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The Economic History of Albuquerque, 1880-1893

Lucille Boyle

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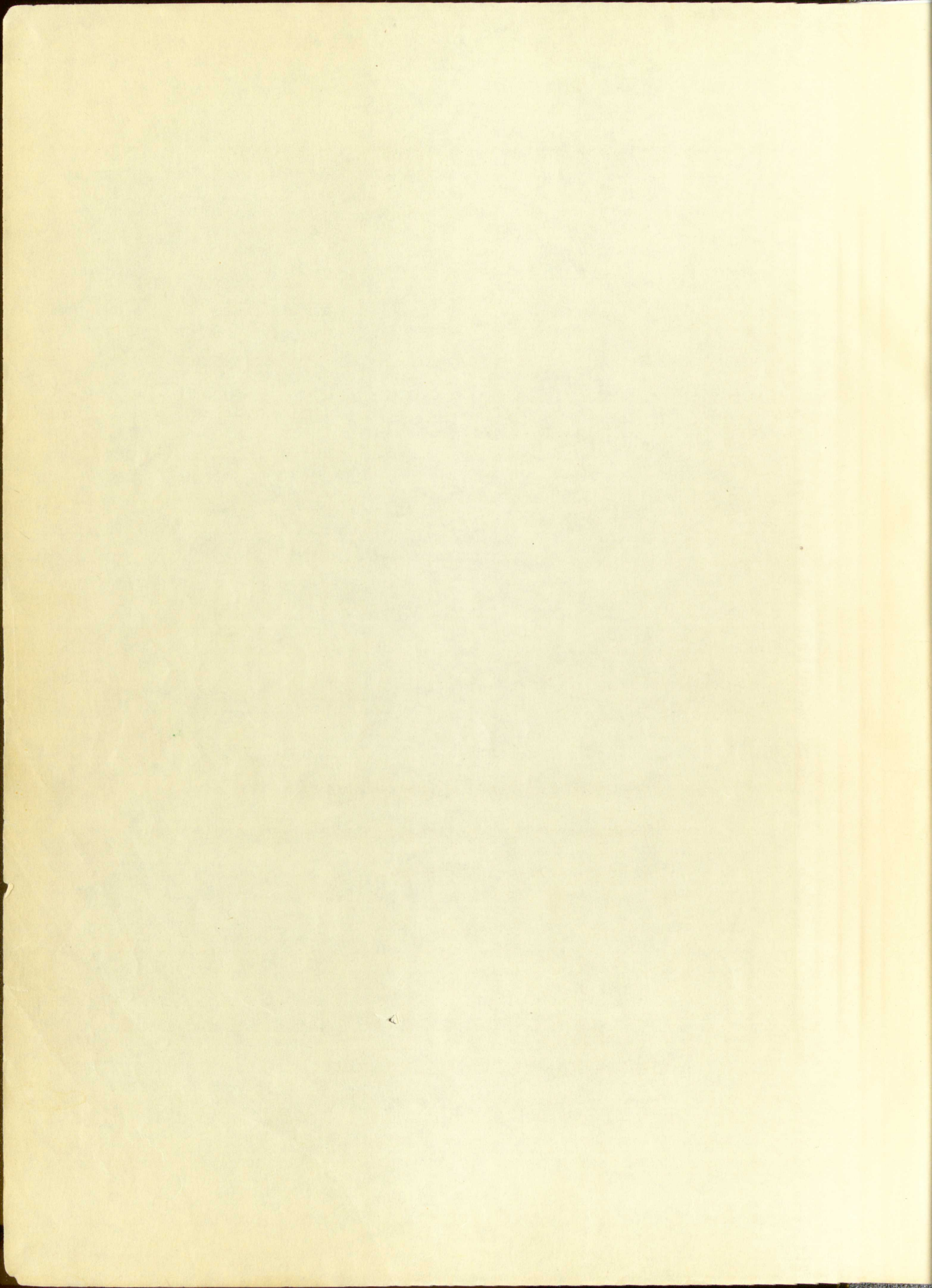
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THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ALBUQUERQUE, 1880-1893

By

Lucille Boyle



A Thesis

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for Completion
of a Master's Degree

The University of New Mexico

1948

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MASTER OF ARTS

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THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ALBUQUERQUE

1880-1893

By

Lucille Boyle

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PREFACE

An attempt has been made in this problem to show the economic effect of the railroad upon the town of Albuquerque through the promotion of agriculture and the cattle, sheep, and mining industries of the Territory. The sources of the study have been chiefly newspapers published in Albuquerque during the period from 1880 through 1893.

One of the earliest newspapers in Albuquerque was the Albuquerque Review, a semi-weekly paper in English and Spanish, which was published during the early part of the 1870's. W. H. Balhache purchased this paper in the 1870's and it became known as the Republican Review. Later its name was changed to the Evening Review. In 1882 J. G. Albright moved the Santa Fe Democrat to Albuquerque and bought the Evening Review, and the paper that developed from these two became known as the Albuquerque Democrat.

The first daily newspaper, the Golden Gate, began publication June 5, 1880, under the auspices of E. W. Deer, who died in the fall of that year. The paper passed into the hands of James A. Spradling and became the Albuquerque Republican. Soon Mr. Spradling induced E. S. Stover, William C. Hazeldine, Franz Huning, and Perfecto Armijo to join him in the publication of a daily paper in old Albuquerque. They organized the Albuquerque Publishing Company September 25, 1880, under the name of the Albuquerque Morning Journal. Very shortly, however,

An attempt has been made in this review to show the economic effect of the railroad upon the town of Albion. Through the promotion of agriculture and the cattle and mining industries of the Territory. The number of the study have been chiefly newspapers published in Albion during the period from 1880 through 1895.

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The first daily newspaper, the Golden Gate, was published on June 2, 1880, under the auspices of J. W. Bear, who died in the fall of that year. The paper passed into the hands of James A. Spaulding and became the Albion Review. Soon Mr. Spaulding induced E. S. Grover, William C. Hamilton, Frank Hunting, and Fenton Smith to join him in the publication of a daily paper in old Albion. They organized the Albion Review Publishing Company September 2, 1880, under the name of the Albion Review. Very shortly, however,

the name changed again to the Albuquerque Daily Journal, and the initial edition of the paper was published on October 14, 1880. W. S. Burke, in January, 1882, purchased the paper and again changed its name to the Albuquerque Morning Journal. It was at this time that the paper was moved to the new town. On January 4, 1887, the Albuquerque Democrat published a notification to the effect that Mr. Albright had bought the Albuquerque Morning Journal at a public sale because of the collapse of the Albuquerque Publishing Company, and the paper became known as the Daily Democrat. This remained the chief daily paper of Albuquerque until 1895.

All of these papers have been of great use in the study of this problem except the Golden Gate, of which no copies were available even though an extensive search was made. Only a few copies of the paper were printed, and if any are in existence they could not be found.

I am indebted to Miss Evelyn Bauer of the Historical Society of New Mexico at Santa Fe, to the Circulation Department of the Albuquerque Journal, to Dr. Dorothy Woodward and other professors of the University of New Mexico who aided by helpful suggestions and criticism, and to the members of the library staff who very graciously helped in the search for material.

Albuquerque, N.M.
August 7, 1948

Lucille Boyle

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CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF ALBUQUERQUE

For many years before the coming of the railroad, Albuquerque had served as a commercial terminal for the people up and down the Rio Grande Valley from about Santa Domingo to the southern boundary of the Territory. Even before the Santa Fe and Chihuahua trade, the little town had been an important place along the river in a sparsely settled country. With the advent of the Santa Fe Trail, Albuquerque became a way station where stage coach lines changed and where wagon trains halted on the long trek from the Missouri River Valley to Chihuahua and Durango. During the period of the military occupation of Mexico by the United States troops in 1846 and the years following, Albuquerque gained its reputation as a freighting center because of its location and the "natural position of accessibility from all points of the compass."¹

4 Transportation in and out of Albuquerque was almost entirely by oxen and mule trains, and when the possibility of a railroad developed a few people objected to its coming because they feared the business of the traders and that of the wagon trains would be ruined. Wool, pelts, hides, and

¹ Victor Westphall, "History of Albuquerque, 1870-1880," (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1947), p. 4.

minerals made up the freight on the eastbound wagon trains while merchandise and government supplies had to be brought into the town. It was estimated by the United States Surveyor General that three thousand wagons were used annually for conveying goods from the eastern states to the Territory of New Mexico including the vehicles for government supplies and transportation.² The average burden of each wagon was estimated at five thousand pounds, and the value of imported materials amounted to three million dollars. A portion of these imports was sent to Mexico, and Mexican commodities valued at seventy-five thousand dollars were returned to New Mexico annually.³

By the 1870's Albuquerque was acutely aware of the need for railroad communications with the states to the east. In the years following the Civil War, westward expansion for land and the cattle boom of the 1860's made the commercial advantages of a railroad more apparent. The only newspaper of the town during that time, the Republican Review, recognized the fact that the coming of the railroad was a basic factor in the economic development of the town. In the decade before the railroad came, the population of Albuquerque had increased to 1,307 with fifty-four Anglo-Americans, or persons not born in the Territory.⁴ Because of the Anglo minority, Protestant

² Elias Brevoort, *New Mexico* (Santa Fe: n.p., 1874), p. 115.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Westphall, op. cit., p. 30.

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By the 1870's Albuquerque was directly across the river for railroad communications with the outside. In the years following the Civil War, constant expectation for the and the cattle boom of the 1880's made the commercial value of a railroad more apparent. The only newspaper of the town during that time, the Herald, recognized the fact that the coming of the railroad was a definite factor in the economic development of the town. In the decade before the railroad came, the population of Albuquerque had increased to 1,307 with fifty-four Anglo-Americans, no persons not born in the territory. The increase of the Anglo minority, represented

Eliaz Alvord, New Mexico (Santa Fe, N.M., 1871)
p. 115
1871
Westfall, O.S. 115, p. 115

religions had a difficult time gaining a foothold in Albuquerque, and education was carried on by private and mission schools.

Transcontinental traffic, rivalry with the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroads in the west and the Santa Fe trade beckoned the railroad toward the southwest, but from its coming it was Albuquerque, and not Santa Fe, that profited most. The early success of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad⁵ in the southwest was due in part to the mining claims in the Territory of New Mexico and the interception of the cattle trails coming up from Texas. ✓ As the railroad advanced toward Albuquerque, business conditions in the town improved, competition developed among the mercantile establishments, and many new trading facilities were instituted. Merchandise could now be picked up at the terminus of the railroad and freighted into Albuquerque, and as the distance between the town and the railroad grew shorter, the freighting problem decreased in importance. The coming of the railroad marked the end of the importance of the old town of Albuquerque and the building up of the new town around the railroad depot. This new part of Albuquerque soon became the nucleus of population attracting the agricultural, cattle, sheep, and mining interests of the Territory.

⁵ The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad will hereafter be referred to as the AT&SF.

religions had a difficult time gaining a foothold in Algonquin
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Transcontinental traffic, rivalry with the Union
Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroads in the west and the
Santa Fe made the railroad the backbone of the country,
but from the coming of the Algonquin, and not Santa Fe,
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key to the mining claims in the Territory of New Mexico and
the transportation of the cattle and sheep from Texas.
As the railroad advanced toward Algonquin, mining and
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the old town of Algonquin and the building up of the new
town around the railroad depot. This new part of Algonquin
soon became the nucleus of population attracting the school,
hotel, cattle, sheep, and other interests of the Territory.

² The Algonquin, Texas, and Santa Fe Railroads and
hereafter be referred to as the A. & S. F. R.

Because of the difficulty in obtaining at a reasonable price an adjacent tract of land that would be adequate to accomodate the railroad facilities, the railroad station was built approximately two miles east of the town.⁶ Franz Huning had purchased a tract of 700 acres of land south and east of Old Albuquerque, and comprising the present area from Central Avenue south to the Rio Grande and from Tenth Street west along the old Barelvas acequia to the gate of the Manzano School west of Laguna Boulevard⁷ which he hoped to sell at a high price to the right of way men. However, he failed to make an agreement with them, and the railroad tracks were laid east of his land. Another point which is seldom considered regarding the failure of the railroad to reach Old Town is the fact that the town itself was situated in a bend of the Rio Grande, and a curve would have been necessary in order to reach the town.

The last stage came from the east into Albuquerque by way of Las Vegas, Santa Fe, and La Bajada on April 19, 1880.⁸ On the twenty-second of April the reception for the train on the New Mexico and Southern Pacific Railroad, known

⁶ Westphall, op. cit., p. 85 ff.

⁷ Personal Interview, Mr. William A. Keleher, June 15, 1948; Interview, Miss Erna Fergusson, June 16, 1948; Bernalillo County Deed Records; Julia Keleher, "Old Days in Old Albuquerque," New Mexico Magazine, 20:22-23, January, 1942.

⁸ Albuquerque Review, April 22, 1880; Keleher, op. cit., p. 22.

Because of the difficulty in obtaining a reasonable price on adjacent tract of land that would be necessary to accommodate the railroad facilities, the railroad station was built approximately two miles east of the town. Manning had purchased a tract of 700 acres of land east and east of Old Alvarado and comprising the present area from Central Avenue south to the Rio Grande and from 10th Street west along the old Barajas road to the east of the railroad. School was not located here but was moved to a site at high price to the right of way was. However, he failed to make an agreement with them and the railroad tracks are laid east of his land. Another point which is rather significant regarding the failure of the railroad to reach the town is the fact that the town itself was situated on a bend of the Rio Grande, and a curve would have been necessary in order to reach the town.

The last stage came from the east into Alvarado by way of Las Vegas, Santa Fe, and La Bajada on April 13, 1880. On the twenty-second of April the passenger train for the train on the New Mexico and Southern Pacific Railroad, came

Westphal, Jr., p. 22.

Personal Interview, Mr. William A. Manning, June 13, 1940; Interview, Miss Mary Manning, June 13, 1940; Interview, County Road Engineer, Santa Fe, June 13, 1940; Interview, Santa Fe, June 13, 1940.

Alvarado Review, April 22, 1880, Vol. 1, No. 1.

to us as the AT&SF, was held in Albuquerque, although the train had actually made its arrival on April 6 bringing supplies to the railroad contractors.⁹ From this time began the daily trek from the old town to the new town which grew up around the red painted station house as men deserted the old town to move nearer to the center of activity created by the railroad. Adobe houses surrounding the plaza in the old town were gradually abandoned, and lumber, brick and iron became the more substantial material from which the houses and stores of the new town were built.

The immediate effect of the railroad upon Albuquerque is shown by the shift of the business center closer to the station and by the subsequent growth of the town. Railroad promoters organized the New Mexico Town Company and sold lots on Railroad Avenue at prices averaging no less than two and three hundred dollars.¹⁰ Merchants, longing for buildings two stories high but having neither the money nor the need for two stories, ran up false fronts to the height of a second floor and painted windows on the walls.¹¹ Railroad Avenue, along which the stores and hotels and saloons were built, was

⁹ Westphall, op. cit., p. 94; Albuquerque Review, April 10, 1880.

¹⁰ Albuquerque Daily Journal, December 18, 1880. Hereafter cited as the Journal.

¹¹ Erna Fergusson, "From Rodeo to Rotary," Century Magazine, 113:119, December, 1926.

to us as the AT&T, was built in Albuquerque, although the
train had actually made its arrival on April 2 bringing with
it the railroad construction. From that time began
the daily trek from the old town to the new town which grew
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The immediate effect of the railroad upon Albuquerque
is shown by the shift of the business center almost to the
station and by the abandonment of the town. Railroad
promoters organized the New Mexico Town Company and sold lots
on Railroad Avenue at prices averaging no less than five and
three hundred dollars. Residents, forgetting for a moment
the stories high but having neither the money nor the need
for two stories, ran up false fronts to the height of a second
floor and painted windows on the walls. Railroad Avenue,
along which the stores and hotels and houses were built was

Westhall, op. cit., p. 24: Albuquerque History
April 10, 1880.

10 Albuquerque Daily Journal, December 11, 1880.
after cited in the Journal.

11 True Yarnsman, "From Bitter to Bitter",
Herald, 11:112, December, 1926.

a deep sandy stretch that became a series of puddles in wet weather.¹² The buildings were set above the level of the street as much as five feet to avoid the floods, and the boardwalks were reached only by steps. Studebaker wagons and Mexican ponies stood at the posts while their owners transacted business in the town, and the passenger depot with its conclave of hacks and carriages presented quite a metropolitan appearance on the arrival and departure of trains.¹³ There was an average of four saloons to the block, and by January 1, 1881, there were four two-story buildings in the new town with twelve or sixteen good substantial structures and several smaller ones.¹⁴ The buildings of the old town were mostly of adobe as can be seen there to this day, but the constructions in the new town were of lumber, iron, and brick. Only one shanty belonging to the railroad company stood among the new structures of the new town.

Eastern business men, seeing the advantages of Albuquerque, furnished the New Mexico Town Company with a rush of transactions in the sale of lots near the depot.¹⁵ In one day \$2,250 worth of lots were sold in the new town with James Q. Wills of Greeneville, Massachusetts, purchasing

¹² Railroad Avenue was the street that is now Central Avenue.

¹³ Journal, January 10, 1881.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., December 20, 1880.

eight building lots for \$1,800.¹⁶ By the end of 1880 almost \$60,000 worth of building lots had been sold, and there was a growing demand for lumber of all kinds to be used for building purposes.¹⁷ Directly west of the site selected for the depot grounds of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad was the Baca addition to the new town, and many of the most desirable building lots for residence or business purposes were contained in this area.¹⁸ With the influx of population there was a demand for building lots in all parts of the new town and no matter what the price, they sold without a word. The two lots on each side of Railroad Avenue and lying right in the ditch which paralleled the railroad sold for \$250 each.¹⁹ This ditch often overflowed and the part of the town nearby was almost submerged, but the chief engineer of the AT&SF dispersed the water by means of a canal to the river, and the area was made safe for building.

After the railroad reached Albuquerque and was extended beyond this point, the wholesale trade of the town grew rapidly. With the completion of the railroad to San Marcial much freight was delivered and received from there daily, and the freight receipts increased. Albuquerque

¹⁶ Ibid., December 18, 1880.

¹⁷ Ibid., January 10, 1881.

¹⁸ Ibid., January 1, 1881.

¹⁹ Journal, February 3, 1881.

about 1880, the end of 1880, about
 100,000 worth of building land had been sold, and there was
 a certain demand for land of all kinds to be used for
 building purposes. The history of the land referred to
 the great grounds of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, and
 the land referred to the new town, and the land referred to
 the building referred to the business purposes, and
 contained in this case. With the falling of population there
 was a demand for building land in all parts of the new town
 and no matter what the price, they could not get it. The
 two lots on each side of Railroad Avenue, and upon which
 the depot which carried the railroad, and the depot which
 this depot often overflowed, and the water of the town
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 depot much freight was delivered and received from home
 daily, and the freight receipts increased.

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- 16 1880, December 15, 1880.
 - 17 1881, January 15, 1881.
 - 18 1881, January 15, 1881.
 - 19 1881, February 15, 1881.

served as the best place for railroad contractors and miners to purchase supplies. The freight receipts for one firm in Albuquerque amounted to over \$3,000 in one month in 1880.²⁰ In November of that year, the AT&SF conductor brought a train of sixty-seven cars loaded with freight into Albuquerque.²¹ This was the longest train that had ever reached the town, and it created much interest among the citizens. By January, 1882 the freight receipts for the AT&SF at Albuquerque were \$86,768.13,²² and by March of the following year freight receipts and tickets at the Albuquerque office had increased to \$93,326.56, while the receipts for the A&P road were \$15,965.72.²³ The freight receipts for the AT&SF at Albuquerque for 1883 were \$1,200,000 or \$100,000 a month, and local merchants paid as much as \$70,000 of that amount on incoming freight.²⁴ With the increasing population in the Territory which in turn caused greater production in mining, agriculture, sheep and cattle activities, the traffic created by the railroad caused the expansion and growth of Albuquerque.

✓The railroad became an artery through which immigration and commerce flowed into the Territory of New Mexico, ✓

²⁰ Ibid., November 16, 1880.

²¹ Ibid., November 4, 1880.

²² Morning Journal, February 2, 1882. Hereafter cited as MJ.

²³ Albuquerque Daily Democrat, April 3, 1883.

²⁴ MJ, January 1, 1884.

and Albuquerque was the point of junction for the three lines of the Santa Fe system; that from the east, that to the Pacific, and that to the Mexican border. The AT&SF projected its line along the old Santa Fe Trail over Glorieta Pass to Lamy and by way of Galisteo Creek to Santa Domingo on the Rio Grande which it followed to Albuquerque and Isleta.²⁵ Albuquerque remained the terminal until the road reached San Marcial, one hundred and three miles south, on September 25, 1880.²⁶ From here the line, under a new charter, the Rio Grande, Mexico and Pacific Railroad Company, went on seventy-six miles to Rincon, where it divided.²⁷ One branch went southeast seventy-eight miles to El Paso, reaching there June 11, 1881 and soon obtained access to Mexico City over the rails of the Mexican Central Railway.²⁸ The other branch went southwest one hundred and twenty-eight miles to Deming where it established connections with the Southern Pacific Railroad on March 8, 1881, thus effecting a transcontinental line to California.²⁹

²⁵ C. A. Higgins, To California Over the Santa Fe Trail (Chicago: Passenger Department, Santa Fe, 1907), p. 32.

²⁶ James Marshall, Santa Fe (New York: Random House Publishers, 1945), p. 166.

²⁷ Glenn De. Bradley, The Story of the Santa Fe (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1920), p. 207.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ After making connections with the Southern Pacific Railroad in Deming, the AT&SF, with the intention of eventually connecting with the Sonora Railroad, secured a track-age agreement with the Southern Pacific to Benson, Arizona, and in the summer of 1881 started building the New Mexico and

and Albuquerque was the point of junction for the three lines
of the Santa Fe system; that from the east, that to the Pacific,
and that to the Mexican border. The latter projected its line
along the old Santa Fe trail over distances that to-day are
by way of Galisteo Creek to Santa Domingo and the Rio Grande,
which are followed by Albuquerque and Los Alamos. Albuquerque
received the terminal hotel, the road terminal and depot.
One hundred and thirty miles north, on December 27, 1880,
from near the line, where a new project, the Rio Grande, looked
and Pacific Railroad Company, very an extensive mileage to
Hinson, where it divided. One branch went north to seventy-
eight miles to El Paso, reaching there June 15, 1881 and soon
obtained access to Mexico City over the R.M.T. of the Mexican
Central Railway. The other branch went south to one
hundred and twenty-eight miles to San Antonio where it connected
with the Southern Pacific Railroad of March 3,
1881, thus effecting a through route to Los Angeles.

25. A. A. Hastings, the California Southern Pacific, p. 101.
California Southern Pacific, San Francisco, 1881, p. 101.

26. San Francisco, Santa Fe and Los Angeles, Hand Book, 1880.
Providence, 1880, p. 100.

27. Journal of the Pacific, San Francisco, 1880, p. 100.
(Boston: The North Press, 1880), p. 100.

28. Journal of the Pacific, San Francisco, 1880, p. 100.
29. After having connected with the Southern Pacific
Railroad in Denver, the A.P.S.F. the intention of which
initially connected with the Santa Fe Railroad, reached to Santa
Fe and in the summer of 1881 started building the New Mexico and

Another transcontinental route by way of the Santa Fe was effected when the Western Division of the A&P, created by the amalgamation of the Santa Fe and 'Frisco Corporation, joined with the Southern Pacific at Needles, California, in August, 1883.³⁰

Thus early in the decade of the eighties Albuquerque became the junction of the three lines of the Santa Fe system by which passengers and freight reached the Pacific Coast: from Albuquerque to Deming by way of the Santa Fe and on to

29 (cont.)

Arizona Railroad southwest toward Nogales on the Mexican border. After Huntington of the Southern Pacific induced the Santa Fe officials to submit to an agreement which blocked the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad at the crossing of the Colorado River, the Santa Fe acquired the Sonora Railroad. On October 25, 1882 the Santa Fe track met the Sonora line at Nogales, and thus connections were made with the western section of Mexico.

A charter, granted in 1866 to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, gave that company the right to build from Springfield, Missouri, to the Canadian River, through Albuquerque and on toward the Pacific along the 35th parallel route with the right to connect with the Southern Pacific in eastern California. By 1880 the company had built 34.4 miles of track but had surveyed to San Francisco. Simultaneously, the St. Louis and San Francisco road, which owned seven-eighths of the A&P stock, had extended its line as far west as Wichita, Kansas. Early in the year a connection was made in Kansas between Sedgewick on the St. Louis and San Francisco line and Holstead on the Santa Fe, giving the 'Frisco a continuous line from St. Louis to Isleta, twelve miles below Albuquerque, through running right over the Santa Fe track. The two companies combined their resources and together built a main line to California, under the original charter of the A&P, from Albuquerque, or Isleta where the Santa Fe crossed the Rio Grande. For further information see Bradley, op. cit., pp. 225 ff., and Marshall, op. cit., pp. 167 ff.

³⁰ Look Editors, The Santa Fe Trail (New York: Random House Publishers, 1946), p. 103.

the coast by way of the Southern Pacific; from Albuquerque and Isleta to the Colorado River at Needles, California, by way of the Santa Fe and on to the coast by the Southern Pacific; from Albuquerque to Deming by the Santa Fe, on to Benson, Arizona, by the Southern Pacific, and on to Nogales, Mexico, by the Santa Fe.

The AT&SF enjoyed a commanding position in the railroad situation in New Mexico because it tapped the most fertile and most populous sections of the Territory and drew a gratifying amount of passenger and freight traffic from all sections of the United States. With the facilities afforded by the railroad and favorable rates granted to passengers and household goods, farming implements, and stock, immigration was encouraged, and the population of the Territory increased.

With the opening of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad to the west, a struggle ensued between Albuquerque and San Francisco for the trade of Arizona. Agricultural, sheep, and cattle products had been coming to Albuquerque to take advantage of the shipping facilities to the east since 1880, but after the transcontinental line of the A&P afforded access to California, only that trade east of the Colorado River fell to Albuquerque. The Rio Grande bridge, completed in 1882 at a cost of \$22,000, provided the mining areas, cattlemen, and sheepmen in the section west of Albuquerque with access to the markets in the town and soon became one

the coast by way of the Southern Pacific; from Albuquerque and Santa Fe the Colorado River at Blythe, California, by way of the Santa Fe and on to the coast by the Southern Pacific; from Albuquerque to Blythe by the Santa Fe, or to Benson, Arizona, by the Southern Pacific, and on to Blythe, Mexico, by the Santa Fe.

The State enjoys a commanding position in the railroad situation in New Mexico because it tapped the most fertile and most valuable sections of the Territory and drew a great amount of passenger and freight traffic from all sections of the United States. With the facilities afforded by the railroads and favorable rates furnished to passengers and shippers, leading railroads, and stock, immigration, and other enterprises, and the location of the Territory, increased. With the opening of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad to the west, a strong link opened between Albuquerque and San Francisco for the trade of Arizona, California, Texas, and cattle products had been coming to Albuquerque to take advantage of the shipping facilities to New York since 1882, but after the transcontinental line of the Atchafalaya opened across to California, only Santa Fe was east of the Colorado River and to Albuquerque. The Rio Grande bridge, built in 1882 at a cost of \$1,000,000, proved in the early years, especially and especially in the section west of Albuquerque with access to the markets in the town and upon becoming one



Albuquerque. Oct 6, 1883



New Hotel, now being built, corner Gold Avenue and Fifth Street.

Journal Building, Silver Avenue and Second Street.

Photograph taken from Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 6, 1883.



of the greater assets of the town.³¹ For the cereal crops of western New Mexico and northern Arizona, Albuquerque was the market place as well as the base of supplies for the country between the Rio Grande and the Colorado River. The town was also a supply center for military camps and Indian reservations as is indicated by the shipment of food and merchandise to such points. At one time four car loads of merchandise and supplies for Camp Apache, Arizona, were sent west over the A&P road from Albuquerque.³²

The railroad to the west was of great benefit to the construction work carried on in Albuquerque, because building stone was not readily available near the town. Brick was manufactured in the town, and pine lumber for building was readily available from the Sandia Mountains at cheap prices, but stone was necessary for foundations and trimming of brick buildings. The low rates of freight charged by the A&P road enabled stone to be brought in and construction to proceed at a rapid pace. During the first five months of 1882 before the A&P road had reached beyond the Arizona line, this railroad brought over 5,000 tons of stone into Albuquerque.³³

The completion of the A&P road from Vineta, Oklahoma, to Albuquerque opened up trade with the Texas Panhandle and the

³¹ Evening Review, October 17, 1882.

³² Journal, April 2, 1882.

³³ Ibid., June 8, 1882.

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Pecos Valley, both of which were good stock country and both of which used the trading facilities in Albuquerque.

After the railroad was extended west to California, the principal shops of the AT&SF west of Topeka were located in Albuquerque and afforded employment to several hundred men. Progress was evident in Albuquerque as early as 1882 in the graded streets with good sidewalks, three miles of street car line in operation, a telephone exchange with twenty-five miles of wire connecting all parts of the town, gas lighting on the streets and in residences and business places, blocks of business houses with iron and glass fronts, two banks, two daily newspapers, the Morning Journal and the Evening Review, five churches, and hotels, stores, and offices necessary to accomodate the public.³⁴

Manufacturing interests in Albuquerque developed a foundry and machine shops which turned out great quantities of work for the mining camps and cattle ranches of the Territory and eliminated the long trek to Colorado for various kinds of tin work to be done. A wool scouring plant, established to process the wool from the surrounding sections before shipment, removed the dirt from the wool and thus reduced the weight of the wool and eliminated excess shipping costs. A broom factory, a brewery, an ice plant, electricity, gas and water works, the telephone and telegraph, together

³⁴ Ibid., June 16, 1882.

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with profits derived from the mining, agricultural, sheep and cattle interests of the Territory, soon made the little town one of the most progressive places between Kansas City and San Francisco. By 1890 many lines of business, commercial, mechanical, and professional, were represented in Albuquerque, including two weekly and two daily newspapers, two reliable banking institutions, and a free public library which was maintained by a special tax levied by the city council.

The division of the town by Railroad Avenue and the arrangement of the precincts virtually deprived the greater part of the population of the new town of the right of suffrage and deprived the town of many English speaking citizens and officials. The enterprising citizens of New Town Albuquerque realized in January, 1881, that they had been progressing a little too rapidly for their own good. The occasion for concern was the election for Justice of the Peace and Constable set for February 1, 1881. No one was eligible to vote, because the new precinct, established on January 5, would be only twenty-six days old on election day.³⁵ In order to solve the problem, the Journal announced before the election that the citizens had decided to consider the date of the establishment of the precinct as January 3. This action made the precinct the required thirty days old on

³⁵ Ibid., January 27, 1881.

With facilities provided from the United States, the
and the interests of the Government, some were
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25 Total, January 27, 1901

February 1, thus enabling its citizens to vote and the reputation of the new town to be upheld.³⁶

The railroad opened the Territory to investors from all parts of the country and brought in stable, dependent citizens as well as the outlaws. By February, 1881, Albuquerque's inhabitants numbered about 3,000 with Hispanos³⁷ still in the majority, but with the rapid increase in population from Colorado and the states to the east, the Anglo-Americans soon became the predominating influence. The material growth of Albuquerque could not keep pace with the rapid increase of its population, and many people were unable temporarily to find living accommodations. An unfurnished room in 1880 and 1881 rented for twenty to forty dollars per month, and a furnished room rented at any price asked for it, while the Journal indicated that no rooms were available.³⁸ The Armijo Hotel, located near the depot on the corner of Railroad Avenue and Second Street, relieved the situation somewhat, but the influx of population was greater than accommodations afforded by increasing construction.

By June, 1882, it was estimated by the Journal that the population of Albuquerque, including Old Town, had

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Journal, February 24, 1881. The word Hispanos refers here to the Spanish speaking people of New Mexico and will be used in this sense hereafter.

³⁸ Journal, November 9, 1880.

February 1, 1895, the population of the town was 1,000 and the population of the county was 10,000.

The railroad came to the town in 1890 and the population of the town increased to 1,500. The population of the county increased to 15,000. The population of the town increased to 2,000. The population of the county increased to 20,000. The population of the town increased to 2,500. The population of the county increased to 25,000. The population of the town increased to 3,000. The population of the county increased to 30,000. The population of the town increased to 3,500. The population of the county increased to 35,000. The population of the town increased to 4,000. The population of the county increased to 40,000. The population of the town increased to 4,500. The population of the county increased to 45,000. The population of the town increased to 5,000. The population of the county increased to 50,000. The population of the town increased to 5,500. The population of the county increased to 55,000. The population of the town increased to 6,000. The population of the county increased to 60,000. The population of the town increased to 6,500. The population of the county increased to 65,000. The population of the town increased to 7,000. The population of the county increased to 70,000. The population of the town increased to 7,500. The population of the county increased to 75,000. The population of the town increased to 8,000. The population of the county increased to 80,000. The population of the town increased to 8,500. The population of the county increased to 85,000. The population of the town increased to 9,000. The population of the county increased to 90,000. The population of the town increased to 9,500. The population of the county increased to 95,000. The population of the town increased to 10,000. The population of the county increased to 100,000.

- 36. Journal, February 1, 1895. The population of the town was 1,000 and the population of the county was 10,000.
- 37. Journal, February 1, 1895. The population of the town was 1,500 and the population of the county was 15,000.
- 38. Journal, February 1, 1895. The population of the town was 2,000 and the population of the county was 20,000.

reached the enormous figure of 8,000, and in January, 1884, this estimate had increased to 10,000. The Morning Journal in September, 1885, indicated that the population had increased to 13,000, but this estimate seems too great, although the Census Report of Bernalillo County for 1885 showed a total population of 20,061 with an increase of 2,836 Anglo-Americans over 1884. By 1890 the population of Bernalillo County was 24,800. It was in 1892 that the Albuquerque Morning Democrat estimated the population of New Town Albuquerque at 7,000 and with the Old Town and the suburbs the population of the town was estimated at 12,000.³⁹

The Territorial Fairs held in Albuquerque annually from 1881 attracted people from all sections of the Territory and increased the trade and prestige of the town. Every county in New Mexico was represented in the fairs from 1882 after the event became an established custom, and many sections of Arizona came to the fairs.

The people of Albuquerque were beginning to be quite concerned in 1882 over the fact that Bernalillo County had

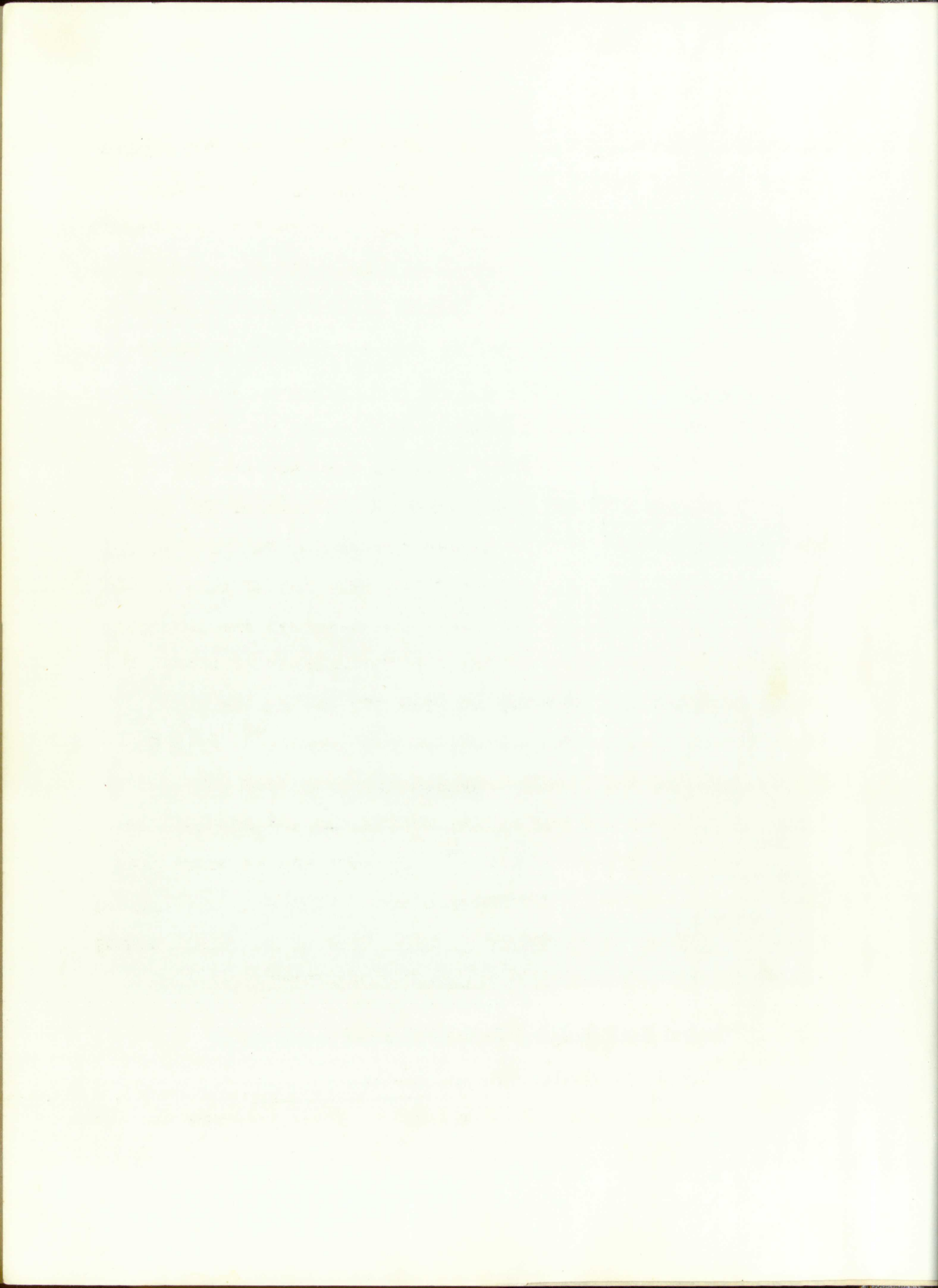
³⁹ These estimates of the population growth of Albuquerque are inconsistent, and may not be too reliable, but they do indicate that great strides were made in the building up of the town by an influx of population. For further information see Journal, December 16, 1880; February 25, 1881; March 1, 1882; June 16, 1882; Daily Democrat, May 29, 1883; Morning Journal, January 1, 1884; September 25, 1885; The Albuquerque Morning Democrat, January 18, 1892; Bureau of Immigration Report, 1895, p. 21; Bureau of Immigration Report, 1901, p. 16; Bureau of Immigration Report, 1890.



Albuquerque - Oct 6 - 1883

Central Bank Building, Gold Avenue and Second Street.

Photograph taken from Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 6, 1883.



no public schools. It seems that about \$4,000 for the public school fund had been raised, but the majority of this fund was turned over to the private schools conducted by the Jesuit Fathers and the Sisters of Loretta. These schools, recognized as an arm of the Church under Church control, were therefore supported by a tax on the public, and a spirit of resentment at this situation was expressed by the Journal. In the following years public schools were established, and in 1893 the School Board was quite embarrassed when the closing of the Albuquerque National Bank, in which \$18,000 of the school fund was deposited, made it impossible to pay the teachers.

In 1882 the Chilili Land Grant (see map of land grants in the Rio Grande Valley) had not been assessed for taxation, and under the provisions of the law the sheriff of Bernalillo County assessed the property at \$500,000 making the taxes \$5,000 and adding to the revenue of the county.⁴⁰ By 1883 Albuquerque had definitely become the county seat of Bernalillo County and was making strides in the acquisition of the material things of life.⁴¹ By 1890 the assessed property of the people of Albuquerque upon which they were paying taxes was valued at \$3,000,000, while that of the whole county was valued at \$5,000,000.⁴² The merchants of Albuquerque

⁴⁰ Evening Review, August 11, 1882.

⁴¹ Daily Democrat, May 29, 1883.

⁴² Morning Democrat, February 9, 1890; February 21, 1896.

were covering an area of about 100,000 square miles by this time, and the wholesale trade contributed to the growth of the town.

The Commercial Club of Albuquerque, a social commercial organization with the object of promoting the interests of the town and of the Territory, was organized and incorporated in June, 1890, with thirty members.⁴³ Construction was still in progress in the town, and in 1891 almost a million dollars was put into construction work in Albuquerque. Real estate had increased in price as is indicated by the fact that the corner lots of Railroad Avenue and Fourth Street sold for \$12,500 in 1891.⁴⁴

The railroad was the factor that contributed most to the economic growth of both the old and new town Albuquerque. With market and shipping facilities available in Albuquerque, the various products from the agricultural and mining districts and the cattle and sheep sections of the Territory were brought to market here. The prosperity that resulted caused the rapid development of Albuquerque and, to a large extent, the desertion of business from the old town to the new town nearer the railroad. As the close connection by streetcars and streets grew between the two centers of activity, the spirit of rivalry died out and served to promote the welfare of the united town.

⁴³ Morning Democrat, January 1, 1891.

⁴⁴ AMD, January 1, 1892.

were covering an area of 100,000 acres at the time, and the railroad was constructed in the town of the town.

The Commercial Club of Minneapolis, a local business and organization with the object of promoting the interests of the town and of the territory, was organized and incorporated in June, 1899, with thirty members. It was still in progress in the town, and in 1901 it had a million dollars was put into construction work in the town. The estate had increased in value as it increased in value, and that the corner lot of Central Avenue and Fourth Street was for \$12,500 in 1901.

The railroad was the factor that contributed most to the economic growth of town the old and new town. With market and shipping facilities available in the town, the various products from the agricultural and manufacturing and the cattle and sheep sections of the territory were brought to market here. The proximity of the railroad caused the development of agriculture and, as a large market, was a source of business from the old town. The new town, however, was the chief attraction by the railroad and the growth between the two centers of activity was rapid. Rivalry died out and moved to a new town, the railroad was

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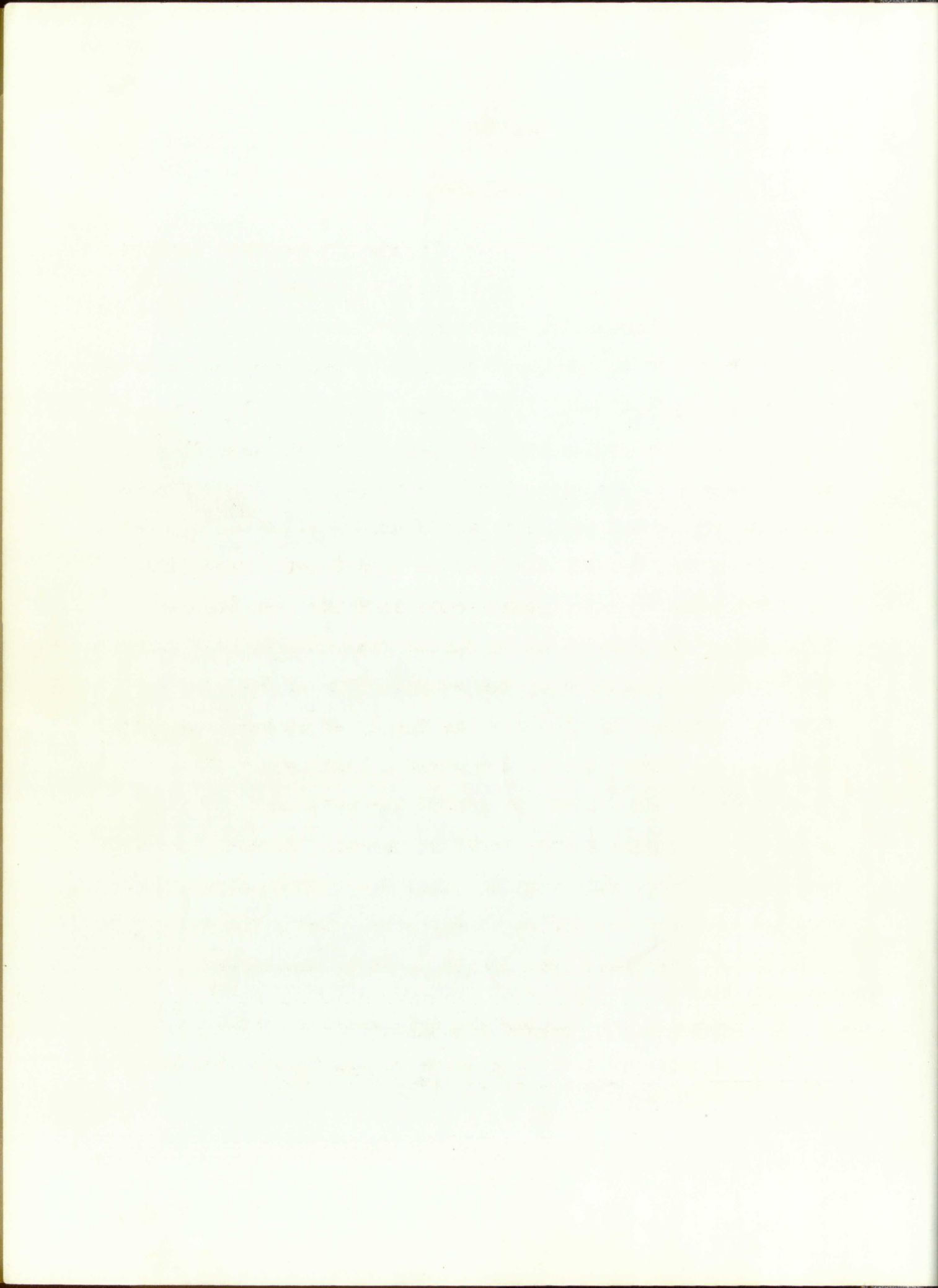


Corner of Second Street and Gold Avenue.



Photograph taken
from Albuquerque
Morning Journal
October 6, 1883.

Looking North, on First Street.
Albuquerque Oct 6-1883



CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURE

Since the development of Albuquerque depended largely upon its ability to expand as a shipping center, the extension of farms through the Rio Grande Valley was a basic problem. One of the greatest factors in retarding the development of the agricultural lands of New Mexico was the Spanish and Mexican Land grants constituting one of the most difficult problems in the history of the Territory. These grants, lying mostly in the northern and central part of the Territory,¹ (see map of the Spanish and Mexican Land Grants) were gifts to individuals and settlements made by Spain from 1693 to 1821 and by the government of Mexico from 1821 to 1846 for the purpose of encouraging the colonization of New Mexico.² With the conquest of 1846 and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, the United States inherited a land problem and guaranteed to the holders of grants the continued right of possession if their rights could be proven. However, nothing was done to solve this problem until Congress enacted a law in 1854 creating the office of Surveyor General for New Mexico in order to "ascertain the origin, nature, character

¹ Albuquerque Morning Journal, April 2, 1882.

² Charles F. Coan, A History of New Mexico (New York: The American Historical Society, 1925), p. 474.

and extent of all claims under the laws, usages, and customs of Spain and Mexico,"³ and to make a report to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States with the decision and recommendation as to the validity of the claims.

In many cases there was no document defining the rights of the parties claiming possession and no map showing the boundary lines of the grant, thus boundaries and the amount of land in the grant were uncertain. In small claims the holders based their rights on the possession and occupancy of their ancestors, and even large amounts of land were controlled by descendants of old Spanish and Mexican families who had received a grant of indefinite locality and extent⁴ in consideration of services rendered to Spain or Mexico. To trace the original document and establish clear title required extensive legal examination and action, yet this was necessary before a land grant could be confirmed or a title given to a purchaser. Therefore, these lands were segregated from the public domain and settlement and purchase was prevented. Many of the claimants did little to improve the lands, and the Territory was unable to collect taxes on unconfirmed grants.

As early as 1860 the government began trying to settle

³ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. X, p. 309.

⁴ Ibid.; William A. Keleher, Maxwell Land Grant (Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, 1942), p. 7; MJ, April 2, 1882.

claims by confirmation of a large number of grants, the most important of which was the Maxwell Land Grant.⁵ Governor Armijo, the governor of New Mexico, granted to Guadalupe Miranda and Charles Beaubien an insignificant amount of land in the north-east section of New Mexico in 1841 which was so indefinitely defined that Lucien B. Maxwell, Beaubien's son-in-law, who later became the proprietor, was able to secure from Congress so lavish an interpretation of the original document as to give him the ownership of an area three times the size of Rhode Island.⁶ George W. Julian, Surveyor General of New Mexico, asserted in 1887 that the Maxwell Land Grant had been limited by the law which made it to twenty-two square leagues, or about 96,000 acres, but in 1879, in direct violation of the order of the Secretary of Interior, the grant was again surveyed and patented for 1,714,764, or nearly 2,680 square miles.⁷

⁵ Coan, op. cit., p. 474; Keleher, Maxwell Land Grant, p. 124 ff.

⁶ Maurice G. Fulton and Paul Horgan, Editors, New Mexico's Own Chronicle (Dallas: Banks Upshaw Company, 1937), pp. 263-264; Keleher, op. cit., p. 128; Coan, op. cit., p. 474.

⁷ Keleher, Maxwell Land Grant, p. 127. Another grant confirmed by Congress in 1860 was the creation of five grants consisting of 99,253.47 acres each from the old Luis C. de Baca Land Grant in lieu of the Las Vegas Land Grant. Two of these new grants were located in New Mexico, one being the Baca Location Number 1 (see map of Spanish and Mexican Land Grants) situated north and west of Bernalillo, and the other being the Baca Location Number 2 which became a part of the Bell Ranch, while the other three locations were in Colorado and Arizona. This information was obtained in a personal interview with Mr. F.J. Otero on March 26, 1948. Mr. Otero is the son of Mariano S.

claim by construction of a large number of acres.

important of which was the Maxwell Land Grant.

After the Governor of New Mexico, General

Miner and Captain Bonifaz an investigation was made

in the north-east section of New Mexico in 1891 which was

definitely settled that John B. Maxwell, President's son-

in-law, who later became the proprietor, was this to

from Congress so far as an interpretation of the original

grant as to give him the ownership of an area including the

size of Rhode Island. George W. Sullivan, Secretary of War

New Mexico, assumed in 1897 that the Maxwell Land Grant

been limited by the law which made it to 300,000 acres

less, or about 25,000 acres, but in 1899, in direct

tion of the order of the Secretary of Interior, the grant was

again surveyed and reduced to 1,312,324 acres.

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Through the 80's little effort was made to secure confirmation of grants and vast tracts of grazing, mineral, and agricultural land were forced from the market thus retarding the development of the Territory.⁸ It was estimated that every other acre in New Mexico was a part of a land grant or claimed as such.⁹ Recognizing the fact that the land situation was a genuine hindrance to the development of the Territory, Governor Sheldon in 1885 commented that

the lands embraced in these (claims) having been withdrawn from entry and sale, are effectively in mortmain until the question as to their validity is finally settled. Title to these lands is uncertain, and their settlement and development are retarded to a great extent. It would be the greatest blessing if an early date could be set when the land grant incubus should be entirely removed from this territory.¹⁰

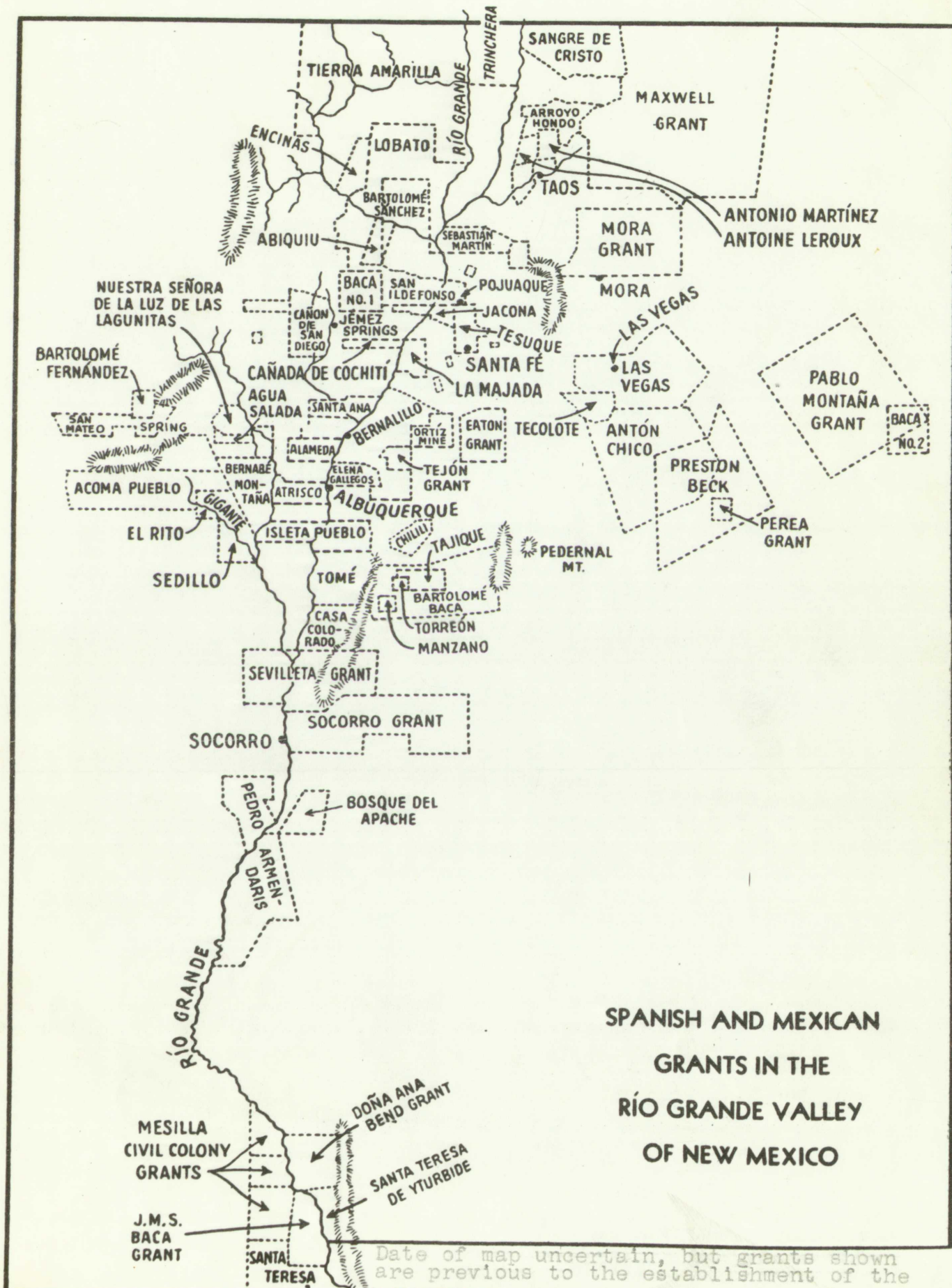
There was much opposition to the government's confirming such enormous claims as the Maxwell Land Grant and the Baca Locations; consequently few titles were settled until the establishment of the United States Court of Private Land

7 (cont.) Otero of Bernalillo and Albuquerque and the grandson of Don Jose Leandro Perea of Bernalillo. He is 78 years old and recalls with a clear memory the days when he traveled with his father in a covered wagon to Pueblo, Colorado, in 1878 to meet the train at the end of the tracks.

⁸ MJ, April 2, 1882.

⁹ Albuquerque Evening Review, August 25, 1882.

¹⁰ Aztlan (Bureau of Immigration Report, edited by William C. Ritch, (Boston: D. Lathrop Company, 1885), p. 81. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1885.



SPANISH AND MEXICAN
GRANTS IN THE
RÍO GRANDE VALLEY
OF NEW MEXICO

Date of map uncertain, but grants shown
are previous to the establishment of the
Court of Private Land Claims in
1891.



Claims in 1891, which was the beginning of a policy of settling titles by court procedure.¹¹ A few grants had been confirmed from 1861 to 1869 by Congress, but none were confirmed in the 70's and 80's although the Surveyor General approved a number of claims and annually recommended the adoption of a method to settle claims.¹²

Land grants in the Rio Grande Valley around Albuquerque prevented the settlement of large areas because of the difficulty in obtaining clear titles. These grants were the Albuquerque Land Grant, the Alameda Land Grant, the Elena Gallegos Land Grant, and the Atrisco Land Grant. The Atrisco and Ranchos de Atrisco Land Grant, containing 82,728.72 acres, was made to the inhabitants of the town or community of Atrisco by the Spanish and Mexican governments on October 28, 1692, and April 28, 1768.¹³ The documents defining the boundaries and limits of the grant stated:

On the north the "Barranca de Juan de Perea" a straight line to the boundary of San Fernando, the westerly point thereof reaching the bank of the Caja del Rio Puerco. On the south by the Colorado Peak and from the Colorado Peak a straight line to the Rio del Norte and "Los Esteras," said boundaries are well known by said Sitio.

¹¹ Coan, op. cit., p. 474.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ From an Abstract of the Atrisco Land Grant found in the office of the Western American Insurance and Abstract Company, dated 1905., ff.

of the 1900s, the cotton industry was in a state of decline. The cotton gin, which had been the mainstay of the industry, was being replaced by the cotton picker. The cotton picker was a machine that could pick cotton much faster than a man. This led to a decrease in the demand for cotton pickers, and many of them were laid off. The cotton industry was also facing competition from other countries, such as Egypt and India, which were producing cotton more cheaply than the United States. This led to a decrease in the price of cotton, and the cotton industry was in a state of financial distress. The cotton industry was also facing a shortage of labor. Many of the cotton pickers who had been laid off were now looking for work elsewhere, and the cotton industry was having a hard time finding enough workers to pick the cotton. This led to a decrease in the production of cotton, and the cotton industry was in a state of decline.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY
IN THE 1900s
WILLIAMS PUBLISHED

In 1885 the inhabitants of the Atrisco community filed a petition with the Surveyor General of the Territory of New Mexico for the United States for the grant to be made under the corporate name of the Town of Atrisco. This petition was signed by a committee of four, Jesus Armijo y Jaramillo, Manuel Anto. Jamarillo, Benceslao Chaves, and Mariano Herrera and 146 other residents and property owners of Artisco and Ranchos de Atrisco. The district court approved the petition for the grant February 26, 1891, but the Court of Private Land Claims did not confirm the claim until September 28, 1897. This unconfirmed land grant is only one instance in which many areas surrounding Albuquerque were kept free of Anglo settlers and farmers for many years.

Land from the public domain was available under the Homestead and Desert Land Acts, but there was much desirable land in the Rio Grande Valley within disputed grants which was not accessible to the settler. Through the Court of Private Land Claims, Bernalillo County had more land restored to the public domain than any other county in New Mexico, but this land was not available during the 80's, and farmers dared not settle on unconfirmed lands.¹⁴ Since the farming population up and down the Rio Grande Valley near Albuquerque constituted one of the basic elements of material growth and

¹⁴ Farming by Irrigation in New Mexico (Bureau of Immigration Report, n.p., 1897), p. 56. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1897.

development of the town and gave permanence to many interests and to industry, it was essential that land be made available to them.

Despite the fact that agriculture was one of the chief occupations within the Territory, until the coming of the railroad little was known outside New Mexico about the agricultural possibilities of the Rio Grande Valley. This valley was one of the principal agricultural sections of New Mexico, extending from about Santo Domingo to the southern boundary of the Territory, a distance of more than three hundred miles, and furnishing an outlet for agricultural products through Albuquerque, which was located in the central part of the Territory and through El Paso, which was situated at the southern edge of New Mexico on the Rio Grande.¹⁵ Varying in width from three to seven miles and having an equitable climate, the areas of the valley which were under cultivation produced nearly every kind of grain, vegetables and fruit grown in the temperate zone.

With the coming of the railroad commercial and trading interests in New Mexico broadened, and Albuquerque became the shipping point and the metropolis of the Territory and of the southwest. The town had the advantage of being located in

¹⁵ New Mexico (Bureau of Immigration Report, Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1889), p. 5. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1889.

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the heart of a rich agricultural, stock, and mining country of which the chief exports were beef, grain, hay, fruits, wool, hides, and wine.¹⁶ The railroad brought in a greater supply of grain from other areas and promoted the production of grain in the Rio Grande Valley. The prices of wheat, hay, corn, and other products were much higher in New Mexico than they were in the surrounding states due to the fact that so little of the land in the Territory could be cultivated without irrigation.¹⁷ Before the railroad came, agricultural products were scarce and prices were high, with corn selling at ten and twelve cents a pound and other crops selling in proportion.¹⁸ The low freight rates on the railroad soon enabled Kansas corn to be shipped in and to sell at seventy-five cents to a dollar and a quarter a bushel after 1880, while Kansas hay sold at twelve and eighteen dollars a ton.¹⁹ Grapes had been successfully grown around Albuquerque for many years, and in 1880 one acre was producing about twenty barrels of wine worth on the average seven hundred dollars.²⁰ With the increase in population, farming methods

¹⁶ Max Frost, New Mexico (Bureau of Immigration Report, Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1890), p. 148. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1890.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Journal, February 12, 1881.

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improved and the acreage in farms and production increased. Many fruit trees of various kinds were planted soon after the railroad came into the Rio Grande Valley, but it was 1888 before these trees were in full scale production.²¹

With good farming land available and access to market furnished by the railroad, more land in the Rio Grande Valley was taken up by Anglos, who helped to transform in part the antiquated methods of agriculture used by the Hispanos. In many cases the primitive crooked stick plow was replaced by the American steel plow, and the clumsy carreta, the rough block-wheel cart, was replaced with the farm wagon, but the Hispano farmer still clung to the old method of threshing his wheat by trampling it with animals, and his system of irrigation remained unchanged.²² He was accustomed to growing large crops with the greatest possible waste of time and cared not if the apple orchards along the Rio Grande grew well or died. To the Anglo farmer the rich sedimentary soil, the moderate climate, and the available market for his products were a challenge, and he made every use of his advantages. He irrigated larger areas, planted a greater variety of crops, and planted orchards which soon produced fruit sufficient to enable participation in the eastern markets.

Before the time of Coronado the Indians of the Rio

²¹ BIR, 1889, p. 16.

²² BIR, 1890, p. 113.

Grande Valley practiced irrigation with community control of water, and the same method was handed down to the Spaniards and the Anglos. Under this system each ditch was held and controlled by the owner of the land it irrigated, and labor was assessed for the maintenance of the ditch in proportion to the amount of land held. The ditches had no regular gates or sluices, and flooding was the only means of irrigation; therefore much water was wasted.²³ The average cost of constructing a ditch in the Territory, and the same was true of Bernalillo County, was \$1,738 per mile and \$6.40 per acre of land under ditch,²⁴ and this method of cultivation enabled the land to produce from fifteen to fifty bushels of wheat per acre, forty to sixty bushels of corn, thirty-five to forty-five bushels of oats, and forty to fifty bushels of barley.²⁵

Bernalillo County was one of the richest and the most populous counties of the Territory with resources in agriculture, horticulture, sheep and wool, cattle, gold, coal, and other minerals as well as being the central location of New

²³ New Mexico (Bureau of Immigration Report, Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1897), p. 11. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1897.

²⁴ Santa Fe County (Bureau of Immigration Report, Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1906), p. 39. Cited as BIR, 1906.

²⁵ BIR, 1890, pp. 114-115.

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Mexico with access to the markets in Albuquerque.²⁶ Extending through the Rio Grande Valley for more than sixty miles north and south, the county contained about 1,000,000 acres of irrigable land and in 1889 84% of this land was still available.²⁷ It has been asserted that ten acres of land in the Rio Grande Valley could be made to net larger returns through irrigation than could be realized on a quarter section of land in the grain growing states.²⁸

Because of the scarcity of arable land in New Mexico, the prices of farm products were always high, and even though the railroad enabled produce to be shipped in and to sell at lower prices, with the increasing population and the growing demand the cultivated land in the Territory was insufficient to supply the needs of the people. When transportation facilities were lacking many of the crops could be profitably disposed of in feeding cattle, sheep and hogs. This was one of the best ways to concentrate the produce since the animals represented the best form in which the farmer could get his crops to market. After the railroad came the limited area of irrigable land could not supply the

²⁶ Bernalillo County (Bureau of Immigration Report, Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1901), p. 1. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1901.

²⁷ BIR, 1906, p. 12.

²⁸ BIR, 1901, p. 16.

home demand, and the price of farm products was still regulated by the price of similar products in Kansas, which was the nearest surplus producing point, plus the cost of transportation.²⁹ In 1889 the AT&SF railroad imported 9,600 tons of hay, 13,500 tons of grain, and 7,500 tons of flour into the Territory.³⁰ In 1886 wheat was selling in Albuquerque for a dollar and a half to a dollar and seventy-five cents per hundred weight, and corn was selling at a dollar and thirty cents to a dollar and a half per hundred weight.³¹

Since the value of land is regulated by its producing capacity, the price of irrigable land in New Mexico was a good price. In 1890 the best quality of irrigable land suitable for ordinary farming with water rights could be bought for \$20 per acre,³² but irrigable land in the Rio Grande Valley was selling for \$50 an acre in 1883, and 100,000 acres of rich irrigable land within ten miles of Albuquerque were available for ten to one hundred dollars per acre.³³ In 1884 around Albuquerque agricultural land with water right sold for twenty to seventy-five dollars per acre according to location in relation to Albuquerque and the improvements.³⁴

²⁹ BIR, 1890, p. 76.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 75.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 114-115.

³² Ibid., p. 32.

³³ MJ, October 6, 1883.

³⁴ MJ, January 23, 1884.

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DOLLAR COMMENT

Within three or four miles of Albuquerque the price of land advanced until it was selling no less than sixty dollars per acre in 1889.³⁵ About seven-eighths of the Territory was open for settlement at this time with more than two million acres of irrigable land available,³⁶ and in 1897 there were still half a million acres of irrigable land in the Rio Grande Valley which were not occupied.³⁷

Because of the excellent climate of New Mexico and the use of irrigation, it was possible for the farmers to raise two crops on the same piece of land in one season in the middle section of the Rio Grande Valley. Agricultural operations were carried on throughout the year with cereals and alfalfa being sown during the winter months leaving the summer months free for harvest or for the raising of another crop.³⁸ Alfalfa was grown in the irrigated sections up to an altitude of 8,000 feet, and the average yeild was about three tons to the acre.³⁹ Being well adapted to the climate and soil of New Mexico, one sowing of alfalfa in the valley might yield as many as four cuttings a year averaging five to seven tons

³⁵ BIR, 1889, p. 47.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ BIR, 1897, p. 11.

³⁸ The Land of Sunshine (Bureau of Immigration Report, edited by Max Frost and Paul A. F. Walter, Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1904), p. 83. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1904.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 59.

to the acre and retailing at about twenty dollars to the ton.⁴⁰ The cost of production including taxes, water rent, growing, harvesting, baling, and placing on board the cars did not exceed four dollars per ton.⁴¹ The price of alfalfa varied depending upon production, the amount consumed by stock being fattened, and the shipping facilities. Besides local consumption, the demand came from towns, mining and railroad camps, isolated stock ranches, and portions of Texas and Mexico.⁴² Two tons of this feed would fatten a range steer in ninety days, and experienced men estimated that they got just as much per ton for their alfalfa when marketed in the form of good beef as when it was taken to market.⁴³

With the coming of the railroad the Rio Grande Valley passed from ordinary worthless or unimproved farm land into vine-yards, orchards, and gardens the produce of which compared favorably with that of California in quality and price. Fruits, vegetables, grapes and vast amounts of grain were raised in the valley without difficulty and supplied the demand from southern California, western Kansas, Arizona, northern Mexico and western Texas.⁴⁴ The farmers of the valley

⁴⁰ BIR, 1889, p. 18.

⁴¹ BIR, 1904, p. 59.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ BIR, 1890, p. 35.

⁴⁴ BIR, 1889, p. 5.

WILLIAMS BATES
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LOCATION - CONTENT

and of the Territory found a ready market in Albuquerque with an outlet to the south by the AT&SF and SP, north and east by the Santa Fe road, while the A&P furnished an access to Arizona, California and the Pacific Coast.⁴⁵ The towns and villages up and down the valley, and the mining camps farther away furnished a ready market for all kinds of vegetables and poultry products, fruits, cereals, and meat and paid good profits for produce delivered.

Fruit growing assumed large proportions through the 80's around Albuquerque with the apple being the most extensively grown and the most profitable crop. Small July and October apples, wild plums, pears, peaches, apricots, and quinces had been grown by the Indians and the Hispanos for many years, but the practice of grafting onto the native stock soon enabled the farmers of the valley to produce fruit superior to the native products.⁴⁶ Apple orchards varied from small family places to large commercial orchards. One farmer with about one acre of apples near Albuquerque estimated that his orchard produced on the average of 25,000 to 30,000 pounds of apples a year which he sold in the local markets for two to three cents a pound, and that his net profit was always well over \$1,000 to \$1,500 a year.⁴⁷ Near

⁴⁵ BIR, 1897, p. 52.

⁴⁶ BIR, 1885, p. 55.

⁴⁷ BIR, 1890, p. 115.

MILLERS BATES
EZEKIAS
COTTON CONTENT

Albuquerque apples yielded as much as ten barrels to the tree, and often sold at a market price of \$4.50 a barrel.⁴⁸ The pear yielded about three bushels to the tree, peaches seven bushels, plums five bushels, and apricots, cherries and other fruits in proportion at eight years old, while the vineyards at the age of two years yielded sixty pounds to the vine.⁴⁹

The Rio Grande Valley was especially suited to the culture of the grape. The "mission" variety, introduced by the Franciscan Friars after the Spanish occupation of New Mexico, and the muscatel grape were extensively cultivated, beginning maximum production in the third and fourth year.⁵⁰ The Journal indicated that the yield around Albuquerque was about two or three gallons of wine to the vine worth about one dollar per gallon wholesale.⁵¹ It was estimated that six hundred and eighty vines grew to the acre yielding 1,360 gallons of wine⁵² worth twenty-five to thirty-five dollars a barrel of forty-nine gallons in the home market.⁵³ The Bureau of Immigration noted that land in the Rio Grande Valley was capable of yielding 10,000 to 13,000 gallons of wine to the acre which was quite an improvement over the production of

⁴⁸ BIR, 1895, p. 41.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

⁵⁰ MJ, January 1, 1884.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ BIR, 1890, p. 115.

twenty barrel yield per acre as stated by the Journal in 1881.⁵⁴
 Good vine lands sold readily for thirty to forty dollars an
 acre in 1886, and the price rose gradually.⁵⁵

By the fruit crop of 1888 the capabilities of the soil
 and climate of the Rio Grande Valley around Albuquerque were
 demonstrated in the production of strawberries, raspberries,
 cherries, apricots, peaches, plums, pears, apples, and grapes
 in their season, which was sufficient to overload the local
 market and enable New Mexico to enter competition with the
 fruit of California in the eastern markets. Because the
 fruit of New Mexico could be left on the trees longer, its
 flavor and appearance was preserved, and it commanded 30%
 more in price in the eastern markets than the fruit of
 California.⁵⁶ Since the maturity season was about three weeks
 earlier in the valley than in Colorado, a good market was
 found there for fruit. Kansas City, Chicago, and even New
 York were only a few hours away from the produce of the Rio
 Grande Valley, and with access to the shipping facilities
 furnished by Albuquerque the farmers had access to the
 eastern markets.

The increasing number of mining camps in the Terri-
 tory and the great amounts of agricultural production stimu-
 lated the further investment in farms, and statistics show

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 114.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 115.

⁵⁶ BIR, 1895, p. 16.

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that the occupation of farm land and production increased from 1891 to 1893. It was in 1891 that the Court of Private Land Claims began restoring much land to the public domain and making it available to the farmers. The population of Albuquerque had increased to about 12,000 by 1890, and together with the increasing number of mining camps and the cattle and sheep ranches, it furnished a local market greater than the production of vegetables and grain. Competition with the east was eliminated in supplying the home markets to a great extent by the overland transportation involved.

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CHAPTER III

THE CATTLE AND SHEEP INDUSTRIES

Cattle were first brought to America by the Spanish, who are credited with originating the cattle industry in the Southwest. As the Spanish expanded north into the area known today as Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, they brought the sheep and cattle which served as the basis of their subsistence. Through the years the animals multiplied until by the nineteenth century the ranges of Texas were covered with cattle for which there was no market. Even with the westward advancement of the railroad it was not easy to get the cattle to markets from the Texas ranges because the long drives were necessary, and the Plains Indians caused much loss on these drives.

With the intention of going far enough west to avoid the Plains Indians and still reach the market in Dodge City, Charles Goodnight and Oliver Loving in 1866 drove the first herd of cattle from Texas toward the southwest along the old Butterfield Stage Route, crossed the Pecos River at Horsehead Crossing, and followed the Pecos River north.¹ Heading through the valley they learned that the Union troops at Fort Sumner and the Indians on the reservation at the Bosque Rodondo needed beef cattle, and a trade was made with the

¹ J. Evetts Haley, Charles Goodnight (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), pp. 129-130.

THE CATTLE AND SHEEP INDUSTRIES

Cattle were first brought to America by the Spaniards who introduced them into the country in the sixteenth century. As the Spanish extended north into the Texas country, the Spaniards, and later the Americans, known today as Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, that brought the sheep and cattle which served as the basis of their subsistence. Through the years the animals multiplied until by the nineteenth century the ranges of Texas were covered with cattle for which there was no market. Even with the vast land resources of the country it was not easy to get the cattle to market from the Texas ranges because the long drives were necessary, and the Indian attacks upon the herds were frequent.

With the introduction of young herds from the Old and New England and with reason the market in the United States for cattle and sheep began to grow. In 1865 George Goodnight and Oliver Loving in 1865 drove the first herd of cattle from Texas toward the northwest along the old Butterfield Stage Route, crossed the Texas River at Hockley, Oklahoma, and followed the Texas River north to Fort Smith and then the valley they learned that the Union Stock and Railway and the Indians on the reservation at the Hockley. Hockley needed beef cattle and it was not long before the

1. George Goodnight and Oliver Loving, *The Cattle Drive*, Houston Printing Company, 1907, pp. 1-130.

agent at Fort Sumner by which the beef was sold on the hoof at eight cents a pound.² The remainder of the herd was driven on to the mining camps in Colorado and sold to the miners.

Because of the difficulties of transportation during the Civil War the Union troops in New Mexico and the Mescalero Apaches and Navajo Indians on the reservation at the Bosque Rodondo could not get food supplies from the east, and the possibility of using the markets in New Mexico as an outlet for the surplus cattle on the Texas ranges was a contributing factor to the establishment of the Goodnight Trail. Beef was not readily available in eastern New Mexico because the cattle had not yet spread to that part of the range. In order to supply the troops and Indians in the area, cattle were brought in over the Goodnight Trail, and in the following years many herds traveled this way to the market at the railroad terminus at Dodge City. Many of these cattle were left on the ranges in northeastern New Mexico to pasture on the public domain, and this was the real beginning of the cattle industry in New Mexico.

The area of the eastern plains of New Mexico were not generally claimed by Spanish and Mexican Land Grants, as was the Rio Grande Valley, and were comparatively free of settlements; therefore they afforded the cattlemen vast

² Ibid., p. 138.

agents at Fort Sumner by which the best was sold on the spot at eight cents a pound. The remainder of the herd was

driven on to the mining camps in Colorado and sold to the

miners.

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The area of the eastern plains of New Mexico were not

generally claimed by Spanish and Mexican land grants, and

was the Rio Grande Valley, and were comparatively free of

settlement; therefore they afforded the cattlemen vast

grazing lands. Texas cattle began to supply the open range in great numbers. During the early part of the 80's there was a constant demand for stock cattle on the ranges of New Mexico, and cattle were driven west in increasing numbers. The building of the AT&SF afforded a ready market in Albuquerque and eliminated the long cattle drives, thus promoting the industry in the Territory. Feeders found it more profitable to sell to the western cattlemen at the high prices they paid for stock cattle than to fatten for the market. This kept the prices high and prevented an over supply of cattle for the eastern markets until the ranges became overstocked in the 1880's.

According to the Tenth Census there were 98,929 head of cattle on the ranges of New Mexico in 1880, but with the thousands of young heifers thrown on the open range about this time a great risk was incurred in overstocking the grazing lands. Many cattle that were not included in the Census estimates roamed the range, and cattlemen generally agreed that the number would reach almost two million.³ The available cattle area in 1880 was about 11,500,000 acres, providing sixty-five acres per head for grazing with 76% of the cattle in New Mexico being in Colfax, Mora, and San Miguel

³ Roy Willoughby, "The Range Cattle Industry in New Mexico," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1933), p. 13.

Existing cattle. Texas cattle began to supply the market in great numbers. During the early part of the 19th century there was a constant demand for cattle from the United States, Mexico, and cattle were driven west in thousands of numbers. The building of the Atchafalaya a very early railroad line one and estimated the long cattle drive, which was the industry in the Territory. Texas found it profitable to sell to the western cattle market the high price they paid for good cattle than to sell for the market. This was the price of the cattle and was wanted an enormous cattle for the western market until the cattle had been absorbed in the 1850's.

According to the Texas Cattle Market Report of 1893, a of cattle on the range of the Texas in 1850, about 1,000,000. Thousands of young cattle were on the range and the industry a good deal was reported in over the range. Growing range. Many cattle were not found in the Texas cattle market. The range was the range and cattle were found that the number of cattle was about 1,000,000. Available cattle area in 1850 was about 11,500,000 acres. Providing twenty-five acres per head for grazing with 500,000 the cattle in New Mexico being in 1850, 11,500,000 acres.

2. Roy Wilcox, "The History of the Cattle Industry in Texas," University of Texas Press, 1933, p. 13.

Counties.⁴ This area covered the northeast section of the Territory, including the Maxwell Land Grant and the Bell Ranch. Most of the cattle in the northern area went to Las Vegas for shipping while those from the southern part of the area were driven across the Estancia Valley and through Tijeras Canon into Albuquerque, where stockyards, good markets, and railroad facilities afforded shipping to the south, west, or north.

There were some cattle ranches in the central part of the Territory south of Santa Fe, but Taos, Rio Arriba, Bernalillo, and Valencia Counties were pre-eminently sheep areas with cattle being only transitory except for the San Juan Valley, into which many cattle were driven from the ranges of Colfax County in 1879 and 1880.⁵ Mariano S. Otero of Bernalillo purchased about 500 head of cattle and 60 head of horses at \$12.50 a head in 1877 and sent them to the range at Cañon Largo in Rio Arriba County.⁶ With no additional purchases the round-up of 1883 disclosed a total of 3,500 head of cattle worth \$35 a head and 220 horses worth \$40 each, both of which were valued at \$10,000, showing an increase of 1200% on the original stock.⁷ Cattle from this place were driven

⁴ Clarence Gordon, "Report on Cattle, Sheep, and Swine," Tenth Census, Department of Interior (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 37. Hereafter cited as Tenth Census.

⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

⁶ MJ, December 15, 1883.

⁷ Ibid.

across the range to be joined with those from the Otero holdings north and west of Bernalillo and then driven on to the Albuquerque market.⁸

South of Albuquerque and within forty miles of San Marcial, twenty to twenty-five thousand head of cattle valued at three-fourths of a million dollars roamed the grazing lands at the height of the range cattle period.⁹ The Glorietta Ranch about twenty miles west of San Marcial was one of the largest enterprises in cattle raising in the Territory during the 1880's.¹⁰ It comprised 4,000 acres of good grazing land with title by purchase, included ownership of water that controlled four hundred square miles, and had sufficient feed for 40,000 head of cattle.¹¹ Early in 1884 the ranch was in its infancy with only 1100 head of cattle and 100 head of horses, but in May of that year the purchase of 2500 head of cattle and 1000 steers was made, and the animals were turned loose in the area.¹² Although the railroad had been completed beyond San Marcial since 1881, better market facilities were provided in Albuquerque which, since it was the central point of the AT&SF and the A&P roads, afforded shipping advantages to the eastern markets.

⁸ Interview with Mr. F. J. Otero, March 26, 1948.

⁹ MJ, January 1, 1884.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., June 13, 1884.

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Another of the large cattle ranges of the Territory was just east of the Manzano Mountains in the Estancia Valley and to the east and south toward Clovis and Roswell. In 1884 and 1885 there were 40,000 head of Texas heifers turned loose on the range in the Fort Sumner Country.¹³ The cattle from this section were driven across country and through Tijeras Canon to the market in Albuquerque.¹⁴

With the increase of cattle on the range and the flow of capital into the cattle business, the industry produced such success that capitalists from the east and from foreign countries were anxious to invest in stock raising in New Mexico. The cattle interests around San Marcial afforded a safe and profitable investment with a ready market in Albuquerque and attracted large amounts of capital. One of the most prominent of the foreign groups of capitalists attracted to New Mexico was a Scottish syndicate, the Scottish-American Mortgage Company, which established the Prairie Cattle Company with ranges lying in Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Kansas embracing about 8000 square miles of pasture lands.¹⁵

¹³ Jack Potter, Lead Steer (Clayton, New Mexico: The Leader Press, 1939), p. 10.

¹⁴ Mr. Rufus Cornett, the recently deceased brother of Mrs. C. A. Curtis, 307 South Cornell, Albuquerque, in reminiscing of his boyhood days on the cattle range in the areas east of the Manzano Mountains, spoke of the cattle drives from around Roswell in which he participated, bringing cattle to market in Albuquerque by way of Tijeras Canon.

¹⁵ Edward E. Dale, The Cow Country (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), p. 97.

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It was noted by the Journal that 4,000 head of cattle were brought in on the Valencia County range in 1885 by the Aztec Cattle Company.¹⁶ In the same year the Sierra Land and Cattle Company moved about sixty car loads of cattle from Texas into the Lake Valley range to be used for breeding purposes.¹⁷ Many of these cattle companies used the market and shipping facilities in Albuquerque, thereby helping to build the town economically, but at the same time their occupation of the range and expansion to nearly all desirable areas helped to keep the permanent settlers out of New Mexico. These large corporations were instrumental in overstocking the range and preventing the occupation of homesteading of the public domain by the farmer, who was the more substantial citizen and more to be desired than the cattlemen, who were interested only in profits in cattle raising.

Many of the large cattle companies and individuals who operated vast cattle ranges did not own an acre of land, although they might claim range rights to several thousand acres. The public domain, controlled by the national government, offered every man the use of unoccupied areas for free range, and cattle owners gained tenure of these lands by taking up water rights; thus the encroachment of homesteaders and permanent settlers was prohibited. Illegal and fraudulent

¹⁶ MJ, September 2, 1885.

¹⁷ Ibid., November 3, 1885.

methods of appropriating lands became evident in the enclosure of public lands by vested interests, and the practice spread so rapidly that the range cattle industry itself was retarded. Long established routes of travel were often blocked by fences, and sheepmen were hemmed in and suffered great losses from the lack of water. Heavy losses also occurred among cattle outside the enclosures because water and natural places of shelter were fenced in. An enclosed tract of unsurveyed land comprising 64,000 acres in the Plazo Largo Country north of the Staked Plains and thirty-five miles south of Fort Bascom in New Mexico prevented cattle on the outside of the enclosure obtaining water and shelter for a distance of twenty-three miles.¹⁸

It was the practice of enclosing public lands that led to an attempt on the part of the New Mexico Territorial Legislature to remedy the evil of fencing the public domain and blocking roads and trails. On March 2, 1882, the legislature enacted and approved a measure prohibiting the construction and maintenance of fences enclosing public lands in the Territory.¹⁹ This was a regulation of land belonging to the United States government, and was largely ineffective, but it shows the concern of the people of New Mexico over the

¹⁸ Tenth Census, p. 33.

¹⁹ General Laws of New Mexico (Albany, New York: W. C. Little and Company, Law Publishers, 1882), Ch. XLII, Sec. 1 & 2.

practice of fencing public land at that early date. Likewise, the acquisition of vast tracts of land by English capitalists aroused such complaint by the people about the purchase of the public domain by aliens and those bearing titles under a foreign government that an inquiry was raised by Congress.²⁰

In 1884 the range cattle industry was at the height of its prosperity with nearly every available acre of land in New Mexico occupied by cattle, sheep, goats, or horses. The range was overcrowded, the markets were overstocked, and the prices of cattle began to lag. The peak of prices came in 1882, when range stock sold for \$6.40 per hundred weight, but with the decline prices dropped from \$4.24 in April, 1883, to \$1.00 per hundred weight in 1887.²¹ The winter of 1889-1890 was warm and dry; consequently the range was without water and grass and remained overstocked. The Albuquerque Morning Democrat offered a solution to the improvement of the cattle industry in New Mexico by the suggestion that the heifers on the range be marketed to reduce the herds and improve the grazing lands and watering places.²²

Numerous and heavy shipping charges by the railroads formed a protective tariff almost high enough to prevent the

²⁰ MJ., December 15, 1883.

²¹ Ernest S. Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929), 105.

²² Albuquerque Morning Democrat, March 1, 1890. Hereafter cited as AMD.

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sending the cattle from the ranges of New Mexico to the feeding areas for fattening.²³ Alfalfa grown in the agricultural areas of New Mexico enabled cattle to be fattened at home; thus larger profits were realized from the sales. In the Rio Grande Valley feeders were bought at first cost, and since a profitable market was available in Albuquerque, the problem of feed was the only concern of the cattlemen.²⁴

From nearly all sections of New Mexico, north, south, east and west, cattle were drawn to the market in Albuquerque. The immense stockyards in Albuquerque afforded better market facilities for cattle than any other town in the vicinity, and because it was in the central part of the Territory with shipping advantages to all points many cattle were marketed in the new town. From this point cattle were shipped to the markets in Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago, and Omaha over the north and south line of the AT&SF and the A&P line to the east.

The cattle industry did not regain enough of its strength and initiative following the cattle boom of the 80's to begin large scale production before it was hit by the Panic of 1893. In 1892 beef steers were selling for as low as \$10 and \$15 a head,²⁵ and by the next year the price had dropped

²³ BIR, 1890, p. 34.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ R. M. Barker, "The Economics of Cattle Ranching in the Southwest," American Review of Reviews, 24:307, September, 1901.

to \$4 a head in the Albuquerque market.²⁶ It was during this time, so the rumor goes, that two cattlemen who had borrowed heavily from the Albuquerque National Bank were unable to repay the loan, and the bank was forced to close its doors on October 3, 1893.²⁷

Although the cattle industry was important in New Mexico, the sheep business led the Territory as a basis of the economy. The two industries were similar in that the development of cattle kings on the plains was closely paralleled by the emergence of sheep ricos in New Mexico. Before 1880 most of the sheep in the Territory were owned by approximately twenty families, and it was under the stimulation and enterprise of these sheep barons that the industry increased in volume and number.²⁸ The trade in New Mexico wool grew from 1821, and by the 1870's thousands of sheep of a poor stock with short coarse wool were roaming the Territory. Upon this basis the flourishing condition of the sheep industry was built.

The Civil War caused an advance in the price of wool to the extent that New Mexico wool found its way to the eastern markets and a stimulus was furnished to the industry.²⁹ Sheep

²⁶ Personal Interview with Mr. F. J. Otero, March 26, 1948.

²⁷ AMD, November 7, 1893.

²⁸ Coan, op. cit., p. 470.

²⁹ AMD, January 1, 1890.

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were drawn from the ranges of New Mexico to stock other areas during the 1870's until the sheep business was almost equal in importance to the cattle industry of Texas.³⁰ These two factors aided the growth of the industry and enabled it to become the most profitable, stable, and flourishing occupation of the people of New Mexico during the 1880's.

In New Mexico the wool was of primary importance with very little mutton raised for the market. To increase the production of wool, the flocks were improved by the use of pure bred bucks and improved Mexican rams in order to produce a breed that matured rapidly and sheared several pounds of wool.³¹ In 1880 it was estimated that there were 3,938,831 head of sheep in New Mexico,³² and 72% of these were of the small hardy Mexican breed, while the rest was various grades of Merino breed.³³ By a cross breeding of the two types of sheep the yield was doubled, and the quality was improved.³⁴ As grading continued, improvement took place in form, size, weight of the fleece, and fineness of the wool, though some of the hardiness of the sheep was lost and the wool became

³⁰ Edward E. Dale, The Range Cattle Industry (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930), p. 132.

³¹ Mary Austin, The Flock (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1906), p. 85.

³² Coan, op. cit., p. 471.

³³ Tenth Census, p. 38.

³⁴ ibid.

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more open and less strong, exposing the sheep to the cold and wet.³⁵ An average of eight pounds of unwashed wool was all the wool growers could produce without damage to the hardy habits of the sheep.³⁶

Prices realized by New Mexico flockmasters for sheep and wool had always been small, but this fact enabled men of moderate means to get a start in the business. Because of the traditions of his ancestry, the Hispano was better adapted to the care of the sheep in isolated areas, and because he was more conservative than the Anglo he could handle the flock with less expense; therefore large herds attended by a majordomo roamed the Territory. Sheepmen purchased flocks in Albuquerque as the central trading point of the Territory and herded them on the open range, selling the lambs at convenient shipping places at market time and moving on in search of more free grass. In the south and west part of New Mexico, especially among the Hispanos and Indians, the grazing migration of flocks extended to great distances to take advantage of the pasture afforded within a season's travel and often apparently to escape taxation.³⁷ While one county was crowded with flocks, other counties had none, yet perhaps the next month the situation would be reversed;

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

consequently, less than half of the sheep in the Territory were taxed.³⁸

It was indicated by the Tenth Census that 92% of the sheep in the Territory, or 3,660,149 head, occupied the area north of Socorro and Lincoln Counties, an area approximately 33,700,000 acres in extent, while south of this line there were 278,682 sheep occupying 26,800,000 acres. The available sheep area of the Territory in 1880 was 12,500,000 acres, and Bernalillo and Valencia Counties were first in concentration of sheep occupation.³⁹

The number of sheep owned by one person or firm among the Hispanos in New Mexico varied from 5,000 to 50,000 head, but the Anglos usually preferred to handle smaller herds of a better quality. Two of the wealthy families of New Mexico, the Pereas and the Oteros, were among the largest sheep owners in the Territory and were accredited altogether with 500,000 head of sheep in Bernalillo and other counties.⁴⁰ These sheep were worth only about 50¢ a head⁴¹ and were all put

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ H. A. Heath, "Condition of the Sheep Industry West of the Mississippi River," in the Sixth and Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, U. S. Department of Agriculture for 1889 and 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), p. 310. Hereafter cited as BAI Report.

⁴¹ Personal Interview with Mr. F. J. Otero, March 26, 1948.

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out on the partido system.⁴² Solomon Luna and Silvestre Mirabel were sheep owners who were instrumental in promoting the improvement of the sheep in New Mexico. They maintained the traditions of the old Spanish ranchero, but they did not hesitate to recommend the progressive methods and practices of the sheep industry which were practiced by the Anglos.⁴³ Solomon Luna, together with Tranquilino Luna of Albuquerque, owned more than 150,000 head of sheep in western New Mexico south of Zuni and used Albuquerque as the market place for wool.⁴⁴ The largest individual holdings in sheep interests were those in Valencia, Rio Arriba, San Miguel, Lincoln, and Bernalillo Counties, yet the sheep in these areas showed less improvement and were less profitable to handle because of a greater percentage of annual losses incurred in large flocks and the smaller amount of increase.⁴⁵

Its accessibility and convenience for shipping purposes and the fact that the price of wool was higher than anywhere else in the Territory established Albuquerque as a great

⁴² The partido system was an old established custom of the Spanish by which the sheep were put out on shares in the care of a mayordomo who willingly paid a yearly rental in kind of 20% or 25% to the owner, the profit thus derived compensating the renter for his time and labor in the accumulation of his own flock.

⁴³ Edward N. Wentworth and Charles W. Towne, Shepherd's Empire (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), p. 330

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 329.

⁴⁵ BAI Report, p. 310.

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market for wool.⁴⁶ The area surrounding the town was one of the largest wool producing districts in New Mexico, and this product became one of the principal resources of the valley. The grama grass of the uplands and plains furnished feed for sheep the year round and enabled this occupation to constitute the principal livestock interest in numbers and in value since it outranked cattle and other kinds of livestock.⁴⁷ Because the sheep were hardy, industrious in seeking food, and adapted to living on the grass, no expense was incurred for food and little for labor. The country as a whole was better suited to the raising of sheep, and they were far more numerous than cattle in New Mexico. In 1880 there were 3,938,831 sheep in the Territory producing some 4,019,118 pounds of wool most of which was marketed in Albuquerque.⁴⁸

Because Albuquerque furnished a good market place and shipping center, the wool growers of Arizona found a market for their products in the growing town. The railroad was not extended into Arizona until about 1882, and Albuquerque was the nearest market place. Stover and Company, one of the leading places of business in Albuquerque, purchased a fifteen

⁴⁶ Journal, March 25, 1881.

⁴⁷ Joseph G. McCoy, Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade (The Southwest Historical Series, VIII, Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940), p. 396.

⁴⁸ Coan, op. cit., p. 471.

thousand pound lot of merino wool from St. John, Arizona, in 1881.⁴⁹ Two other wool dealers in the town bought 60,000 pounds of wool from Arizona in the same week. The products from that section, together with the products from the surrounding country, enabled the merchants of Albuquerque to ship forty cars of wool and hides, almost 13,000 pounds, in October, 1880.⁵⁰ The fall clip thus stimulated the business of the railroad during the first year after it reached Albuquerque.

The sheep industry as well as the cattle industry was enjoying great prosperity in 1880 and 1881. The wool market was active for most grades of wool ranging from 17¢ for the lowest grades of unimproved wool to 25¢ for the best grades of improved wool.⁵¹ Beef and mutton were being shipped in large quantities from Albuquerque to Santa Fe, to the miners in various parts of the Territory, and to railroad contractors and laborers in Arizona.⁵² The sheep business grew to such an extent in the next two years that the New Mexico wool report for 1882 was able to show that there were about 10,000,000 sheep in the Territory with more than 30,000,000 pounds of

⁴⁹ MJ, March 25, 1881.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Albuquerque Evening Review, August 23, 1882.

⁵² Albuquerque Daily Journal, February 8 and March 12, 1882.

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wool being shipped that year.⁵³ As in the case of the cattle industry, the location of Albuquerque in the central part of the Territory and its railroad facilities made it one of the greatest market places for wool in New Mexico. Bernalillo County alone had about 3,000,000 head of sheep and from these Albuquerque dealers shipped more than 2,500,000 pounds of wool in 1882.⁵⁴

To aid the wool grower in obtaining greater returns from his product, a woolen mill was established in Albuquerque in 1883 to treat the raw wool in the scouring and cleaning process by which the weight of the fleece was reduced about 50% thus saving freight to the east besides increasing the market value of the product.⁵⁵ By 1883 the price of wool, well improved, had dropped to 11¢ and 12¢ a pound, and in the two years following an extreme depression occurred in the wool industry.⁵⁶ In 1885 the price of wool averaged 9¢ a pound, the lowest since the Civil War,⁵⁷ however, about 10,000,000 pounds of wool, hides, and pelts were handled by the Albuquerque dealers.⁵⁸ At this time cattle were

⁵³ MJ, October 6, 1883.

⁵⁴ Albuquerque Daily Democrat, May 29, 1883.

⁵⁵ MJ, February 4, 1883.

⁵⁶ BIR, 1890, p. 27.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ MJ, January 1, 1885.

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considered the best investment, and many sheep owners disposed of their flocks at an average price of \$1.50 a head in order to go into the cattle business.⁵⁹ The demand for wethers outside the Territory caused reductions in the number of sheep in New Mexico. It was estimated by the Bureau of Animal Industry that nearly 1,000,000 head of sheep were sold outside the Territory in 1885. After the lowest ebb in prices in 1885, the prices paid for wool began to rise slowly, but the normal rate was not attained until the end of the decade.

Sheep owners in the winter of 1887-1888 and the following winter met with considerable losses as the result of the cold weather, dry summers, and a scarcity of grass. In February, 1889, there was a great loss of sheep because of blizzards and snow on the eastern side of the Manzano Mountains and on the plains about Gran Quivira numbering almost 8,000 head.⁶⁰ José Francisco Candalerio, the owner of a vast herd of sheep on the Sierra Blanco, lost between 3,000 and 4,000 head of sheep because of the cold.⁶¹ Sales outside the Territory continued, and this factor together with the cold weather reduced the number of sheep from 1,749,150 in 1887 to 1,339,790 in 1888.⁶²

⁵⁹ BAI Report, p. 308.

⁶⁰ AMD, February 14, 1889.

⁶¹ Ibid., March 13, 1889.

⁶² BAI Report, p. 306.

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Reductions in the number of sheep and the general depression in the wool business caused the failures of wool dealers and manufacturers in the Territory to mount from fifty-seven in 1888 to seventy-two in 1889 with an increase of \$6,805,000 in liabilities.⁶³ However, in 1889 the price of wool began to reach normal again with 18¢ and 20¢ a pound being paid for wool;⁶⁴ thus a new impetus was given to the industry. In 1890 the demand for wethers in Kansas, Nebraska, and other states enabled fully 25% of the sheep in the Territory to be disposed of profitably, and the price of wool was still rising.⁶⁵ In Socorro County feeders purchased wethers at \$1.80 to \$2.50 a head with the average weight being ninety pounds.⁶⁶ In Rio Arriba County mature sheep averaging one hundred and fifteen pounds in weight sold for mutton at \$1.50 to \$1.75 a head.⁶⁷ The wool clip for 1890 was estimated at 9,000,000 pounds with an average of about three pounds per head; however, the lamb increase for the year brought the number up to about 4,000,000 head of sheep by the end of the year.⁶⁸

⁶³ AMD, January 14, 1890.

⁶⁴ BAI Report, p. 306.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 315.

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Bernalillo County led the Territory in the number of sheep in 1890 with 800,000 head, but Albuquerque handled more than 5,000,000 pounds of the entire wool clip for New Mexico drawn from all sections of the Territory and amounting to more than \$1,000,000, not including hides, tallow, and skins.⁶⁹

These products were handled by H. M. Hosick, Eiseman Brothers, T. F. Keleher, B. McLean, George Osborne, and Gross and Blackwell in Albuquerque.⁷⁰ By this time railroads were running through nearly all sections of the Territory, enabling the wool products to be shipped to Albuquerque with less time and trouble. The productive sections of Arizona still shipped to Albuquerque, where the wool was processed, sold, and manufactured, where also hides were tanned, wheat was ground, and the agricultural products were sold.⁷¹ The Navajos, credited with having 800,000 sheep, brought their wool to Albuquerque to market, and in 1890 the clip of Navajo wool handled in Albuquerque amounted to 2,000,000 pounds.⁷²

In June, 1891, wool was selling at a fair price and a good demand in Albuquerque. Eiseman Brothers bought 90,000 pounds of wool, and the first wool sale of the season took

⁶⁹ AMD, January 1, 1891.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., January 1, 1890.

⁷² BAI Report, p. 316.

WITNESS MY HAND

ATTEST

NOTARY PUBLIC

My commission expires on the 1st day of January, 1907.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears in my records.

Witness my hand and seal this 1st day of January, 1907.

Notary Public for the State of California.

place in T. F. Keleher's place of business, the wool selling at 18.55¢ for best wool and 16.25¢ for low grades.⁷³ In October, 1891, Thomas F. Keleher purchased 13,000 pounds of the new fall clip of wool.⁷⁴

In the absence of a demand for wool and the lack of prices resulting from the financial depression of 1893, the wool industry suffered, and since that was one of the principal resources of New Mexico, Albuquerque came in for its share of losses and suffering. Small lots of wool were selling in Albuquerque in 1893 for five cents a pound, while larger lots were selling for ten cents a pound if buyers could be found.⁷⁵ Mr. F. J. Otero, whose father, Mariano S. Otero, had established connections with Coats Brothers of Philadelphia in previous years, bought a 350,000 pound lot of wool in Albuquerque in 1893 for ten cents a pound, but it was necessary to wire Coats for the money to pay for the transaction.⁷⁶ The financial depression slowed down the business of the town and of the railroad. One might assume from conversations with some of the people who lived in Albuquerque during the Panic of 1893 that the town did not suffer very much since prices were low and necessary articles

⁷³ AMD, January 1, 1890.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Personal Interview with Mr. F. J. Otero, March 26, 1948.

were available. However, many people did not have the money to purchase the necessary articles of food and clothing as is indicated by the announcement of the Albuquerque Morning Democrat that the "severity of the times caused undue suffering among the poor," while at the same time it urged Welfare Societies and Ladies Aid Societies to organize for aid and relief to the suffering people of Albuquerque.⁷⁷ By the end of the year the AT&SF had passed into the hands of receivers, but after the depression the adjustment and prosperity of the country enabled the railroad to operate again at a profit.

⁷⁷ AMD, November 16, 1893.

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CHAPTER IV

THE MINING INDUSTRY

Because of the valuable mineral deposits contained in the geological formations of its mountains, New Mexico, from the time of the American occupation in 1846, attracted the attention of miners from the United States. Although no such gold rush occurred as followed the discovery of gold in California, almost \$14,000,000 in gold and silver was mined in the Territory prior to the coming of the railroad in 1880.¹ Even then, mining had been done in a superficial manner because prospecting and mining in the mountains of New Mexico were rendered perilous by hostile Indians. The lack of communication prevented the direction of attention to the mineral resources of the Territory, and the lack of transportation made it impracticable to introduce the heavy machinery which was necessary for economical mining and the reduction of ores.

As the railroad and settlers moved westward, the United States government made geological and mineralogical surveys of New Mexico in 1878, and the real mineral development of the Territory began. However, transportation was still too difficult and the railroad was too far away from the mining areas to enable development on a large scale. Except for that

¹ William G. Ritch, New Mexico, Bureau of Immigration Report (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Company, 1883), p. 33. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1883.

in Georgetown, Santa Rita, Silver City, and Socorro there was no real mine production before 1880.² In 1875 one claim was filed, and although zinc-lead-silver ores were discovered at Cerillos in 1879, no other claims were filed until 1880, when 137 claims were filed.³ One smelter had been built at Cerillos and was standing idle; another at Bonanza City had proved a failure; and one at Socorro was making spasmodic efforts to obtain ore.⁴ Many prospects had been located in the various districts, but until 1880 none were recorded, and in most cases only one assessment had been worked.⁵

The railroad brought the desired means of transportation in 1880, and through this agency the development of the mining industry was enlarged and promoted. The mining fever sent men digging for gold, silver, lead, copper, coal, and iron from Elizabethtown in the northeast to Silver City in the southwest. Transportation was reduced by one fifth of the shipping costs, and many new mines were opened up.⁶ Cochiti, Cook's Peak, and Steeple Rock districts were prospected in 1880; the Eureka, Fremont, and Victoria districts were

² Ibid., p. 124.

³ Bernalillo County Mining Claim Record. Claims had been filed in this record since 1869.

⁴ BIR, 1883, p. 124.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Brevoort, op. cit., p. 76.

discovered, and silver ores were discovered at Kingston.⁷ The next year the Council Rock district was discovered; the Telegraph and Anderson districts were prospected; silver ores were found at Black Hawk; lead-silver ores were found in the Florida Mountains; ore was discovered in the Cuchillo and Negro districts; placer gold was found at Hopewell, and the first modern prospecting began in the Nacimient Mountains.⁸

The difficulty was not the location of minerals so much as it was a lack of capital and labor. Transportation was still a problem because the two transcontinental lines provided only limited facilities for transporting the produce of the mines which were located some distance from the railroad. A long wagon haul was necessary to reach the railroad from most of the mining districts of the Territory. Just as Albuquerque served as a market place for the agricultural, sheep, and cattle products of New Mexico, because of its central location in the Territory and the junction of the AT&SF and the A&P railroads it became the shipping point for ores from the surrounding mining areas.

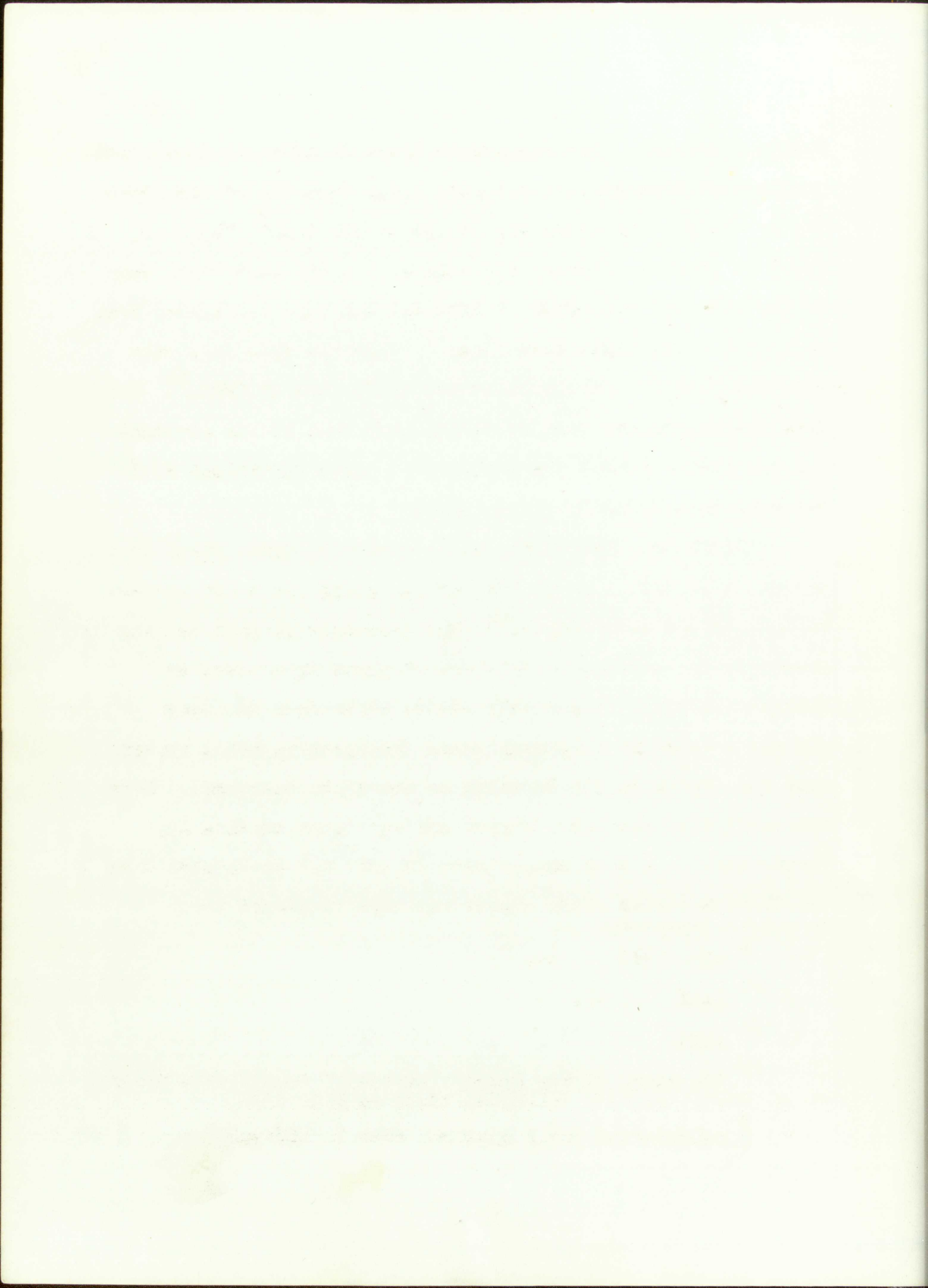
Several mining districts were adjacent to Albuquerque, the closest of which was Hell Canon on the west side of the

⁷ Stuart A. Northrop, Minerals of New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1944), pp. 25-27.

⁸ Ibid. See the mining map of New Mexico for most of the prominent mining locations of the Territory. Some of the areas mentioned as mining districts are not on the map.



TEXAS
Taken from A Bureau of Immigration Report
1896 showing the mining areas of New
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Sandia Mountains. Ore discovered there in 1879 was decomposed quartz with free-milling gold and large deposits of low grade copper ore running about \$12 to \$20 to the ton.⁹ The Star, owned by Strahan, Thomas, and others, was the best known camp in the area and consisted of free-milling gold and silver ores in a vein about eight feet wide.¹⁰ Minerals from this mine produced \$128 to \$164 worth of ore to the ton in 1883.¹¹ Ore from the region was not extremely rich, but it was abundant and was easily worked and milled with water sufficient from the mountains to carry on the work.

North from Hell Cañon was a mining district known as Coyote Cañon with a large body of low grade ore which was developed by the Aster mines.¹² The discovery of gold bearing quartz in the section in 1882 was of great importance to Albuquerque since it was only twelve miles from the town and was reached by a natural road. Prospecting holes showed that the ore increased in value as the depth increased. From one shaft nine feet deep copper ore was taken showing \$274 to the ton.¹³ A good copper mine in 1882 was worth more than one bearing silver since copper was more in demand for

⁹ BIR, 1883, p. 64.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 65.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The Mines of New Mexico, Bureau of Immigration Report (n.p., 1896), p. 24. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1896.

¹³ Albuquerque Daily Journal, June 9, 1882.

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industrial and chemical use and for electrical devices.¹⁴

Bear Cañon was still farther north on the west side of the Sandias, and the attention of many prospectors was focused upon the gold and silver ores of that locality. Tijeras Cañon, which cut through the Sandias and served as the principal route eastward from Albuquerque disclosed deposits of copper, silver, and lead. A group of claims known as the "Climax Group" was situated on the copper deposits of the old Longfellow mines which were productive about 1830, and some prospects containing gold, iron, and silver appeared to be promising, but no prominent mines were ever opened up in the area. However, the close proximity to Albuquerque made these regions favorable to the "tenderfoot," and in 1882 the Morning Journal reported that there were no less than three hundred men working, developing, and prospecting in these cañons.¹⁵

One of the "largest copper mines of the United States" was that of the Cañon del Agua Company at San Pedro.¹⁶ This company, a Boston syndicate organized for the purpose of working the copper mines in the vicinity, had purchased the land, which had been an old Mexican Land Grant made to Jesus Miera in 1839, and had expended over a million dollars in

¹⁴ MJ. January 1, 1884.

¹⁵ Albuquerque Daily Journal, June 1, 1882.

¹⁶ Albuquerque Evening Review, July 21, 1882.

the purchase price and improvements.¹⁷ Two large artesian wells had been drilled; smelting and stamping works had been established; and a large main had been constructed to the Sandias to bring in the water from the mountains for the purpose of working the mines by means of the hydraulic process.¹⁸ An old copper mine, which had been worked by the first Spanish settlers by means of forced Indian labor, furnished abundant ore for the smelter in San Pedro, and several new veins had been located.¹⁹ In 1883 Mariano S. Otero, with the aid of two other men, "jumped" the San Pedro mines, claiming them on the basis of a land grant made to the Oteros by the Mexican Government before 1839.²⁰ It was by virtue of the 1839 grant that the San Pedro and Canon del Agua Company held the land and worked the mines, having purchased the land. Because of the conflicting claims, the miners refused to work, and many of them left the vicinity for more congenial surroundings in other parts of the Territory. Because of the lack of labor and the scarcity of water caused by the drying up of streams, the mines at San Pedro were all but deserted.²¹ Some mining continued for a few years, and in 1889 the

¹⁷ BIR, 1883, p. 96.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ MJ, April 2, 1882.

²⁰ Albuquerque Daily Democrat, May 25, 1883.

²¹ Annie P. Hurt, "Historical Mines of New Mexico," New Mexico Magazine, 10:20-22, March, 1932.

Albuquerque Morning Democrat commented upon the fact that a rich vein of gold, silver, and lead had been located in the San Pedro district with ore netting \$2,500 a day at the lowest estimates.²² Another of the large mines in the district was the Lincoln Lucky, which was rich in copper and remained in a producing capacity until the panic of 1893.²³ Today the town of San Pedro is completely abandoned and its buildings are beyond repair.

Adjoining the Cañon del Agua land was an area known as the New Placers, or Golden, which was situated about thirty-six miles northeast of Albuquerque. It was one of the richest mining camps in the Territory, but a great drawback to its development was the Spanish Land Grant which comprised about 68,000 acres and covered most of the district.²⁴ Although the placers in the vicinity of Golden contained a large amount of copper and free gold, the lack of capital and the scarcity of water for placer mining prevented extensive developments. Much activity was evident with gravel averaging

²² AMD, April 26, 1889.

²³ Ibid., June 18, 1893.

²⁴ MJ, April 2, 1882. This grant was unconfirmed, and a satisfactory title could not be obtained; therefore, capitalists refused to invest in the mines of the New Placers. The Cañon del Agua Company had evidently invested in the purchase of the Miera Land Grant without its being confirmed, and thus the Otero claims were able to paralyze developments in San Pedro.

twenty-five cents to a dollar per yard of material handled.²⁵ The establishment in 1881 of Jeff Grant's tri-weekly stage and freight line between Albuquerque and the New Placers proved to be of great economic importance to the town, because this route opened up direct communications with one of the rich mining camps of the Territory.²⁶ The trade which formerly went to Santa Fe now came to Albuquerque, where in 1881 the exchange of products and articles amounted to over fifteen hundred dollars a week.²⁷ The following year the inhabitants of Golden numbered about three hundred, and the trade of Albuquerque from that district increased. Situated about two miles south was San Pedro, which, with its increasing population, furnished immense trade for Albuquerque in the early years of the 80's. In 1882 the Big Copper Mine near San Pedro employed one thousand men in mine and smelter work, and \$50,000 was distributed monthly as wages among employees.²⁸

Sixty miles northwest of Bernalille and about that distance from Albuquerque was a prosperous mining district of copper ore in the Senorita Cañon of the Jemez Mountains.²⁹ In the years before the railroad came into the Territory,

²⁵ Fayette A. Jones, New Mexico Mines and Minerals (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1904), p. 25.

²⁶ MJ, January 29, 1881.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ New Mexico Mines and Minerals, Bureau of Immigration Report (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1901), p. 59. Hereafter cited as BIR, 1901.

²⁹ MJ, April 4, 1882.

many rich specimens of copper ore had been brought into Albuquerque from the Jemez and Nacimiento Mountains, but the transportation was such a difficult problem that no effort was made to establish mining facilities in the region until after 1880.³⁰ With the coming of the railroad in New Mexico, transportation constituted less of a problem though it was still necessary to make long wagon hauls to get the ore to a shipping point. Prospectors and capital and labor came into the area, and several mining interests began operation. The Copper Queen became the most important mine, producing fifty and sixty per cent copper,³¹ and it was estimated that a thickness of twenty to thirty feet of copper extended through the mountains.³² Copper ran from 10% to 63% with ore 20% and up, and coke, selling for \$37 a ton in the area, enabled the ore to be produced for less than two dollars a ton.³³ The smelting process was used in milling the ore, and it took ten tons of ten per cent ore to produce one ton of copper which sold for 17¢ a pound for refined copper and 15½¢ a pound for black copper.³⁴ At this price one ton of copper at 15½¢ a

³⁰ BIR, 1883, p. 65.

³¹ Ibid.

³² MJ, January 1, 1884.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

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pound was worth \$310, and it was estimated that 3,050,000 tons of ore could be produced in the district.³⁵ Copper City, situated on the Rio Puerco near the Eureka Mountains, was the leading town. In this vicinity there were immense copper deposits, abundant timber and coal, and the valley itself furnished produce in vegetables and grain. Trade from the region was transferred from Bernalillo to Albuquerque after the building of the Rio Grande bridge in 1882 made the better shipping facilities at the junction of the railroads available.

In the early 80's the problem of profitable reduction of comparatively low grade and slightly refractory ores had not been solved, and it was necessary to sort for treatment or shipment only the highest grade material and throw tons of low grade ore over the dumps or back into the mines. The silver mining boom in Colorado during the early 80's drew attention from the mines of New Mexico, which were neglected for richer fields. As time went on, the Territory recovered from the depressing influence of the overshadowing Colorado boom. By the discovery of silver in Grant and Sierra Counties, New Mexico gained recognition as a region capable of producing great quantities of the metal. Soon, however, the price of bullion dropped from one dollar to fifty cents and sixty cents an ounce, and silver mining became unprofitable, causing the diversion of capital from silver to gold mining.³⁶

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ BIR, 190b, p. 8.

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In 1882 the Journal commented upon the fact that every immigrant train was crowded with people prepared to make their homes, and every passenger and freight brought sight-seers and prospectors. The mountains of the Territory were invaded by armies of prospectors, new discoveries were made, and new camps were established. The rapidly increasing trade among the merchants of Albuquerque reflected the influx of population, and as mining assumed a more substantial basis there was a demand for skilled labor and men of enterprise. Proper facilities for working the ore were needed with millions of tons of ore running high enough to pay a profit on the labor and expense. New Mexico had much ore which was of a low grade and would not bear the expense of railroad transportation but which could be worked near the mines at a great profit.³⁷ A smelter established in Albuquerque in 1882 by C. L. Hubbs took care of much of this kind of ore as well as the higher grades from the surrounding areas.³⁸

The policy of the United States Treasury Department in 1885 was aimed to secure a better circulation of silver coin by the withdrawal of one and two dollar notes from circulation, a move which created a demand for silver coin.³⁹ After this

³⁷ MJ, October 6, 1883.

³⁸ BIR, 1883, p. 16.

³⁹ MJ, July 15, 1885.

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time the price of silver made it worthwhile to look for silver mines, because the opportunities for quick fortunes were more pronounced in silver than in gold mining which was slower.

As prospectors and capitalists came into the mining districts in search of silver, developments in mining took place, bringing in more people and trade from these areas to Albuquerque. With working, the leads in the Jemez and Nacimientto Mountains improved; the mines in the Magdalenas yielded more; new and valuable discoveries were made in the Black Range; and the Sandias, New Placers, and San Pedro filled up with prospectors who made new finds.⁴⁰ Albuquerque was interested in these developments because the business transactions of the town were no longer confined to the adjacent areas. Railroad facilities enabled Albuquerque merchants to ship goods to dealers in nearly all mining camps and towns in the Territory. The growth and prosperity of the town was now measured by the development and progress of the Territory, because whatever benefited New Mexico contributed to the success of Albuquerque.

The narrow gauge railroad system was projected into the richest and most productive mining areas in New Mexico about 1884 and 1885, and by this means trade was brought from all sections of the southwest to Albuquerque.⁴¹ These roads went

⁴⁰ Albuquerque Daily Journal, June 16, 1882.

⁴¹ MJ, July 15, 1885.

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to Copper City in the north, to Cerillos in the northeast, to White Oaks in the southeast, to Silver City in the southwest, and to Utah Territory in the northwest, embracing almost seven hundred miles of road.⁴² By 1890 these branch roads, which were usually lines running to mineral regions, together with the two transcontinental lines and their branches comprised 1,324 miles of railroad in the Territory.⁴³ The mines of Bernalillo County were connected with Albuquerque by means of railroads and tramways by which ore was brought in to the smelters.⁴⁴

— The town of Albuquerque served as the outfitting point for all of the important mining areas of the Territory. The mines of the Placers, Hells Cañon, Socorro, the Magdalenas, Nacimineto, Jemez, Copper City, Tijeras Cañon, and Los Cerillos were all tributary to the town and helped to make it a great mining center and trading point of the Territory.⁴⁵ Besides these districts, there were Cochiti, Water Cañon, Hillsboro, Las Animas, Organ, Piños Altos, Gold Hill, White Oaks, Lake Valley, and the Carlisle mining districts from all of which people came to Albuquerque for supplies.⁴⁶ The Mining Bureau

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Coan, op. cit., p. 447.

⁴⁴ AMD, January 7, 1890.

⁴⁵ Ibid., March 7, 1886.

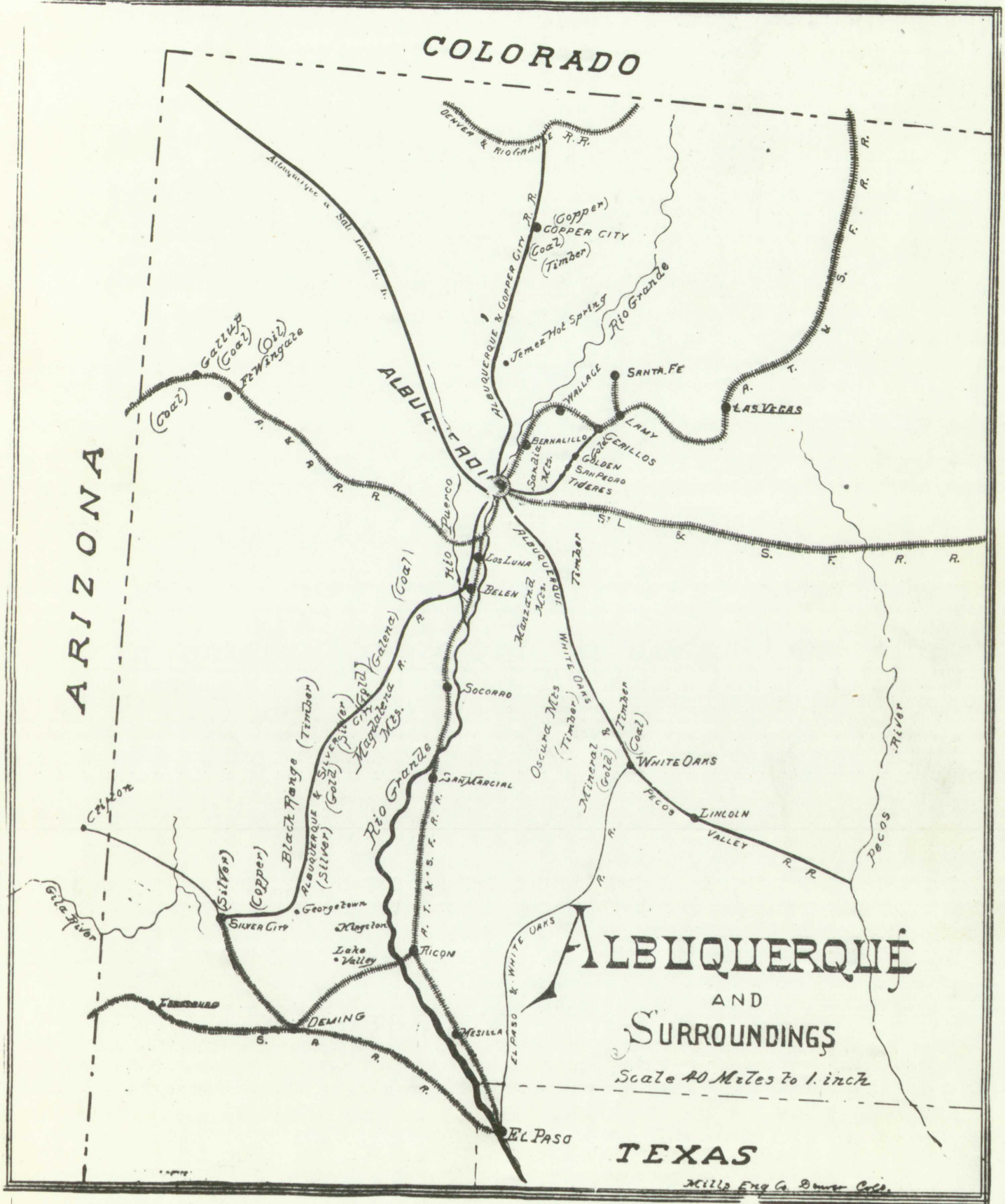
⁴⁶ BIR, 1895, p. 48.

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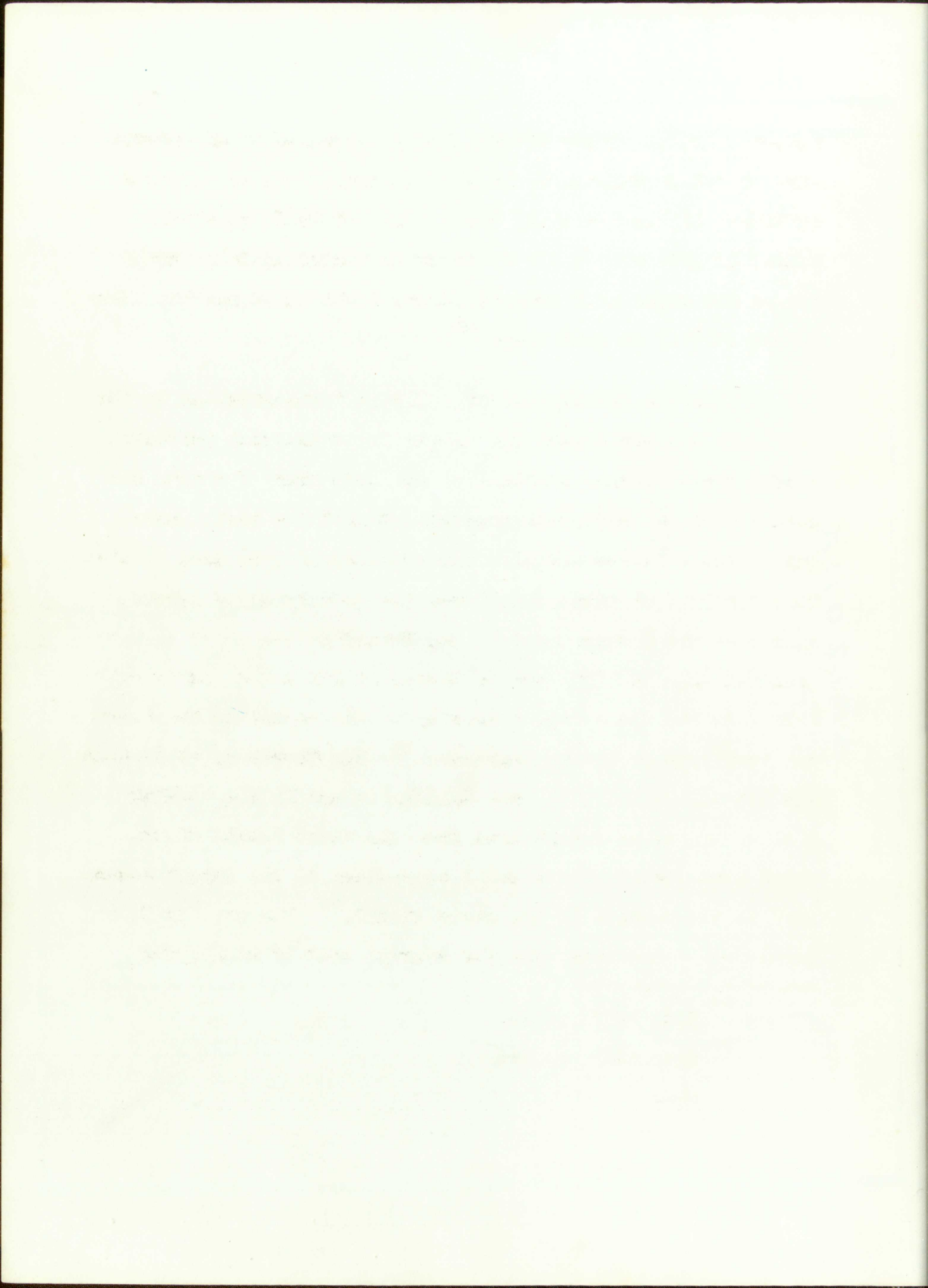
established in Albuquerque in 1881 between First and Second Streets on Railroad Avenue filled one of the great needs of the town in supplying information to those interested in the mineral resources of the Territory.⁴⁷

The greater proportion of gold produced in New Mexico from 1860 to 1885 had been the result of miners' taking the surface ores with little labor. When the easily accessible ores had been gathered, the miners moved on to newer fields. However, during this time prospecting in various parts of the Territory had been interfered with by Indians who sometimes wiped out whole mining camps and paralyzed development, making it less inviting for investors in the industry. Another factor which retarded the development of many mineral bearing districts was the existence of unconfirmed Spanish and Mexican Land Grants, which made it difficult to obtain unsalable titles from either the United States Government or private claimants. The United States Court of Private Land Claims did much to increase the public domain and make land available by declaring many grants illegal and reducing in size many of those confirmed. On grants confirmed, the boundaries and titles were definitely determined, making it more inviting for miners to acquire land from land holders. The land embraced in unconfirmed grants was added to the public domain, but the government reserved from homestead all

⁴⁷ Albuquerque Daily Journal, February 8, 1881.



Photostat from the Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 6, 1883.
Showing the projected branch railroads in New Mexico.



mineral rights. These mineral lands, surveyed or unsurveyed, were opened to discovery, location, occupation, or purchase by United States citizens, but a limit of 20.66 acres was placed on lode claims and 20 acres on placer claims, though one person might hold several claims if he could perform labor valued at \$100 on each claim.⁴⁸

With the development of railroad transportation in the Territory and the demand for copper for commercial purposes, copper mining became profitable, and this kind of mining together with the railroads created a demand for coal, which was abundant in New Mexico. The presence of this coal in the Territory was of great importance for metallurgical purposes in all of the western part of the United States since eastern coal and coke in 1873 sold in Denver at \$22 a ton and in Salt Lake City for \$30 a ton, according to the report of the American Institute of Mining Engineers.⁴⁹ The Territory of Arizona was without coking coal, and California had little working coal of any value except that from the Mount Diablo mines, which constituted only a small percentage of the supply necessary to the demands of the state itself.⁵⁰ The coal in California was non-coking, and the average cost of mining was

⁴⁸ BIR, 1895, p. 18.

⁴⁹ BIR, 1885, p. 36.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

\$5.75 a ton, while coal within two miles of the railroad could be mined and placed on the cars in New Mexico for one dollar a ton.⁵¹

About sixty miles northeast of Albuquerque and extending south from the Ortiz Mountains to Hell Cañon was a belt of land fifteen miles wide and seventy miles long which was largely underlaid with semi-anthracite and bituminous coal in beds varying from three to seven feet thick.⁵² The vein of coal in the Ortiz Mountains had been opened, and extensive deposits were disclosed in that region and east of the Sandias and in Tijeras Canon.⁵³ Altogether this field included 15,000 acres of coal land while discoveries west of the Rio Grande demonstrated the evidence of coal within twenty miles of Albuquerque on the Rio Puerco.⁵⁴ The presence of these vast fields of coal made Albuquerque the natural shipping point for much of the coal mined, while the mineral deposits found in connection with the supply of coal as a means of production made the town a mining and reduction center for the whole southwest.⁵⁵

The Cerillos mining district in southern Santa Fe and

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² MJ, October 6, 1883.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

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northeastern Bernalillo Counties was worked continuously from 1881 with both bituminous and anthracite coal being mined. Anthracite coal was shipped to Kansas City, Topeka, Great Bend, and other points along the AT&SF road as well as to points on the A&P and branch railroads, and to the local towns in the Territory. With increasing population, railroad construction, and manufacturing in New Mexico, the Cerillos coal fields advanced in activity and wealth with the opening up of adjacent iron, lead, copper, and zinc mining, all of which made the use of coal necessary.⁵⁶

In 1890 there were eight coal fields in New Mexico, coal having been found in Colfax, Santa Fe, Rio Arriba, San Juan, Socorro, Lincoln, Grant, and Bernalillo Counties in beds ranging from 1.5 to 16 feet thick and composed of brown lignite to anthracite coal.⁵⁷ Since railroads had been built to nearly all of these mining areas, much trade from the various places came to Albuquerque. In Bernalillo County coal mined in the west part of the county near Gallup was used by the A&P road and the railroads of California. The veins of bituminous coal in Tijeras Canon were kept in a producing capacity as well as the fields on the Upper Puerco which yielded brown lignite.⁵⁸ Bernalillo County had a larger investment and

⁵⁶ BIR, 1889, p. 19.

⁵⁷ Eleventh Census, Serial 3008, Department of Interior (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), p. 391.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 393.

acreage in coal mines than any other county. The nearby shipping facilities in Albuquerque encouraged investment; therefore the mines nearby were worked diligently and produced more coal.⁵⁹

In 1889 the price of coal land was \$10 an acre if it was situated more than fifteen miles from the railroad and \$20 an acre if it was less than fifteen miles from the railroad.⁶⁰

By this time the practice of capitalizing prospect holes and calling them mines had practically ceased, and mining had assumed a more legitimate basis as a stable industry and was being prosecuted as an industrial vocation.

While silver was worth much, prospectors preferred to look for silver mines because fortunes were made more quickly than in the slower gold mining, but with the depression in 1893 the price of silver dropped, and silver prospecting virtually ceased.⁶¹ There are some indications that mining altogether ceased during this time,⁶² but from the Bureau of Immigration Report of 1895 it may be determined that either gold mining was not seriously affected by the depression or it made a quick recovery. This report announced that all of the gold mining districts in the Territory were enjoying a prosperity equal to that before the depression. From the local

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ BIR, 1889, p. 25.

⁶¹ BIR, 1895, p. 47.

⁶² Personal Interview with Mr. F. J. Otero, March 26, 1948.

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newspapers it may be determined also that Albuquerque was seriously affected by the slump in mining. Many mines closed down and were not able to reopen, thus the economic interests of the town suffered.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Before 1880 Albuquerque was a sleepy little adobe town lying on the banks of the lazy Rio Grande and surrounding the plaza in what is in 1948 Old Town Albuquerque. Life was serene and peaceful with little activity other than that created by the wagon trains on their way to Mexico or back to "the states." The quiet existence of the daily schedule was frequently interrupted by the wagon and mule trains. Because the people still used crude methods and primitive implements for cultivation, they secured with difficulty a meager subsistence from the fertile fields of the valley. Many sheep roamed the hills and plains of the Territory, and the price of wool enabled the herders to reap some profit from the herds. Markets were available for flocks of sheep in Texas, Colorado, California, and Mexico, but long drives were necessary in order to get the sheep to their destination. Wool was sold to the traders, who in turn sold it to the people of the various sections of the country. The wagon trains contributed to the trade and economy of the town, and most people were satisfied with their way of life. They anticipated little advantage in transportation which a railroad would afford. This conservative viewpoint argued that the railroad would ruin the trade of the wagon trains and would bring in more Anglos, who were

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not especially desired by the Hispanos.

The advance of the railroad was little affected, however, by the wishes of the people who feared the loss of trade by the replacement of the wagon trains with rail transportation, and in April, 1880, the railroad reached Albuquerque. The population of the little adobe town began to shift nearer to the railroad station, which was about two miles east; trading facilities were established, and the growth of Albuquerque began. No longer was it just a name along the old Santa Fe Trail; it was now a place on the map and soon became the junction of the two transcontinental branches of rail connections. It was also the central point for miners, farmers, cattlemen, and sheepmen to trade, while immigrants and sight-seers found it a place of increasing interest.

Albuquerque was situated about the central part of the Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico and soon became the storehouse for farms and vineyards in the fertile arable districts of the surrounding areas. As the junction of the two railroad systems the town became the recipient of the surplus profits of the various mining districts of the Territory as well as the market place for cattle, sheep, and wool products from nearly all parts of New Mexico and Arizona.

With the coming of the railroad many desirable immigrants were attracted to New Mexico and to the areas surrounding Albuquerque. Within a decade the population of the town

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increased by about 9,000. These people gave a new and helpful stimulation to the activities of the valley and created a large part of the work and trade that insured them of increasing profits. By this assurance of a desirable means of livelihood more immigrants were encouraged, and this in turn aided in the construction of branch and spur lines of the railroad to various parts of the Territory.

A large wholesale trade was carried on by Albuquerque merchants with various populated districts of the Territory, and the inducements to settlers and investors were greatly augmented by the development of mining which took place after the arrival of the railroad which afforded transportation for mining products and the importation of heavy machinery to work the mines. The mining areas of New Mexico were afforded access to the trading and shipping facilities of Albuquerque by means of the branch or spur lines and the main lines to all parts of the Territory.

These branch lines which reached the mining, agricultural, and stock areas of New Mexico meant an ever increasing traffic and revenue for Albuquerque since its merchants were enabled to trade with these sections. In attaining the proportions of a railroad town, Albuquerque passed through crucial moments in its efforts to maintain law and order and economic stability during the amalgamation of the immigrants, settlers, farmers, miners, cattlemen, and sheepmen. It is to

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Albuquerque as an industrial and railroad center that the honor goes for leading the Territory from a condition of indifferent peonage to that of economic security maintained by its own people.

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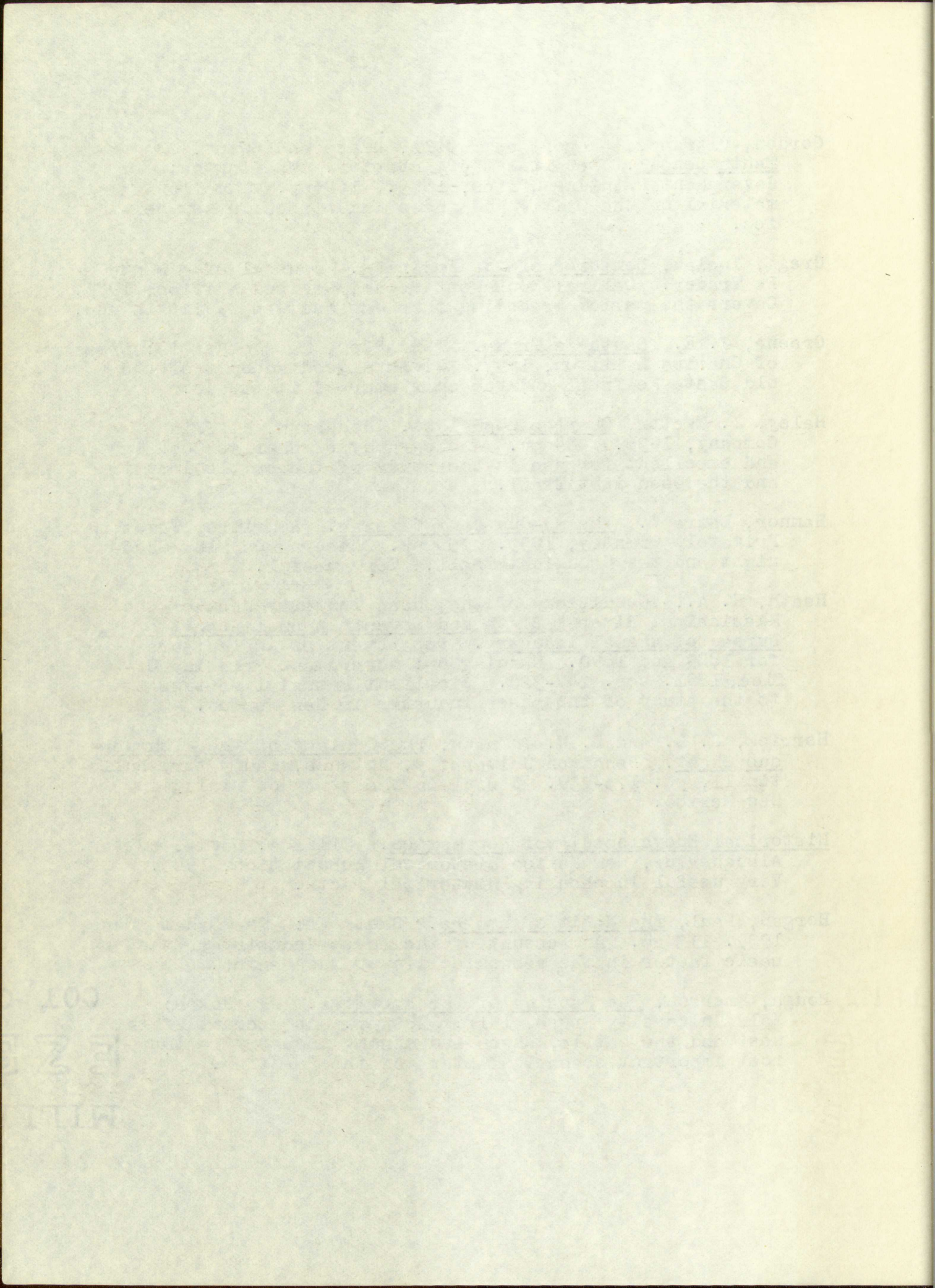
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3. The third part of the report deals with the conclusions of the work during the year. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the conclusions of the work in the field and the second section deals with the conclusions of the work in the laboratory.

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1. The first part of the report is a general statement of the purpose and scope of the study. It is followed by a brief review of the literature on the subject.

2. The second part of the report is a description of the methods used in the study. This includes a discussion of the subjects, the instruments used, and the procedures followed.

3. The third part of the report is a presentation of the results of the study. This is followed by a discussion of the results and their implications.

4. The fourth part of the report is a conclusion. This is followed by a list of references and an appendix.

5. The fifth part of the report is a list of references. This is followed by an appendix.

6. The sixth part of the report is an appendix. This is followed by a list of references and an appendix.

7. The seventh part of the report is a list of references. This is followed by an appendix.

8. The eighth part of the report is an appendix. This is followed by a list of references and an appendix.

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F. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Miss Erna Ferguson, whose grandfather was Franz Huning, June 15, 1948.

Mr. Will Keleher, son of T. H. Keleher, dealer in wool and hides in Albuquerque during the 80's, June 14, 1948.

Mr. John Milne, Superintendent of City Schools in Albuquerque, April 26, 1948.

Mr. F. J. Otero, son of Mariano S. Otero and grandson of Jose Leandro Perea of Bernalillo, March 26, 1948.

Mr. C. J. Phillips, Manager of Washburn's Store which has been in Albuquerque since the early 80's, March 26, 1948.

Mr. Arie Poldervaart, former Custodian of Law Library in State Capitol and Custodian of Law Library at the University of New Mexico, March 10, 1948.

PLEASE
MILERS FALLS

APPENDICES

COTTON CONTENT
E S E B W S E
WITNESS PARTS

WILLIAMS FALLS
EZEKIEL
COTTON CONTENT

APPENDIX I

A letter originally printed in the Las Vegas Optic and reprinted in the Albuquerque Review, November 10, 1879, is reproduced here in order that the reader may get a clear picture of Albuquerque before the days of the railroad as seen through the eyes of an outsider.

We are permitted to make the following extract from a private letter received by Dr. G. G. Lane of this city (Las Vegas) dated October 21, 1879:

Albuquerque will not make much of a city. The intention is, I think, to build a new town out about a mile from the old town, on a second sandy bottom. It is nearly all sand here, and wet and very low, and after a little rain you can go scarcely anywhere on account of the ponds of water, and the water red with alkali, and in some places covered with it white as snow. The streets are narrow, short and abruptly terminated by adobe buildings all of one story. . . . Five or six stores. . . seem to do some trading. Dry, dead, dull, sandy Mexican town, poor church of adobe, and poorer people than in Las Vegas, and more dogs to the head of population. Mexicans get about fifty cents a day, groceries are firm. . . a little touch of frost once, but gardens are green, tomatoes, etc., growing yet, valley tolerable occupied by flocks of sheep and goats and the fields are very small and fenced by adobe walls everywhere. Not a frame building of any kind in town.

A man bought 14 acres for \$500 and is building an adobe house and means to plant out a nursery stock. Nearly every business has a bar at which liquors are sold -- a barrel or cask and a few bottles -- and the Mexicans and few Americans are free in the use of the beverage. I do not think the railroad will affect this place much. . . except temporarily. There will be stations all along, say five or six miles apart, and the business not getting larger for the incoming of the railroad, will be distributed along the line. One drug store here -- very small. The proprietor told me that his business amounted to very little.

CONT. ON CONTENT
E-Z-R-A-S-E
MILITARY EVILS

The great city of the Southwest is not to be at Albuquerque. There is not enough of it, or its surroundings, unless the railroad should make a permanent stop here or suddenly turn to the west, leaving the Rio Grande. . . .

MILERS PATENT
EZEKIAS
COTTON COMB

APPENDIX II

A resident correspondent of the Osage City, Kansas, Free Press, under the date of December 21, 1880, gives the following account of the growth of Albuquerque, which was taken from the Daily Journal, January 10, 1881.

It has been scarcely nine months since I landed here. Then I had to come ten miles by stage from the end of the railroad, and then we had to travel fifty-three miles on a construction train, there being no passenger or freight trains running nearer than 68 miles from here. Now the railroads are running through here westward nearly eighty miles and south two hundred miles, and soon the road south will strike the Southern Pacific and thereby open a new way from the East to the West. When I arrived here, there was not a two story building in the old town, now there are four good two-story buildings in the new town, two of them costing about \$5000 each. Then there was not in the new town a single shanty; now besides the railroad company's buildings there are twelve or sixteen buildings the cost of each of which runs up into thousands, besides many smaller structures. Between \$50,000 and \$60,000 worth of building lots have been sold and built upon to a considerable extent. At the time of our arrival in the place there were from 250 to 300 Americans, (it is assumed that by Americans the correspondent meant Anglos) now it is estimated there are over 2,000. Nine months ago there was only one small weekly paper, one half of it printed in English, the other half in Spanish; now we have one daily and two weekly papers. But rapid as has been our growth the last few months, we expect a larger and more substantial growth within the next few months.

APPENDIX III

The average yield of agricultural products per acre
in the Rio Grande Valley in 1886:¹

Wheat.	30 to 35 bushels
Corn	60 to 80 bushels
Barley	40 to 50 bushels
Onions	5 to 10 tons
Turnips.	10 to 15 tons
Alfalfa.	8 to 12 tons
Cabbage	20,000 to 30,000 pounds
Beans	3,000 to 4,000 pounds
Apples	25,000 to 30,000 pounds
Pears	25,000 to 30,000 pounds
Grapes	10,000 to 13,000 gallons of wine.

¹ BIR, 1890, p. 114.

APPENDIX V

A table of the average yield per acre with wholesale prices in season ~~was~~ taken from Bureau of Immigration Report, 1895, pp. 14-15.

	Yield per acre	Wholesale Price
Wheat	30 to 35 bushels	\$1.00 to \$1.15 per cwt
Corn	60 to 85 bushels	1.00 to 1.15 per cwt
Oats	30 to 45 bushels	1.00 to 1.55 per cwt
Barley	40 to 50 bushels	1.00 to 1.50 per cwt
Mangel beets	50 to 63 tons	7.00 to 9.00 per ton
Onions	5 to 10 tons	1.50 to 2.00 per cwt
Turnips	10 to 15 tons	6.00 to 9.00 per ton
Alfalfa	4 to 5 tons	6.00 to 14.00 per ton
Cabbage	30,000 to 40,000 pounds	1.40 to 1.60 per cwt.
Beans	3,000 to 4,000 pounds	2.60 to 3.00 per cwt.
Apples	25,000 to 30,000 pounds	.03 to .04 per lb.
Pears	25,000 to 30,000 pounds	.04 to .08 per lb.
Grapes	5,000 to 10,000 pounds	.02 to .04 per lb.

WILFRED BAILEY
EZEKIEL
COTTON CONT'D

APPENDIX VI

Profits in stock-raising in New Mexico¹

Capital invested in stock

150 young cows and calves at \$25	\$2,250.00
100 two year old heifers at \$12	1,200.00
100 two year old steers at \$12	1,200.00
75 yearling heifers at \$7	525.00
75 yearling steers at \$7	525.00
10 high grade bulls at \$75	750.00
	<u>\$6,450.00</u>

Capital invested in ranch

Ranch, corrals, etc.	\$250.00
Horses and equipment	250.00
	<u>\$500.00</u>

Summary account for five years

Year	Stock	Value	Sales	three old steers	Expenses	Bank Account
1st	530	\$ 7,140	100 @ \$18	\$1,800	\$ 680	\$1,120
2nd	655	8,465	75 @ 18	1,350	750	600
3rd	855	11,200	60 @ 18	1,080	850	230
4th	1,063	14,620	100 @ 22.50	2,250	1,100	1,150
5th	1,321	18,477	130 @ 22.50	2,925	1,500	1,425
						<u>\$4,525</u>
Value of stock						\$18,477.50
Value of ranches, horses etc.						1,100.00
Bank account						4,525.00
Total						<u>\$24,002.50</u>
Capital invested						6,950.00
Profit in five years						17,052.00

An arbitrary value of \$500 has been added to the value of the ranch, horses etc. at the end of five years which is a low estimate of money charged to expenses. The increase in cattle has been reckoned at 85% allowing 5% loss from natural causes. The improvement in stock bred from fine bulls has been estimated at 25%.

¹ BIR, 1881, p. 44.

THE
KILLERS
EZEKIEL
COTTON CONTENT

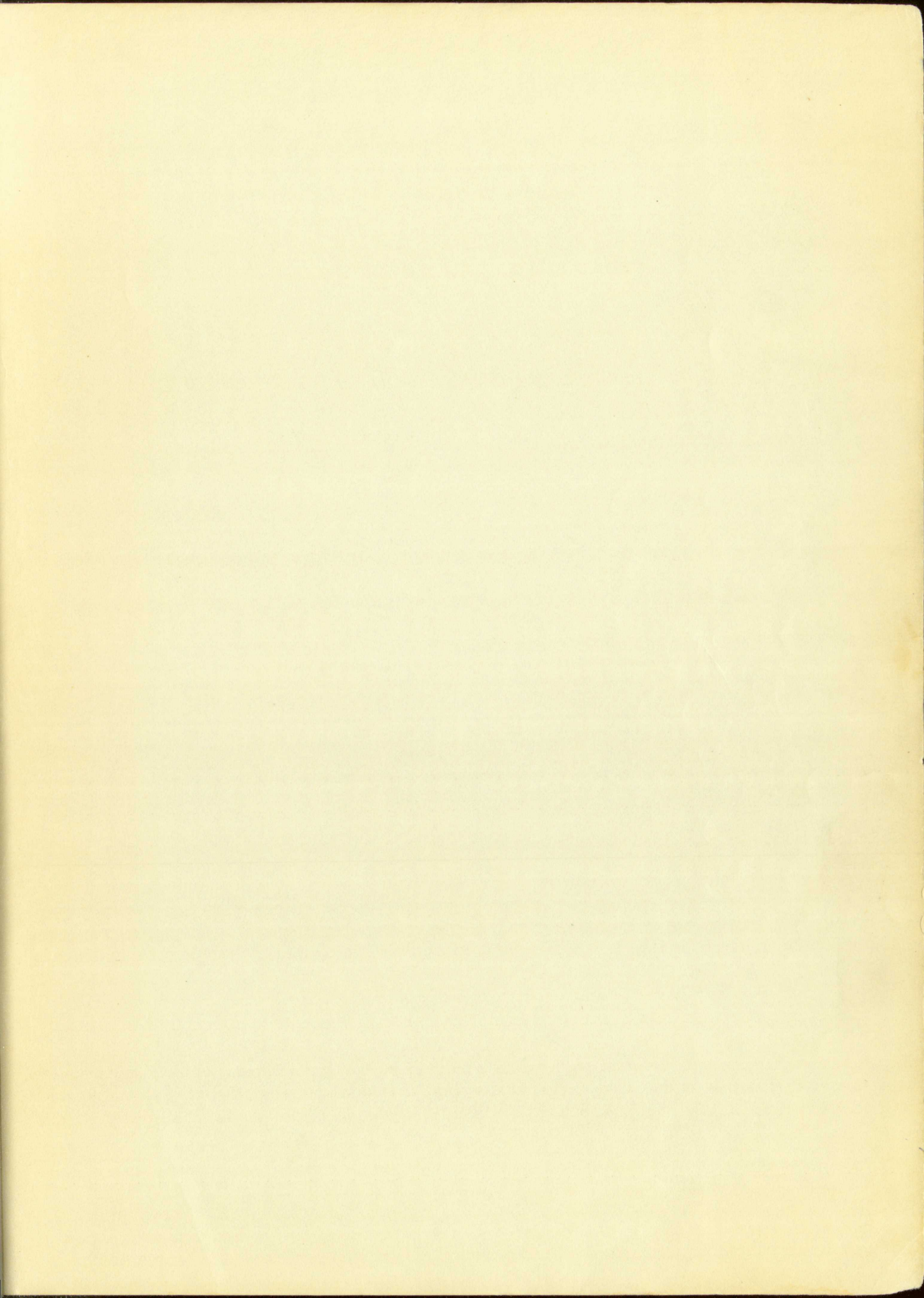
APPENDIX VII

The average price per pound for wool¹

	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
January	few	\$.09½	\$.14	\$.13	\$.12	\$.15
February	trans-	.09½	.14½	.12	.12½	.14
March	actions	.09	.11	---	---	.13
April	\$.09	---	.10½	---	.12½	.14½
May	.09½	.09	.11½	.13	.12	.17
June	.10	.10½	.13½	.15	.13½	.18
July	.10½	.11	.16	.16	.13½	.18
August	.10	.11	.16½	.15½	.13½	.17
September	.10½	.12 3/4	.17	.14	.14	.13½
October	.10½	.13½	.16	.12½	.15	.14½
November	.093/4	.15	.14	.12	.15½	.15
December	.09½	.14	.12½	.12	.17½	.14½

¹ Frost, Max, New Mexico, Bureau of Immigration, 1890, p. 28.

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