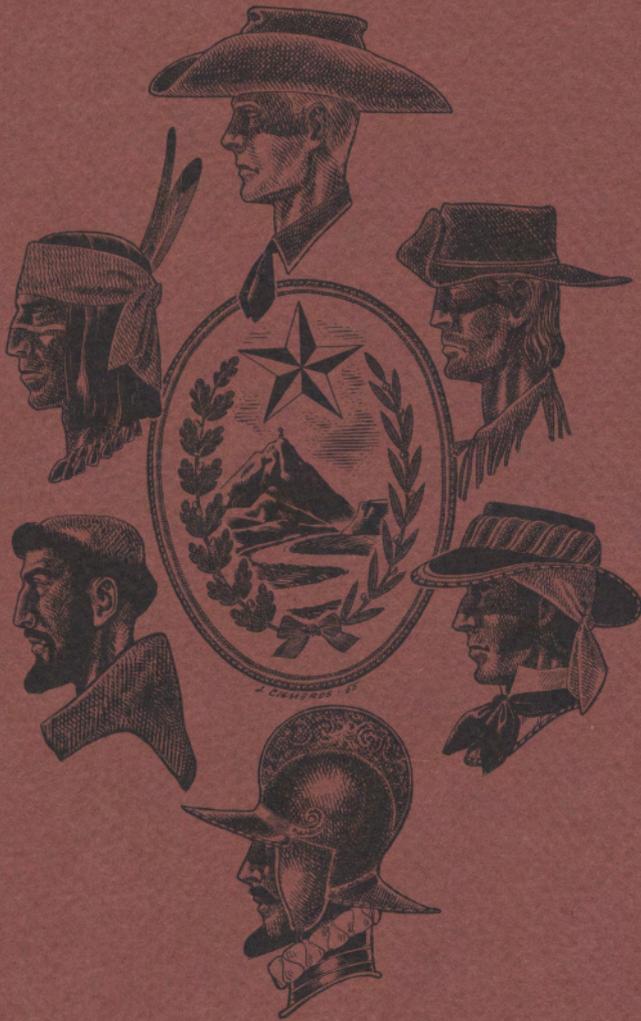


PASSWORD



THE EL PASO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. V-No. 1

January 1960

PASSWORD

Published quarterly by THE EL PASO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. V, No. 1

EL PASO, TEXAS

January, 1960

CONTENTS

The President's Message

By JOHN B. NEFF 3

The Presidential Election of 1928 in El Paso County

By CHARLES E. HERSHBERGER 5

The Guns of Valverde

By RICHARD K. MCMASTER and GEORGE RUHLEN 21

Book Reviews 35

MCCALEB, *The Mier Expedition* by Eugene O. Porter

WILHELM, *Cavalcade of Hooves and Horns* by C. L. Sonnichsen

Contributors 37

Historical Notes 38

EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor EUGENE O. PORTER
Associate Editor FRANK FEUILLE III
Assistant Editor JACK C. VOWELL, JR.
Book Editor MRS. PHYLLIS MAINZ

Correspondence in regard to articles for *PASSWORD* should be directed to
DR. EUGENE O. PORTER, Texas Western College, El Paso, Texas.

All books and correspondence regarding Book Reviews should be sent to
MRS. PHYLLIS MAINZ, 2512 San Diego, El Paso, Texas.

PASSWORD is distributed free of charge to members of
the Society. It is *not* available to the general public.

The El Paso Historical Society disclaims responsibility
for the statements and opinions of the contributors.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at
El Paso, Texas, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Printed at Texas Western College Press
CARL HERTZOG, *Director*

PURPOSE OF THE SOCIETY

*To promote and engage in research into the
History, Archeology, and Natural History of
West Texas, Southern New Mexico, Eastern
Arizona, and Northern Mexico; to publish
the important findings; and to preserve the
valuable relics and monuments.*

The President's Message

DID YOU EVER stand on the brink of a cliff and throw a stone over the edge? If you hear no echoing sound, if you hear nothing at all, then your curiosity is aroused. You are challenged and have to find out why. We are in that position today.



Nineteen hundred sixty will be a challenging year to many people and organizations and I am sure that the members of the El Paso Historical Society will find this year filled with opportunities—opportunities to make decisions of great importance to the Society, opportunities to make personal contributions to the group and opportunities for historical research. Each member can contribute so very much to the continued growth of the organization that

I hope, more and more, each can be encouraged to lend a hand. Many members have knowledge of an event or events that might be lost if not written down and thus preserved. Thus I encourage you all to write, from your personal knowledge, so that our historical fund of knowledge might be enriched.

Feel free to present your suggestions to the officers and directors so that the best decisions can be made. Expect to be called upon. There is much to be done. We must be ready to bring to the people of El Paso and the Southwest an awareness and appreciation of every noteworthy historical event. That means participation not by a few but by many.

In the field of research we must encourage, by the best means available to us, those who are best prepared for this type of work.

Through the fine work of Dr. Porter and his staff, the Society is provided a means of publishing the results of this research in our quarterly *PASSWORD*. This journal, in a lively and interesting manner, has made countless local people appreciate and understand the vastness of our historical heritage. Indeed, it has made those living far from our wonderful country aware of what we have in the way of historical background.

Mrs. Goetting and her staff are doing a wonderful job collecting and preserving things of historical interest. Lack of space to keep and display these objects has been and still is a problem. It may

continue to be a problem for some time to come but, with perseverance and patience, it will some day be solved.

Our Society has continued to grow from its earliest days through the hard work of its officers and members. A great deal of thanks must go to those who worked so hard in the beginning — Paul Heisig was a tower of strength and the Society leaned on him until it could stand alone. His work will always be remembered. Also to Dr. Porter for his untiring work on the PASSWORD and to Mrs. Goetting and the other committee chairmen go our thanks. Last but not least, having been led through two very successful years by President Jack C. Vowell, Jr., the present officers and directors will endeavor, in every way, to continue the work of the Society and spread its influence.

— JOHN B. NEFF.

Presidential Campaign of 1928 in El Paso County

By CHARLES E. HERSHBERGER

EDITORS NOTE: The presidential election of 1928 will always intrigue historians. It was the first time a Roman Catholic ran for the highest office in the land. There were other problems, many complex, involved in the election so that historians are unable to agree on the importance of the Catholic question.

The possibility of a Catholic candidate for president in 1960 increases greatly the importance of the 1928 election. For this reason the present article is unusually timely.

THE EL PASO OF 1928 was no Middleton, America. The racial composition of the country, its location, and its social, economic, and political environment kept it from being considered as a typical American city. Yet what transpired during the memorable campaign of '28, at least on the "northside" of the city, is probably indicative of events that happened in other southern and western cities and counties.

It will be recalled that both nationally and locally the major issues of the 1928 election centered around religion and prohibition. It will always remain a controversial question as to which of the two was more decisive in affecting the outcome, so inextricably were they mixed during the course of the campaign.

There were other issues, of course, in 1928, some of which should have played a more prominent role than at least the religious question. These issues dealt with the use of the injunction against labor, farm relief, reclamation, and international cooperation. Though these matters were discussed often and in some detail by the candidates, the issues that came to be of real importance to the average voter were the fact that the Democratic candidate for the presidency was a communicant of the Roman Catholic Church and an ardent advocate for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Seldom has an election aroused such a furor nationally; seldom indeed has a national election so excited the people of El Paso as did this one. Lifelong friendships were broken and a strong residue of ill will was generated that took years to overcome.

It is understandable why such interest and violent emotion

was engendered. Liquor and religion were two things everyone thought he understood and on which everyone had an opinion. *The El Paso Times* editorialized it this way:

There is one strong reason why prohibition looms as such a big issue in this campaign. It is one problem on which every voter can talk and for which every voter has a remedy. There are other big issues in the campaign, but they are complex. The average well informed voter in the southwest would be puzzled to explain the Boulder Dam issue. So with farm relief. Everybody admits it is a problem. But almost everybody, including the candidates themselves, is indefinite as to the issues involved and still more on possible solutions.¹

The religious issue began developing long before the Houston convention nominated Alfred E. Smith. Probably a large minority of the American people were aware that Governor Smith of New York was a Roman Catholic, but aside from a few pronouncements by the Klu Klux Klan, the issue of Smith's religious affiliation remained dormant until the *Atlantic Monthly* published an open letter to Smith from Charles C. Marshall.

In April, 1927, the above named attorney, whose interest was church law, wrote an erudite and restrained letter which asked Smith how he could reconcile those principles of the Roman Catholic Church that were in conflict with the precepts of the Constitution of the United States. In essence Marshall contended that Smith could not unreservedly fulfill the oath of President if he were a true member of the Roman Catholic Church. This famous letter was published not only in the *Atlantic Monthly* but also in many of the nation's prominent newspapers.

Concurrently with the publication of this letter, the *Atlantic Monthly* announced that Governor Smith would make a reply in the following issue of that magazine. In his reply Smith stated, "I recognize no power in the institutions of my Church to interfere with the operations of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land."²

Locally the Marshall letter caused reverberations. *The El Paso Times*, in a scathing editorial, upbraided the staid old *Atlantic Monthly* for stooping "to the level of a confession magazine."³ The *Times* saw no reason why Smith should have to explain his adherence to the Roman Catholic Church.

It is generally agreed among historians that Smith's reply was clear, direct, and explicit on the question raised by Marshall. The quality and sincereness of the letter was not, unfortunately, the important thing. Marshall's letter, written in scholarly language, was too pedantic to be understood by the majority of the people. Smith's reply, simple and understandable did little to alleviate the mischief set afoot by the wide publicity the letters generated. Across the land all segments of the population became aware of the possibility of a Roman Catholic in the White House.

An editorial in *The El Paso Times* on May 2, 1927, written a few weeks after the publication of the two letters, indicates the line of thinking that was beginning to develop. There was already talk that the south might bolt the Democratic Party should Smith receive the nomination. However, in the opinion of the *Times*, it was fear of Negro enfranchisement that would keep the south in the Democratic camp, more than memories of the Confederacy or the tariff policies. The *Times* further noted that

Governor Smith's fearless facing of the question of divided loyalty to church and nation should go far towards laying the secret and unhealthy insinuating issue in American politics.

The *Times*, editorially committed to Smith, lashed out at the Republicans on the religious issue. The Republicans, the *Times* insisted, were using an old political stratagem by pushing for Smith's nomination. An editorial of April 14, 1927, analyzed their reasons. The Republicans were trying to prepare the anti-Smith Democrats for a Smith nomination in hopes of making them decide in advance to bolt the ticket. Secondly, they hoped to inflame pro-Smith Democrats so that they would defect should Smith not be chosen. The editorial concluded that "the best way to get around this disastrous contingency is for Democrats of all shades of opinion to resist the temptation to be spoonfed on Smith propaganda from Republican sources."

El Paso Democrats, like most of their southern and western brethren, would have prepared William Gibbs McAdoo as their candidate.⁴ McAdoo's qualifications, from a southern point-of-view, were obvious. He was Protestant, a southerner, and unconnected with the odious monster — Tammany Hall.

Southern hopes of a McAdoo candidature were dashed, however, when he announced that, in order to preserve party unity, he would not be a candidate in 1928 for the Democratic presidential nomination. Following shortly after this announcement, came one from the Republican camp. President Coolidge, with characteristic succinctness, announced that he chose not to run for re-election. Regular Republicans had hoped he would again be the Party's standard bearer, but taking him at his cryptic word, they turned to what they believed was the next best — Herbert Hoover. Aside from Coolidge, Hoover was the man most closely identified with the flourishing prosperity that the nation, excepting the farmer, was enjoying.

Thus early in 1928 it became apparent that the Democrats would very likely choose Alfred E. Smith and the Republicans Herbert Hoover. The national conventions were both to meet in June; the Democrats in Houston, the Republicans in St. Louis.

Locally the drama began unfolding with the holding of the county conventions. Early in May the local parties met. The Democrats passed a resolution calling on their delegates to vote as a unit on candidates and issues. They were, however, left uninstructed for whom to vote. The Republicans also instructed their delegates to vote as a unit but with specific orders to vote for Mr. Hoover.⁵

At state level, Governor Dan Moody was able to win control of the delegation to the Democratic national convention.⁶ Frankly against Smith's nomination, Moody, along with the other southern and western leaders, was to swallow his misgivings on choosing a "wet," a Catholic, and a leader of Tammany Hall, allowing the "Happy Warrior" to be nominated on the first ballot.

When the state Republican convention met in Dallas, it was discovered that ninety per cent of the delegates were committed to Hoover.⁷ Texas Republicans were not alone in expressing strong support for the Hoover candidature. The St. Louis convention confirmed his nomination by an overwhelming majority on the first ballot.

With the national conventions out of the way, local politicians began in earnest to work the grass roots. El Paso, as most other

Texas communities, adhered to the one party system. One had to be a Democrat to be elected and the winning of the Democratic primary was tantamount to election.

In 1928 Judge R. E. Thomason was serving his first term as mayor. He and several other officeholders maintained the leadership of the all-powerful Democratic machine within the city and county. Following Al Smith's acceptance speech on September 8th, *The El Paso Times* published the comments of leading Democrats within the county. It should be noted that all of those interviewed by the paper were enthusiastic for Smith and predicted his victory.

Locally, Republican leadership resided in the hands of Attorney U. S. Goen. Outspokenly Republican and a militant atheist, he was, nevertheless, highly respected by local politicians and lawyers.⁸ The other outstanding Republican figure in El Paso at this time was Lytton Taylor. It was he who ramroded the Hoover-Curtis Club that was to play an active role as the campaign developed.

A third group evolved shortly after the nomination of Smith. Temporarily, this group was to contain the majority of the Anglo electorate within the county. The anti-Smith Democrats organized a political club, called the "Hoover Independent Club." This group was led by Judge S. J. Isaacks and J. I. McCullough. If the regular Democrats could boast of having practically every major officeholder in the city and county governments in their camp, the "Hoovercrats" could truthfully boast that the principal leadership of their group included practically every Protestant minister in the county.⁹

Each of the above factions had its journalistic support. *The El Paso Times*, conducting the most vigorous and sustained editorial campaign of the three newspapers, gave the Smith forces complete and unqualified support.¹⁰ The *El Paso Evening Post*, a Scripps-Howard paper, supported the Republicans. The *Post*, however, was nowhere near so wholehearted in its editorial attacks as the *Times*. For one thing, the *Post*, probably following policy set by the Scripps-Howard command, advocated a modification of the Eighteenth Amendment. With the blatant devel-

opment of anti-Catholic bigotry both locally and on the national scene, the *Post* further modified its support of the Republicans and spoke out against the growing bigotry.¹¹ It remained aloof from the local Hoovercrats.¹²

The Ministerial Alliance, the driving force of the Independent Democrats and the Independent Hoover Club, did not need the support of the *Post*. The ministers had a staunch supporter in the *El Paso Herald*. The *Herald* gave full coverage of all meetings of the Hoover Independent Club and of the Ministerial Alliance.¹³

Aside from the three dailies, El Paso possessed two weeklies with rather large circulations. They were the *Labor Advocate* and the *Western American*, a Catholic publication. Both weeklies were headed by outstanding editors. J. P. Ponder, who edited the *Western American*, was a veteran newspaperman, having been editor of *The El Paso Times*, among other southern newspapers. Ponder's position was rather unique. He was a Presbyterian during the first two years of his editorship of the Catholic organ. Naturally, this Catholic newspaper was vigorous in its support of Smith, being especially hostile to the Klu Klux Klan.

The *Labor Advocate* was owned and edited by William J. Moran. Moran was a hard-hitting labor leader, likened in attitude and character by his friend, George Webber, to John L. Lewis.¹⁴ Although it was the policy of the American Federation of Labor at that time to maintain a non-partisan attitude towards the political fracas, Moran came out strongly for Smith in his paper.¹⁵ As a labor organizer of no mean ability, he worked hard to get out the labor vote for his candidate.¹⁶ It is significant that then, as now, the majority of organized labor in the southwest was of Mexican descent and, therefore, Catholic. Moran was a political ally of Robert Holliday. Holliday was one of the major Democratic leaders in West Texas and a man reputed to control a large segment of the south side vote. As the results of the election will show, the work of Moran and his co-workers paid off.

Probably the most unique aspect of the 1928 election was the degree to which the churches of the nation participated actively in the campaign. Everyone of the major Protestant denominations committed its clergy to an all-out fight against the Demo-

cratic candidate. In El Paso the Protestant churches lined up solidly against Smith. If the vigor shown by the El Paso ministers in fighting against the Democratic national ticket is indicative of what occurred elsewhere in the nation, it is indeed surprising that Al Smith received the number of votes he did.

The churches were prepared to fight Smith even before his nomination. On May 19, 1928, the Southern Baptists, with a membership then of 3,700,000, met in general conference in Tennessee. It was decided that they would bolt the Democratic ranks should Smith be that party's choice. At a national conference of the Methodist ministers held at Puget Sound, a resolution was passed urging all Methodist clergymen to fight against the candidacy of Smith. This same conference roundly condemned Joseph T. Robinson, Smith's running mate, for asking the churches to keep out of politics.¹⁷

This action on the part of the Methodist Conference evoked the following editorial comment from the *Post*:

It would be regrettable, we believe, if the great institution of organized Methodism were to enter the campaign for either candidate, or if any organized religious body, Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, were to take similar action.¹⁸

In September the Presbyterians likewise announced against the Democratic ticket. Doctor Heigh K. Walker, moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, issued a pronouncement in the official organ of the Church, stating that it was the duty of every Presbyterian to work and pray and vote for Herbert Hoover.¹⁹

E. T. Wilson, the local minister of the Seventh Day Adventist and president of the Texico conference, announced on October 27th that the conference had passed a resolution calling upon its churchmen to fight against the enemies of the Eighteenth Amendment.²⁰

A large part of the opposition to Smith was conducted through a so-called whispering campaign. Rumors about Smith being an alcoholic and owning houses of prostitution and gambling dens were whispered about the city.²¹ These whispering campaigns were not altogether confined to attacks against Smith,

however, although the larger percentage of the slander was aimed at him. One rumor at least was directed at Hoover, that he had danced with a Negro woman during his campaign trip into the South.²²

While historians are in general agreement that the religious issue was a primary one, local persons interviewed by this writer were in agreement that religion was the most important issue in El Paso county. This does not mean, however, that a great many of the people who spoke and voted against Alfred Smith were not sincere in their opposition to his stand on the prohibition issue. It is this factor that makes an accurate analysis of the real cause of the Smith rout so hard to come by. It might well be that the really decisive factor on the national level was the close identity in the public mind of prosperity with Republicanism. It is traditional with American voters not to turn out the party in power when the country is enjoying economic prosperity.

The *El Paso Evening Post* agreed with Herbert Hoover that prohibition was an experiment. But, in the opinion of the editor, the experiment had proved that the nation could not or would not have absolute prohibition. The *Post* affirmed one of Smith's contentions, namely, that you cannot legislate away man's weaknesses.²³

It seems that people's attitude towards prohibition fell into three categories: those who would repeal the Amendment; those who would conduct the experiment further; and those who insisted that the Eighteenth was the correct answer to the alcohol problem.

Those in Texas who fit into the last category met in Dallas in the middle of July and formed the "Anti-Tammany Democratic Party." The party called upon the Texans to vote a split ticket — Hoover for President, Democrats for all state and local offices.²⁴ Soon after the state convention was held a local club was formed. The club, as stated previously, took the name of "Independent Hoover Club." The state convention had featured several college presidents as speakers. These men came from various denominational colleges in the state. Locally the leadership and principal force behind the independent movement resided in the members

of the Ministerial Alliance.²⁵ It was the stated object of the club to place Herbert Hoover before the Democrats of El Paso County. Following the line of argument laid down at the Dallas meeting, the leaders of the local group stated that they were not asking Democrats to withdraw permanently from the Democratic Party. Rather, they expected them to support all local Democratic candidates.²⁶

Following the formation of the Anti-Tammany party, Justice-of-the-Peace R. B. Rawlins announced that persons who had signed the pledge on the Democratic primary ballot need not vote for the Democratic presidential candidate, as the only names on the ballot were state, county, and district nominees.²⁷

Simultaneous with the development of a Democrats-for-Hoover movement, the Labor Advocate launched its campaign against the Republicans. The paper noted that "nothing has happened in a quarter of a century that has demonstrated the virility of the Democratic Party and shown that it is the party of the worker and of true Democracy more than the nomination of Alfred E. Smith."²⁸ The paper assailed the Republicans for equivocating on the injunction issue, failing to include as a plank in their platform an attack on child labor and on convict-made goods.

The headlines of the newspapers for August 21 told of Smith's accusations that the G.O.P. National Committee was helping to foment the slanderous attacks on him. In *Up To Now* Smith alleged that the publication of certain documents made sure his contention that Republican leaders had promoted the religious issue with the approval of the Republican National Committee. It was at this time that the *El Paso Evening Post* cooled in its ardor for the Republican cause.²⁹

On August 10 the Independent Democrats made an attempt to take over the state organization, but this was squelched by the Moody forces.³⁰ The Governor had remained silent up to this time. However, with this move by some of his political enemies to seize control of the Party within the state, he announced his support for the Party's candidate.

By mid-September the whispering campaign was being conducted in earnest against Smith. Some of the rumors were

unbelievably naive. One stated that the Holland Tunnel, then being completed, was not to lead to New Jersey but to the basement of the Vatican. Another asserted that the Catholic Church had purchased a convent in New Jersey as the American residence of the Pope should Smith be elected. The *Times* denounced the Republicans for stooping to such tactics.³¹ The *Herald* noted, however, that though such tactics were indeed deplorable, the American people were not obligated to elect Smith because of the nature of the campaign being waged against him. The *Herald* did not feel the Democrat should be elected just so the world could be shown that America was a country without bigotry.³² John J. Rascob, national campaign manager for Smith, was quoted by the *Times* as saying that the whispering campaign was primarily aimed at the women since all the rumors were of a social and religious nature.³³

Although the majority of the space in each of the newspapers devoted to news and editorializing on the campaign had to do with some phase of either the prohibition question or the religious issue, occasionally some of the other points of debate were discussed. One was the immigration issue. Hoover on several occasions spoke on the subject, favoring limiting immigration, especially from southern and eastern Europe. Smith was more liberal in his approach to this question, favoring more lax immigration laws. As the *Post* pointed out in an editorial approving Hoover's stand, Smith's position on the issue was going to cost him a sizeable percentage of the labor vote. It is probable that Smith's attitude towards immigration was to cause William Green of the A.F. & L. to declare for Hoover in the final days of the campaign.³⁴

Another issue with an unfortunate outcome for Smith was farm relief. Although Hoover's idea of a Federal Farm Board to help farmers establish cooperatives was not so attractive to farmers as the McNary-Haugen program, it did promise some aid to them. Smith, thoroughly "citified," did not seem too interested in the problem. The rural districts of New York state had furnished the Governor his principal opposition in the state legislature and had probably caused a hostility and unsureness

in Smith toward the farm group. The Republican propagandist played up the fact that Hoover was farm bred while Smith was strictly a "city slicker." When Governor Dillon of New Mexico spoke in El Paso, one of the things he assured local citizens was the imminent practicality of the Hoover farm plank. However, the farm issue was not too important in El Paso County. The farmers of the valley at that time did a great deal of trucking and had a good local market. Farming had become diversified and this allowed the farmer to switch crops to meet market demands.³⁵

Thus the majority of the big farmers in the valley remained loyal to the regulars and, as the results of the election will indicate, threw their largely controlled Mexican vote behind the Smith forces.

The city of El Paso, because of its proximity to Mexico, has always been a favorite convention city. This was especially true during the era of prohibition. Judge Thomason has stated that when he was mayor, he spent a great deal of his time welcoming the various groups that met here. While it might seem at first thought that El Pasoans, from an economic viewpoint, would wish to see prohibition repealed in hopes that some of the money channeled into wet Mexico for liquor would remain in the city, actually it was prohibition that kept the hotels filled to capacity and provided money for other businesses.³⁶

Among the several conventions held in El Paso was that of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers which met on October 2. The delegates voted unanimous approval of the Eighteenth Amendment, although William Moran tried unsuccessfully to get an endorsement of Smith.³⁷ One of the speakers, Charles McKinney, State Labor Commissioner, pointed out to the railroaders that there were 200,000 trade unionists in Texas. Speaking, perhaps prophetically, McKinney said that should the trade unionists vote as a block, they could hold the balance of power in the state.

Among the minority groups in El Paso County was a group of Chinese. Their spokesman was Mr. Mau Bin who was closely associated with the regular Democratic leadership. Although,

relatively speaking, the Chinese made up only a small percentage of the county's population, they could all purchase poll taxes for themselves and their wives and could be counted on to vote as the Democratic leadership desired.³⁸

The only other minority group in El Paso of any significant size was the Negro. According to the *Texas Almanac* the estimated percentage of Negroes in the county in 1928 was 2.1 per cent.³⁹ In that period, prior to the advent of Franklin Roosevelt, the Negroes were predominantly Republican. Possibly because there were so few Negroes in the county, there was no attempt made to keep them from voting and a large number did vote in the election of 1928.

To return to the campaign, the October 4th issue of the *El Paso Herald* noted with satisfaction that the Anti-Saloon League of Texas was busy routing speakers all over the state. The women's Christian Temperance Union had, of course, come out for Hoover and the two groups were waging a successful campaign to line up the churches of Texas as a solid block for Hoover. As the *Herald* pointed out, "Baptist and Methodist churches almost control politics when they are united on a single issue." However, a dreadful blow fell on the Independent Democrats and their co-workers in the W. C. T. U. and the Anti-Saloon League when, on October 5, Senator Morris Sheppard, author of the prohibition amendment and the darling of the W.C.T.U., announced that he was campaigning for Smith. He launched his speaking tour in Smith's behalf in Wichita Falls, Texas, extolling the many virtues of the Democratic candidate.⁴⁰ This wound was compounded when Mrs. Hortense Ward, who had helped frame Texas' prohibition laws and who was the only woman ever to serve as Chief Justice of the Texas Supreme Court, came out for Smith. She defended Smith before the Women's Democratic Club in Dallas.⁴¹ These two events put the El Paso Democrats in a gleeful humor.

As the polling day was nearing, the intensity of the campaign increased. Mayor Thomason vehemently denounced the Hoover-Democrats for failing in their loyalty to the party. The *Labor Advocate* in a mocking editorial listed some of the notables who

were not members of Tammany: Albert B. Fall, former Secretary of the Interior; Thomas Miller, Republican Alien Property Custodian; Edwin Denby, ex-Secretary of the Navy; and Senators Truman Newberry and William S. Vare.⁴²

The Hoover-Curtis Club imported Lieutenant Governor Fitts of California to speak at a big Republican rally in Cleveland Square. He stated that Hoover was not a politician, that he "is so modest he is shy." Fitts then predicted that "Smith's election means reduction in wages."⁴³ Indeed, out-of-town speakers were becoming almost a daily occurrence. On the day following Fitt's address, State Senator Tom Holbrook spoke under the auspices of the Smith-Robinson Club.⁴⁴

The degree to which people had become emotionally involved in the campaign may be seen in an incident that occurred in the court of Judge R. E. Sherman. The Judge dismissed the case of a 75-year-old Mexican woman who had been caught stealing a pair of socks, saying, "if the Republican Party can get away with millions, a Democratic court like this ought to excuse the theft of a fifteen cent pair of socks. Case dismissed."⁴⁵

The fact that the United States was enjoying prosperity, according to the *Times*, could not be attributed to the Republicans, certainly not to Hoover specifically. Smith's election, the *Times* assured everyone, would not change conditions.⁴⁶ In one editorial barrage, the *Times* lashed out at Republican corruption, rehashing with gusto the oil scandals and numerous other scandals that had rocked the Republican administration. It denounced the G.O.P. for blithely ignoring the farmer and the veteran. The newspaper told its readers it felt sure that Smith could be counted on to sponsor a national bonus bill for veterans since he had successfully initiated such legislation in New York.⁴⁷

"Letters to the Times" printed a letter which contained phrases sounding astoundingly current and vaguely historical. According to the writer, John T. Hill, the issue "was whether or not the majority of the people will be trusted to determine the policies of the government or shall we continue to follow the Coolidge-Hoover policies dictated by the favored few."⁴⁸ This was a favorite line of the Democratic campaigners — Republicanism

meant government of the "favored few." A case in point is found in Maryland's Governor Albert C. Ritchie's tirade against Hoover. According to the Governor, Hoover, a cold and silent man, refused to discuss the major issues of the election because he thought the average American "a boob" but, continued Ritchie, "Smith has faith in democracy and in the ability of the common man to both think and feel."⁴⁹

The *Times*, taking its cue from Ritchie, attempted to show Hoover as aloof and condescending towards the average man. Conversely, the *Post* and *Herald* carried many pictures showing Hoover in situations designed to convey the impression that he was just an old farm boy who made good.

On October 30 the *Herald* headlined the announcement that John L. Lewis had come out for Hoover. A few days earlier the leaders of the A.F. of L. had declared for Hoover. Thus locally the Democrats were to lose much of the labor vote.

As election day approached rumors were rampant that the Democrats, following a practise that they had on occasion used before, were going to use illegal voting procedures. Attorney U. S. Goen asked John G. Sargeant, Attorney General of the United States, to have the polls patrolled by Federal Marshalls.⁵⁰

The American people went to the polls of November 6. At that time there were 48 precincts in El Paso County. It is interesting to note that 13 of the precincts were on the south side of the city and that all of these went overwhelmingly for Smith. The final count in the county gave Smith a total of 6114 votes to Hoover's 6054. Thus Smith carried the county by 63 votes. But in the city of El Paso Hoover carried the day by a plurality of 468 votes over Smith.⁵¹

Commented the *Post* on the day following the election, "Smith would have been badly beaten had it not been for the frantic work of the city and county political organization on the south side and heavily populated Mexican valley."

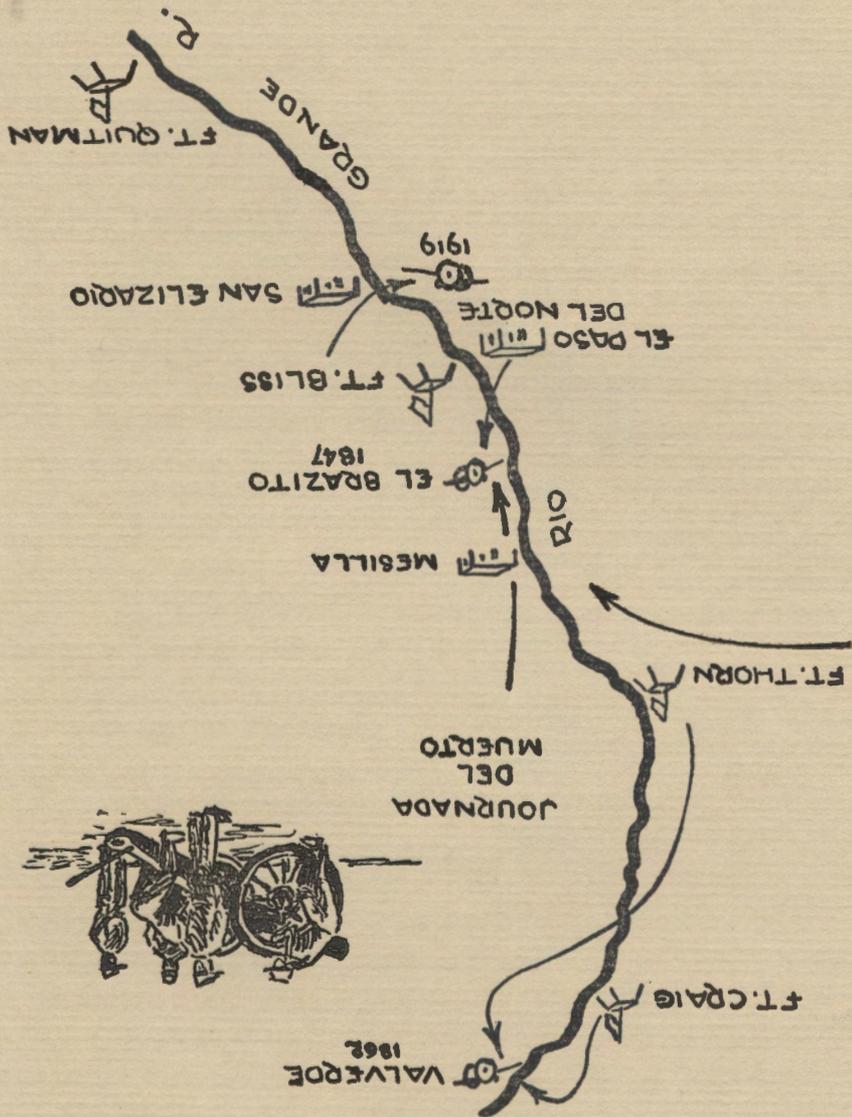
Charges were made accusing the Democrats of illegal voting. Specifically, H. J. Place, Republican supervisor of the Socorro and San Elizario precincts, claimed that he could furnish evidence that Mexican citizens had been permitted to vote by the

precinct election judges.⁵² It should be noted that all the precinct judges were regular Democrats.⁵³ However, since the state went for Hoover the charges were not pressed by Goen and his associates.⁵⁴

With the victory of the Hoover Democrats in the state there was talk of forming a new party locally to contest the control of Mayor Thomason and his colleagues. Although nothing came of this move and the regulars were able to retain their power, the animosity left from the campaign was to be felt until the great Democratic upsurge of 1932.

REFERENCES

- 1 *The El Paso Times*, September 10, 1928.
- 2 Alfred E. Smith, *Up To Now* (New York, 1929), 368.
- 3 *The El Paso Times*, April 10, 1927.
- 4 Interview, Mr. George Webber, Central Labor Union of El Paso, June 22, 1959.
- 5 *The El Paso Times*, May 9, 1928.
- 6 *Ibid.*, May 12, 1928.
- 7 *El Paso Evening Post*, May 23, 1928.
- 8 Interview with Judge R. E. Thomason, June 22, 1959.
- 9 *El Paso Evening Post*, October 26, 1928.
- 10 *The El Paso Times*, June to Nov., 1928.
- 11 *El Paso Evening Post*, July 14, October 6, 1928.
- 12 *Ibid.*, September to November, 1928.
- 13 *El Paso Herald*, Sept. to Nov., 1928.
- 14 Interview, George Webber, June 22, 1959.
- 15 See successive issues of the *Labor Advocate*, August 24 to November, 1928.
- 16 Interviews with Cleofas Calleros and George Webber, June 22, 1959.
- 17 *The El Paso Times*, May 20, 1928.
- 18 *El Paso Evening Post*, Sept. 15, 1928.
- 19 *Ibid.*, September 26, 1928.
- 20 *The El Paso Times*, October 27, 1928.
- 21 *El Paso Evening Post*, Sept. 26, 1928.
- 22 *El Paso Herald*, October 20, 1928.
- 23 *El Paso Evening Post*, July 8, 1928.
- 24 *The El Paso Times*, July 17, 1928.
- 25 *El Paso Evening Post*, October 3, 1928.
- 26 *Idem.*
- 27 *Ibid.*, July 23, 1928.
- 28 *Labor Advocate*, July 29, 1928.
- 29 *El Paso Evening Post*, Aug. 21 to Nov., 1928.
- 30 *The El Paso Times*, Sept. 11, 1928.
- 31 *Ibid.*, September 13, 1928.
- 32 *El Paso Herald*, September 16, 1928.
- 33 *El Paso Times*, September 14, 1928.
- 34 *Labor Advocate*, November 2, 1928.
- 35 Ruth Harris, *Geography of El Paso County* (El Paso, 1938), 16-19.
- 36 Interviews with George Webber and Judge R. E. Thomason, June 22, 1959.
- 37 *El Paso Evening Post*, October 2, 1928.
- 38 Interview with William Fryer, June 24, 1959.
- 39 *Texas Almanac*, 1929 (Dallas, 1929), 50.
- 40 *El Paso Herald*, October 5, 1928.
- 41 *El Paso Evening Post*, Oct. 5, 1928.
- 42 *Labor Advocate*, October 19, 1928.
- 43 *El Paso Evening Post*, Oct. 23, 1928.
- 44 *Idem.*
- 45 *El Paso Herald*, October 23, 1928.
- 46 *The El Paso Times*, October 25, 1928.
- 47 *Idem.*
- 48 *Idem.*
- 49 *Ibid.*, October 26, 1928.
- 50 *El Paso Evening Post*, Nov. 5, 1928.
- 51 *Ibid.*, November 7, 1928.
- 52 *Idem.*
- 53 Interview with Judge R. E. Thomason, June 22, 1959.
- 54 *El Paso Herald*, November 8, 1928.



The Guns of Valverde

By RICHARD K. McMASTER and GEORGE RUHLEN

Serving the Union

SINCE MID-MORNING of this clear cold February day the rumble of cannon fire had echoed across the valley of the upper Rio Grande. General Sibley's Confederate brigade was trying desperately to overcome the stubborn resistance of the Union troops and to reach the river near the centuries-old camping ground of Valverde, a few miles north of Fort Craig, New Mexico. The night before the Confederate column had avoided the guns of the fort by passing to the east of the black lava mesa, Mesa Prieto, directly across the river from Fort Craig. To prevent their reaching the river or crossing it, Lieutenant-Colonel B. S. Roberts had marched from the post at eight that morning, February 21, 1862, with several hundred regular infantry and cavalry, Kit Carson's New Mexico Volunteers, and a company of Colorado Volunteers. In the middle of the column were four of the six cannon of Captain Alexander McRae's light battery, and further to the rear came Lieutenant W. H. Hall's two 24-pounder howitzers.

Occupying an exposed position on the west bank of the river, the battery had succeeded in dislodging a Confederate battery 400 yards away on the east bank, thus permitting the crossing of Major Duncan's force of cavalry and infantry accompanied by Hall's howitzers. McRae's guns, crossing soon thereafter, had fired sporadically during mid-day while Duncan's force tried without success to dislodge a Texas regiment from the bushy thickets just north of the Black Mesa. It was mid-afternoon when the Federal commander, General Canby, realizing that what he had intended to be only an engagement to keep his enemy away from the river had become a critical battle, hurriedly left Fort Craig and arrived on the battlefield. Among the troops accompanying him were the remaining two cannon of the light battery. Detecting a movement by the Confederates up river which threatened his northern flank, Canby ordered McRae's battery,

supported by several companies of New Mexico Volunteers, to a forward position three quarters of a mile to the north. It was a most disadvantageous location for free operations, crowded and hampered by brush and rough terrain, making a change of front almost impossible.

The guns had barely swung into battery when the Confederate batteries, masked by an old river bed, were discovered some hundred yards away. A terrific fire of canister swept the battery, followed by a charge of several hundred Texans. The Volunteers fled in panic for the river despite the almost superhuman efforts of Colonel Carson to hold them, but McRae's men courageously serving their pieces under fire, repulsed the attack.¹ After a hail of canister, the Texans regrouped and again rushed upon the guns, reaching the very muzzles, but again the double shotted volleys drove the attackers back at grievous cost. Both commanders, Major Lockridge of the Confederates and Captain McRae, fell dead across the barrel of the same cannon, staining it with their blood.² Half of the battery personnel were out of action including Lieutenant Mishler and 1st Sergeant Knox killed, Lieutenant Bell wounded three times, and two-thirds of the horses useless.³ A third time the Texans charged the gallant battery, flinging themselves on the ground as they saw smoke at the touch-holes of the guns. In four rushes they were at the guns where the surviving cannoneers met them with sword, musket, pistol, and rammer-staff, but to no avail. Had the battery been efficiently supported by the troops at hand it would not have been taken. A mounted attack by two troops of the 1st Cavalry could do nothing among the struggling men of both forces, although it did afford a measure of assistance in the withdrawal, upon Canby's command, of the remnants of the battery across the river. Quickly turning the captured cannon around, the Confederates poured such a fire on the retreating men that only three caissons were saved.⁴ With the loss of the battery, the battle was lost, and as Duncan's force withdrew on the southern flank, one of Hall's 24-pounders was lost in the river bed, but subsequently recovered.

The capture of the light battery was a critical loss to the small Federal force upon whom depended the retention of the South-

west within the Union. It not only represented one fourth of the artillery in the Department of New Mexico and the only field battery available, but the task of organizing and equipping it had exhausted the resources of the Ordnance Depot at Fort Union. Manned by troopers of the 2nd and 3rd Cavalry, it was neither hastily improvised nor poorly trained. As early as December 2, 1860, Major Wainwright, the Department Ordnance Officer, concerned with the lack of an organized artillery unit within the Department, instructed Military Storekeeper Shoemaker at Fort Union Ordnance Depot to inspect and place in order a battery of two 6-pounder guns and two 12-pounder field howitzers for issue when directed. Lack of horses probably prevented early formation of the battery as commanders reported that there were no horses at their posts fit for use in a battery. One of General



MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD R. S. CANBY

Canby's earliest actions after assuming command of the Department in June 1861 was to inform the Assistant Adjutant General of the Army that "a heavy harnessed battery (4 12-pounder guns and 2 24-pounder howitzers) is greatly needed in this department. There are two 24-pounder howitzers at the depot but the carriages are unservicable." At that time Shoemaker did have in his depot a light battery of four 6-pounder guns and two 12-pounder field howitzers, but the 24-pounders' carriages were

very old and rotten, having been left over by accident sixteen years before with no expectation of use again.⁵

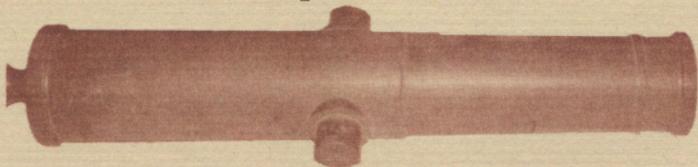
Canby's instructions for the immediate abandonment of Fort Buchanan included admonition to put its artillery in condition for service (two field howitzers and two mountain howitzers), and he reiterated his order for the 6-pounder gun and 12-pounder field howitzer at Fort Fauntleroy to be sent to Albuquerque promptly with limbers, harness and equipage in order to meet a request from Fort Craig for at least two 12 or 24-pounder pieces to augment its two 12-pounder mountain howitzers. The 24-pounders at the depot were repaired sufficiently to use them as garrison artillery at Fort Union and the commander informed that "the dismounted men of the Mounted Rifles and Dragoon companies will probably furnish a sufficient number for the management of any guns that may be needed for the defense of that post," a common practice on the frontier. A week later two 24-pound field howitzers, three 12-pounder field howitzers, and three 6-pounder guns were issued to the post. The remainder were retained in the battery required for the defense of the depot, probably five mountain howitzers.⁶

Meanwhile Major Lynde's surrender of his command in late July to a smaller force of Texans under Colonel Baylor lost not only Fort Fillmore but its garrison of seven companies of the 7th Infantry, two companies of Mounted Rifles, and the post's four mountain howitzers.⁷ Now Fort Craig alone remained to block any Confederate invasion of New Mexico from the south. Immediate action was taken to strengthen its defenses. The Southern Military District was formed August 10, 1861 under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts. Lieutenant McRae, commander of Company K, 3rd Cavalry, formerly of the Mounted Rifles, arrived at Fort Craig on August 14th and assumed duties as Assistant Adjutant General of the District. Companies C and H, 7th Infantry, from Fort Buchanan and originally destined for Fort Fillmore, were diverted to Fort Craig. Companies C and K of the 3rd Cavalry and A and I of the 5th Infantry from Fort Stanton joined other companies of the 5th from Fort Fauntleroy to assemble at Fort Craig in mid-August.

Colonel Roberts finding Fort Craig destitute of Ordnance immediately asked for the return of two artillery pieces that had been turned in for repair and also for a 12-pounder howitzer and a 6-pounder gun. Canby directed that Robert's requisition be filled but Fort Union could spare none of its artillery nor was there a single 6-pounder left in Shoemaker's depot; however, he did manage to provide a 12-pounder howitzer and two 12-pounder mountain howitzers to bolster Fort Craig's defenses.⁸

Although the two bastions of New Mexico's defense, Forts Craig and Union, were now moderately supplied with artillery, Canby was acutely aware of his lack of a field battery. Emergency requirements had taken every artillery piece from the depot; there were no artillerymen available to man a battery, and the need for artillery in the east was considered too critical to permit diversion of a battery to a remote area almost untouched by the war. A prompt solution to the problem was necessary.

After the surrender at Fort Fillmore, the Federal troops had been paroled as prisoners of war and sent east via Fort Union. All men of the 3rd Cavalry so paroled were reorganized into Company F and continued their march to Fort Leavenworth. Company I having the greatest number of men not involved in the surrender, was reorganized for immediate duty with station at Fort Marcy in Santa Fe. On September 1st, Company I's Captain Hatch was relieved from a special duty assignment as Department Commissariat and reassigned to train his company as a light battery with the two 6-pounder guns at Fort Marcy. Canby then directed that two 12-pounder field howitzers in the defense of Fort Union be replaced by 12-pounder mountain howitzers and that the field pieces be issued to Hatch to complete



U. S. FIELD HOWITZER (12-POUNDER) NO. 39, MODEL 1846
Now at the Centennial Museum, Texas Western College.

McRae's Battery was armed with four such pieces and two six-pounder guns, when over-run and captured.

a four-piece battery. Shoemaker reported to the Chief of Ordnance that equipping the battery had exhausted the supplies of the Department, and that troops coming to New Mexico should bring arms and artillery, and that the need for artillery was very great. To which the Chief replied that as the need was great everywhere, none would be forthcoming.⁹

Additional men for the battery were obtained by ordering Company G, 2nd Cavalry, from Fort Union to Fort Marcy, and also by the assignment of certain selected personnel from other companies of the 3rd Cavalry. On October 8, 1861, Companies G, 2nd Cavalry, and I, 3rd Cavalry, were ordered temporarily united for service as a battery of light artillery, and Lieutenant A. L. Anderson was assigned for duty. By the end of the month Canby was able to report with some pride to Headquarters Western Department that "with some difficulty and by uniting two cavalry companies, a harnessed battery of four pieces, two 6-pounder guns and two 12-pounder field howitzers, had been organized and will march to Fort Craig on the 30th instant."¹⁰

Under command of Lieutenant Anderson, Hatch having left the battery and the Department by virtue of his promotion to Brigadier General of Volunteers, the two cavalry companies marched south to Fort Craig, picking up Lieutenant Mishler's detachment of Company I, 5th Infantry at Albuquerque. On November 12th, McRae, now a Captain, and Regimental Adjutant 3rd Cavalry as well as Assistant Adjutant General of the Southern Military District, was placed in command of both Company I and the light battery. The battery arrived at Fort Craig on November 19th, becoming part of the garrison. The designation "McRae's Light Battery" appeared for the first time on the Post Returns for November 20, 1861.¹¹

In December Shoemaker wrote that McRae's requisition would be filled, apparently referring to another field howitzer for the battery as returns for that month show the battery composed of five field pieces and two mountain howitzers. The latter representing the attachment of Lieutenant Mishler's howitzer sections manned by a detachment of the 5th Infantry. Concurrently the number of 12-pounder field howitzers at Fort Union decreased

by one. Lieutenant Bell, 2nd New Mexico Volunteers was now assigned to the battery.¹²

Since late October Colonel Roberts had been attempting to obtain heavier artillery for the fortifications at Fort Craig, specifically the 24-pounder howitzers at Fort Union. But Shoemaker stated that they were not fit for field service, that they were "in the works at Fort Union with carriages too old to make it to Fort Craig, and in getting up the battery now at Fort Craig the best of the remaining equipment was used." Somehow Shoemaker accomplished the impossible for the post returns of Fort Craig for January show an increase of two heavy pieces of artillery. During that month McRae's battery received its sixth gun, another 12-pounder, apparently from the garrison artillery of Fort Craig, for January returns show a detachment of two pieces of the battery at the post, and the battery with four pieces accompanying Major Duncan's field expedition to Belen and San Antonio.¹³ The mountain howitzers were no longer attached to the battery and McRae was at last relieved from his additional administrative duties, being replaced as adjutant by Lieutenant Anderson. On the morning of February 21, 1862, McRae's light battery marched out of the gates of Fort Craig to their rendezvous with destiny.

After Valverde, McRae's battery although without guns, continued to exist as a unit. In March, under the command of Lieutenant Bell, it consisted of 3 officers and 77 men from Companies G 2nd Cavalry, I and H 3rd Cavalry, I 10th Infantry, F and K 5th Infantry, and 2nd New Mexico Volunteers. In April, still without cannon, it departed from Valverde on the 1st for Tijeras Canyon, participated in the engagement with Confederate forces at Peralta, and returned to Fort Craig the latter part of the month.¹⁴ On May 4, 1862, Captain C. J. Walker was assigned to Company G 2nd Cavalry and directed to receipt to Lieutenant W. H. Hall for the Ordnance, horses and equipment appertaining to Ritter's two gun battery to which Captain Walker and his company were assigned. As soon as organized the battery was moved into the fort. Enlisted men of the 5th Infantry on duty with McRae's battery were sent to their companies. By the

end of the month the battery was again equipped with six field pieces.

On July 4, 1862 the advance elements of General J. H. Carleton's Column from California reached the Rio Grande and any danger of another Confederate invasion vanished forever. However, Canby, apparently skeptical of the size and location of Carleton's forces, planned a march from Fort Craig to Tucson and the "Battery commanded by Captain Walker" was included in the order of march.¹⁵ On August 27th, Companies G 2nd Cavalry and I 3rd Cavalry, reverting to their former designations, departed from Fort Craig on their way to the battlefields of the East, and the pages of history closed on McRae's Battery, but not on its guns.¹⁶

Serving the Confederacy

Minutes after McRae's guns had been captured at Valverde, the triumphant Confederates had swung them into action against Canby's retreating troops, and throughout the rest of the campaign, marching in victory on Santa Fé or withdrawing in retreat after Glorieta, the Texans kept and used those cherished trophies of victory.

Colonel Tom Green told General Sibley as the retreat began to approach a debacle, that those guns would be brought out of New Mexico though all else were abandoned, probably without realizing how true his words would prove to be. The privations and suffering of Sibley's demoralized troops are but partially portrayed in the few brief accounts that have been left of that disastrous retreat. With most of their supply wagons destroyed or captured, their route lay southwest from La Joya to Pueblo Springs, near present Magdalena, south to Nogal Spring then down the west side of the San Mateo Mountains to the gap in the hills which still bears Sibley's name, back to the Rio Grande near the present Caballo Reservoir, across the river just south of present Rincon and thence to Dona Ana. In groups of twenty or thirty the survivors straggled into Fort Bliss.¹⁷

Their route was marked by abandoned and destroyed wagons, caissons, carriages, ammunition, supplies, and dead comrades;

even the sick and wounded were left by the wayside unattended, often without food or water. Eight of their guns they buried at Albuquerque, but true to Tom Green's word, the Valverde guns were not abandoned even though they had to be dragged up and lowered down canyon sides with ropes grasped by the exhausted, thirst-stricken men. But one third of Sibley's original brigade returned to Texas, bringing with them only seven wagons and the six guns of McRae's former battery — proof indeed of what those inanimate pieces of bronze meant to the men who had captured them.¹⁸



BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY H. SIBLEY, C.S.A.

At Dona Ana on April 30, 1862, Headquarters, "Army of New Mexico," issued a Special Order,

I. First Lieutenant and Adjutant Joseph D. Sayers of the Fifth Regiment Texas Mounted Volunteers, in consideration of his distinguished gallantry at the battle of Valverde, is charged with the organization of the Valverde Battery, with the provisional rank of Captain. It is hoped that the commanders of regiments and corps will extend to Captain Sayers all the aid in their power both in the selection of officers and men for the perfection and future efficiency of this noble trophy of the prowess of this army in the late encounter with the enemy. . . .

By June 10th the newly formed battery had passed San Elizario on its long march to San Antonio.¹⁹

Records of Confederate organizations are usually less com-

plete than those of the Union Army, hence a detailed account of the movements of the Valverde Battery is not possible; but it is mentioned with sufficient frequency to trace most of its participation during the war. In assembling troops, particularly artillery to repel an expected Union occupation of Galveston, Major General John B. Magruder, ex-1st U. S. Artillery, then commanding the District of Texas, curtailed the battery's movement to join General Holmes' command in Louisiana and on December 8, 1862, ordered it to remain at Marshall, Texas, and a few days later to report to Magruder in Houston. Sibley wrote on December 25th that the battery was then at Monroe, Louisiana and, "I had the honor on another occasion to represent to you the importance of keeping the Valverde Battery with the troops so closely identified with it. I beg leave to report and urge this upon you, and I would respectfully request that the battery under Captain Sayers be ordered to New Iberia at once."²⁰

The following April it was in the midst of operations along the Red River in western Louisiana assigned to Green's Cavalry Division. The battery under Sayers, stood fast on the left of Green's command against the Union assaults even as had McRae's men the year before. When Union troops attempted to repair Bethel's Bridge on the road to New Iberia, a section of the battery promptly moved forward, and soon cleared the bridge as well as a nearby sugar house occupied by a large force of Infantry and a battery of artillery. The remainder of the battery successfully repulsed several Federal assaults upon it although its gallant commander was wounded during the action. On the 17th, as part of the rear guard at the battle of New Iberia, it successfully covered the Vermillion Bridge enabling the bulk of the retreating Confederates to withdraw in safety. The battery was again engaged at Fort Bisland on the 22nd.²¹

Remaining with Green's Division, the battery was reported at Virginia Point in January 1864, commanded by Captain T. D. Nettles, Sayers having been promoted; in Galveston during February; and in Hempstead, Texas, on March 13th enroute to Louisiana under General Taylor.²²

In the ebb and flow of the rather indecisive campaign that followed, with both armies alternately advancing and retreating, Nettles' Valverde Battery was constantly engaged in that variety of tasks which so often befall a light battery in a battle of movement. Accompanying Bagby's and McNeil's regiments as they fell back along the Natchitoches road the battery was at Pleasant Hill on April 3rd as part of Mouton's Division. As the Confederates resumed their attack toward Natchitoches on the 9th, the Valverde Battery, first in action, was roughly handled by the Federal artillery until the other Confederate batteries opened up and drove the Federals from their formidable position. The following day, as the attack rolled on, the battery was sent down to General Green, occupying positions at Blair's Landing and Bayou Pierre on the 10th and at Monett's Ferry on the 24th with General Bee's command. Two days later at DeLoach's Landing one of the 6-pounders, a veteran of Valverde, took under fire a Federal boat mounting eight guns with such accuracy that the boat was forced to withdraw. Supporting Bee's Division, the battery was in action May 4th on the Rapides road four miles from Alexandria. The campaign ended almost where it began near Pleasant Hill. From his divisional headquarters Steele wrote that, "Lieutenant Hume with a section of the Valverde Battery was with the troops under my command during the pursuit from Alexandria during which time Lieutenant Hume distinguished himself for the promptness with which he brought his section into action and the skillful handling of his pieces."²³

That the Valverde Battery enjoyed a marked reputation is further evidenced by General Kirby Smith's letter to General Walker discussing plans to cross Taylor's troops east of the Mississippi River, a plan never implemented but which opinion today considers two years late in inception, "desire you to select four batteries to accompany Taylor's command . . . suggest selection be made from . . . and include Nettle's Valverde Battery."²⁴

September 1864 found the battery serving in Arkansas, the planned crossing having been abandoned, being a part of Major

Semmes' 1st Horse Artillery Battalion of the 2nd Texas Cavalry Division. A reorganization of the artillery was announced November 19th . . . "following will be the organization of the artillery of the department . . . 1st Battalion: Semmes . . . 12th (Valverde) Battery, Captain T. D. Nettles, 4 guns (horse) . . . will be known and designated as such from hereon."²⁵

The March 1865 return of Wharton's Cavalry Corps includes Nettles' battery of four pieces of field artillery and the organization chart shows: "Unbrigaded; Valverde Battery of Heavy Artillery, Captain T. D. Nettles." An inventory of Ordnance to be turned over to Federal officers after Kirby Smith's surrender lists the 12th Texas Field Battery, Captain T. D. Nettles, four guns near Nacogdoches. The guns of other Confederate batteries are reported as turned in, and this is the last mention of the Valverde guns.²⁶

One account states that rather than surrender these cannon to their enemies, the men who had taken them on the field of battle and served them so gallantly for three years, threw them into the Red River. Such a disposal is quite possible for the United States Assistant Ordnance Officers for the Department of the Gulf reported on June 16, 1865, "Confederate troops disbanded themselves, revolted against their commanders, and ransacked public buildings, plundering all government property, so it is hard to account for what is anywhere."²⁷

Aftermath

In 1892, Trevanion T. Teel, ex-Major CSA and a battery commander at Valverde, visited Albuquerque to assist in locating and uncovering some guns he had buried there thirty years before. Shortly before his death, Teel told Captain Deane, a Colorado Volunteer veteran, that five of the six guns captured at Valverde were used by General Dick Taylor until the end of the war. The sixth, whose carriage had been damaged by a direct hit during the battle, had been left at El Paso by Sibley's force as they retreated through that city. As the two stood beside this cannon in El Paso, Teel pointed out the discoloration on the breech and muzzle made by the blood of McRae and Lockridge.

On July 3, 1895, Samuel Shutz, El Paso's leading pioneer merchant presented to the McGinty Club, two bronze cannon which he had purchased for \$1000 each with the expectation of selling to the Army of Emperor Maximilian.²⁸ The expected sale having been called off, the cannon had been stored in a warehouse.

In 1905 the McGinty Club and its cannon were absorbed by the El Paso Pioneer Association. One of the cannon was "borrowed" from the City Hall Park in 1911 by Mexican revolutionists and subsequently disappeared. The other, a 12-pounder field howitzer, reposed safely within the Chamber of Commerce Building.

The remaining field piece and its wooden carriage are now on exhibit at the Museum of Texas Western College at El Paso. The carriage is marked "1845" and the left trunnion of the howitzer is stamped "1846." The dimensions and configuration of the cannon are exactly those of a 12-pounder field howitzer as described in the Army Ordnance Manuals of 1841 and 1850. Near the touch hole at the breech and extending forward for about six inches a faint stain is discernible. The foundry mark "N. P. Ames, Springfield, Mass." appears on the right trunnion, "U.S." on the tube, the initials "J. W. R." of the Ordnance Inspector and serial number "39" are at the muzzle.

Unfortunately, artillery pieces were not required to be accounted for by serial number until so prescribed in the fall of 1862, six months after the Valverde battle. Post and Department monthly returns until late in 1862 list only the quantity of artillery pieces on hand by type and caliber but not by serial number.

However, the possibilities that the cannon came from organizations other than McRae's Battery may be eliminated. The records of loss of Sibley's artillery, by capture or abandonment, account for the cannon which accompanied the Confederate force. The artillery surrendered by the federal garrisons in the southwest did not include any 12-pounder field howitzers, nor were there any with Light Battery A, 3rd Artillery which accompanied the California Column. Hence the Museum piece appears to be a relic of the McRae Battery.

REFERENCES

- ¹ T. F. Rodenbough, *From Everglade to Canon with the 2nd Dragoons* (New York, 1875). Lt. Bell's account.
- ² One version of this incident has Lockridge crying, "Surrender McRae, we don't want to kill you!" to which McRae replied, "I shall never forsake my guns." Another account has Lockridge calling: "Surrender, damn you!" to which McRae replied, "Shoot the son of a bitch."
- ³ Post Returns, Fort Craig; 3rd Cavalry Returns; W. C. Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War* (Denver, 1906), 62, 66.
- ⁴ Rodenbough, *From Everglade to Cannon with the 2nd Dragoons*.
- ⁵ Wainwright to Shoemaker, 2 Dec. and 29 Dec. 1860, Letters Sent, Dept. New Mexico, Old Army Branch, National Archives. (All letter files and returns are from National Archives unless otherwise noted.) Hatch to Dept. NM., 11 Jan. 1861, Letters Rec'd., Dept. NM.; Canby to AAG of Army, 20 June 1861, LS-DNM; Shoemaker to AAG Dept. NM., 18 June and 25 June, 1861, LR-DNM.
- ⁶ Hq. DNM to CO Ft. Buchanan, 30 June 1861, LS-DNM; Hq. DNM to CO Ft. Fauntleroy, 3 July and 20 July 1861, LS-DNM; Morris to DNM 15 and 18 July 1861, LR-DNM; Roberts to DNM, 16 Aug. and 2 Oct. 1861, LR-DNM; DNM to CO Ft. Union 22 July 1861, LS-DNM; Shoemaker to DNM, 11 and 30 July 1861, LR-DNM.
- ⁷ In Letter Book, LR-DNM 1861, there is a letter from CO Dept. of Texas to Col. Baylor dated 20 July 1861. It instructs Baylor not to attempt to take Fort Fillmore until reinforced. Its compliance would have changed the course of the campaign.
- ⁸ Post Returns, Fort Craig; DNM to Roberts 6 and 12 Aug. 1861, LS-DNM; Roberts to DNM 16 Aug. 1861, LR-DNM; DNM to Shoemaker 20 Aug. 1861, LS-DNM; Shoemaker to DNM, 20, 21, 22, 23 Aug. 1861, LR-DNM.
- ⁹ Regt. Returns 3rd Cav.; Shoemaker to DNM 19 Sept. 1861, LR-DNM; DNM to CO Ft. Union 23 Sept. 1861, LS-DNM; Shoemaker to Chief of Ordnance, 24 Sept. 1861, LS-DNM.
- ¹⁰ DNM to CO Ft. Union, 2, 3, 7 Oct. 1861, LS-DNM; Regt. Returns 2nd and 3rd Cav.; DNM to Duncan 14 Oct. 1861, to CO So. Mil. Dist., 17 Oct. 1861, LS-DNM; Canby to AAG Westr. Dept., 27 Oct. 1861, LS-DNM.
- ¹¹ DNM SO 191, 12 Nov. 1861; Regt. Returns 3rd Cav.; Post Return Craig.
- ¹² Shoemaker to DNM, 3 Dec. 1861, LR-DNM; Post Returns Fts. Craig and Union; Regt. Returns, 3rd Cav.
- ¹³ Shoemaker to DNM, 20 and 21 Dec. 1861, LR-DNM; Post Returns, Fort Craig; Regt. Returns 3rd Cav. Information in January indicated that the Confederates might march up either the Rio Grande or Pecos River, or both. As a precaution Canby sent several hundred troops to the vicinity of Abo Pass so they would be in a position to march toward either valley. As soon as the presence of Sibley's force north of Dina Ana was confirmed, Canby concentrated the bulk of his troops and artillery at Fort Craig. (RR, Series I, Vol. IV, 84.)
- ¹⁴ Post Returns, Fort Craig; Regt. Returns, 3rd Cav.
- ¹⁵ GO 28, So. Mil. Dist., 22 July 1862.
- ¹⁶ Regt. Returns, 2nd and 3rd Cav.
- ¹⁷ Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War*, 66, 138; RR Vol. IX, 513, 519.
- ¹⁸ Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War*, 130, 134, 136; RR Vol. IX, 666, 669-673.
- ¹⁹ RR Vol. LIII, 804; RR Vol. IX, 531, 676, 678.
- ²⁰ Magruder to Pemberton, 22 Dec. 1862, RR Vol. XV, 884.
- ²¹ Taylor Report, RR Vol. XV, 389, 390, 395, 465, 1089.
- ²² RR Vol. XXVI, 465, 565; Vol. XXXIV, 932, 1010, 1040, 1041.
- ²³ RR Vol. XXXIV, 563, 567, 571, 583, 620, 628, 632, 680.
- ²⁴ Smith to Walker, RR Vol. XLI, 100.
- ²⁵ RR Vol. XLI, 967; Vol. XLI, 1146, 1664.
- ²⁶ RR Vol. XLVIII, 1458, 1475; Vol. XLVIII, 965.
- ²⁷ Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War*, 138; RR Vol. XLVIII, 965.
- ²⁸ *El Paso Morning Times*, March 3, 1906.

CAVALCADE OF HOOVES AND HORNS *by Steve Wilhelm*

(San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1958. \$5)

STEVE WILHELM lives on the 212 Ranch at Kerrville and writes about ranch life from the inside. He carries his first-hand information over into volumes of history and poetry as well as into radio and television enterprises. The present book is a digest of everything he has learned and thought about the cattle industry.

Apparently Mr. Wilhelm's intention is to tell the story of the cowman and his business in the language the cowman habitually uses. The result is often startling since the author has no inhibitions about inventing conversations for any cattle raiser who appears on the scene, and no compunctions about putting in the hells and damns.

He covers an enormous amount of ground, beginning with Cortes and the conquest of Mexico and ending with 4-H Clubs and rodeos. In two hundred pages there must be many gaps and much superficiality. Furthermore Mr. Wilhelm is in too much of a hurry to bother with anything so pedestrian as footnotes and one can never be sure where he got his information or how much it is colored by his fertile imagination.

Even an amateur historian can find errors of facts or hasty generalizations. For instance there is no evidence that this reviewer has ever seen for his contention that John Chisum got an entire garrison of soldiers drunk to open the way for a campaign against the Mescalero Apaches, or that "more Indians bit the dust in that one surprise attack than had ever fallen before to cowboy guns." In short, Mr. Wilhelm seems to handle his history as casually as he does his language.

Dobie's *The Longhorns*, Wellman's *The Trampling Herd*, and other histories of the range cattle industry undoubtedly give more complete and accurate accounts of the rise and progress of the beef business. What Mr. Wilhelm has to offer is a cheerful informality which makes his book a good introduction to the subject even if it is not the last word.

Texas Western College

C. L. SONNICHSEN

THE MIER EXPEDITION *by Walter F. McCaleb*

(San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1959. \$2)

THE MIER EXPEDITION has ever been a romantic yet sorrowful incident in the history of Texas. It was characterized by classical heroism, racial prejudices, imperial ambitions, and man's inhumanity to man. Chiefly,

according to the author, the men of the Mier Expedition went forth "to punish the Mexicans for their insults, their outrages, and to pay themselves for their trouble by taking Mexican property."

The expedition really had its beginning in 1841 when President Lamar, the ambitious successor of Houston, "wanted to prove that he was a great leader" and sent an army to conquer New Mexico. But the men became lost and after great suffering were captured. The attack on New Mexico naturally aroused the Mexican Government and consequently General Vasquez was ordered with an army of several hundred men into Texas. General Vasquez captured San Antonio without resistance and then sent troops to capture Goliad and Refugio. But the Texans took up arms and after one unsuccessful engagement General Vasquez fled back across the Rio Grande.

The following year General Woll, a Frenchman and one of Santa Ana's favorite officers, invaded Texas and captured San Antonio. Taking 53 prisoners, he retreated to Mexico, followed by a detachment of 750 Texans under the command of Brigadier-General Somerville. But Somerville, the author insists, was "far too simple a man to lead a reprisal against the Mexicans." He was opposed to crossing the river boundary and with some of his men returned home. However, 304 remained and these made up the Mier Expedition.

The men of the Mier Expedition were captured (really they surrendered under promise of immunity), were chained and led half-naked and straved through Mexican villages where they were insulted and spat upon. Some escaped only to be recaptured and tortured. A number were sentenced to death by a sort of lottery. One hundred fifty-six white and seventeen black beans were placed in a pot. The men who drew the white beans stayed alive; those who drew the black were shot to death. The living were marched to Mexico City and thence to Vera Cruz where they were lodged as convicts without trials in the infamous Perote prison. In 1844 the 120 men still alive were given their freedom.

The author has written a very readable book that should find a place in every Texas school.

Texas Western College

EUGENE O. PORTER

» **CONTRIBUTORS** <

CHARLES E. HERSHBERGER was born in El Paso. He attended Rush Elementary School and was graduated from Austin High School in 1946. He then attended Northeast Junior College, Monroe, Louisiana, for one year before enrolling at Texas Western College where he received his A.B. in history. He is presently on leave from the El Paso Public School System in order to obtain his Master's Degree in history from TWC. The present article was taken from a much longer seminar paper written this summer.

Mr. Hershberger is married and the father of three children. He resides at 4945 Vulcan Avenue.



JOHN B. NEFF was born in El Paso and was graduated from El Paso High School. Attending the University of Arizona, he was a member of Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity. He was graduated from Arizona with a B.S. degree in 1930.

Mr. Neff is a charter member of the Society and for the past two years has served the Society as its First Vice-President.



MAJ. RICHARD K. McMMASTER, U.S.A. (Ret.) and COL. GEORGE RUHLEN, U.S.A. are no strangers to readers of *PASSWORD*. Both men have contributed articles as well as book reviews to the quarterly.

Both men are graduates of West Point and friends of long-standing. Colonel Ruhlen writes from Taiwan where he is serving a tour of duty: "For what it's worth I guess you know that Dick McMaster was my second battery commander when I was a second lieutenant, and also my next to last battery commander—all back in the old days of D Battery of the 82nd Horse Artillery with the 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Bliss — some 23 (gad!) years ago."

DR. C. L. SONNICHSEN, a Harvard Ph.D., is chairman of the English Department at TWC. He is the author of a number of books on the Southwest.

BEGINNING with this issue, *PASSWORD* is being printed on the Texas Western College campus under the direction of Mr. Carl Hertzog. The close association of the editor, the college, and Mr. Hertzog seemed to make a change of printers advisable.

The editor, speaking for the entire membership of the Society, should like to take this opportunity to thank the Guynes Printing Company, and especially Mr. Reynold J. Dazza, Jr., for their cooperation and unstinted kindness during the past four years. Without their kindly advice *PASSWORD* would not be the award-winning historical magazine it is. Many, many thanks for a pleasant and very profitable association.

WITH SHERMAN IN GEORGIA

The following letter was presented to the Society by Mrs. A. W. (Jean) Blanton for her mother, Mrs. Hazel Heaton. The letter was written by an ancestor of Mrs. Heaton and has been in her possession for a number of years.

The Editor wishes to thank both Mrs. Blanton and Mrs. Heaton for their contribution to the archives of our Society.

Camp Near Savanna, December the 17, 1864

Beloved Wife and Dear little boys its a long time since I heard from you. Are you yet a live: I still live and at present enjoy good health thank God for his goodness. I have been brought through dangers seen and unseen and the kind hand of Providence has still protected me and truly I can say that I have seen and felt the goodness of God in comeing through this campaign while many of our brave soldiers have fell victim to Death and many this day are suffering from wounds in battle. I enjoy the blessings of God in health and now I do hope and trust this letter will come quick and safe to hand and find you and Jerry and Danny still a live and in good health. The last letter I had from you was dated October the 24 and I have read it often comeing through this campaign and it tells me you finished thrashing grain that day and the number of bushels you had allso that you had your potatoes raised and that you intended to commence husking corn in a few days and now I suppose we will have to take a new start from that time yet I may get your letters that was on the way when our communication was stopped and I may not but they would be sent back through Pennsylvania and on to Washington and we may get them from

there to this place where we have now opened communications. Isabella it is one month and 3 days since we left Marietta and the second day after we left we got into a fight with the rebbles and we have fought our way clear through a distance of about to hundred and 70 or 300 miles and we have had some hard times but we whipped them every time and this is a glorious victory for the down fall of this wicked rebellion. But with a sad heart I must tell you that Joseph French my warmest comrade was taken prisoner at the battle of Maken. I think it was the 20 of November but I have that hope that the Lord will provide a way for him and that he will some day get home again. And sorry to tell you that Jacob Zigler and Mathew Severs was wounded in the same fight and they were sent to the Division Head quarter ambulences and they are not with us. They are on another road but I herd Zigler was Dead but I cant tell it for a truth but they were both badly wounded. Jacob was shot through the lungs and Mathew was wounded in the thigh and in the side. I will be able to tell you more about them in my next letter. Isabella it would be almost in vain for me to give you a full history of this trip it would take several sheets of paper but the distruction we made it was awful. We tore up railroads burnt down mills ware houses courthouses Jails and all the public buildings we could find and a great many splendid dwelling houses was burnt to ashes and a great deal of splendid furniture burnt with them. And we burnt millions and millions of dollars worth of cotton and you can judge for yourself an army of one hundred thousand men traveling through a country and trying to distroy all they can. You may know the distruction would be great. Isabella to my great surprise I have just now received a letter dated November the 13. It tells me the corn is husked but it still says you are living in that cold house. Jacob and John Smith is well. The mail is about going out. I must close but I will write again tomorrow. Just direct the 9 Penn Cal com.

Your Beloved husband

JACOB HAYES.

Write immediately.

OFFICERS OF
THE EL PASO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

<i>President</i>	JOHN B. NEFF
<i>First Vice President</i>	DR. JOSEPH LEACH
<i>Second Vice President</i>	MRS. W. W. SCHUESSLER
<i>Third Vice President</i>	MRS. G. RALPH MEYER
<i>Recording Secretary</i>	MRS. BALLARD COLDWELL
<i>Corresponding Secretary</i>	MRS. PAUL HEISIG
<i>Treasurer</i>	CHRIS P. FOX
<i>Curator</i>	MRS. CHARLES GOETTING
<i>Historian</i>	COL. ALBION SMITH
<i>Immediate Past President</i>	JACK C. VOWELL, JR.

DIRECTORS

1958-1960

DR. JOHN P. BLOOM
OTIS COLES
MRS. CARL CONNORS
MISS GERTRUDE GOODMAN
MRS. LELAND HEWITT
MRS. HENRY LIDE
MRS. T. W. LANIER

1959-1961

MRS. GEORGE BRUNNER
MAJ. JOHN DENNY
ARTHUR GALE
FRANK H. HUNTER
MAJ. RICHARD K. McMASTER
DR. EUGENE O. PORTER
MRS. REGINA SCHUSTER RABB

1960-1962

MRS. VICTOR H. ANDERSON, SR.
WILLIAM C. COLLINS
MRS. E. F. FLORES
COL. JOSEPH MAGOFFIN GLASGOW
MISS MARGARITA GOMEZ
ALLEN SAYLES
MRS. H. H. VARNER

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

MRS. C. N. BASSETT
MRS. L. C. BRITE
MISS ANN BUCHER
COLBERT COLDWELL
FRANK FEUILLE III
MRS. JOSEPHINE CLARDY FOX
BRIG. GEN. W. J. GLASGOW
RALPH GONZALES
PAGE KEMP
PAUL HARVEY, SR.
MRS. DEXTER MAPLE, SR.
R. E. MCKEE
MRS. RUTH RAWLINGS MOTT
MRS. J. W. LORENTZEN
MRS. W. H. PETERSON, SR.
DORRANCE D. RODERICK, SR.
DR. STEPHEN A. SCHUSTER
MRS. MAURICE SCHWARTZ
JUDGE R. EWING THOMASON
MRS. W. W. TURNEY
MRS. L. A. VELARDE

