his family was not of one persuasion concerning secession, so he witnessed the seesaw changes in military control that characterized the war years in this region. On one occasion he was momentarily "impressed" into the Confederate service as a wagon driver, but he outwitted his impressers and returned home within hours.

After the war, upon the recommendation of Andrew Johnson, who was a family friend and the military governor of occupied Tennessee, President Abraham Lincoln appointed Tillman as a cadet to the United States Military Academy. There he ranked near the head of the graduating class of 1869. On his first assignment he was posted to Fort Riley and saw service on the Kansas frontier. Several months later, in August 1870, he reported back to the Military Academy where he became an instructor in chemistry, mineralogy, and geology. In 1873, passing up an implied promotion to a professorial chair in the department in another two years, Tillman requested transfer to field duty in the Corps of Engineers.

Following the 1873 stint with the Wheeler Survey in New Mexico and Arizona, Tillman was attached to the jurisdiction of the superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory. In 1874–75 he went with a party to Tasmania to observe the transit of Venus across the

². Tillman was in charge of the topographical drafting room. He was to compile "a careful catalogue of the records of the field results ... and a thorough inventory of the maps[, ] charts and plans of every Kind. . . . He will revise at once the list of camps, and distances etc and cause a sketch of the triangles and trigonometric [sic] connections of the southern part of the survey during the year 1873 . . . [and] will complete the sextant observations made by himself." George M. Wheeler, Special Order No. 1, January 2, 1874, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
disk of the sun. He then returned to the Military Academy as an instructor in astronomy and applied mechanics for the summer and the ensuing school year. After the three more successive tours with the Wheeler Survey, 1876, 1877, and 1878, he accepted an invitation to return to the Military Academy in 1879.

The following year he was promoted to professor and head of the Department of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology. He served in that capacity until retirement in 1911. To provide for the needs of his classes, he wrote their textbooks in chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and physics. During the World War I years, he returned to his alma mater as superintendent.

Two primary sources record Tillman's experience with the Wheeler Survey in 1873. Both are in the library of the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York. First, his daily diary sparsely and unevenly chronicles the progress of his survey party. Its principal value is to corroborate sometimes indirect or vague reference to items or to supplement details found in the other document. The second source is Tillman's 233-page holograph autobiography. For this, he utilized his diaries, drafts from public lectures and addresses, fugitive notes, and miscellany. It covers his boyhood, cadet years, service in the West, and the transit of Venus. He reasoned that his years as an academician and superintendent at the Military Academy were already well documented in the institutional records; he was, therefore, not concerned with them in the autobiography. Essentially, his narrative account details experiences and observations that otherwise generally are not recorded in official reports.

Even with a massive infusion of the autobiography, the diary would still be unsatisfactorily incomplete as an account of Tillman's tour of duty in 1873. On the other hand, the autobiographical account given here reasonably stands by itself. It is strengthened occasionally by citations to the 1873 diary and supplemented by excerpts from other sources.


4. There is also a 128-page "Fair Copy" of the same manuscript in which he had begun a revision of the first draft. It had not progressed far enough, however, to cover the 1873 tour.
The Wheeler Survey in New Mexico and Arizona, 1873. The points of reference for Samuel E. Tillman's survey party: from Camp Apache to Pueblo Laguna by way of Camp Bowie and Fort Cummings.

Tillman manuscripts. After literal transcription from the holograph manuscript, only limited conventional and silent editorial changes have been introduced to enhance the readability of Tillman's account: paragraphing, capitalization, deletion of repeated words or phrases, elliptical omission of extraneous details, and transcription of casual flourishes into appropriate punctuation.

[West Point to Fort Apache]

In June 1873 I informed Prof. Kendrick, the head of my department of instruction, that I wished to be relieved from duty at the M.A. [United States Military Academy] and return to duty with the Engineer Corps of the army to which I had been transferred. . . .

I was relieved from duty at W.P. [West Point] about Aug. 1st 1873 and left there under orders to report to Lt. G. M. Wheeler of the Engineer Corps, U.S.A. at Ft. Apache, Arizona before the end of the month, for duty on the survey work which that officer was then conducting. I went by my home in Tennessee, stopping a couple of days
and then set out for Fort Apache, Arizona. As my route passed through Junction City Kansas, I stopped a day there to visit Ft. Riley which I had left three years before to go to W.P. The personnel of the post had entirely changed and I made myself known to no one there. I went on passing through Denver and Colorado Springs to Pueblo where the R.R. terminated. From there I went by stage to Santa Fe and via Albuquerque to Fort Wingate N.M. From there I traveled in a government ambulance to Fort Apache, Arizona, and reported to Lt. Wheeler there on the 21st of August. He, within a few days, left for the East having turned over his survey outfit and party to me.

In my ride from Pueblo, Colorado to Wingate N.M. and then to Ft. Apache, Arizona, I had traveled 750 miles in wheeled vehicles propelled by animal power. Of course in a journey of that length in that country at that time there was much that was new and interesting to me, but nothing so impressive or startling as was that vast herd of buffalo into which I rode on an April morning in 1870. However, I may mention that between Pueblo Colo. and Ft. Apache Arizona, I passed through the Indian village of Laguna and by the celebrated Zuni Indian settlements.

The driver of the ambulance with which the Q.M. [Quartermaster]


9. For Tillman's description of this experience, see Smith, "Kansas Frontier."
at Wingate supplied me was ordered to report to me and to be ready to depart on that trip at such time as I should designate. The driver's name was given me with the information also that he was a reliable, competent man, but given to drawing a rather "long bow." When he reported to me I asked, "What is your full name?" He replied "Samuel," the surname I have forgotten, and added, "I am known out here as 'Navaho Sam.'" I found Sam to be a good-natured, obliging man but rather too talkative as a sole companion; however I did not discourage him for he was interesting in his stories though they might be exaggerations.

There was one section of the road over which we were to pass on the way to Apache of about 20 miles, over which we were cautioned to drive between sundown and sunup as insuring greater safety against Indians. I had been advised to stop at certain definitely located springs when I should arrive there, until an hour after sunset, then pass over that section before daybreak the next morning.

We arrived at the designated springs about 3:00 P.M. The immediate surroundings were quite attractive and I told Sam that I would take a walk for exercise and would be back by 5:00 o'clock and added the caution that he must not leave camp while I was away. I walked to a little knoll about a mile away, slightly above the general level, and sat down there in the shade for about an hour. Shortly after starting back, as I walked slowly along a jack rabbit jumped up, made a couple of hops, stopped and stood up on his hind legs in order to observe me over the low sage brush.

I had become quite familiar with that species during my year in Kansas and knew how to succeed in the effort I was about to make. I gradually lowered myself sufficiently to cause the rabbit to rise higher in order to see me over the shrubbery. He arose as I expected and when he was well up, I arose slowly carrying a spherical stone about 2 inches in diameter in my right hand. When in erect position I heaved the stone with all my might at the rabbit and hit him near his left shoulder. The blow completely upset him. I rushed over and picked him up before he got on his feet again.

I started to camp with him and on the way back concluded to try to equal some of Sam's stories to me and was quite successful, I think. . . . When Sam [saw] me returning with the rabbit now fully alive he met me with, "Where did you get him, you did not have your gun with you?" I said no I did not, but you know these rabbits are like the antelopes. They have a great deal of curiosity and if you don't scare them when they first jump up you can often catch them alive without much trouble. Sam said "Yes, I know they are very curious animals,
but how do you catch them?” . . . “Oh, I said, I call it charming them and this is how you accomplish it.”

When the rabbit hops up, you stop instantly and remain perfectly still. It will usually stop after two or three jumps and look to discover what you are doing. Then you make some slow motion such as—left hand up, right hand down. After a few seconds put the right up and left down, all by slow movements. These two movements generally bring the rabbit nearer. Then push one arm out level with your shoulder, then the other always by slow motions. With the arms thus extended drop slowly to your knees. This movement will bring it still nearer. Now when down on your knees, draw a handkerchief, letter, or better some colored object from your pocket and slowly transfer it to the ground. After it once starts to keep an eye on your movements every cautious motion will bring it nearer. Finally you may have to put a watch or other bright object to attract within easy reach. With this explanation, Sam said that he knew that snakes could charm birds and that he had heard that cats also could, but he never before had heard of charming jack rabbits.

We put the rabbit in the feed box of the ambulance and carried . . . it alive at [to] Apache. During my stay there I heard that Sam had told the soldiers that he and I using our mules as saddle animals had run the rabbit down and thus captured it alive. From this fact, I inferred that he could not trust himself to explain the method by charm or perhaps did not believe in it, and could explain the possession of the live rabbit in no other way than that he gave.

[Fort Apache]

I was at Apache for about a week before the field work of the expedition began and the stay there afforded very much of interest relating to the organic and the inorganic world both of the past and present. The evidences of geological changes were numerous both in beautiful fossil specimens and the physical features of the region. In leaving Apache the next objective was Ft. Bowie . . . nearly directly south. Before leaving Apache a few points of interest deserve mention: first among these were the many fossil shells petrified in different colored silica; perfect forms of both the Orthis and Atrypa species were very numerous.

The White Mountain Apache Indians had then for the first time been induced to assemble upon a reservation only a few miles from the post and through the kindness of Capt. Randall, in command of the post, I procured a real acquaintance with these nearly untamed
savages. I was the guest of Capt. Randall, slept at his quarters and was there three times a day for meals as well as at other times. By 7:00 o’clock in the morning and at nearly all meal times, there usually were present from three to six Indians sitting or squatting upon his open piazza and welcoming any sort of friendly recognition from the Capt. Their great and untiring interest in his words impressed me greatly. He treated them always as welcome visitors, making to them friendly remarks or bestowing small gifts. The Indians too seemed to exercise a sort of consideration, as for instance, the immediate departure of one group when another arrived.

I went with Capt. R. one afternoon to their camp and it was an interesting experience. There had been recently issued to them certain articles of food, included among which were corn meal, shelled beans etc. and a few beef cattle. At several places in the camp we saw efforts being made to ferment the meal in order eventually to produce a sour mash which yielded a beverage that they enjoyed. All sorts of vessels were being used for mash tubs, mainly empty tins of various kinds which they had procured from the post refuse. But in addition to these we saw also several natural depressions in rocks being used for liquid containers.

10. Tillman was surveying the Apache reservation. Diary of Tillman, September 1, 3, 1873. George Morton Randall had served in the Civil War as an enlisted man and officer. He was advanced four times in brevet ranks to colonel. He returned to the army in 1865 as an infantry captain and served with George Crook against the Apache in the early months of 1873. By the time Tillman arrived at Camp Apache, there was a lull in military-Apache confrontation, and Randall was in command of the agency guard. Randall subsequently received brevet ranks of lieutenant colonel and colonel for his service against the Apache in 1873–1874. He remained in the army and earned regular commissions from captain to brigadier general in 1901. Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 1: 814; Ralph Hedrick Ogle, Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848–1886 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), 115–16, 129, 142–45.

11. “Before we were up in the morning we would be made aware of their presence by the rustle of their leather moccasins and leggings as they squatted on the porch. Soon, as numbers increased, would be heard grunts and guttural sounds gradually swelling into a sort of conversation. When we stepped out for our first morning breath they would be sitting on the floor with their blankets wrapped around them.” Lecture text, “Experiences in the Great West,” March 18, 1893, Tillman Papers, Miami University Libraries.

12. “I saw the Indians making tizwin out of the corn just issued to them for bread ration. This is a beverage sufficiently alcoholic to produce intoxication, at least among Indians... and that they were having a good time was evidenced by the incessant and unmelodious noises which proceeded from their camp during the entire night. The distant observer heard only a continuous thumping as though someone were pounding
In the forenoon of this same day, I saw the Indians kill and butcher a couple of the beef cattle that had [been] issued to them. The kill was preceeded by an attempt to make a hunt of the cattle as though they were wild buffalo. This was a decidedly ridiculous [performance] . . . After wounding and killing the animals in an unnecessarily cruel manner, the butchering was accomplished very quickly and I think with expertness and every part of the carcasses was finally carried away.

We left their camp an hour or so before sundown and returned to the post, Capt. Randall remarking that it was not yet advisable for individual white men to enjoy their hospitality beyond daylight.

The medical officer of my surveying party was the steward of a regular army hospital and was very energetic and interested in carrying [out] his instructions. Among them was the obtaining of accurate measurements of the full grown warriors of this tribe of Indians. After considerable effort a couple of these were induced to come to our camp for this purpose. The steward had in front of his tent a very simple arrangement for procuring their height and weight, but the Indians were at first very suspicious of this; but they soon understood its purpose when we compared our height and weight with theirs.

The steward then wished to procure certain of their physical measurements, the first of which were their chest measurements before and after a full inspiration. Of course the word inspiration was not understood by these Indians. The steward attempted to show them what he wished to do. He inhaled and exhaled a full breath and at the same time tried to have them see the change in the dimensions of his chest. He tried to get them to imitate himself, but they did not understand. Finally, I suggested that he had been breathing through his nostrils with his mouth shut, "to try breathing through his mouth." This he did, and the Indians seemed to partially understand his desire and made some effort to imitate him. He soon got them to inhale and exhale with open mouths in unison with himself. With this success the Indians indicated satisfaction and almost smiled.

With this unexpected success the steward thought, and I thought too, that he was quite ready to proceed further. He had them stand, side by side about a foot apart. He reached into his tent and took therefrom a small black book, which he handed me and asked if I would record for him. At practically the same instant he drew from the pocket of his shirt a small steel tape measure and drew it partly from a cracked drum, but a nearer approach made perceptible a bedlam of discordant sounds which even an Indian could hardly enjoy without the accompaniment of tizwin. . . . We tried some and the taste was like a sort of beer." ibid.
its case, intending to explain its purpose and the next step to the Indians. The tape made that unavoidable noise when rapidly drawn out. I saw at the instant that black book appeared, a change in the Indians’ expressions. The sight of that metallic tape suddenly displayed [to] them added further change and when the shrill note of [the] tape came it left no doubt in their minds that they had been outwitted and that their only safety lay in flight. They bounded off toward their reservation, 4 miles away, at a speed which seemed most remarkable for bipeds.

[Fort Apache to Camp Bowie]

On Sept. 7th 1873 with the party placed in my charge, we set out from Camp Apache to attempt to follow the instructions left with me. Lt. W. had suggested to me that in all our movements, I keep one man with me as a sort of orderly, who should always be on hand to transmit any instructions to other members of the party etc. This being my first experience on such work, I thought it a good suggestion and selected as my orderly a half-breed, Mexican and Indian, who spoke some English as well as the Indian and Mexican-Spanish. With the Indians he bore the name of “Chiquito,” indicative of his under size. He was very anxious to accompany the party. There were also with the party three young and enthusiastic scientists: Mr. G. K. Gilbert, the geologist; Mr. H. W. Henshaw, naturalist, anthropologist, etc. and Dr. Oscar Loew, chemist and mineralogist. The first two named became greatly distinguished in later life and Dr. Loew returned to Germany in 1875 and there filled an honorable position.13

13. “My outfit consisted of thirty men, nine attached to the survey party, thirteen soldiers and eight packers. This required thirty riding mules and thirty pack animals.” *Ibid.* Grove Karl Gilbert (1843–1918) became chief geologist, U.S. Geological Survey, 1889–1892. Henry Wetherbee Henshaw (1850–1930) later served as chief, Bureau of Biological Survey, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1910–1915. Oscar Loew (1844–1941), chemist, plant and nutrition physiologist, held academic and research assignments in several countries. For further biographical data, see Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. “Gilbert, Grove Karl,” by George P. Merrill; s.v. “Henshaw, Henry Wetherbee,” by Edward A. Goldman; Neue Deutsche Biographie, s.v. “Loew, Oscar” by Brigitte Hoppe. “Dr. Loew, . . . desired above everything to determine why the skunk occupied so much space in nature. He secured a live animal and managed to bottle some of the liquid for analysis, but had great difficulty in obtaining a laboratory for his research. On our return to Washington the Smithsonian would not permit him to work in the room which had been assigned to the expedition. However, he had a friend in New York, who loaned him a private laboratory. The Doctor told me with great amusement, ‘that a formidable crowd filled the street outside the building and soon two blasted policemen appeared and ordered him to close the windows, after which he could hardly work in such a confined
Under the program outlined in my instructions our next objective point was Ft. Bowie, distant on a straight line a little over 100 miles, nearly due south from Apache. Outside of the regular official work of [the] party, which it is not here attempted to describe, the following incidental experiences and observations were noted: A mother black bear and two grown cubs were fired at simultaneously by three of our riflemen, before the bears had become aware of our presence. Both the cubs were wounded but were able to take refuge in a scrubby piñon tree. The mother bear apparently was not hit and started off on the run, but when she saw that the cubs were not following, she stopped and without hesitation came rapidly back to the tree where the cubs were.

When the riflemen saw her coming back they too went up into low piñon trees. The old bear did not seem to know from where the shots had come. She stood up on her hind feet under the tree where the cubs were, apparently bewildered as to where the marksmen were, they being about 75 or 80 yards away. A 2nd volley killed her, and it was then deemed best to kill the cubs. The conduct of old bear in coming back to defend her cubs was thought very remarkable. This was early in Sept. and their skins were not thought worth preserving. In the canyons of the two tributaries entering the Gila from north, Prieto and Bonita, in eastern Arizona there were abundant indications of bears. They had well beaten paths in each of these canyons.

atmosphere.' The Doctor returned to Germany and I never heard that he published his findings.” Samuel E. Tillman, “Other incidents connected with these Western trips,” fugitive page, Tillman papers, Department of Special Collections, Miami University Libraries.

14. Camp Bowie, its official designation at that time, was located at the east end of Apache Pass in the Chiricahua Mountains in northeastern present Cochise County, Arizona. Prucha, Guide to the Military Posts, 61, plate 20; Granger, Will C. Barnes’ Arizona Place Names, 31. Tillman’s party traveled on a wagon road. Working parties moved out in both directions from the road to make their observations and to collect data. Diary of Tillman, September 7–October 2, 1873; additional entries for September 20–27, 1873, following regular entries; fugitive loose pages at end of diary.

15. After his death, Tillman’s daughter transcribed his holograph manuscript making editorial modifications, rewriting and rephrasing, and adding anecdotes and details from public lectures she had heard him give. She included this experience: “I had an encounter one afternoon when I had walked out from camp on one of the narrow cañon paths. Rounding a sharp curve, I came suddenly upon a bear facing me not fifty yards away. The cañon wall rose sheer on one side, with a descending slope not so steep on the other. There was no possibility of passing the bear and I had to make a quick decision to shoot. For the first time in my experience my rifle jammed. The bear now being uncomfortably close, I chose the only method of exit from my predicament and rolled down the bank amid a terrific clatter of underbrush and loose stones. As far as I could
Along these streams we also saw fine flocks of wild turkeys. They are a different game to get by *fair* hunting and we killed only one though many were seen. In the canons of the Prieto and Bonita were seen very interesting cliff dwellings of the Indians, approached by narrow paths along the cliff sides. In one of these canons was a large opening in a side cliff, nearly filled with excreta of bats. Similar accumulations have been found in many places. In the canons just above named and in arroyos in the same region were the evidences of the beavers' work. At one of the camps of a side party in this region a rattlesnake was killed and tested as food. [Of] all four of the men I was [the] one who partook of the reptile; thought it fairly palatable. It was fried just as fish were at the same meal.

On the way to Bowie the ascent of Mt. Graham was made from the North. At the summit our aneroid indicated 10,600 feet above sea level and 7,800 above the point where the road from Apache to Bowie crosses the Gila. Four of us spent the night on the mountain and the view in the clear morning was magnificent, extending in a N. and S.

16. Tillman's party had been surveying and exploring the southeastern reaches of the present San Carlos Reservation in Graham County. His reference here to Prieto Creek is a variant name for Eagle Creek. Granger, *Will C. Barnes' Arizona Place Names*, 166. He noted two brief descriptions in his diary: "In sight of our camp last night were some Indian ruins. A kind of stone house made to enclose a recess in the wall of the cañon. The thickness of the wall of the house is about one foot, built of volcanic fragments and a clay mortar containing also same. The most perfect one enclosed a space of about 40 Sqr feet. It is loop holed or windowed having five holes around about one foot from the bottom and another series of four at 3 feet above, the holes a little over three feet apart." Diary of Tillman, "Ruin Camp," September 26, 1873. "Visited ruins on the East bank of Bonita. A continuous line of houses 200 feet long was found, ruins in places much larger than described yesterday. We could travel along from house to house without getting outside. The houses were built so as to form a parapet upon the roof. The rafters of the roofs were still remaining though the covering had fallen in. The instruments used in cutting the roof poles were very dull. It would have been very easy to have enlarged the caves but it seems not to have been done." Diary of Tillman, "Termination Camp," September 27, 1873. Tillman places Ruin Camp sixteen miles from Termination Camp. This may have been on the upper reaches of Bonita Creek. He locates Termination Camp "about 15 miles" up the Bonita canyon. These cliff dwellings are noted on present maps. Diary of Tillman, September 28, 1873.

17. Mt. Graham is in south central Graham County, Arizona, in the Coronado National Forest.
On October 2nd we reached Bowie and while there for observation purposes we made the ascent of the "Dos Cabezas" two fairly isolated points in the range of the same name. They constitute striking landmarks of bare rocks. On the very top of the highest knob there lay a mummy-like carcass of a mountain sheep, apparently fairly preserved by the dry atmosphere of the region. My companion and I were much surprised by the find, and uncertain of a satisfactory explanation. Finally we thought it most likely that the animal somehow became wounded or otherwise made unable to remain with its kind and had arrived there in its search for isolation or safety from hostile species. In any case it suggested to us the thought that dumb animals may, like humans, sometimes experience influences which cause them to seek solitude? Who knows? I killed a deer shortly before climbing the peaks.

[Camp Bowie to Fort Cummings]

My instructions designated old Fort Cummings to be the next objective after leaving Ft. Bowie. Cummings was situated slightly north of east from Bowie and in a straight line about 120 miles distant. A well traveled road marked the entire distance. My party made seven camps between the two places, and the names of the places at which the camps were made, with one exception, do not now appear on recent maps. San Simon constitutes the exception. One place at which we camped for three days was called "Ralston." It was then a deserted mining town, which two years before had had 300 inhabitants. The

18. Dos Cabezas (Two Heads) are two bald summits in the Dos Cabezas Mountains of north central Cochise County, Arizona, a few miles from Fort Bowie. Granger, Will C. Barnes' Arizona Place Names, 35.

19. Tillman's party departed Camp Bowie October 11, 1873. Diary of Tillman; October 11, 1873.

20. San Simon had been established in northeastern present Cochise County, Arizona, as a station for the Butterfield Overland Stage line, a few miles northeast of Camp Bowie. Granger, Will C. Barnes' Arizona Place Names, 31, 51.

21. Ralston, presently known as Shakespeare, a ghost town, was at the northern tip of the Pyramid Mountains, two miles south of present Lordsburg, New Mexico. It had also served as a station for the Butterfield Overland Stage line. Pearce, New Mexico Place Names, 154.
place had had such prominence so recently that we were greatly surprised to find it a town with many dwellings but not an inhabitant...

On our march from Bowie to Mule Springs there was one incident which is characteristic of that region at that time and worthy of mention: it occurred on Oct 14 or 15th: We met a large herd of cattle being driven from Texas to Tucson, Ariz. We asked the herder if he would sell us a beef. He replied that he could not, that he was under contract to deliver a specified number at Tucson, that he had lost several on the way and was unwilling to part with any now. However, he added, that at their camp that morning three of the herd could not be found and that he thought it very probable that we would meet them following in the wake of the herd before night, and if so we were welcome to any or all of them.

Late in the afternoon his prediction was proved true. We met the three, killed and butchered one of them shortly before we made camp. By time darkness came coyotes made known their presence at the offal of the beef, and that inspired one of our medical assistants to sprinkle arsenic liberally over the offal. I heard him next morning say that, "there are several dead coyotes out there and he thought others could be found if sought for." We did not seek them. These scavengers were then as detested as now, and stray cattle could be possessed by the first finder.

About 25 miles east from Bowie our route crossed into N.M. and a few miles further east it crossed the divide which separates the waters flowing into the Colorado from those going to the Rio Grande.

[Fort Cummings]

On Oct. 23 we reached Fort Cummings. Facilities for camping our outfit satisfactorily not being available nearer the post we located

22. The following two paragraphs are relocated here from later in Tillman's account.

23. "A Mexican butcher from whom I bought a sheep a few days later was very different from the Texas cattle men. He agreed to let me have the sheep at two cents a pound, and my cook went with him to weigh the animal while I waited and held the mules. They returned with a very puny looking sheep both saying it weighed seventy pounds. I demurred to this saying it was impossible. The Mexican was obdurate, running his hands over the sheep and muttering 'Short wool, much meat.' I got down and asked him if he would let me weigh [it] myself on his scales. Without replying to my question he exclaimed 'Take sheep for one dollar.' He had evidently weighed the animal on his 'selling scales.'" Tillman, "Experiences in the Great West." The cattle and sheep incidents occurred while Tillman's party was encamped at Ralston. Diary of Tillman, October 14-19, 1873.

24. Fort Cummings was located at Cooke's Springs near the entrance of Cooke's Canyon to the north of present Deming, New Mexico. Prucha, Guide to the Military Posts, 69, plate 20; Pearce, New Mexico Place Names, 58.
our camp about 7 miles to the north of it, at a spring then called Mule Springs. We discovered the first afternoon after our arrival there that we had taken possession of a watering place frequented by many deer. This was shown not only by their tracks about the spring, but several of them were seen seeking to approach it that afternoon. On the next day many of them came so near that three were killed, after which I forbade further shooting.

We were expecting to receive some rations from Ft. Bayard at this point. Also, an additional topographer was to join me here, being sent from one of the survey parties farther west. These expectations had not been realized. On Oct. 25th, I made the ascent of Cooke’s Peak, which is a striking conical peak near the southern terminus of the Mimbres Range, about 7 or 8 miles N.W. of Cummings. At the top of the peak the aneroid [read] 19.36. Some data found on the summit left there four years before indicated that no other ascent had been made later. We found a bright new looking pocketknife near the little monument that contained the said data, and it showed only very slight effect from rusting. If it had been there four years it certainly indicated a very dry atmosphere?

On Oct. 27th the expected rations from Ft. Bayard arrived. The distance therefrom by the traveled road the man in charge reported to be between 60 and 70 miles. It had required two days to make the trip. The mail brought me by this party made it necessary for me to reply without delay and thinking that a more direct route to Bayard existed than the traveled road from Cummings was practicable, I concluded to go to Bayard myself. So on the 28th, with my Indian orderly, Chiquito, I set out for Bayard on a direct line as indicated by the best map I had. This line passed straight across the Mimbres Range and was followed as nearly as practicable during the day.

I reached Bayard at a little after 11:00 P.M. having left my camp at 6:00 A.M. It was a beautiful and enjoyable trip for anyone who enjoys nature, animate, and inanimate, though it involved considerable climbing and descending on foot to save our mules. During the day I saw two quite large herds of deer numbering 30 or 40 each, besides two or three small bunches. These animals are attractive sights at all times and especially so when seen under excited curiosity as they gaze at unfamiliar intruders upon their usual solitudes and then bound away with an agility and grace that cannot be described or pictured.

25. Fort Bayard is located in the foothill area of the Santa Rita Mountains between present Silver City and Santa Rita, New Mexico. Prucha, Guide to the Military Posts, 60, plate 20; Pearce, New Mexico Place Names, 58.
Toward sundown that day the beautiful California quail were very numerous and I then learned for the first time that they did not roost on the ground in a single bunch as do the eastern bobwhites; however, a whole covey did seem to roost in the same small bush. Then too on that late afternoon my expertness in knocking over two quail with stones thrown by hand greatly astonished and amused my Indian striker.

At sundown we had been on our journey since 6:00 A.M. without seeing another human being or any evidence that such existed besides ourselves. We had kept to our line of travel through guidance by the sun and when the sun went down my Indian suggested camping for the night and assured me that he could cook the two quail for food. [He] thought it unwise, "bad medicine" traveling at night in new country. However we went on now guided by stars, and about 11:00 P.M. we struck a distinctly traveled road. I was at first entirely uncertain in which direction to follow the road, but after making a decision, we had only traveled a short distance when we saw a light not far ahead. Upon reaching the light we found it to be in the sutler's store at Ft. Bayard. We had made the trip in one day though it had required 17 hours of travel.

I found that a W.P. classmate of mine was the adjutant of the post and that a social gathering was then in progress, celebrating the return to the post of a successful hunting party that had brought in considerable game, turkeys, deer and fish. My Indian and I were welcomed with great cordiality and my classmate informed me that it was the unanimous opinion of the post that "only an ignoramus would have attempted my day's trip, and only a tenderfoot would have had the luck to make [it] in the same time." After 2 days detention at Bayard I started on Oct. 31st upon my return to the camp at Mule Springs and reached there on Nov. 1st.26

[Fort Cummings (Mule Springs) to Pueblo Laguna]

On Nov. 2nd my party left Mule Springs under instructions which required us to make specified investigations along a line which ran nearly due north, and which fell along the eastern slope of the mountain range whose waters here enter the Rio Grande from the west, this line crossing the drainage streams at varying distances from their origin. Of course the investigations specified required travel both to the east and west of this line, with special attention to the sources and general

26. The two paragraphs that follow this in Tillman's account are relocated above.
direction of flow to the Rio Grande of the many streams, the waters of several of them being sometimes above, then below the surface.

From Mule Springs to the point where the season's work was to end at Pueblo Laguna, on the Albuquerque-Wingate Road along a straight line was between 170 and 80 miles. The efforts to follow instructions between the points named involved much hard work and some discomfort. On one occasion the men were without water for 29 hours and the mules for 42.

On the morning of Nov. 25 my packers had become quite dissatisfied and informed me that they were unwilling to go any further, for they were sure that I was lost. I told them that my sextant observations the night before showed that we were not over 13 miles south of the Wingate-Albuquerque Road; but one of their number, Chenoworth by name, claimed that he now recognized certain points and that we were at least 70 miles from where I thought we were, and that they had decided to go no further. I told them that their equipments and riding animals belonged to the government and that if they left, they could not take that property with them. He said that, they were not to be "paid off" until they reached Santa Fe and that they thought that they would be allowed the use of their animals until paid off, because the government would be protected until they were paid.

To that I replied that you contracted to serve until reaching Santa Fe or to the 1st of Dec. If you had not reached Santa Fe by that time and although your proposition would prevent property loss to the government it would lose the service you agreed to give from now to the time we reach Santa Fe or until the 1st of Dec. Chenoworth then consulted with his associates and returned and said that, they would stay one more day and see whether my prediction as to our location was correct. By half past ten in the morning that the above given discussion with Chenoworth took place, my prediction as to our latitude was verified, for we were within 13 miles, and almost directly south of, the point, Pueblo Laguna, where the regular work of the party was to end...We made camp on the night of the 25th Nov. near the Indian settlement of Pueblo Laguna. While making arrangements for the night we were continually surrounded by a considerable number of the Indian population mostly children, who were greatly surprised to discover that we were going to sleep in the open with no protection from rain except the canvas bed covers in which our blankets were rolled. The party had no tents. The houses of the Indians were made of adobe. 27

27. Some had "windows of Gypsum" that would give them a translucent quality.
I and a couple of my assistants called on the gov. and lieut. gov. of the Pueblo. The latter was the wealthiest member of the village we were informed, owning it was said 3,000 sheep and 300 cattle. He entertained us by cutting a watermelon and offering dried meat. A number of melons were suspended from the roof beams of [the] cabin by bark or vine holders. I had never before seen melons so late in the season and had no idea that they were edible so at such late date. We also visited their church building. It was ornamented on both walls and ceiling by Indian artists. In several of the cabins we saw them grinding grain by friction between stones.

[Pueblo Laguna to Washington]

In the early morning of the 26th of Nov. Sergeant Wren and the escort of 12 enlisted men were started west on the way back to Ft. Wingate and Apache, the posts from which they were detached as our escort. On that same morning my cook, by name Wilson, informed me that he would quit my service that day for he could not go nearer to Santa Fe which was my next objective point. When I asked him Why? he replied, "I am wanted there, am charged with killing a man there." I was greatly surprised, for he had done well the work for which he had been hired and it was not an easy job for a party as large as mine. Besides, on the day the packers were threatening to leave he told me that he was a good packer and could do a large part of their work as well as his own if they did leave.

After the westward departure of the sergt. and escort . . . the remainder of the party moved out to the eastward on the road to Albuquerque and Santa Fe. As already stated the survey work ended upon reaching Pueblo Laguna. We reached Albuquerque on the 29th having made by our odometer record 67 miles from Laguna. We passed through several little settlements on this march of Mexican and mixed Mexican and Indian populations. [They were] generally very unattractive; but one little place which seemed entirely Indian, between 10 and 15 miles south of Albuquerque at once attracted our attention by its neat appearance. Both their houses and yards were surrounded

"Considerable neatness was found in their houses. . . . In many . . . we saw them grinding grain; done simply by rubbing with stones." Diary of Tillman, November 25, 1873.


29. Tillman was following the San Jose River and approximating what is presently New Mexico Route 6 to Valencia from whence he used the stage road along the Rio Grande to Albuquerque. Ibid., November 26–28, 1873; Pearce, New Mexico Place Names, is useful for geographic orientation.
by adobe walls. It was by all odds the cleanest settlement we had seen and we testified our appreciation of the settlement’s appearance by the liberal purchase of fruit. . . .

At Albuquerque I saw a peculiarly unique object the purpose of which was difficult to imagine. By the owner it was called a “stone handspike.” It was 3 feet and 5 inches in length, of circular cross section throughout, $7^{3/8}$ in circumference at its middle section with very gentle slopes to the end. It was made of hard green stone and gave out a distinctly musical tone when struck by a metal hammer. It had striking resemblance to tools at that time designated handspikes but evidently could not be used as those tools were, as levers to pry heavy weights etc. . . .

On Nov. 30th we reached Algodones and from Isleta to Algodones our march was close along the west shore of the Rio Grande and geese and ducks were seen in great numbers. On Dec. 1st we reached Santa Fe and remained there until the 6th. During the 2nd, 3rd, 4 and 5 there was snow daily and the weather windy and cold. The outfit was well provided for by the Q.M. at Santa Fe and it was a welcome rest for both men and animals. A couple of the survey party left Santa Fe on the 3rd by stage for the East.

On Dec. 6th we entered upon the last lapse of the march to Ft. Union where [our] outfit was to be entirely disbanded; but before starting, I had to make arrangements for my Indian striker, servant, who was anxious to continue with me and did not wish to return to the Indian reservation at Ft. Apache from which place he had come into my employ. When I asked why he did not wish to go back to the reservation, he replied, “Too much wife.” The Q.M. at Santa Fe [agreed] to care for him and eventually did return him to the Apache reservation in Arizona.

My party reached Ft. Union$^{32}$ on Dec. 10th where the animals were transferred to the Q.M. Dept. and the equipment of the pack train stored for future use. Several members of the party left on the same day for Pueblo Colorado by the stage. On the 11th of Dec. I also left by stage for Pueblo. . . .

At the end of one stage run when I was transferred to another

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30. “At Isleta, an Indian town, many signs of industry and labor were seen, vineyards arranged to protect against the cold, and enclosed in nice adobe lots.” Diary of Tillman, November 28, 1873.

31. “Chlorite [was] visible in it. It was as prettily shaped as though made from wood and weighed 14 lbs 7 oz.” Ibid., November 27, 1873.

32. Fort Union is located a few miles north of present Watrous, New Mexico. Prucha, Guide to the Military Posts, 113, plate 20; Pearce, New Mexico Place Names, 59.
stage I found an outside seat beside the driver and discovered that he was the same with whom I had ridden in going down to Santa Fe in the preceding August. After a short time I remarked to him, that I had ridden with him before. He replied “You are mistaken. You never rode up here before. I never fail to recognize a man who occupies the seat you are now in a 2nd time.” I said, “You are mistaken this time,” but I had great difficulty in convincing him until saying that there were in the stage at my other ride two Dutch engineers from Holland to inspect the Maxwell Grant property with a view of possible purchase. “Oh yes,” he exclaimed, “I recall them engineers.” Then he looked me over from head to foot, up and down and said, omitting his expletives, “You might as well expect me to recognize a cow after her hide is made into a pair of boots.” . . . When he saw me in August, I was unshaven. My hair was cut short and I had on a summer suit. Since then, I had neither shaved nor had a haircut, and wore a heavy winter suit; but even so the change expressed in his extraordinary comparison must have been greater than what had really taken place in my appearance! I arrived at Pueblo at 5:00 P.M. on the 12th and at Denver on the 13th. 33

My chief packer during the season, Duffy by name, had received notice from his mining partner that a property of theirs had been sold and that his share of the proceeds was something over $10,000. This notice had been received by Duffy sometime before reaching Santa Fe. He had then told me that at the close of the season, he wished to go east with me and make a visit to his mother in St. Louis whom he had not seen in 24 years, that he went west in his youth in ’49 and had never gone back there since.

He had reached Denver ahead of myself and when I arrived there he told me that he had changed his mind about going east, that he had not heard from his mother for over three years and that she might not now be living. Besides he said, that his stay in the city had already given him a craving to get back and join his partner whom he had left six months before when he took a packer’s job on the survey. He was a willing, hard worker and knew well a packer’s work, but he was not well fitted by disposition to control and direct that class of men. He came a 2nd time to talk with me and was in the same mood as before. I bade him good-by, with best wishes and very friendly feeling. I knew nothing of him until a little over three years later, then I heard that he had just been killed in a mining camp somewhere west of Denver. I

33. He traveled from Pueblo to Denver by train. Diary of Tillman, December 13, 14, 1873.
was a little saddened by the news, for I felt that he would never *willfully* wrong any one!

I left Denver on the 14th of Dec. for the East in company with Lieut. X Marshall who had charge of one of the W.D. survey parties operating in Colorado and after whom an elevated mountain in the state is named. In going east from Denver we twice [saw] large herds of antelope on the plains of Kansas; on one occasion so close to the R.R. that they were fired on by traveling sportsmen from the train, and one antelope was killed, which was secured by halting the train. The galloping herds, one of which was estimated to contain over 1,000 individuals presented beautiful pictures with the white and dun markings of graceful animals. My eastern journey took me to Kansas City and St. Louis, then down to Nashville, Tenn. ... My father’s home near Shelbyville ... my brother’s home Fayetteville ... my brother’s home Knoxville ... and reached Washington ... on the 22nd of Dec. 1873. ...

After reaching Washington ... I was for the following three months engaged in helping to put in available form such data as my survey party had collected during our recent field work.

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POLES in the 19th Century Southwest

FRANCIS CASIMIR KAJENCKI

Poles played significant roles in the history of the American Southwest—the War with Mexico (1846-1848), demarcation of the long boundary between the U.S. and Mexico, saga of the Santa Fe Trail, Battle of Glorieta Pass, New Mexico (the decisive Civil War action in the West), and the defense of the Texas western frontier.

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Approximately 120,000 American soldiers were taken prisoner in World War II. The 95,000 captured in Europe and the 25,000 captured in the Pacific arena were kept in German and Japanese concentration camps.¹ New Mexicans were particularly affected. Of the 1,800 soldiers in the New Mexico National Guard who went to the Philippines, only 900 returned.² Several memorials in Albuquerque honor those New Mexicans who died on Bataan or in Japanese prison camps. In contrast, hundreds of thousands of German and Italian soldiers were taken prisoner by the United States. By the spring of 1945, in fact, 425,000 of these prisoners of war (POWs) had been shipped to 750 camps in America. Three times as many European POWs as the total number of Americans taken prisoner in Europe and the Pacific were housed in America, and yet there is surprisingly little awareness today of this massive "invasion."

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². John Pershing Jolly, History of the National Guard of New Mexico, 1606–1963 (Santa Fe: Office of the Adjutant General, 1964), 78.
In the early spring of 1942 the United States government began seriously to consider the unanticipated problem of what to do with soldiers captured overseas. As a reaction to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Congress had already authorized the establishment of nine camps on December 8, 1941—designated as alien enemy internment camps to house Japanese Americans. Roswell and Lordsburg, in southern New Mexico, were among these camp sites. As national attention turned to housing these captured prisoners, camp construction proceeded rapidly. Rumors abounded in both New Mexico communities that large numbers of Japanese Americans would be removed from the West Coast to the camps.

By the summer months, a public mood of reluctant acceptance was apparent in New Mexico. Just in time, for the camps were ready, and the Lordsburg camp received 613 Japanese American internees in July. In November the first group of 250 German prisoners arrived at Camp Roswell. Both facilities had a capacity of 4,800 men, but were only partially filled for the first few months of operation. Beginning in May 1943, however, 175,000 Germans and Italians captured in North Africa flooded into the American POW camps. As a result, both New Mexico camps were filled to capacity in the summer of 1943 and remained filled for the duration of the program. In the beginning, German prisoners were housed at Camp Roswell, and Italians were housed at Camp Lordsburg, but in mid-1944 Germans replaced Italians at Camp Lordsburg. 3

Eventually, 155 major POW camps were established in the United States, using existing Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps left over from the Depression years, army bases, and newly constructed camps. Two-thirds of these were in the South and Southwest. A Prisoner of War Division was established in the Army's Office of the Provost Marshall General, 4 and POW camps were placed under the control of the commanding general of the Service Command in which each was located. New Mexico fell under the jurisdiction of the five-state Eighth Service Command, which included Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, New Mexico, and Louisiana.

POWs were given the same rations as American soldiers at home—which were better than the K-rations of soldiers at the front and far better than the food available to Germans in their homeland—so most

POWs gained weight. The criticisms routinely appeared in the national media of their being "pampered" and appearing "fat as hogs." All camps had canteens, and POWs were paid $3 per month in coupons (up to $40 per month for officers) with which they could purchase cigarettes, additional food, candy, toilet items, and, at some camps, beer and wine.

Although all camps were secured by guards with machine guns and surrounded by high wire fences topped with barbed wire, life in them was relatively comfortable, including recreational, educational, and social activities. Moreover, POWs could subscribe to newspapers and purchase books, and weekly movies were shown. Many camps published their own camp papers. Prisoners had radios, but German POWs generally did not believe American broadcasts since, it seems, they could not tell truth from propaganda. Often prisoners put on theatrical productions and at some camps had orchestras or dance bands.

Upon arrival, POWs were issued blue denim work clothes with a large white "PW" stenciled on the back of the shirts "to identify them as prisoners of war and, if necessary, provide a target for the guards in the event of their escape." As time went by, feelings moderated. The initial overreaction to the POWs as a security risk to Americans was overcome, and the letters were often painted orange and haphazardly placed on shirt sleeves and even pants legs.

The spring of 1943 was the turning point in the army's POW operations. Since the Geneva Convention of 1929 allowed captors to use their prisoners as a labor source and provided guidelines for their treatment as such, the government decided in January to use POWs as laborers on American army bases to free G.I.s for overseas duty. That spring, with so many able-bodied men away at war, America was facing a critical labor shortage in all sectors, particularly in agriculture. The obvious answer was to expand the POW work program to meet the needs of the civilian labor sector. Implementation began immediately, and in April 1943 the War Department announced that POW labor would be made available to civilians. Bureaucratic haggling over control of the program continued, however, until fall. More effectively

8. Krammer, Nazi Prisoners of War, 47.
addressed was the concern over locating POWs near their work sites. Out of this problem, the concept of branch camps was born. Eventually nearly 600 branch, or side, camps were established.  

Finally a system was worked out whereby the War Manpower Commission assumed responsibility for policies and procedures for civilian use of POW labor. Three requirements were established. First, no other source of the type of labor the POWs provided could be available in the area. Second, adequate housing facilities had to be supplied. Third, government contracts had to be signed by the employer for POW labor. Under these contracts, the employer paid POWs the prevailing wage in the local area, with the contractor paying the U.S. Treasury and the prisoner receiving eighty cents from the government for each day worked. The prevailing wage was arrived at through hearings held in each area. In New Mexico the hearings were often attended by angry farmers who did not want to have to pay the same wage rate for prison labor as for nonprison labor.  

Within each region, the United States Employment Service (USES) handled industrial workers, and the Agricultural Extension Service handled agricultural labor. Since most POWs in New Mexico worked in agriculture and Bernalillo County was an agricultural county at the time, the Agricultural Extension Service became the most important agency in Albuquerque as well as in the state for POW operations. Therefore, Albuquerque was ideally suited to be included in the program for agricultural labor; on August 29, 1943, an announcement appeared in the *Albuquerque Journal* that a group of congressmen from New Mexico had requested approval for the use of POWs for agricultural labor in the southern part of the state. When U.S. Representative Clinton P. Anderson was interviewed, he referred to the labor shortage in Albuquerque and noted that a camp would also be needed in the Rio Grande Valley.  

Albuquerque was swept up in the prison labor movement. On September 6 an officer from the Lordsburg camp inspected the vacant CCC camp in Rio Grande Park and commented that it was “a better location than many where we’ve sent prisoners.” He described the camp as “compact,” with an “adequate woven and barbed wire fence
around it." Its location was just north of the present Rio Grande Zoo. The officer conferred with Representative Clinton Anderson, a committee of farmers, and Cecil Pragnell, the Bernalillo County Extension Agent. 13

Cecil Pragnell, as county agent, became the primary figure in the POW operations in Albuquerque. Issuing virtually all the local press releases on the POWs in the next three years, he ultimately controlled most of the POW labor. At the same time he had perhaps the more difficult job of explaining the POW labor program to county residents, functioning as the intermediary between the constantly changing operations and a demanding public. The vague, contradictory, and uncertain tone of many of his releases indicate that his job was one of tremendous pressure and frustration.

On Wednesday, September 15, 1943, Pragnell announced that 150 Italian POWs from Lordsburg would be arriving in Albuquerque on Saturday. 14 The article also quoted the secretary of the New Mexico Council of Carpenters, Roland J. Payne, speaking on behalf of eleven local unions, as opposing importing war prisoners as "just another scheme on the part of some persons to bring down the level of agricultural wages." On Sunday Pragnell reported that the POWs had not arrived on Saturday but that he expected them on Monday. He added that the camp was still being readied and was almost finished. The refrigeration was installed, but fence repairs were incomplete. 15

By the following Wednesday the POWs still had not arrived, but Pragnell was keeping up with the situation through frequent press releases on their status—a practice he eventually stopped, presumably out of sheer frustration. He announced that he had received word from Camp Lordsburg that approval was still being awaited from the army, adding that the day before he and J. L. Phillips, chairman of the county farm labor committee, had telegraphed Representative Clinton Anderson to secure early approval for the prisoners to be sent. 16 On Friday Pragnell announced that he had received word from Anderson that the necessary clearances had been obtained for 150 Italian POWs. He expected the POWs to arrive or to receive word of their arrival that day. 17 The same article gave the local USES manager, Doyle Hayes, the opportunity to announce a "simplified" hiring procedure, designed to

15. Ibid., September 19, 1943, p. 3.
17. Ibid., September 24, 1943, p. 6.
save time for prospective employers. Under the new plan, a prospective employer of industrial labor would apply to the nearest USES office, and employers of farm labor would apply to their county agent.

Then Pragnell was silent for several days. On Friday, October 8, Albuquerque residents were surprised to read that Pragnell's office had received word German POWs would be substituted for Italians because of an army regulation that prisoners must be accepted from the nearest camp. This change meant that the Albuquerque camp would be supplied with prisoners from Camp Roswell, where German POWs were housed.\(^\text{18}\) The next day both papers had front page stories on a mass public meeting held Friday evening at Washington Junior High School, revealing that the switch incensed Albuquerque residents. It was an angry meeting, punctuated with sharp outbursts and much shouting, and conducted by Mayor Clyde Tingley—noted for his public displays of temper—who shouted the loudest.\(^\text{19}\)

Most of those attending the meeting opposed housing the prisoners at the CCC camp in Rio Grande Park because it was in a residential district. In his opening remarks Tingley asserted, "I don't want them here" and proposed moving the camp outside the city limits. He was undoubtedly prompted by statements earlier in the day from owners W. A. Keleher and A. R. Hebenstreit that they had granted the land to the city to be used only for recreational purposes and that they would take it back if German prisoners were moved there.\(^\text{20}\)

Another spokesman, George Taylor, Albuquerque attorney and voice for several governmental agencies, asked Tingley, "The question is do you or don't you want prisoners to gather crops which are ready to be harvested in Bernalillo county?" Tingley countered, "The question is, do we want them down in the park!" Taylor responded that the problem was whether the city would have enough food, adding that the prisoners would be heavily guarded, that the camp was surrounded by electrically charged wire, that the guards had machine guns, and that, most important, it was the only location available meeting the sanitary conditions the army required.\(^\text{21}\)

At this point tempers flared. Tingley demanded to know why, if it took one guard for each six German prisoners, they did not bring all those guards up to do the farm work. Then someone revealingly

\(^{18}\) Albuquerque Tribune, October 8, 1943, p. 1.
\(^{19}\) "War Department to Send Italians for Farm Labor," Albuquerque Journal, October 9, 1943, pp. 1, 5.
\(^{20}\) Ibid.
\(^{21}\) Ibid.
shouted, "I wish Mr. Taylor was as interested in getting sanitation and water and sewers in Barelas and Martineztown as he is for these German prisoners!" Taylor replied that the army set the requirements according to the Geneva Convention and that "the International Red Cross reports American soldiers who are prisoners in Germany are getting good treatment." In his comments, Taylor seemed to be following standard governmental doctrine of the time.22

The meeting further degenerated when someone called the German prisoners "murderers." Then a farmer asked other farmers present to walk out, go on strike, and raise only enough food for personal use. On the other hand, one participant, supporting Taylor and sensing his need to gain control, labeled those putting obstacles in the way of bringing in much-needed POWs as "saboteurs." In response Tingley shouted, "These people are not saboteurs! They're good Americans!"23

Then, when chaos seemed to be threatening, it was revealed that Italians, not Germans, would be sent after all. Quickly everyone settled down, and a proposal was made and passed to accept the POWs if assurance was made that they would be Italians. Representative Anderson phoned the Albuquerque Journal staff that evening with definite assurance that only Italian POWs would be moved to Albuquerque and that if the camp were to be moved to another location—one of the stipulations of the proposal—he would offer a site on his farm south of town.24

In retrospect, the reactions expressed at this meeting are understandable. Although American animosity toward German prisoners worsened as the war progressed, the Italians were beginning to be considered friendly. At this time, in late 1943, the liberated Italian government declared war on Germany, and Italian soldiers surrendered by the thousands to the Allies rather than be shot by Germans for refusing to fight with them.25 That, along with a large Italian community in Albuquerque, paved the way for the acceptance of Italian POWs by Albuquerque residents.

On Friday, October 15, 165 Italian POWs, guarded by thirty-six military police, arrived by train at 7 P.M. from the Hereford, Texas POW camp and were transported by trucks to the camp in the park. A crowd waited at the station to watch their arrival. The newspaper reported

22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
that most of the POWs seemed cheerful, and one "smiling blond lad" answered questions in heavily accented, but understandable, English. His father had lived in New York City for twenty-four years, but he had remained in Italy with his mother. Because of his friendliness and appearance, he apparently did not seem out of place in Albuquerque, nor did he appear to be an enemy.

The prisoners began work the following Tuesday, in groups of fifteen, with a guard for each group. Pragnell reported that "the prisoners seemed happy, as they were singing loudly as they were driven to work in trucks today." He also announced the names of the farmers who employed the first POWs. Prominent on the list were Representative Anderson, who was assigned fifteen for his Lazy V-Cross farm, and Albert Simms (chairman of the Board of Commissioners of the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District), who was assigned fifteen for his Los Poblanos estate on Rio Grande Boulevard. By the next day, 150 POWs were doing agricultural work throughout the county, with the remaining fifteen assigned cleanup and cooking duties in camp. Since frost was beginning to hit the area, the POWs unquestionably saved crops all over New Mexico that season. In the Albuquerque area, harvesting dairy feed was a priority, but after corn and alfalfa, POWs harvested apples and other crops.

In addition to filling the farm labor shortage, POWs contributed in another important, related area. They were employed by the Rio Grande Conservancy District to clean the hundreds of miles of irrigation ditches in the county. Minutes of the district board reveal that from October 1943 to March 1944 the district paid the U.S. government $6,672.77 for POW labor. Although the district was paying the POWs twenty-five cents an hour, the same rate that farmers paid, other ditch laborers were paid fifty cents an hour.

Over all, things seemed to go smoothly for Pragnell once the prisoners were working. Although the prisoners were no longer front page news, a notice appeared in the Albuquerque Journal in which Pragnell asked for donations to pay the bills for renovating the POW camp at Rio Grande Park. He needed $1,000 and had appointed a committee to raise the funds. It was a strange request in light of the daily front page appeals for donations to the patriotic War Chest. On December

29. Rio Grande Conservancy District, Minutes of the Board of Commissioners, Vol. 11.
8 it was announced that Pragnell was elected president of the Garden Club of Albuquerque, an indication of the range of his involvement in the community. The club would concentrate on Victory Gardens as an alternate solution to the food shortage.\textsuperscript{31}

An ongoing problem with POWs throughout the country was that some, if not many, were bent upon escaping. A few even spent considerable time and energy in trying to escape. At least three long tunnels were dug under camps, and newspapers were filled with stories of escapes and captures of POWs. Although nearly 1,800 had escaped by the end of the war, all but a handful were recaptured, most within days. Some escapes had tragic results, as when two prisoners were shot and killed while trying to escape from Camp Roswell.\textsuperscript{32} Although some escapees were fanatic Nazis, for whom escape was the means to prove Americans stupid and enable them to return to Germany, the majority seemed driven by boredom or the desire for adventure.\textsuperscript{33}

Fortunately, Albuquerque was not plagued by escape problems, even though at least two escapes occurred. In one, Michele Di Giacomo broke loose from a work detail on a farm south of Albuquerque, but he was found twenty-four hours later about a mile from where he escaped. He had “survived” on fallen apples, and it must have been a comical scene when two sheriff officers and some FBI special agents “closed in” on him.\textsuperscript{34} Early in 1944, Pasquale Maculli escaped from a work detail five miles south of Albuquerque, only to be recaptured a few hours later by a camp guard, who returned him to camp in a taxi.\textsuperscript{35}

On March 5, 1944, reports of the possible recall of the Italian POWs from the Albuquerque internment camp appeared in the \textit{Albuquerque Journal}. The reports were uncertain, however, since officials were awaiting clarification from Washington. The first report, from the state Extension Service, was that all POWs would be removed from New Mexico, even though Eighth Service Command officials said they knew nothing of any camp closings. Pragnell declared that the Bernalillo County farm labor situation would be “a whale of a mess” if the POWs were recalled, noting that POW workers the preceding fall harvested many crops that would have gone unharvested.\textsuperscript{36}

On March 9, Representative Anderson announced in Washington

\begin{itemize}
\item[31.] \textit{Ibid.}, December 8, 1943, p. 2.
\item[32.] Spidle, “Axis Invasion,” 106–7.
\item[33.] \textit{Ibid.}, 107–8.
\item[34.] \textit{Albuquerque Journal}, December 18, 1943, p. 1.
\item[35.] \textit{Ibid.}, January 7, 1944.
\item[36.] \textit{Ibid.}, March 5, 1944, p. 4.
\end{itemize}
that Germans would replace the Italians at Camp Lordsburg, but that all the state's POW camps would remain in operation. Reminding readers that the Albuquerque camp was under the Lordsburg camp, the news release also expressed fear that Germans might replace Italians in Albuquerque. Pragnell responded quickly, by announcing that a meeting of farmers would be held the next day in his office in the courthouse. In an action typical of bureaucratic delay, Pragnell was notified later in the day of the press release that all Italian POWs were being withdrawn from Albuquerque and that the next day would be their last day of work. Pragnell was apparently being kept completely in the dark. He told the press that he was unable to verify Anderson's statement that Germans would be sent as replacements. The next day, county farm labor chairman J. L. Phillips declared that the agricultural situation would be in a critical condition without POW labor.

No replacements were sent after the POWs were withdrawn. In mid-March, Pragnell announced plans to move the POW camp to a site offered by the Schwartzman Packing Company, with a lease for the duration of the war. No rent would be charged, but the government had to pay taxes, electricity, and the cost of fencing and other improvements. The eight-acre site was located adjacent to the Schwartzman meat packing plant, about two miles south of town, in the 3100 block of South Second Street. The buildings at the CCC camp in Rio Grande Park were to be moved to the new site.

A few days later Pragnell revealed that he was asking for bids to move the buildings. The army guards who had remained at the camp were withdrawn March 23, and a caretaker was hired for the camp. In mid-April Pragnell issued a release that he was still awaiting army inspection of the new camp site. Throughout the spring Pragnell made periodic announcements about the uncertainty of whether any POWs would be sent. State Extension Service officials seemed to be equally frustrated. State Extension Director A. B. Fite indicated that the War Department promised only 2,000 POWs for New Mexico, even though his office had received 6,500 requests for farm labor.

Meanwhile, the number of POWs shipped to America dramatically

37. Ibid., March 9, 1944, p. 1.
38. Ibid., March 10, 1944, p. 1.
40. Ibid., March 21, 1944, p. 4.
41. Ibid., March 24, 1944, p. 2.
42. Ibid., April 16, 1944, p. 9.
43. Ibid., March 17, 1944, p. 1; April 19, 1944, p. 9; May 11, 1944, p. 2.
44. Ibid., May 26, 1944, pp. 1, 7.
increased after the Normandy Invasion on June 6, 1944. More than 100,000 POWs were shipped by November, with an additional 65,000 by May 1945. Uncertainty in Albuquerque ended on July 18 when the first group of fifteen German POWs from Camp Roswell arrived at the South Second Street camp. The first prisoners would complete construction of the camp, with the remainder arriving after repairs were completed. Although only seventy-five more prisoners were promised, the camp eventually housed 125 German POWs.

The rest of the prisoners arrived, but other than a mention in September by Pragnell that twenty-five more had arrived, newspapers, in contrast to frequent reports on the Italian POWs, were silent on the Germans. Even when the German POWs appeared and began working, lists of work locations were unavailable. Later references to the location of the camp were fleeting, eluding to a "prison camp south of Albuquerque." The decreased number and vague nature of reports on the German POWs suggests that the press deliberately understated their presence. Perhaps these brief references followed a national practice; the security of the German prisoners was obviously a major concern to government officials.

From late 1944 until the fall of Berlin in April 1945, Americans were intensely aware, through the media, of the fanatic will of the German fighting forces. Since they were to blame for Americans being killed in Europe, well cared-for German POWs could become easy targets for revenge if someone losing a loved one were to decide to personalize the war. In Utah, for example, a soldier machine-gunned a group of German POWs, killing eight, simply because he hated Germans. But reports of poor conditions and treatment of Americans in German POW camps were also beginning to surface. With the final push into Germany, atrocity stories were front-page news.

Still, the experiences of German POWs in Albuquerque may have been unusual. J. C. Schwartzman says that, although both Italian and German POWs worked in his father's meat packing plant, his family, being German, had particularly cordial relations with the German prisoners in the camp just north of their plant. He remembers that POWs working in the plant were given bread, meat, and big jars of mustard for their lunch sandwiches. He worked with a crew of Germans putting up a barbed wire fence for the Schwartzman cattle; parts of the fence
are still visible. The Schwartzmans even gave the German POWs a farewell party when they were to be shipped out, with beer and sausage and much singing.48

In spite of this silent treatment by the press, German POWs in Albuquerque were worked hard but reportedly were content with their situation. Conservancy District board minutes show that the U.S. Treasury was paid $9,728.14 from November 1944 to April 1945 for POW labor.49 In one of the few reports on the location of the POWs, Leon Harms, the New Mexico State Fair secretary-manager, announced in April that a crew of ten German prisoners helped repair buildings and plant shrubs at the fairgrounds. He minimized their presence, instead playing up preparations for the September State Fair.50 The POWs worked there only a few weeks and were probably gone by June 30 when Harms also announced that the State Fair had been cancelled for that year.51

In May, Kirtland Field commander Colonel Frank Kurtz announced that a new POW branch camp was now located at the base and that two others had been recently established at Fort Sumner and Clovis. He emphasized that the POW workers would not come into contact with vital air field activities, instead would merely replace American enlisted personnel on peripheral jobs to free the latter for more essential work.52 One observer, Bill Laskar, an aircraft mechanic on the base at that time, recalls their presence. He often saw the Germans wearing their distinctive Afrika Corps faded khaki caps, cleaning the flight line. Once when his tool box slipped from his stand as he was working on an engine, he jumped down and began picking up the scattered tools. A German from a nearby crew appeared and silently began helping him. Laskar remembers "that lasted about two seconds." To his astonishment, the guard was right behind the prisoner and criticized Bill for fraternizing.53

On other occasions, Laskar and his wife saw truckloads of POWs on Central Avenue, returning to camp at the end of the day. The POWs were invariably smiling and waving, sometimes singing, and whistling at his wife and other young women. German POWs also worked in the kitchen of the Officers' Club the entire time they were at Kirtland.

48. Schwartzman conversation.
51. Ibid., June 30, 1945, p. 7.
52. Ibid., May 25, 1945, p. 1.
One of Laskar's former neighbors, a German-American, was the POWs' supervisor in the kitchen. Laskar recalls this neighbor often talked about the friendly relations he had with the POWs and about the gifts they made for him when they left.54

All through the summer of 1945 newspapers were silent about the locations of the POWs. A couple of announcements indicated, however, that POW allotments to New Mexico for the harvest season were being considered and would probably be adequate through December. Yet Pragnell announced in July that the farm labor shortage was worse in the county than at any time since the war started. All POWs in Albuquerque, the only available labor force, were contracted through September. Then Pragnell repeated his litany that women or high school students were not responding to his call for farm laborers because of low wages, adding discharged servicemen were not applying either, for the same reason.55

After the war ended in August 1945, repatriation of the POWs was a controversial issue. Although a large number of Americans, including organized labor leaders, demanded the immediate deportation of the POWs, an equal number were vociferously opposed to such actions. In fact, the American military government in Germany was not equipped to handle the return of several hundred thousand well-fed pro-Nazi Germans to their devastated homeland. Also, those benefitting from this bonanza labor force were not about to give it up easily. The shortage of farm labor was still a critical issue, and the sudden withdrawal of those already under contract threatened to cause farmers tremendous financial hardship. Ultimately, President Harry S Truman was forced to enter the fray, and on January 25, 1946, he announced a sixty-day delay in the repatriation of POWs working in critical segments of the economy—which included most of the POWs.56

The German POWs continued working in Albuquerque throughout the winter and into the spring of 1946, as if no national controversy existed concerning their presence. The Conservancy District board minutes show that the U.S. Treasury was paid $6,810.25 from November 1945 to March 1946 for POW labor.57 Then, true to form, Pragnell made the sudden announcement that the German POWs were to be removed from the camp south of Albuquerque that same day.58 The POWs were

54. Ibid.
56. Krammer, Nazi Prisoners of War, 236-38.
gone as suddenly as they appeared, leaving little direct evidence of their presence in Albuquerque. More than $23,000 was paid for their three years' work on the Conservancy ditches, but that amount is only a fraction of the total spent for POW labor in the county.

In New Mexico, the U.S. government developed a remarkably efficient and profitable POW system. Clearly, careful attention was given to POW welfare and protection by the government. Although POWs were used, they were not exploited. They were kept healthy and occupied. Perhaps they remained too long, until they became an embarrassment, yet all were returned to their native countries by July 1946. In contrast, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union kept their POWs for three years after the war. Perhaps the humane treatment they received in America was the major reason that a considerable number of former POWs returned after the war. As a German POW who returned to Texas advised: "If there is ever another war, get on the side that America ain't, then get captured by the Americans—you'll have it made."

The POW camps, then, brought World War II to Albuquerque. While American propaganda was proclaiming "support our fighting men," former enemy soldiers were working in the community, relieving American workers and allowing soldiers to fight. The POWs' presence affected Albuquerque residents and the city in less tangible ways as well. In a small, quiet way Albuquerque had become an integral part of the war.

Text in its classic form—the written record—has been the traditional wellspring of New Mexico history. Especially among those who treat the Spanish colonial period, there exists a long-standing love affair with these classic texts, one that demands a mastery of paleography, linguistic competence, and a commitment to long hours of breathing archival dust or, worse, enduring microfilm-induced headaches. While members of this coterie have used the documents in their own work, they also have a deep-rooted tradition of making these texts more accessible to a wider audience. Carrying on this tradition, John L. Kessell and his staff at the Vargas Project have approached the task with a methodological sophistication and scholarly excellence that places the effort on the cutting edge of historical editing.

Pioneer historian Herbert Eugene Bolton, and others like him, found in the archival collections of Mexico, Spain, and the United States...
the stuff from which they would fashion epic narratives of New Mexico and the Spanish Southwest. But just as important as their prose was their work in making available to others the documentary treasures that they mined. In this regard, various guides to archival collections have proved to be invaluable contributions in the study of New Mexico history. One simply cannot embark on a serious research project without consulting the likes of Bolton, Charles E. Chapman, Henry Putney Beers, Myra Ellen Jenkins, Albert Diaz, or, more recently, Daniel Tyler.  

Although archival guides eased the work of specialists, New Mexicanists also produced printed editions of transcriptions and translations of the documentary record in order to bring the colonial texts to those who lacked the linguistic and methodological skills necessary for hands-on archival work. These editions have increased dramatically the range of those able to comment on the nature of New Mexico’s unique past. Especially notable is the work of Alfred B. Thomas, Charles W. Hackett, and J. Manuel Espinosa. In team efforts, George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, and Eleanor Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez set standards worthy of emulation.


3. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico,
Recent shake-ups in the canon have widened the scope of inquiry and participation in the field of southwestern history. A new generation of scholars, asking different questions of the past, has brought to the conversation alternative ways of looking at the dynamics of cultural interplay. Issues of race, class, and gender, interdisciplinary approaches, the inclusion of other forms of "text" as evidence, and so forth—such innovations color the recent scholarship. Perhaps because of the wider circle of participants, the tradition-laden documentary translation now plays a more crucial role than ever. Lacking the linguistic and methodological training to interpret colonial documents in raw form, many of the newcomers must rely on good English translations. Yet their dependence limits them severely to only a small fraction of the available colonial documentation.

New views and voices surely can offer insights and sharpen our historical analysis. Every generation must seek in its particular way to understand, comment on, and give renewed meaning to the past, and New Mexico's multicultural heritage provides a fertile setting for lively debate. To ensure widespread participation in this dialogue, we must encourage and support projects that provide high-quality translations. Several such ventures have emerged recently that help meet this need. At the University of New Mexico, John L. Kessell heads an endeavor that reflects the best of both the old and the new in New Mexico scholarship. Remote Beyond Compare: Letters of don Diego de Vargas to His Family from New Spain and New Mexico, 1675–1706 is the first tome of a

1595–1628 (2 vols., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953); Hammond and Rey, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940); Hammond and Rey, The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580–1594: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete, and Leyva de Bonilla and Humana (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966). Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez with Other Contemporary Documents (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956). I recognize that not only professionals, but also dedicated amateurs, have striven to make available the written records of the past. The various genealogical societies of New Mexico, for example, and energetic individuals, such as Donald Dreissen of Albuquerque have produced useful compilations, which they are always eager to share.


5. An especially important project, which encompasses a wider scope than New Mexico, is the Documentary Relations of the Southwest under the direction of Charles W. Polzer, S.J., at the University of Arizona.
projected seven-volume series and represents the inaugural efforts of the Vargas Project. Housed at the University of New Mexico, the Vargas Project has received financial aid from a number of prestigious institutions, including the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Historical Publications Commission. Clearly, big things are expected from the project. And, happily, this first effort should more than meet all expectations.

Diego de Vargas is a worthy focal point for such a monumental undertaking. He is a key figure in the history of New Mexico, a figure who represents a true watershed in Spanish colonial administration. In Remote Beyond Compare we gain insight into the man who occupied center stage in this crucial period of change. Part I of the book consists of an introductory study that offers the reader an enticing, though fleeting, look at Vargas' life. Vivid prose and painstaking research characterize this brief introduction, which sheds considerable new light on Vargas, especially during his early years in Spain and in central New Spain. Unlike some scholarship of a regional bent, Kessell and his staff understand well the world in which Vargas lived. Attention to context, as well as to detail, lends strength to the effort. But the brevity of the introduction strains under the weight of the obvious erudition and is somewhat frustrating. Considering the meticulous research and the amount of new information that Kessell uncovered, one wonders if don Diego might not have been better served by a much lengthier biographical sketch.

Consisting of sixty-four previously untranslated pieces of personal correspondence between Diego de Vargas and a variety of family members and associates, Parts II and III form the heart of the volume. Culled from an impressive variety of repositories and superbly annotated, the letters themselves reveal the importance of extended family networks and bureaucratic patronage in the late-Habsburg and early-Bourbon Spanish empire. We begin to appreciate the efforts of Vargas the office seeker and family patriarch, who viewed royal service as an honorable means of achieving financial stability in an uncertain age. Although Diego de Vargas referred to New Mexico as being "at the ends of the earth and remote beyond compare" (pp. 168, 376), his bureaucratic climb suggests that this northern "kingdom" was an important appointment that afforded to its holder considerable prestige. Always informative, sometimes petty or poignant, the letters help capture the zeitgeist of the Spanish colonial world.

The Vargas Project editorial staff of Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith Dodge, Larry Miller, and Eleanor Adams proves their mastery
of the difficult—and woefully underappreciated—art of translation. Modestly, they state that "Diego de Vargas's style is a study in con­
volution" (p. ix). Those who delve into the corresponding Spanish texts
will no doubt grasp the difficulties inherent in rendering a reliable and
readable final product. Emphasizing the spirit over the letter, the ed­
itors mercifully shorten the long rambling passages of the Spanish text.
They do so with little sacrifice to the original, and they display a
marvelous sensitivity to mood and historical context. Specialists fre­
quently are wary of translations. Drawing upon a methodology devised
at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, the Vargas staff caters to
the hard-to-please by providing a virtually flawless semipaleographic
transcription of all sixty-four letters. (In subsequent volumes the edi­
tors, upon request, will make available this transcription in microfiche.)
On all counts, Remote Beyond Compare exemplifies the fine art of trans­
lation at a superior level.

The upcoming volumes, which treat Diego de Vargas' public cor­
respondence while in New Mexico, will no doubt prove to be even
more useful as a scholarly resource than this first volume. As noted
above, Vargas' regime signaled not only a return of Spanish sovereignty
to New Mexico, but, more important, it also marked a turning point
in relations between Hispanics and Indians. Having at our ready dis­
posal extensive documentation from this era, we certainly will come
to comprehend more fully the historical dynamics that produced this
policy of greater tolerance and pragmatic accommodation. If the forth­
coming tomes match the scholarly excellence displayed in the first
sample, then we will have an important collection of documents—the
classic texts—from which to analyze anew and continue the conver­
sation on the meaning of the Spanish colonial past.

In the tradition of the old school, Remote Beyond Compare offers to
a wide range of readers important documentation from a crucial period
in the history of the region, a time when compromise, rather than
heavy-handed domination, became the principal dynamic of cultural
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of the best of the new scholarship. It is a sophisticated, sensitive, and
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cord—the touchstone of our historical understanding.
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Book Reviews

The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis. The Cottonlandia Conference. Edited by Patricia Galloway. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. xvii + 389 pp. Illustrations, maps, charts, notes, bibliography, index. $50.00.)

A persistent problem in southeastern archaeology is how to interpret the stylistic tradition that emerges at the mid-thirteenth-century sites of Spiro, Etowah, and Moundville and evident in more or less attenuated form throughout Mississippian period societies from eastern Oklahoma to the Atlantic. For Antonio Waring, who together with Preston Holder named the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC) and listed its diagnostic motifs in the 1930s, the art style was evidence of an evangelical "Southern Cult" diffusing from Mesoamerica in connection with agriculture. Later research has discredited this interpretation without offering a generally accepted alternative.

In 1984 archaeologists and anthropologists working on the problem met in symposium at the Cottonlandia Museum, then hosting an impressive exhibit of SECC artifacts. Their nineteen papers, collected in this volume, are a reminder that archaeology is a versatile research tool designed for the recovery and description of selected data and that the parameters governing the selection will necessarily shape the interpretation. In common with art historians and collectors, some archaeologists would restrict the diagnostic markers of the complex to elite sumptuary goods, artifacts of state religion, or objects made from materials obtained by long-distance trade. Cultural anthropologists protest that this would exclude motifs worked in nonexotic materials such as shell beads, wood, or pottery. Some purists discard the concept of the SECC altogether or use it as a synonym for any late prehistoric or early historic art, making the ethnohistorically unwarranted assumption that any change after the moment of contact is a response to Europeans. By the mid-sixteenth century, when Europeans first saw and described these materials, motifs such as the serpent of the Underworld, the falcon or bird-man of the Upper World, and the long-nosed god of This World had become iconographic, used on badges of status to support the rule of petty chiefs in militaristic agricultural societies marked by tightly nucleated, fortified villages. In his imaginative essay, David Brose compares the Mississippians with their English coevals, who established structural hierarchies and invested their symbols with arcane, ritual value as heraldry.
Edited and proofread to perfection, with 147 clear drawings and a handsome exhibition catalog of artifacts arranged by Mississippian categories (Underworld, Upper World, This World), this volume is a worthy addition to the Indians of the Southeast Series. It does not pretend to solve the mystery of the SECC. In the words of editor Patricia Galloway, "as a grouping of still-uninterpreted artifacts and symbols, the Complex remains a challenge to Southeastern archaeologists" (pp. 6–7).

Amy Turner Bushnell
University of South Alabama


Philip Nolan is a standard feature in any discussion of Spanish Texas. Historians, however, know surprisingly little about events of his career as a filibuster. Most studies of the era that comment on Nolan rely on a classic, unpublished 1932 M.A. thesis ("Philip Nolan and His Activities in Texas") written at the University of Texas by Maurine J. Wilson. Noted borderlands historian Jack Jackson has taken Miss Wilson's thesis and, with the permission of her estate, added to its narrative additional information from her own notes and other materials gained from his own substantial investigations. The result is this pleasing volume of great value that will long remain the standard treatment of Philip Nolan in Texas.

This study sets Nolan into historical context as a person whose activities can be seen as an early example of Anglo-American expansion into Texas. As such, Nolan was an opening wedge of westward expansion into the Spanish province. His expeditions into Texas during the 1790s, along with his fatal encounter with Spanish troops in March of 1801, are as fully treated as possible given the sparsity of historical documentation. Jackson notes that the filibuster was in contact with individuals and interests in the United States who cast covetous eyes on the province of Texas. Indeed, Nolan is appropriately portrayed as a romantic interloper who consistently took the main chance for glory and financial profit.

It should be noted, however, that this volume suffers from a weakness, the blame for which must fall upon Nolan rather than on Jackson and Wilson. There is a lack of documentation and sources for much of Nolan's career. There are thus many unanswered questions about the early Anglo expeditions into Texas. What were Nolan's true purposes and motivations? Why did the Spanish react against him in the rash manner in which they did? As Jackson notes: "Simply stated, the truth about Nolan is as much a mystery today as it was when he pushed onto the Texas wilderness over eighteen decades ago" (p. 114). Nevertheless, this study places Philip Nolan in the full context of early Anglo-American expansion into the Spanish Borderlands. For that reason it will remain the most useful study on this subject for years to come.

Light Townsend Cummins
Austin College
BOOK REVIEWS 349


Malcolm Dallas McLean continues to impress his colleagues in the fraternity of history. In systematic fashion over the last sixteen years he has compiled, edited, and published one bulky volume after another associated with the correspondence and related papers of Robertson's Colony in Texas. With the release of the fourteenth volume, McLean has advanced the storyline for a brief span of four months in 1836, extending from the Battle of San Jacinto to the Fall of Fort Parker.

Whereas San Jacinto is well known to general readers as the site where Sam Houston's Texian forces defeated Santa Anna's elite vanguard, Fort Parker requires explanation. Originating in 1834 near the headwaters of the Rio Navasota in present-day Limestone County as a private defensive bastion, mainly through the leadership of three members of the Parker family (Silas, James, and John), Fort Parker offered moderate protection to a small settlement of fewer than ten families. Late in the spring of 1836, an alliance of several hundred Comanche and Caddo warriors destroyed the fort, killing the male defenders and kidnapping women and children. (Among the captives was Cynthia Ann Parker who later became the mother of the legendary Comanche chieftain Quanah Parker.)

The Robertson Colony embraced an expansive swath of land occupying most of the territory between present-day Fort Worth and Austin, north of the San Antonio–Nacogdoches Road (the celebrated _Camino Real_ of Spanish colonial years). The colony stemmed from prior efforts of Robert Leftwich to secure a land grant in 1825 from Mexican state officials in Saltillo, Coahuila, in behalf of a business consortium in Nashville, Tennessee, known as the Texas Association. Leftwich conveyed ownership of the grant to the Texas Association in exchange for an amount of money (reimbursement of expenses and a modest profit) and a promise that the enterprise would bear his surname. Later, this area was referred to as Robertson's Colony because Sterling Clack Robertson, one of the original stockholders in the Texas Association, after all other investors had lost interest and ceased to pay the calls on the stock, finally obtained a colonization contract in his name and was recognized as _empresario_ on May 22, 1834. Robertson was the leader who brought the settlers into the region.

The _Papers_ that editor McLean compiled for this volume revolve around the activities of the Ad Interim government of the Republic of Texas to maintain internal security following the victory at San Jacinto and the efforts of diplomatic agents to the United States to obtain formal recognition of Texas Independence. Practically every document or letter reflects tension, insecurity, and urgency borne out of an environment of recent warfare and lingering tension. Given the circumstances in which they were produced, most of the documents are of a military nature, either in the form of orders from superior officers to subordinate units or reports about Indian relations from army leaders in the field. In fact, even the documents sent to, or written by, members of the Robertson family allude to volunteer soldiers and security measures. Inter-
spersed between pieces of correspondence are excerpts from newspapers commenting on recent events in Texas.

Since its initial publication, the series has won sixteen major or minor awards. Such recognition emanates largely from the high standards of scholarship observed by editor McLean.

Félix D. Almaráz, Jr.
University of Texas at San Antonio

Rise Of The Lone Star: The Making of Texas. By Andreas V. Reichstein. Translated by Jeanne R. Willson. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1989. xviii + 303 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

Foreign observers have contributed immeasurably to the understanding both of American and Texas history. For instance, Alexis de Tocqueville and Harriet Martineau pointed out significant differences between Americans and Europeans after the War of 1812. Jean Louis Berlandier, Frederick Gaillardet, Matilda Houstoun, Charles Hooten, William Kennedy, and Ferdinand Roemer often commented insightfully about Texas—its people, institutions, and way of life—during the 1830s and 1840s. Now, another “outsider,” Andreas V. Reichstein, who received his doctorate in American history from Albert Ludwig University in Freiburg, has examined Texas history from 1820 to 1846 to “contribute to a better understanding of a historical development that is not yet complete” (p. 7).

Reichstein has proposed several theses that, he asserts, Texas historians have hitherto either neglected or overlooked or misinterpreted. Specifically, he questions the influence of Freemasonry as “a cause of the Texas War of Independence”; rather, it was “a combining force of individual strengths without which the political development in Texas would have advanced at a considerably slower pace” (p. 192). He also explores, in detail, the transactions both of land companies and individual speculators, concentrating on the activities of such prominent first settlers as Stephen F. Austin, Lorenzo de Zavala, James Morgan, and John T. Mason. He then concludes that the “intrigues and the massive efforts of the land companies to acquire Texas for themselves through their agents were without doubt an additional reason for Austin . . . to declare himself for war and Texas independence” (pp. 111–12). And, concerning the causes of the Texas Revolution, which term Reichstein rejects as incorrect according to his “model” regarding aspects of a “revolution,” he downplays a “clash of cultures” viewpoint, which Texas historian Eugene C. Barker emphasized, and propounds Manifest Destiny as the major cause. “In spite of everything,” Reichstein asserts, “Texas would in all probability have become a state in the United States. The expansionists and the speculators . . . not only exercised a strong influence on politics in those years, they also had the personalities to carry their plans through” (p. 201).

Although Reichstein’s interpretations regarding “revolution” and the causes of the “Texas War of Independence” are arguable, Rise of the Lone Star is a valuable addition to Texana, especially concerning land companies and individual speculation. Although the prose is clear—though not eloquent—the
research is thorough and impressive. For any historian doing work on this era of Texas history, Reichstein and his interpretations must therefore be considered and confronted.

Ben Procter
Texas Christian University


This well-edited, literate, and informative diary by an Illinois medical doctor is a fine addition to the body of literature published on the 1849 migration to California. It may be more interesting, however, in its commentary on a return trip in 1850 via Mexico and Nicaragua and the cultural observations of the author.

As a trail diary, Parke’s journal is above average but not outstanding. His entries are, on the whole, brief during the trek through South Pass and over the Humboldt-Truckee Route to Sutter’s Fort. The literature is already abundant on this journey. Of the 374 diaries and letters from 1849 listed in Merrill Mattes’ magnificent bibliography, *Platte River Road Narratives* (1988), 153 have been transcribed and printed during this century.

The diary recounts the usual adventures and sights along the trail, the hardships and wonders. Parke pays attention to the landmarks, forts, and trail conditions, providing a basis for comparison with other diarists who either preceded or followed him along the trail. This reader found more interest, however, in the social commentaries of an educated man regarding his companions on the trail, the mines and towns of California.

Parke was a medical doctor, and his literary expression reflects his education. He comments on sickness throughout his diary, opining treatments and preventatives. He was opinionated, as well, on matters of race and culture, exhibiting biases common to the time, criticizing drinking, gambling, sloth, and holding up his race and culture as a standard against which others should be measured. His candor is to be appreciated since it allows us an excellent insight on one set of mid-nineteenth-century values.

The diary truly comes alive when Parke decides to abandon his quest for gold and return home in 1850. He embarks from San Francisco for Panama, but the inept ship’s captain faces a potential mutiny and instead disembarks the emigrants at Realejo, Nicaragua. They travel cross-country to San Juan, Nicaragua, by ship to Chagres, and finally board an American steamship bound for New Orleans. With time to spare aboard ship, Parke makes lengthy entries, describing a bull fight in Mazatlán, social conditions and the countryside of Nicaragua, and extensive evaluations of race and culture.

The editor has done an excellent job in researching the published and unpublished diaries contemporaneous with Parke’s. A fellow traveler with Parke in The Como Pioneer Company, David Cranes, also kept a diary, and the notes contain many extracts and details from this journal to augment Parke’s comments. The footnotes are lengthy and illuminating. It is unfortunate that
they were separated from the text. The reader must constantly flip from front to back to seek explanations and elaboration. The effort is well spent, but irritating. The editor has chosen to modernize the diary's spelling and eliminate excessive capitalization used for emphasis. This robs the reader of the ability to interpret the diary's original tone and idiosyncrasies.

A bibliography of works cited and a thorough index are provided. Included, as well, are a handful of contemporary illustrations and three good maps. The book is nicely designed and produced.

This Gold Rush diary is a worthy addition to the field of overland migration and the early Gold Rush period in California. It gives unique and valuable glimpses of Latin America in 1850. It is well recommended to libraries, collectors, and historians with an interest in these fields.

Robert A. Clark
The Arthur H. Clark Company


"New Hope for the Indians" is a breath of fresh air in Navajo studies. Bender provides an intense discussion of Presbyterian agents appointed during the Grant Peace Policy of the 1870s and gives a balanced view of their problems and successes. The author skillfully treats a complex topic, linking government affairs in Washington with the paternalism of Presbyterian leaders and the officials they selected.

On center stage are the men and women who served at Fort Defiance as agents, teachers, and advocates for the Navajo. Their abilities and interests were as varied as the political and social winds that blew them into office, twirled them about, and whirled them away within a relatively short time. Reasons for their departure were as varied as their personalities. Frictions among agents, Indians, the military, and the government, combined with a lack of finances, created severe disillusionment. What emerged were the realities of living in a harsh environment, surrounded by the Navajo, who were indifferent, at best, towards the goals of a well-meaning foreign culture that often fell short of its aims.

Those familiar with this period of Navajo history will recognize James Roberts, James Miller, W. F. M. Arný, and Galen Eastman as important personalities on the reservation. These men and their wives faced several problems: feeding the Navajos after early frosts, late snows, and severe droughts decimated their crops; working with insufficient funds that undermined promises made in the Treaty of 1868; and recruiting unwilling students to maintain the first school on the reservation. When one adds to this list Miller's death at the hands of the Utes, Arný and Eastman's barely missing physical expulsion because of poor relations with Indians, the in-house bickering between local and national leaders, one soon realizes why continuity in program was next to impossible.
"New Hope" is well-written and quite error-free. The author uses extensive documentation, utilizing not only the usual sources central for this period but also the records of the Presbyterian Historical Society. Clearly, Navajo culture serves as a necessary backdrop for the agents' lives, but Bender also provides a strong historical context in which church, state, and federal policy mix. His results are well worth reading.

Robert S. McPherson
College of Eastern Utah


The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West offers an engaging account of the famous waitress corps that staffed American railroad restaurants for more than seventy years. Lesley Poling-Kempes draws from personal correspondence and interviews of former Fred Harvey employees for her data. If for no other reason, the western oral history, gathered from elderly informants in their eighties and nineties, makes this a notable volume.

Poling-Kempes argues that restaurant wizard Fred Harvey and his army of young waitresses helped to alter popular impressions of the American Southwest. Although this contention is not totally substantiated, nor is the assertion that these women "opened the West," the book stands on other merits.

After a somewhat slow start, wherein the first two chapters give a routine overview of the Santa Fe Trail and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, the content improves dramatically. When the author shifts to the business acumen of Fred Harvey and the lives of the waitresses, the richness of the oral history material emerges.

Poling-Kempes's discussion of the Harvey Girls' training, living accommodations, regulations, personal expectations, and work schedules energizes this book. Although the Harvey restaurants suffered setbacks during the Depression, the military transport trains of World War II brought new demands to the company. The good-humored efforts of Harvey Girls to feed promptly at any hour thousands of soldiers jammed onto troop trains adds a new dimension to the nature of women's patriotic contributions.

There are some problems with language. Many word choices reinforce a traditional "Old West" style vocabulary. There is a "rowdy, bawdy frontier" (p. 15), a "civilized territory" in Kansas (p. 111), a "single young lady" in need of someone to "protect her virtue" (p. 43), and young men looking for "suitable partners" (p. 64). Such language usage gives not-so-subtle support to the "superior" attractiveness of Anglo culture and stereotypical gender images.

Despite these linguistic flaws, this is a fascinating book. The picture painted is a bit too rosy, however, for within personal stories lurk the unmistakable signs of company control, labor unrest, social stigma, and racial discrimination. Nonetheless, a wealth of solid material convinces that the Harvey Girls, as
western women workers, deserve historical consideration. In addition, informative and unusual photographs enhance this highly readable publication.

Anne M. Butler
Utah State University


David LaFrance's volume on the Maderista phase of the Mexican Revolution in the state of Puebla stands as the most illuminating treatment of the larger issues of that period despite its geographically limited focus. It shows clearly that the Revolution from its inception was far from unified, comprising rather "literally dozens" (p. 242) of separate revolts that coalesced into a movement that toppled long-time dictator Porfirio Diaz from power in 1911. However, any semblance of unity that existed before Diaz's fall vanished quickly as individuals, factions, and social groups struggled for control. Indeed, it seems to be an exaggeration to call the Maderista movement a revolution at all, at least in the mind of its leader, Francisco I. Madero.

Puebla is a good choice for a regional study of the Revolution, as it is located very close to the capital, Mexico City, and thus can easily be connected to the flow of national events. Madero, once in power, was able to meddle constantly in affairs in the state, as he was not in more distant areas. Therefore, it furnishes an excellent case through which to study Madero's actual priorities and intentions. Moreover, the area exemplifies the uneasy alliance between lower- and middle-class elements seeking economic and political goals and upper-class elites, who were more interested in political power for its own sake. From the beginning, Madero, son of a wealthy, landowning family in northern Mexico, was highly suspicious of and frequently at odds with the principal leader of the dissident movement within the state, Aquiles Serdán, who had worked in a factory, served as a clerk, and finally started to work in his family's small business as a shoemaker. As LaFrance describes it, "Madero favored his fickle . . . moderate supporters, but practically he had to depend on Serdán and the mostly working-class faction of the coalition." Serdán's death during the very early days of the Maderista rebellion took him out of the picture, but this split between moderate and radical elements continued throughout the time period described in this book, with Madero siding with the moderates whenever possible.

Although the book is solid throughout, the most interesting discussion for this reader was contained in the chapters of the period after Diaz's fall, when Madero was exercising nominal control as president of Mexico. From the beginning, Madero's task was an "exercise in crisis management" (p. 177). Puebla itself was by no means completely under the control of the state government at Puebla City, and at one time, Zapatistas set up a complete alternate government at Petatlán. This situation reflected that of the country at large. Although most state capitals responded or at least gave lip-service to the Mad
era government, the countryside was far from pacified. Challenges came from the right as well, as conservative and reactionary plotters were active. No agreement on goals ever existed between even those who had supported the Maderista Revolution during its brief violent phase, and what agreement there was vanished as conflicting motives and goals clashed. As LaFrance cautiously states, "reforms seen as beneficial to one group were not necessarily seen as positive for the other" (p. 187). The result was political and administrative chaos, with an immediate recurrence of violence in many areas of the state.

Elections did nothing to modify this disintegration; instead, they degenerated into a "vicious and bloody struggle" (p. 199). Given the total lack of political, social, and economic consensus in the country at that time, they proved a de-stabilizing rather than a stabilizing force. LaFrance even questions Madero's democratic commitment, showing clearly that Madero himself interfered in the electoral process in Puebla.

LaFrance is to be congratulated on this extremely important study. A comprehensive and carefully researched document on the time period and area in question, it also greatly enhances our knowledge and understanding of the Maderista phase of the Revolution as a whole and raises questions about the larger issues of revolutionary process as well.

Linda B. Hall
University of New Mexico


He was a maverick and a nomad, but Henry J. Kaiser made an enduring contribution to the twentieth-century West. He played a large part in road and dam construction, including the Hoover and Grand Coulee dams. His companies produced cement, steel, and aluminum. During World War II his West Coast shipyards turned out hundreds of vessels. After the war he entered suburban home building and automobile manufacturing, the latter industry in partnership with Joe Frazer. And in what was likely his most significant and enduring achievement, Kaiser established a prepaid health care system, Kaiser Permanente, which eventually grew to become the nation's largest.

Some of Kaiser's ventures were failures. Neither his Henry J automobile nor the Spruce Goose airplane he built with Howard Hughes proved successful. Yet he had a powerful vision to move again and again to new opportunities and an unrestrained enthusiasm that vigorously pushed ahead. His only real joy was in the hard work of production. An old-fashioned, independent operator, he often cultivated his maverick image, as when he challenged the Detroit automakers. To many Americans he became an admired businessman hero, a kind of Paul Bunyan of the West. His enemies sometimes thought him a bag of wind, especially those who envied his ability to attract media attention and his close contacts in Washington, contacts that often led to government contracts.

Mark S. Foster has written a first-rate biography of this American builder.
Although he is generally sympathetic to Kaiser, Foster is careful to provide full contexts for his subject's successes and failures. Generally well written, the book is based on an impressive research base, including Kaiser's papers at the Bancroft Library in Berkeley and numerous oral history interviews. Foster does not fully succeed in laying bare the internal workings of this hard-driving businessman, but he provides interesting insights into his personal values and concerns. All in all, this is a significant contribution to American business history and the history of the West.

James H. Madison
Indiana University, Bloomington


It is rare indeed when one person can affect the appearance and image of an entire region, both carrying on and starting traditions that endure for generations. Architect John Gaw Meem was such an individual. His early appreciation of traditional Native American and Hispanic building forms led him both to preserve some of New Mexico's architectural treasures and to continue the use of these forms in a modern context. John Gaw Meem's vision is deeply etched on the built environment of New Mexico.

Although other books have focused on Meem's career, Southwestern Ornamentation & Design features the details—designs for doors, corbels, window grilles, light fixtures, wrought iron stair rails—that distinguished his southwestern style of architecture. Illustrated with sketches and photographs from the Meem collection in the Zimmerman Library at the University of New Mexico, along with new photographs by Lila DeWitt, the book will prove a good visual reference for craftspeople and builders who continue to work in the Meem tradition.

In Meem's extensive resource collection at Zimmerman Library, the author and assistants have been able in some cases to identify the original image or object that Meem copied or abstracted in creating a particular detail. Unfortunately, reproduction of his drawings is uneven in quality—some of the originals, made on thin tracing paper with hard lead, are faint, while other soft-lead images are smudged—but their appearance in book form will keep these perishable images accessible.

The value of Southwestern Ornamentation & Design as a documentary work is, in this reviewer's opinion, flawed by the author's determination to read meaning into Meem's use of ancient symbols as design elements despite the architect's own assertions to the contrary. Meem's work does not need over-interpretation (harkening back to Jung's collective unconscious) to be appreciated; its tangible beauty and sense of tradition stands on its own.

Susan Berry
Silver City Museum

Political scientist Sharon O’Brien provides in this book a broad introduction to tribal governments, past and present. Her survey was encouraged by the interest of the National Congress of American Indians in “a book on tribal governments that could be used by senior high schools, colleges, tribal officials, and the general public” (p. xv). The NCAI not only underwrote the cost of research and asked O’Brien to write the book but as well selected the Seneca Nation of New York, the Muscogees (Creeks) of Oklahoma, the Cheyenne River Sioux of South Dakota, the Isleta pueblo of New Mexico, and the Yakimas of Washington to serve as examples. These tribal councils and various tribal program directors reviewed and approved sections of the text.

Within these guidelines and limitations, Professor O’Brien has written a clearly stated, balanced overview. Of course she is sympathetic to her subjects, and her perspectives have been influenced by them. She appreciates the tenacity that characterizes Indian communities. However, she is also willing to observe problems and difficulties that have confronted and do face tribal governments. The book is attractively illustrated. It should reach and generally please its intended audience.

Academic historians will wish for footnotes and will note some surprising omissions in a reasonably thorough bibliography. For example, Vine Deloria, Jr., and Clifford M. Lytle, American Indians, American Justice ought to be cited, given its discussion of tribal governments, the Indian judicial system, and related topics. Frederick Hoxie’s article on the Cheyenne River Sioux (“From Prison to Homeland: The Cheyenne River Indian Reservation Before World War I,” South Dakota History [Winter 1979]) supports O’Brien’s general argument, yet is not included here. Nonetheless, the author has discussed many central issues and developments. Her readers will come away from American Indian Tribal Governments with a good introduction to a complex subject. One hopes the University of Oklahoma Press will issue a paperback edition so that the volume will be even more likely to reach segments of its potential market.

Peter Iverson
Arizona State University


Just as there are bridges in geography, music, and life, bridges exist among genders, cultures, and philosophies of healing, assert authors Perrone, Stockel, and Krueger in Medicine Women, Curanderas, and Women Doctors. In this provocative and enlightening study, the authors use the stories of ten female healers to illustrate the differences among three cultural healing methods and suggest how the healing skills of women can serve as bridges among cultures. The voices of the women—three medicine women, three Hispanic healer/mid-
wives, and four AMA-trained physicians—come through clearly and poignantly in this study. Using women's stories as their format, the authors show how women's values of nurturing, empathy, and cooperation provide a connectedness between patient and healer frequently absent in male-dominated scientific medicine.

Few today would deny that modern medicine in America is in trouble, primarily because of sky-rocketing costs but also because of the haste and impersonality in which it is practiced. This book is a reminder that much is to be gained through wholistic medicine, that is, taking into account psychological and spiritual as well as physical aspects of healing. In Native American and Hispanic healing, spirituality and religion are an integral part of the healing process, but they play no role in western scientific medicine. The women profiled here attest to the reality that women have instinctively known: "healing should encompass all dimensions of being because illness disrupts every aspect of wellness."

Yet the issue is one less of gender than it is of, in their words, "tough gentleness"; men as well as women can bring comfort to their patients. It is the value and style of that comfort, rather than gender specifically, that needs to be integrated into the healing process. Diversity, then, can be a source of strength. *Medicine Women, Curanderas, and Women Doctors* is a small effort toward that process. Although this book singlehandedly will not alter the form of AMA medicine as currently practiced, it can prompt many people to think about healing in a new way.

The authors have organized the book into five parts with an introduction and interpretative material for each topic. In addition to the three kinds of healing, they have included a section on witchcraft that, unfortunately, dwells on the historical practice of defining witches (women) as bearers of evil without recognition of their powers as "good witches." In places, the writing is uneven, perhaps a reflection of the voices of the three authors trying to capture the voices of ten healers. Overall, however, the book is well done and should appeal to a wide audience—just about anyone who suffers an ache or a pain and seeks a cure.

Sandra Schackel
Boise State University


In *Where the Sun Never Shines: A History of America's Bloody Coal Industry,* Priscilla Long places coal mining at the heart of the rise of industrial capitalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus, the experiences of coal miners and their families exemplified the social impact of the industrial transformation.

Focusing first on the Pennsylvania anthracite region, Long traces the evolution of coal mining from a small-scale business into a modern, consolidated industry dominated by railroad companies and finance capitalists. Industrial-
ization also transformed the nature of the miners' work and their relationship with employers and sowed the seeds of class conflict. Operators sought to break the skilled miners' control over the workplace by imposing stricter labor discipline and mechanizing production. The growing industry's labor needs also worked to employers' advantage in the struggle for control. The flood of new immigrants into the mines altered the social character of coal mining and undermined the traditional dominance of skilled English-stock miners. In order to meet the challenge of industrialization, miners had to learn not only how to organize unions but to overcome barriers of ethnic hostility and divisions between skilled vs. unskilled workers.

The history of coal mining in the West mirrored national developments. Here, too, the industry grew from small, isolated operations into a consolidated industry. The most important example was the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, which became part of the Rockefeller empire. In the workplace, western coal miners faced the challenges of mechanization and immigration as employers tightened their control.

Labor upheavals in the western coal industry became graphic episodes of class conflict in industrializing America. This was especially true of the 1913–1914 strike in Colorado, which Long incorrectly calls "The Colorado Fuel and Iron Strike." It was instead a strike against all of the state's coal operators. Although the strike was riven with conflicts between national and local United Mine Workers leaders, the miners and their families achieved a militance and solidarity that overcame differences of ethnicity and skill. In the struggle for class consciousness and in the battles against employers, Long shows that the women of the coalfields often were the most militant advocates of class values and aspirations. In the end, the combined power of operators and government defeated the strike, but the conflict did set the stage for the transformation of industrial relations. The first sign of change was the Colorado Industrial Plan, instituted by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Following the strike, John D. Rockefeller remained committed to opposing the union, but he also rejected, of only rhetorically, the values of unbridled capitalism. The Colorado Industrial Plan combined features of a company union and grievance procedures to give workers an organized voice, while the company retained full power over the workplace.

Long builds on the work of previous students of western coal mining, adding her careful research in archival and manuscript sources to give a vivid account of the lives, work, and struggles of the western coal miners and their families. In emphasizing class conflict, though, she sometimes tars operators with overly broad strokes. Certainly the bigotry and narrowmindedness of men like John C. Osgood and Lamont Bowers elicits no sympathy. However, whether motivated by humanitarianism or the goal of achieving more control over their workers, some operators, including the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, did make efforts to improve living and working conditions for their employees. With that caveat, Where the Sun Never Shines is a useful introduction to the story of the western coal miners.

James Whiteside
University of Colorado, Boulder

The history of energy and mining development in the West has gone through many stages, and it would be naive to believe that the process has finally come to an end. From the days of the gold and silver miners in the nineteenth century to the underground copper ores of Montana about 1900, to the oil booms between 1901 and 1931, and the natural gas bonanzas between 1945 and 1960, the West has been the major arena for the nation’s energy and mineral development. Within this broader context the Colorado oil shale boom and bust of the 1980s needs to be considered. The oil panic that gripped Americans in the wake of the OPEC crisis of 1973 fueled the frenzied oil shale boom that followed. It engulfed not local citizens only, but thousands of potential Horatio Algers throughout the nation, corporate executives on every level, and scores of government officials. This time was obviously not the first that Americans were gripped by visions of untold riches and fabulous success, and by their faith that technology would work miracles.

Gulliford has written an entertaining history of this oil shale phenomenon. His primary focus is on the 1980s, although he surveys the beginnings of interest in oil shale development as early as 1885. The first part of the book discusses the nineteenth-century settlement of the valley of the Colorado River and the growth of farming and communities there. Then followed the first oil shale rush between 1915 and 1925, prompted in part by fears of petroleum shortages during the First World War. Unfortunately, the author largely ignores federal programs to develop oil shales in this region, especially a significant act in 1945. His focus is largely on the local scene. The major portion of the volume deals with the oil shale bonanzas expected in the decade after 1973 and the human and social costs they engendered. Gulliford’s focus is narrow. He does not even discuss the charges that critics of the large oil companies raised during this period that these corporations were deliberately stalling on oil shale development to protect their Middle Eastern petroleum interests. That phase is certainly relevant to explaining their haste after 1973 to become involved with Colorado shales. But within his narrow range Gulliford is competent. He suggests that the experience with oil shales from 1973 to 1983 indicates that corporations and developers should be held accountable not only for environmental impact studies, but for social and human impact studies as well.

Gulliford has made good use of oral interviews and has also exploited the contemporary technical literature. His judgments are judicious and well balanced—unlike those of some shrill contemporary historians who decry most corporate resource development. As he notes with sagacity, “The folklore of success and the greed of personal ambition fuel boomtown growth with a furious intensity” (p. 197). As an author he could have been served better by his publisher who allowed some serious errors to remain. The United States Geological Survey was not founded until 1879, and John Wesley Powell was not its director until 1883, so he did not act in this capacity in 1869, surely (p. 18). The important Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 obviously could not have been
influenced by the Teapot Dome scandal of 1923 (p. 58)! Despite such lapses, within its narrow context this is a useful study that adds to our understanding of what still remains as a major potential energy source in the future.

Gerald D. Nash
University of New Mexico


Leon Metz, author of nine books and numerous articles, is well known to students of western history and the southwestern borderlands. Recipient of the Western Writers of America's Saddleman Award for contributions to western writing, he has also published extensively on military history and the U.S.-Mexican border region. In his latest work, Metz has set himself a formidable task: the writing of a "chronicle" of the U.S.-Mexican border covering more than 150 years with occasional departures into earlier periods.

The work is divided into six "books," a mix of chronological and topical organization. Books one and two deal with the lengthy and often aggravating efforts of the United States and Mexico to survey and mark the international boundary. Book three covers approximately from the 1830s to the 1880s, with particular attention to the problem of maintaining law and order along the common frontier. Book four examines the impact of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 on the border area, particularly in its military aspects. Books five and six deal with the two principal rivers influencing the border zone, the Colorado and the Rio Grande. The work concludes with an examination of the immigration issue in the twentieth century.

The author's long-standing interest in western and border history is clearly shown in the extensive array of sources that he brings to the current study. Metz relies heavily on government documents, ranging from early boundary survey reports to the latest government investigations into the war on drugs. He has thoroughly researched the secondary sources relating to border history, conducted a number of interviews, delved into manuscript and archival collections, and consulted numerous newspapers.

The author has a sharp eye for detail and a talent for providing capsule descriptions of the constantly changing cast of characters in his border narrative. He does an excellent job of sorting out the lengthy and often confused negotiations over boundaries and water characterizing much of border history.

The hazards of undertaking such a sweeping narrative are also evident. Because the author must cover such a lengthy time frame and such an extended geographical area, there are bound to be problems of emphasis and omission; the Pershing Expedition of 1916 comes off as being only slightly more important than the Escobar revolt of 1929. Although this book is not the "definitive story" of the border as the accompanying promotional literature claims, such a comprehensive work is unlikely, at least in a single volume. The Border is, however, what its author describes it as: a chronicle of a fascinating region with a special
character and history. Well-documented and illustrated, it will be of interest to the general reader as well as to specialists in a variety of different fields.

Don M. Coerver

Texas Christian University


This impressive set of essays was prepared by seventeen specialists in water and public policy. Most are political scientists, though the writers also include three economists and one geographer. None is a historian.


"In many respects the battles over water in the future will resemble the battles of the past," Smith observes. "The issues (allocation, cost, control) and the actors (state and federal politicians, water bureaucrats, and interest groups) will remain largely the same. The relative power, influence, and importance of both actors and issues, however, will change" (p. 273). Such traditional concerns as Indian water rights and federal rights to sufficient water to improve government land will remain important. However, in recent decades the paramount problems in the Southwest have been the region’s increasing reliance on poorly administered underground water—in most years this source provides at least half the water used in Arizona, California, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas—and the conflicts that result as scarce water is shifted from irrigation and grazing to new uses. Farmers and ranchers still claim 80–90 percent of the water in the West, but their monopoly has been challenged by mining, energy, and manufacturing companies, as well as by cities such as
Tucson, Santa Fe, and Denver. The advocates of free markets for water pay scant attention to the question of whether "efficiency" or the highest-dollar output per unit of water should count for more than our commitment to democracy and a just society. Ranching and small farming have social benefits that do not fit neatly into free market equations, and how do we put a price on wildlife, habitat protection, and recreation?

Make no mistake: money still talks. The Metropolitan Water District of Los Angeles has promised to spend millions to modernize wasteful irrigation works in the nearby Imperial Valley in exchange for the water saved—which could run as high as 25 percent of the volume currently used in the valley. Whether the transfer of water rights should be achieved by the "free market," by government, or by some combination of the two will be hotly debated in coming decades. No brief review can convey the richness and detail in this somber book. These essays are not exciting reading, but they are well-informed and judicious. They will interest scholars in many different disciplines and should be must reading for water planners throughout the arid West.

Donald J. Pisani
University of Oklahoma

As I Recall. By Calvin L. Rampton. Edited by Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989. ix + 304 pp. Illustrations, index. $25.00.)

Calvin Rampton had a distinguished career as the governor of Utah for an unprecedented three terms. He had a major impact on the development of Utah and the Mountain West. This autobiography is a straightforward, candid analysis of his entire life and will stand as a major contribution to the literature on twentieth-century western politics.

Rampton's methodology is unique in that he personally tape-recorded his memoirs. The tapes were transcribed, edited, and prepared for publication. The result is a delightful effort that follows the life and career of an astute master of politics. A fear is that the editors cut down much of the manuscript to meet restrictions. There is much more that Calvin Rampton could have and probably should have said.

A reader is constantly reminded of numerous Utah traits when Rampton is recalled. One is that everyone knows everyone's genealogy. Rampton's description of people often makes a genealogical tie. Another evident item is the open and hidden relationship between the LDS Church and politics. Rampton discusses his relationship with church leaders from Heber Grant to Spencer Kimball and mentions when and how the church exercised influence on politics. Finally, Rampton openly addresses the numerous Utah rumors that surrounded his governorship. Utah is a place that runs rampant with rumors mostly about alcohol consumption or infidelity. The rumors usually are most prevalent during campaigns, but Rampton discusses how they can hurt and what backbiting does to individuals' lives.

The autobiography is excellent when discussing Utah politics from the end of World War II to the 1980s. Although Rampton handles issues such as
the grand jury indictment of his liquor commission and Wayne Owen's decision to run for the Senate in 1974 matter of factly, he was a very tough in-fighter. His account is weakest in its failure to explain why he could not build a strong statewide Democratic party. He is gracious in realizing what a tremendous asset his companion Lucybeth was and carefully avoids too much self-congratulatory nonsense.

One possible weakness is the absence of annotated citations. The editors could have corrected some memories that had bearing on history such as Rampton's discussion of Watergate. Nevertheless this is a very good book that should encourage others to follow.

F. Ross Peterson

Mountain West Center for Regional Studies
Circle of Motion: Arizona Anthology of Contemporary American Indian Literature. Edited by Kathleen Mullen Sands. (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1990. xviii + 165 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. $21.95 cloth, $15.95 paper.) Collects the works of thirty-four writers.


Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $14.95.) A volume in the Civilization of the American Indian series.


*Fraser Haps and Mishaps: The Diary of Mary E. Cozens.* Edited by Alice Reich and Thomas J. Steele, S.J. (Denver: Regis College Press, 1990. 100 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $5.95 paper.) Colorado setting.


The New Mexico School for the Deaf has published a thorough, well-researched history of the school authored by Marian Meyer (A Century of Progress: History of the New Mexico School for the Deaf). Covering the more-than-a-century history of the NMSD, this substantial volume is appealingly illustrated, clearly written, and soundly conceived. In addition to many photographs, the volume also includes a listing of the nearly 2,000 students who have attended the school. For further information on this book, write Superintendent Gilbert L. Delgado, NMSD, 1060 Cerrillos Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

Another very useful publication is New Mexico Cultural Resources Directory, compiled by the New Mexico Office of Cultural Affairs, and published by the Museum of New Mexico Press, P.O. Box 2087, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87504. This directory includes a thorough guide to the arts, history, and community events of the state. Most of the listings include annotations treating the history, significance, and location of important sites or events.

Donald Milligan has recently compiled “Genealogy of Selected Hispanic Families of New Mexico and Southern Colorado, 1538–1990.” This 354-page compilation covers seventeen generations of many area families. Copies are available for $45 from Karen Mitchell, 8551 Doris Court, Commerce City, Colorado 80022.
The National Cowboy Hall of Fame recently honored Michael Martin Murphey, New Mexico singer-musician, with a Special Award for the Preservation of Authentic Western Music in his "Cowboy Logic."

Richard Melzer, well-known New Mexico historian and a faculty member at the University of New Mexico, Valencia Campus, recently won the Matthews Prize for the best article published in the journal of Military History of the Southwest. His essay was entitled "Stage Soldiers of the Southwest: New Mexico's Four Minute Men of World War I."

The Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and Universities of the United States is sponsoring a competition to honor books "that make better known in the United States the endeavors of Spain in the New World, and particularly the Spanish contributions to the independence and development of the United States." First prize $6,000, second prize $3,000. For more information, write Cultural Office, Embassy of Spain, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW, Suite 214, Washington, D.C. 20037; (202) 337-7172.

The University of Nebraska Press, with the Native American Studies Program of the University of California, Berkeley, seeks submissions for an annual prize given for the "best new work by a North American Indian." The winner will receive $1,000 and have his/her work published by the University of Nebraska Press, 327 Nebraska Hall, 901 North 17th Street, Lincoln, Nebraska 68588. The winner of the first prize was Diane Clancy, Cherokee poet and teacher, for her Claiming Breath, a collection of essays and poems.

Texas Christian University Press announces a new annual prize for a premier unpublished work "dealing with the literature and history of the Southwest." Manuscripts of no more than 300 nor less than 150 double-spaced pages should be submitted to the press by January 1, 1992. Winners will receive a cash award of $1,000. Contact Judy Alter, Director, TCU Press, Box 30783, Fort Worth, Texas 76129.

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholics is offering three dissertation fellowships for histories of U.S. Hispanic Catholics for the next year up to $11,000 each. Application forms must be requested by December 1, 1991. Write to Jaime R. Vidal, Cushwa Center, 614 Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556. The same center is sponsoring a publication series on the Irish in America. Scholarly book-length manuscripts on some aspect of this topic should be submitted to Dr. Jay P. Dolan at the Cushwa Center.

The Oral History Association will hold its annual meeting October
15–18, 1992, in Cleveland, Ohio, at the Stouffer Tower City Hotel. Proposals for papers, sessions, and panels should be sent by December 1, 1991, to Dr. Donna M. DeBlasio, Program Chair, Youngstown Historical Center of Industry and Labor, P.O. Box 533, Youngstown, Ohio 44501.

The Lincoln County Heritage Trust is co-sponsoring a symposium entitled “In the Days of Billy the Kid: Violence and the Western Frontier,” September 11–14 at Ruidoso’s Best Western Swiss Chalet Motel. The distinguishing feature of the symposium is its scholarly faculty; the highlight will be the presentations concerning the Billy the Kid Photographic Research Project. Other symposium sessions will focus on Billy the Kid historical research, the Lincoln County War, the Billy the Kid of legend, the Kid in publishing, and violence on the frontier. Banquets, barbeques, movies, and field trips round out the schedule. For more information, please contact the Lincoln County Heritage Trust, Post Office Box 98, Lincoln, New Mexico 88338, (505) 653-4025 or Recursos de Santa Fe, 826 Camino de Monte Rey, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501, (505) 982-9301.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO NEWS

by Robert R. White

The 1991 annual conference of the Historical Society of New Mexico (HSNM), held in Las Cruces from April 18–21, was attended by more than 200 people. The Doña Ana County Historical Society handled most of the organizational aspects, and the success of the conference was due in great part to their efforts.

The election results for HSNM officers and members of the board of directors were announced during the conference. Those elected were as follows: Robert R. White, president; John W. Grassham, first vice president; Darlis A. Miller, second vice president; Andrés J. Segura, secretary; and Spencer Wilson, treasurer. Members of the board who were returned to office were David Townsend, William Lock, Austin Hoover, and M. M. Bloom, Jr. Newly elected to the board was Agnesa Reeve.

During the banquet and awards ceremony at the annual conference, held at the Holiday Inn in Las Cruces on April 20, the HSNM presented the following awards:

The Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá Award for the outstanding book
relating to New Mexico history was given to Cheryl J. Foote for *Women of the New Mexico Frontier*, published by University Press of Colorado.

The Ralph Emerson Twitchell Award for significant contribution to the field of history was presented to Jesse Green for his work on Frank Hamilton Cushing, culminating in the publication last year by the University of New Mexico Press of his book *Cushing at Zuni*.

The Edgar Lee Hewett Award for service to the public—more specifically, for lifetime achievement in the study and writing of history—was given to Lee Myers of Las Cruces. Since 1961, Myers has published approximately fifty articles and monographs on southwestern history. Until his retirement in the late 1960s, his research and writing were done in the time that he could spare from his job at the potash mines in Carlsbad. His many years of historical research, done simply for the love of the subject, were cited at the awards ceremony as an admirable contribution to the field of history.

The Paul A. F. Walter Award for service to the Historical Society of New Mexico was presented to Colonel M. M. Bloom, Jr. Bloom served as treasurer of the society for the past four years and volunteered his efforts in many ways, particularly with regard to organizing and computerizing the records of the HSNM.

The Lansing B. Bloom Award was presented to the *New Mexico Historical Review* in recognition of sixty-five years of excellence as the state’s premier historical journal. Nancy Brown received the award on behalf of the *Historical Review* staff (Brown has been with the *Historical Review* staff for fifteen years and was the 1985 recipient of the HSNM Paul A. F. Walter Award for service to the Society). Brown reminded those attending the banquet that the *New Mexico Historical Review* was founded by the Historical Society of New Mexico (the operational transfer to the University of New Mexico did not take place until the 1960s). She said that the journal owes much to the editors, contributors, subscribers, and readers who have supported it through the years, and she expressed the wish that the *Historical Review* and the Society would jointly have many more years of promoting history in New Mexico.

The most recent book published for the Historical Society of New Mexico by the University of New Mexico Press was *Reluctant Frontiersman—James Ross Larkin on the Santa Fe Trail, 1856–57*, edited and annotated by Barton H. Barbour, with a foreword by Marc Simmons. This is the twenty-first book in the HSNM-UNM Press co-publication series.

For further information on the activities of the HSNM, write to the Historical Society of New Mexico, P.O. Box 5819, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87502.