

# PASSWORD



THE EL PASO COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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SUMMER, 1963

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## 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.*

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# Peddlers and Merchants — The Jewish Businessman on the Southwest Frontier: 1850-1880

by FLOYD S. FIERMAN

☞ The designation "Southwest" covers a broad swath. To some people it would include all of Texas, Oklahoma, Utah and Colorado, as well as New Mexico and Arizona. The subject matter under discussion in this paper shall encompass only West Texas, New Mexico and Arizona.

The word "peddler" should also be deleted from the title when we refer to the Southwest. It is inconceivable that "peddling" could have been employed to unite the seller and the buyer in the land of the *yucca* and the *saguaro*. Distances between communities were too vast, and the sparse settlements between the larger trade-centers like Santa Fé, Old Mesilla and Yuma did not lend themselves to this method of distribution. Furthermore, it would have been difficult for the peddler to obtain merchandise to hawk since the established merchant, in addition to selling his stock, was also forced to convey the articles for sale into the trade area. After such a monumental effort he would have been reluctant to share his valuable cargo. This is underlined by advertisements in the periodicals of the day which emphasized that most trade was concentrated about the *Plaza*.<sup>1</sup>

The term "Jewish" also necessitates exploration. Could the Jewish frontiersman be distinguished from his Catholic, Protestant or non-professed counterpart? To some students, consideration of a settler in the business category alone gives no clue to the religious identity of the settler. A theme contrary to this is suggested by Dean William Parrish of the University of New Mexico. He differentiates in his study, *The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico 1850-1900*,<sup>2</sup> when he offers an encomium for the Jewish merchant. It is his thesis that the German-Jewish merchant of New Mexico from 1850-1900 was a major factor in the economic development of New Mexico, if not the Southwest. A corollary to this outlook is the observation that a large percentage of those who stood behind the counter in the adobe towns were of Jewish birth. Despite these well-documented arguments we should be alert to

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EDITORS NOTE: This paper was read at the Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting, Pacific Coast Branch, American Historical Assn., Loyola University of Los Angeles, August 29, 1962.

Jewish renegades like Solomon Barth<sup>3</sup> who excelled in dishonesty and such hinterland personalities as the Bibo brothers<sup>4</sup> who might be classified as economic failures.

Placing this analysis in the scales it would appear that the adjective "Jewish" applies more accurately when the frontiersman is studied in broader sociological aspects. Thus, Michel Goldwater<sup>5</sup> of Prescott arranged his buying trips to San Francisco in 1877 so that they might coincide with the Jewish High Holydays; and S. H. Drachman<sup>6</sup> of Tucson kept a diary, which begins in 1863, in which he noted the occurrences of the Jewish Holydays as he roamed about the territory. Emanuel Rosenwald<sup>7</sup> in 1854 was faced with the dilemma of whether to keep his store open or closed on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. He resolved the matter with ease. He remained home and prayed while his brother Joe took charge of the store.

### *Why Did They Come West?*<sup>9</sup>

An underlying inquiry is what motivated the Jew to migrate to the Southwest. This question was probed by the writer in a previous study, *Some Early Jewish Settlers on the Southwestern Frontier*.<sup>8</sup> In this monograph the theory was developed that the Jew like anybody else came to the West because of *El Dorado*. Dean Parrish presents the opinion that the steamship lines in cooperation with the American railroads gave attractive discounts to the would-be western immigrant. Mrs. Perry Kallison,<sup>9</sup> a student of Texas history, informs us that a number of books written in German about American opportunities, particularly in Texas, were published in the German states in the last half of the nineteenth century. There is a possibility that some of these adventurers to Arizona and New Mexico may have read J. Val Hecke's *Reise durch die Vereingten Staaten von Nord-Amerika*. Hecke was so enthusiastic about Texas that he made the original suggestion that Russia buy Texas from Spain and found a German colony in that territory. Or else these restless people could have been enchanted by P. Alto S. Hoerman's novel, *Tochter Tehuan's*, which romanticized Texas and which was in wide circulation during the mid-nineteenth century.

Whether the transportation companies or the laudatory literature served as a magnetic pull we cannot be certain. But of this we can be definite: The material at hand discloses that the typical Jewish settler was a young man without opportunity in his homeland, who had a compulsion to find a new prosperous life. He was a treasure hunter and nothing else.

### *Where Are the Sources?*

In developing a methodology to uncover traces of the Jewish pioneer, it was first necessary, of course, to locate the historical sources. Because "Uncle Sam" was and still is the most important economic agent in the Southwest and because the soldier had to be supplied, the Indian supervised, and the mail carried, the National Archives contain the richest lode of information. They list all the government transactions with the Southwest contractors.

Other references are the discovery of diaries and reminiscences written by some of these migrants in their golden years. Reminiscences<sup>10</sup> written late in life frequently contain error due to the tendency of the elderly to exaggerate and because of the pitfall of the lapse of memory, but these discourses as well as the periodicals of the day are invaluable. Interviews with descendants of these early travelers were also helpful. These conversations aid the researcher in identifying various members of a family and sometimes because of their own historical pride some descendants compiled genealogies which, upon examination, piece together the jig-saw puzzle of a settler's career.

### *Who Were Some of These Pioneers?*

A prominent family in the Old Mesilla - El Paso vicinity was the Lesinsky - Freudenthal - Solomon<sup>11</sup> family. This combination of families, related by marriage, were government mail carriers; they ran passenger coaches and they supplied the troops stationed in the area. Government indentures were a little less than a retainer, but they permitted a man or a family to branch out into other areas. Henry Lesinsky and his company opened stores in Silver City, Las Cruces and Solomonville. He also operated a copper mine and smelter in Clifton, Arizona, and by 1880 the mine produced 100,000 pounds of copper per month. After operating the mine for ten years, Henry and his partners sold the mine for \$1,400,000. Their original capital was \$300,000.

Lesinsky, like the Staab Brothers<sup>12</sup> of Santa Fé, also made separate business alliances with people outside of his normal business ventures. In one such case Lesinsky became associated with Ernest Angerstein<sup>13</sup> who was astute enough to lay claim to a portion of Fort Bliss near El Paso when the government was slow in exercising a lease renewal. Later when the well-known W. W. Mills of El Paso attempted to wrest the Post Tradership away from Ernest Angerstein

and his partners who held the appointment, a communication from the government not only did not support Mills but the writer commented that even if the Government did, it could not remove Angerstein, since he now owned this area of Fort Bliss and it was his homestead.

I. E. Solomon was the founder of a bank in Solomonville, Arizona, which was to become the Valley National Bank of Arizona. The bank had its beginning in Solomonville in 1899. The Solomon family eventually lost their holding in this bank but they can be credited with founding it.

Few families are more colorful than the Spiegelberg family whose headquarters were in Santa Fé. Solomon Jacob Spiegelberg, the oldest of six\* Spiegelberg brothers, was the first to leave Germany. He crossed the Santa Fé trail in an ox-train and, according to one report, was appointed a sutler for Colonel William A. Doniphan's regiment. By 1846 he had established a wholesale and retail general merchandise business and in 1868 he was joined by his five brothers, Willi, Emanuel, Levi, Lehman and Elias. This pattern of one member of a family digging roots in the territory and then sending for or encouraging other members of the family to migrate was a typical practice. It was true of the Lesinsky - Freudenthal - Solomon family, the Rosenwalds and Staabs of New Mexico; the Drachman - Goldberg, and the Zeckendorf - Steinfeld families of Arizona.<sup>14</sup> Many of the Spiegelberg records have been lost, but recently uncovered material housed in the National Archives has revealed their activities as Government contractors. Dean Parrish recently guided the writer to a bank letter book which records the activities of the Spiegelbergs as bankers.<sup>15</sup> The Spiegelbergs were founders of the Second National Bank of Santa Fé which held a national bank charter from 1872 to 1892. These brothers, with Solomon returning to Germany and Levi located in New York and the others remaining in Santa Fé, did an international banking business from their center in the capital city of New Mexico. They also staked their fellow countrymen, the Bibb brothers, in their activities as Indian traders among the Acomas.

The Drachman - Goldberg<sup>16</sup> family of Arizona also form a captivating aggregation. Philip Drachman arrived in New York in 1852 with two fellow passengers, Michel and Joseph Goldwater, who were to become notable in Arizona history. In 1854, at the age of eighteen,

\*Most of the writings concerning the Spiegelbergs and photographs refer to five brothers. *The Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, Saturday, September 22, 1855, records the death of Elias, who was killed while sleeping by a falling roof. Elias then would be the sixth brother. *Files of Dr. B. Sacks, Historical Consultant, Arizona Historical Foundation.*

Philip came west. He and his brother Samuel, and their two brothers-in-law, Hyman Goldberg and Sam Katzenstein, and Hyman's brother, Isaac, all were closely identified with the growth of the Arizona territory. While these immigrants never personally accumulated the wealth that was potentially obtainable, their efforts as prospectors were sifted on the drywasher to the advantage of the territory. Immeasurable were their contributions to the economic and political development in what was then a backward stretch of land.

Isaac Goldberg, called *Lomo de Oro*<sup>17</sup> by a contemporary journalist, was a mercurial personality. He had interests above the ground and over the ground and he was enchanted by what was in the ground. Sometimes he became a venturesome prospector. Other times as in 1871 he responded as a supplier. He had a nose for business and an eye for gold.

Aaron and Louis Zeckendorf, of German ancestors, had a general mercantile business in Old Albuquerque from 1867 to 1869, and later located in Tucson, Arizona. Louis Zeckendorf came to the United States in 1854 where he joined his brother Aaron in Santa Fé. Shortly after, the firm of A. and L. Zeckendorf was started and in 1866 a branch house was initiated. Aaron died in 1872 and the business in Tucson which became the central enterprise was continued by Louis and another brother William, as Zeckendorf Brothers, until 1878.

The manner in which William Zeckendorf protected his property and stimulated commerce illustrates that being a merchant in the territory in the eighteen hundreds was not a drab experience. *The Weekly Arizonian*, Tucson, Arizona Territory, shouted in pica that:

On Thursday night a party of burglars entered the store of Mr. [W.] Zeckendorf and had carried out some \$300 worth of clothing, when several bullets from a pistol in the hands of excited Zeckendorf took effect at various points in the roof of the building, and put the thieves to flight, leaving their plunder piled in the street.<sup>18</sup>

William Zeckendorf kept his image before the public in various ways. *The Weekly Arizonian* of 1870 reports:

On Sunday last Mr. Zeckendorf called the attention of every man, woman and child in town to the anniversary of his birth, by a magnificent display of fireworks. . . . The grandest pyrotechnic display of the evening marked the closing of the celebration and consisted in the burning of Don Fernandez' stable and hay, ignited by a spark from a Roman candle. . . .<sup>19</sup>

On another occasion, *The Weekly Arizonian* of 1870 comments:

Zeckendorf by the aid of a ladder climbed to the giddy summit of his store, drove a huge steel spike into the wall . . . suspended therefrom a

glass lantern not quite as large as a hogshead. The light which shoots out from this is so intense that no chicken in any part of town ever goes to roost until Zeckendorf extinguishes his lamp about 10 o'clock P.M.<sup>20</sup>

William Zeckendorf evidently became a carnival promoter. In addition to advertising himself by means of fireworks, dull business in December, 1870, prompted him to stimulate the reticent buyer in another manner. He introduced a "Christmas Lottery" at which two hundred prizes were announced by handbills posted upon every building, fence, corral and gate in town. Tickets sold for five dollars. This was a scheme that he learned, we are told, from the Grand Mercantile Library of San Francisco. Subsequently, a nephew of Aaron Zeckendorf, Albert Steinfeld, who was at first a junior partner, assumed leadership of the store in Tucson.

The Zeckendorfs, like all the other Southwestern newcomers referred to, obtained warrants from the government. They held mail contracts, were suppliers, and they sought and secured documents permitting them to trade with the Indians.

#### *What Were the Business Hazards?*

Engaging in business in the unfenced West had its hazards. The Bibos, for example, had many problems incidental to supplying the Forts. Some of these problems were created by nature while others were the result of human dishonesty. In 1871 Nathan Bibo sublet a contract from the government to two men, Howard and Leonard, who were to supply a hundred tons of hay to Fort Apache. His partners, however, were as crooked as the roads which carried the hay. A special messenger from the quartermaster at Camp Apache, a friend of Nathan's, warned him that the two men were privately collecting for every pound of hay they had delivered, without divulging in their transactions that Nathan Bibo was also a partner. After a hurried investigation, Nathan learned that not only were his partners in this contract not giving him what was due him, they were also using his hay cutting machines to cut the hay. By the time Nathan arrived at Fort Apache, Howard and Leonard had already taken flight. Yet Nathan was still responsible for fulfilling the contract.

Solomon Bibo, who was a post trader at the Acoma reservation, was accused by the Indian Agent Pedro Sanchez in 1884 of violating his Trader's License by obtaining a lease of the Acoma grant. There was much litigation over this lease and finally the government concluded in their case in 1888 that the lease with Solomon Bibo was drawn up with the common consent of the Acoma Pueblo, and thus



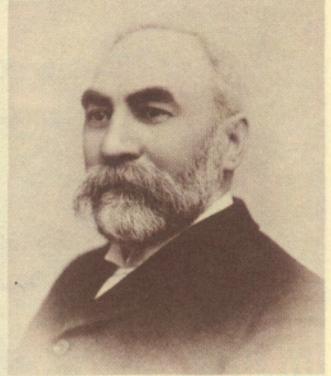
I. E. SOLOMON, COMMERCIAL STORE, SOLOMONVILLE



GILA VALLEY BANK & TRUST CO.— ORIGINAL BANK — SOLOMONVILLE  
(Courtesy Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson)



MR. and MRS. PHILIP DRACHMAN in 1868, shortly after their marriage in New York City.



LOUIS ZECKENDORF  
(Arizona Pioneers'  
Historical Society)



Not within the scope of this study, but important in the economic development of Juárez - El Paso was Adolph Schwartz, one of the founders of the Popular Dry Goods Store, in El Paso. Here he is pictured, July 29, 1911, in the company of Francisco Inocencio Madero, short-lived president of Mexico. Schwartz, like many El Pasoans, traded with representatives of the Madero government and with Pancho Villa.

Reading on the second row left to right are: Mrs. Adolph Schwartz, Mr. Adolph Schwartz, and their maid, the lady in white. On the front row, left to right: a couple, believed to represent the New York Times (names unknown), Madero's nurse, Madero's wife, Sara Perez de Madero, Francisco I. Madero, General Lucio Blanco, Madero's body guard, and at the extreme right in the photograph an unidentified Mexican soldier. This photograph was taken in Cd. Juárez, Chih., in front of the Schwartz home, Calle Cerrada de Teatro. Xicotencatl G. (Hicks) Tejeda, a devoted employee of the Schwartz family, made this photograph available and made the identifications.

Solomon was absolved from the accusation of engaging in sharp practices with the Indians.

The Drachmans and the Goldbergs who followed on the heels of the Arizona prospector ascended and descended with the miner's success or failure. To operate in many directions required a quick merchandise turnover which in turn demanded a boom town economy. Miners had to be staked, new settlers had to be given credit and they were all good for what they borrowed as long as the economy stood up and as long as they found the mineral they were seeking. But when they did not, then the whole economy tumbled. This was the condition in which Hyman Goldberg found himself in 1878. He was over-extended. To break the chain of debt, he petitioned for bankruptcy in Yuma County on March 5, 1878.

There were, in addition to the hazard of the rapid rise and fall of boom towns, the triple scourge of fire, building cave-in, and flash flood. A kerosene lamp could be knocked over by an inebriate or inadvertently by a would-be customer causing the soft-goods to go up in flame. The flash flood of the Southwest and the subsequent weakening of the adobe walls from which buildings were constructed could result in a cave-in, the *vigas* killing the unsuspecting people below or just generally wrecking the building. Hyman Goldberg was the proprietor of a store in Harshaw which received the unexpected triple blow. In Harshaw "about two-thirds of his stock was destroyed [by fire] and the balance considerably damaged."<sup>21</sup> A Phoenix paper reported that the loss approximated \$15,000. This unfortunate occurrence was preceded a year earlier by the crumbling of a wall where the loss was \$600, and a month previous to the fire, flood waters created damages to the amount of \$1,000. Four years later, in 1885, Hyman was a spectator at another fire, this time in Phoenix. It leveled a whole business block and Goldberg's merchandise and building loss was \$12,000.<sup>22</sup>

The Spiegelbergs had their problems, too. The State Archives in Santa Fé<sup>23</sup> has made available a record of delinquent accounts due the Spiegelberg Brothers which was given to the legal firm of Gilder-sleeve and Knaebel of Santa Fé for collection. The relinquent accounts, which are labeled "good," "no good," "*bueno*," "fair," "dead," and "*quien sabe*," total \$43,837.18.

Emanuel Rosenwald in his reminiscences records that he went to Wyandotte "where we had a law suit for some money owed us on some lands and instead of getting money out of the case, I had to pay what little money I had for costs and lawyer's fees in the case which left me without means to reach Denver."<sup>24</sup>

### Conclusion

Whatever economic success was achieved by the Jewish pioneer in that portion of the Southwest under scrutiny was the result of a number of factors. Those who migrated west were young, daring, energetic and ambitious. They brought an educated mind to a part of America where it appears that the other citizens were limited in education and business acumen. They also operated in family groups so that brothers and in-laws could be trusted in branch operations and the various enterprises that it took to find success. Too, it is conceivable that the marriages that took place in the early years of settlement among these families brought additional capital into an operation and also encouraged the younger brothers and sisters of the original migrant or his children to marry into the Jewish fold.

The Jewish pioneer made notable contributions to the up-building of America's Southwest frontier. His record is one in which the citizens of the Southwest can only take pride.

### REFERENCES

1. There were, of course, wholesalers and suppliers, like the Staab Brothers and Spiegelberg Brothers, but there is no evidence of a peddler with his merchandise on his back, or the single-wagon purveyor, as was found in the eastern United States where communities were clustered together.
2. William J. Parrish, "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico, 1850-1900," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Vol. XXXV, January, 1960, and April, 1960, No. 1 and No. 2, pp. 1-29, 129-150.
3. There are many legends concerning Solomon Barth. He probably was born at Frutochin, Posen, Prussia, in 1842, the son of Samuel and Fredericks Barth. He married Refugio Landarazo (1856-1921) at Cubero, New Mexico, in 1864. Barth came to America (or returned) at the age of thirteen, with an uncle. He crossed the plains of Utah in 1855 and went on to San Bernardino, California, in 1856. In the winter of 1860-61, he made a round trip to Tucson driving a freight team. In 1862 he was employed by Michel Goldwater at La Paz, Arizona. In 1863, he and Aaron Barnett were supplied by Goldwater with a stock of goods which they took to the Weaver diggings. There they did a flourishing business exchanging merchandise and liquor for gold dust.

Barth was naturalized an American citizen in 1864. By an Act of the 10th Territorial Legislature (Arizona), 1879, he was granted the exclusive right to build a toll bridge across the Little Colorado River at St. Johns. He showed his business acumen in many ways, but one of the most interesting concerned his claim to ownership of the Grand Canyon to the Little Colorado River, including the northern half of the Apache County and Navajo County. His claim was based on a treaty with the Navajo Indians by which the tribal chiefs allegedly recognized his title to those lands.

In 1885 Barth was arrested on the charge of perjury and other offenses. He was sentenced to prison in 1887 and served time until February, 1889. When Barth died in 1928 at the age of eighty-six, he was the last surviving member of the 11th Territorial Legislature. *San Diego Union*, December 9, 1928; *Enterprise Supplement*, Prescott, Arizona, November 23, 1878, 1:5; *The Weekly Arizona Miner*,

- Prescott, Arizona, November 29, 1878, 4:1; *The Tombstone Epitaph*, Tombstone, Arizona, June 20, 1885, 3:1; *Arizona Daily Star*, Tucson, Arizona, February 15, 1889, 3:1. Consult Appendix.
4. Isaac Bibo and Blumenschen Rosenstein Bibo had ten children: seven sons, Nathan, Simon, Solomon (Salmon), Joseph, Samuel, Benjamin, Emil; and three daughters, Lina, Clara and Rica. Isaac Bibo, born in Graetz, Posen, was a cantor and teacher. The Bibos were active as post traders and government contractors in the West from 1866-1884. Letters of Arthur Bibo, son Emil, July 25, 1953 and December 24, 1960, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Special Case No. 132, No. 22791, No. 13350, No. 18015, No. 22817, No. 14662.
  5. Michel Goldwater was born in Russian-Poland in October, 1821. He married Sarah Nathan in London, England in 1850, and was naturalized an American citizen in Los Angeles in 1861. He lived in California from 1852 to 1862. In 1862 he and his brother Joe were attracted to the mining town of La Paz. With the arrival of Federal troops in the area in 1863, they engaged for more than a decade in bidding on Army contracts to supply grain and provisions to the military forts in Central and Northern Arizona. *Prescott Arizona Miner*, October 29, 1870.  
 In 1872 Joe and Mike [Michel] Goldwater opened a branch store in Phoenix. Michel Goldwater would arrange his buying trips to San Francisco so that he could attend Jewish Holyday Services in that city. "Mr. Michel Goldwater, one of our successful merchants, we learn from a telegram received of Morris, his son, arrived in San Francisco today, where he plans to remain four or five weeks and be present during the Jewish New Year and participate in the festivities thereto. He will also purchase a large stock of goods for the company's stores at Ehrenberg and Prescott." *The Weekly Arizona Miner*, September 7, 1877.
  6. Two such examples are references to the Jewish holydays on October 1, 1867, "the second-day Rosh Hashona," and on October 14, 1867, "the 2d Sukoth." *Samuel H. Drachman's Diary*, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Association, Tucson, Arizona.
  7. "Reminiscences of Emanuel Rosenwald," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, p. 115, April, 1962.
  8. Floyd S. Fierman, *Some Early Jewish Settlers on the Southwest Frontier*, Texas Western Press, 1960.
  9. Correspondence with Mrs. Perry Kallison, February 6, 1961, "The information which I shall set forth below came from the San Antonio, Texas, Public Library's Texana Collection . . . *North America and Texas*, translated from a German manuscript, and edited by Max Freund, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1954; Ferdinand Herff, *The Organized Immigration of the German Proletariat With Particular Reference to Texas*, M. F. Varrentrapp, P. Krebs, Frankfurt, 1850 (In German); Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas With Particular Reference to German Immigration*, Bonn, 1849. Translated by Oswald Mueller, Standard Printing Co., San Antonio, 1935; Viktor Bracht, *Texas im Jahre 1848*, Elberfeld and Iserlohn, 1949; P. Alto S. Hoermann, *Die Tochter Tehuan's*, Benziger Brothers, Cincinnati, 1866; J. Val. Hecke, *Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1818 und 1819*, Germany, 1821. . . . In Germany of the early 19th century, there was already a scarcity of land for her growing population. All kinds of plans were proposed to establish German colonies in Texas, one even proposing to buy land from the young Republic of Texas and to establish a German colony as part of Prussia. While no schemes of this sort ever came to pass, in the decades of the 40's there were established several colonies, as either part of the Republic of Texas, or, after 1845, as part of the State of Texas. Most of these were located in South Central Texas, in sort of a triangle, of which San Antonio was the center, with New Braunfels on the north, 30 miles away, Fredericksberg, Comfort, and others to the Northwest, and Castroville on the Southwest side. Many Germans also settled in areas East of San Antonio, like Seguin, Schulenberg and the like."
  10. The Reminiscences of Emanuel Rosenwald, I. E. Solomon, Anna F. Solomon, Nathan Bibo, Samuel J. Freudenthal.
  11. Fierman, *Some Early Jewish Settlers on the Southwest Frontier*, 14-38.

12. Abraham Staab was born in Westphalia, Germany, February 27, 1839. He arrived in the United States in 1854 at the age of fifteen and after two years in Norfolk, Virginia, migrated west. In 1858, after being employed by the Spiegelberg Brothers of Santa Fé, New Mexico, for one year, he entered into the general merchandise business with his brother Zadoc Staab, the firm being known as Zadoc Staab and Brother. Gradually it became the largest wholesale and merchandising establishment in the Southwest. Abraham Staab successfully fought those who wanted to move the capital of New Mexico from Santa Fé. He held a number of public offices and was the first president of the Santa Fé Chamber of Commerce. On December 25, 1865, he was united in marriage with Miss Julie Schuster. Abraham Staab died in 1913. Ralph E. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fé*, Santa Fé New Mexico Publishing Corporation, C. 1925, pp. 479-80.
13. National Archives: 6031—A.C.P.—1872, A.G.O., R.G. No. 94, Files of Dr. B. Sacks, Historical Consultant, Arizona Historical Foundation.
14. The Zeckendorf brothers came from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fé in the year 1854. Louis, Aaron and William Zeckendorf were born in Hanover, Germany. Aaron Zeckendorf came to Santa Fé first and later he was joined by his brothers, Louis and William. They opened a branch at Albuquerque and another at Rio Mimbres (Deming, New Mexico). In 1872, when Aaron died, the business was continued by Louis and William as the Zeckendorf Brothers. In 1878, when William retired, the business was continued as L. Zeckendorf and Co. During the deflation which followed the Civil War, the brothers found themselves with too much merchandise. They were told that the little town of Tucson was prospering so they moved there. In this manner the A. and L. Zeckendorf Company was born in Tucson. By the time the Southern Pacific Railroad had reached Tucson in 1880, Albert Steinfeld, the nephew of Aaron Zeckendorf, at the age of twenty-six, had already become manager of the firm that was to become Albert Steinfeld and Company. May Hughston, "Albert Steinfeld, Merchant," *Arizona Highways*, 1950, 4ff. Correspondence of Elizabeth Smith with William Zeckendorf III, November 15, 1951, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.
15. Second National Bank of New Mexico Bank Letters (1872-1873), Coronado Room, University of New Mexico Library, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
16. Philip Drachman, born at Petrikov, Russian-Poland, migrated to New York in 1852 and on October 16, 1860, he was naturalized as a United States citizen at San Bernardino, California. He was the son of Harris and Rebecca Drachman and he married Rosa Katzenstein at New York City, April 6, 1868. Samuel H. Drachman was four years younger than his brother Philip. In 1875 he married Jenny Migel at San Bernardino, California. Samuel and Philip, his two brothers-in-law, Hyman Goldberg and Sam Katzenstein, and Hyman's brother, Isaac, all were closely identified with the growth of the Arizona Territory. Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.
17. *The Weekly Arizonian*, Tucson, Arizona, September 25, 1869, 2:1.
18. Files of Dr. B. Sacks, Historical Consultant, Arizona Historical Foundation.
19. *Idem*.
20. *Idem*.
21. *Arizona Weekly Star*, Tucson, August 11, 1881, 1:4.
22. *Arizona Gazette*, Phoenix, May 28, 1885, 3:7.
23. Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins, State Archivist, State Records Center, Santa Fé, New Mexico.
24. "Reminiscences of Emanuel Rosenwald," *loc. cit.*, 117, 118.

## APPENDIX

Solomon Barth had a brother Nathan who was also an Indian trader. A letter in the National Archives from Nathan Barth, dated May 23, 1884, reads as follows: "My full name is Nathan Barth, my residence is at St. Johns, Apache County, Arizona. I wish to carry on the trade with the Zuni Indians at the Village of Zuni in the County of Valencia in the Territory of New Mexico. The capital which I propose to employ in such trade will be \$4,500. I shall employ no clerks, agents or other persons and will be the sole member of the firm." This was accompanied by a letter of recommendation: "We the undersigned residents of St. Johns, Ariz., respectfully submit that in our judgement Nathan Barth is a sober, reliable, fit and proper person to be in the Zuni County and that his character is unexceptionable. Harris Baldwin; Dr. Benjamin Franklin Morris Blake; Alfred Ruiz, Clerk, District Court; Charles L. Gutterson, Attorney at Law." Solomon Barth and Walter Darling put up the bond for Nathan. According to the records, Solomon was also a resident of St. Johns, County of Apache, Arizona territory at that time.

In 1893 Nathan again applied for a license to trade with the Zuni Indians. (Such Licenses were granted for three years.) There is no apparent record of what transpired between 1884 and 1893. In 1893 there was another agent already licensed for the Zuni Indian trade, and the Washington Office wrote their field agent, John H. Robertson, to ask if he would comment on the desirability of licensing another agent, namely, Nathan Barth. The agent replied, "I never met the present trader but hear that he is a good man, and a man whom the Indians think well of." But this letter was followed by another letter (Archives File No. 20091) from the agent saying that he had received new information to the effect that the "Barth brothers do not bear a very good reputation. . . ." He enclosed a letter from F. W. Nelson, County recorder, Apache County, Arizona, dated May 21, 1893, stating: "Both of them (Nathan and Solomon Barth) were indicted in Apache County, Arizona, in 1887. Sol was convicted that year and sent to the Territorial Penitentiary for ten years and served part of his sentence and was pardoned. There are indictments against both of them now (1893) in the District Court of this County. Nathan did not bear the best kind of reputation for honest dealings while in business in this County."

Also included with Nelson's letter to the agent were notices of three indictments against Nathan in 1887. These are identified as Papers 180 and 181 of Minute Book No. 2 of the District Court of the Territory of Arizona, 9/22/1887.

In indictment No. 37 Nathan pleaded guilty to the charge of embracery, (an attempt to influence a Jury corruptly to one side or another) was fined \$500 and court costs, which he paid, and was discharged.

In indictment No. 38 he was charged with Grand Larceny and in indictment No. 32 he was charged with stealing court records. For both of these he was ordered to leave the territory permanently on or before January 1, 1888, and the counts would not be prosecuted. *I am indebted to Miss Marion Simon, Washington, D. C., for the Nathan Barth information.*

## The Effect of the Railroad on New Mexico

by F. A. EHMANN

☪ The coming of the railroad in 1879 was unquestionably one of the major events in the history of New Mexico, for the changes it brought about were not only important, far-reaching, and rapid but also, to many of the natives, startling. New Mexico before the advent of the railroad was an "unprogressive" area populated for the most part by Indians and Spanish-Americans<sup>1</sup> who found primitive life pleasant and who had no inclination to alter the pattern of civilization which had existed nearly unchanged for generations. Even the Santa Fé trade had little effect on most New Mexicans, for Santa Fé was a business community supported by its commercial ties with Missouri and Mexico. Its prosperity was more closely related to its trade terminals than to the remainder of the New Mexico Territory.

Indeed, the majority of New Mexicans were not concerned with trade — or mining; they depended upon their sheep, their agriculture, and their unspecialized labor for their unhurried if frugal living. The railroad changed this way of living. With the railroad came commercial opportunities which New Mexico's business-minded minority immediately recognized. And with the railroad also came a horde of American immigrants who saw an opportunity to exploit the area, who brought with them totally different concepts of life, but who found in the land of *poco tiempo* a good many converts among the natives. In short, the newcomers transformed New Mexico in less than a decade from a static, agricultural and pastoral area into a territory oriented technologically.

The technological revolution in New Mexico was, however, more of an intellectual longing than a physical phenomenon. Except for mining, New Mexico has never been a major industrial region and, unless one refers to the federal government's atomic energy and guided missile programs in very recent years, it has never been an area which contributed appreciably to the development of American technology. But, since the advent of the railroad, New Mexico has been an area in which the main current of thought has included an optimistic acceptance of the technological achievements of modern life.

New Mexico is still a land of contradictions, and facile generalities about it more often than not prove to be oversimplifications. Even today a number of its citizens pursue a way of life as much as possible

like that of their grandfathers, but they are a minority group — as the business people of Santa Fé once were — and even these people are becoming Americanized at least to the extent of desiring the conveniences of modern America.<sup>2</sup> It was during the decade following the coming of the railroad that the old wantlessness began to disappear.<sup>3</sup> The railroad brought in thousands of people who embraced the myth of progress, and the new commercial opportunities which the railroad offered converted many of the natives to the myth. This whole process, significantly, was the product of external circumstances, the result of immigration and promotion. Even the railroad, as H. H. Bancroft perceptively noted in the 1880's, expanded into New Mexico not because the territory's citizens or commercial life demanded it, but because the territory had to be crossed in order to complete transcontinental railroad lines.<sup>4</sup>

The first train to reach New Mexico crossed the territorial boundary over the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé line from Colorado in February, 1879, and provided service as far south as Las Vegas before the end of the year. In 1880 service was initiated from Las Vegas through Lamy to Albuquerque, where the A. T. & S. F. joined the tracks of the Atlantic and Pacific line, then under construction, which would join it with the Pacific coast.<sup>5</sup> By the end of the year service had reached San Marcial, and in 1881 the Santa Fé extended its facilities to El Paso, Texas, where they joined the Southern Pacific line to the west coast and, in 1882, the Texas and Pacific line to the east. Moreover, New Mexico had a link, important to the mining interests, with Colorado by means of the narrow gauge line which the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad constructed southward on the west side of the Sangre de Cristo mountains, to within twenty-eight miles of Santa Fé.<sup>6</sup> During the period from 1878 to 1885 over twelve hundred miles of track were laid in New Mexico.

As soon as New Mexico could be reached by rail transportation, its immigration rate increased tremendously. This was the result of a complex of factors, but primary among them was the obvious fact that immigration became easy. What had been a difficult overland trip became, by nineteenth century standards, a pleasant as well as a scenic trip. This encouraged visitors as well as immigrants to come to New Mexico, and the writings of these visitors in turn expanded the myth of New Mexico as the garden, the land of opportunity, and encouraged still further immigration. In 1880, moreover, the Territory organized a Bureau of Immigration which published a number of pamphlets designed to entice people to move to New Mexico. And a cursory survey of the major American periodicals of that dec-

ade reveals the popularity of articles on the Southwest in general and on New Mexico in particular.<sup>7</sup>

Although statistics for immigration in 1879 are not available, census figures for 1880, 1885,<sup>8</sup> and 1890 reflect the influx of Anglo-Americans. These figures are particularly impressive since the population increase which they record was almost entirely the result of immigration from other parts of the United States, the population of Indians and Spanish-Americans remaining relatively constant.<sup>9</sup> Between 1880 and 1885 the population of New Mexico increased approximately fifteen thousand. By 1890 it had increased an additional twenty thousand. Some of the immigrants in the first half of the decade were drawn to the territory by the mining boom which the railroad brought on, but probably far more important as a causal agency was the work of the Bureau of Immigration, which pictured in impressive terms the opportunities available for all kinds of business enterprise. The Bureau, according to Bancroft, had by 1886 circulated over twenty-seven thousand copies of its pamphlets in six editions under various titles. Bancroft estimates that twenty thousand persons moved to the Territory of New Mexico between 1880 and 1886, the first six years of the Bureau's existence. Among those who came to New Mexico, of course, was the usual assortment of confidence men and criminals who had been following railway expansion into new areas, but most of the newcomers probably were, as Miguel Antonio Otero asserted, "intelligent, enterprising business men."<sup>10</sup>

Of the New Mexican business enterprises in the late nineteenth century, mining was probably the only one which might be regarded as industrial in character, but actually many of the claims were placer mines which required little technological knowledge and relatively little heavy equipment for efficient operation. Still the flow of American men and capital into the mining localities led to a mining boom after 1879. One of the mining centers was the area around Silver City, which the journalist Columbus Moise visited during the boom period. Moise was particularly impressed by the number of American mining men. "Silver City, itself the centre of a fine mining section," Moise wrote, "is a thriving town of about twenty-five hundred inhabitants, and unlike other towns of New Mexico, is thoroughly American in every respect."<sup>11</sup> But the mining fever broke out in many places, and M. A. Otero's recollections of New Mexican life not only recount his own mining speculations but reveal the boom at its peak, at a time when buying and selling mines, gambling on sudden affluence, was a favorite sport among New Mexican businessmen.<sup>12</sup>

New Mexican towns such as Las Vegas and Silver City may have

been a bit more civilized than Nevada in the 1860's, but the speculation was just as wild as that described in *Roughing It*. Nor was mining fever limited to urban businessmen or American prospectors. Birge Harrison, who spent some time in the area around Española and Santa Cruz, wrote an article for *Harper's Magazine* in 1885. While Harrison went to New Mexico to sketch and was primarily interested in the pueblos and picturesque Spanish-American communities, he nonetheless noted and recorded the ubiquitous nature of mining fever:

Until of late years the Mexicans have been content with their sleepy, Arcadian life, but the irruption of modern ideas has brought with it the modern lust for gold. . . . Even the Mexicans are awakening to golden day-dreams of a coming El Dorado, and examine specimens of a mineral with as curious an interest as the oldest Colorado miner. Every man in the county carries in his pocket a lump of green or blue mineral and a microscope. They are as common as Colt's revolvers, and perhaps quite as dangerous.<sup>13</sup>

The mining boom, however, was not the only indication that the machine age had come to New Mexico, for even agriculture in the territory was being viewed in terms of scientific farming. Water, of course, is scarce in New Mexico, and agriculture is dependent on irrigation. New Mexican's of the 1880's, and the writers of the Bureau of Immigration pamphlets, envisioned the extension of irrigation to a degree not exceeded by actual development in the twentieth century. Moreover, recognition was given the territory's agricultural potential in the national magazines, whose cheerful prognosis rested on the assumption that technological developments and scientific irrigation would redeem vast areas of unimproved land.

While irrigation had been practiced by both the Pueblo Indians and the Spanish-Americans, its practice had been limited to the areas where the rivers presented optimum conditions. Moreover, the old irrigation system was relatively wasteful. What was needed for the extension of New Mexican agriculture was the erection of major dams, the scientific plotting of well sites, and a more carefully planned irrigation system. Engineering and scientific farming were needed to redeem unused lands. These facts were published in contemporaneous magazines. A thorough study of agriculture in the Rio Grande valley, with particular reference to New Mexico, appeared in the *Overland Monthly* in 1887. The writer, O. E. Cromwell, noted particularly how the advent of the railroad changed ideas about the territory and its potentialities:

Until the coming of the railway, a few years ago, little was really known about the extent and capacity of the agricultural lands of New Mexico.

The world at large was in almost total ignorance of the existence of such a place as the valley of the Rio Grande. The dime novelist claimed the Southwest as his own peculiar field. Deserts, Indians, and desperados, lost mines and frightful adventures were supposed to constitute the products of the region. The vineyards and old mission gardens told quite another story to the observing eye — but careful observers were few and far between. The impression went abroad that New Mexico was a second edition of the Desert of the Sahara — a place where, although rich veins of precious metal ribbed the mountains, the barren sand-plains forbade permanent settlement. It was a place to make money in, but not a place to live and make homes in.<sup>14</sup>

But Cromwell was not merely presenting the myth of the garden, post-railroad style. The vision he conjured up was held by residents of the territory as well as by visitors, for Cromwell's article contained a supply of statistics gleaned from an 1886 Bureau of Immigration report as well as data which he acquired through actual observation. Cromwell also commented on the lack of progressive farming methods. Speaking of the Rio Grande valley, he said,

The valley was so long ruled by the Spanish that it still retains many agricultural methods dating back to the conquest, mingled with earlier native customs. The present may be called the transition period, but the change is far from complete, though the American steel plough has driven out the primitive crooked stick, and the modern farm wagon has replaced the antique and clumsy *carreta*, with its rough wheel blocks, yet the native farmer still threshes his wheat by trampling it with animals, after the Biblical fashion, and his system of irrigation belongs to the same period.<sup>15</sup>

The garden needed the machine, and the machine, Cromwell foresaw with satisfaction, was coming into the garden. "The old is rapidly passing away," he averred,

Even now, American farmers are breaking down old adobe walls, about acre and half acre enclosures, ancient as the days of Espejo, and making broader fields, where plow-lands can be laid down and cultivated on a larger scale. Some day there will be water ditches far out on the plains, artesian wells on the mesas, and close, careful culture of every acre in the broad and fertile valley.<sup>16</sup>

A more scientific article was published in *Harper's Weekly* by Richard J. Hinton, who was the author of the "Report to the Department of Agriculture on Irrigation in the United States." Using statistics carefully computed by civil engineers in the territory, Hinton predicted a future almost as promising as the one Cromwell awaited. Hinton was insistent in his recital of the possibilities of scientific farming in New Mexico and felt that the increasing Anglo-American activity there would soon make the possibilities a reality. In another article published a year later, in 1889, Hinton reiterated his confi-

dence in the region. "Labor," he declared, "was of little consequence in this region until the advent of the railroad, which everywhere in the far west has been the builder of activities, the mobilizer of wealth, the organizer of movement. In New Mexico it is revolutionizing the situation, and the systemization of irrigation which has now set in will complete the awakening."<sup>17</sup> The machine had arrived.

But the technological possibilities which the railroad revealed, directly and indirectly, involved not only agriculture and mining; they touched the lives of most of the residents, for it was the myth as much as the fruit of technology which turned the New Mexican's thinking toward progress. Indeed, the myth of progress was established before much actual progress had taken place. Visitors as well as optimistic natives saw the future reflected in the present. Columbus Moise, for example, wrote prophetically early in the decade. Traveling on the Santa Fé railroad, Moise described reaching New Mexico:

On and on — a moving dream of progress — over the grassy plains of Colorado to the border line of New Mexico, at once the newest and oldest section of America. Still bearing on her cliffs the vestiges of an ancient race of artisans, she has just been touched by the mighty Iron Finger of civilization, and the shriek of the locomotive has not yet well awakened her people from their lengthened slumber.<sup>18</sup>

There was no doubt of what life would be like once the dream was actualized. New Mexico was being stirred by the "Iron Finger of civilization," by the "shriek of the locomotive." But the process of change in New Mexico was not as simple as Moise's analogy. The old culture did not simply give way to the new. Instead, a new myth with a nascent actuality was collocated with an old myth and a fading reality. A new, a growing, a progressive, an American culture was added to a declining culture; it did not completely replace the old (nor has it yet). Moise himself recognized this. He was enchanted with Las Vegas, which, he found, "consists, as in fact do nearly all such places throughout the territory touched by the railroad, of a new and old town. The new one is American, the old Mexican."<sup>19</sup>

Indeed, the collocation of the old and the new rarely failed to impress travelers and was often one of the first things which strangers to the area noticed. An article in the March, 1883, issue of *The Atlantic Monthly* described a trip south across New Mexico to El Paso, Texas, and into Mexico. By the time the writer had penetrated New Mexico as far as Las Vegas he felt familiar enough with the territory to comment on the dual nature of New Mexico:

At long intervals the train halts at mud villages, part Indian, part Mexican, with a strange graft and frontage of board shanty and wide awake

American. At noon it reaches Las Vegas, an old Mexican town of importance, now being fast transformed into a railroad city. The contrast between the narrow, crooked, adobe-walled alleys, low flat-roofed houses, and ragged, lazy people — all picturesque and good-for-nothing together — in the old town, with the straight streets, pert brick blocks, bustling money-getters and begetters — all unpicturesque and well-to-do together — in the new town, is a sharp one, embodying and emphasizing the condition of New Mexico today, and foreshadowing its condition and the fate of its people in the near future.<sup>20</sup>

The writer apparently regarded the multiplication of the “bustling money-getters and begetters” as an optimistic territorial prognosis.

Another observer during the 1880's, Sylvester Baxter, visited New Mexico several times and was able to make comparisons regarding the rapidity of the mutation from the old to the new. In 1885 Baxter called specific attention to the “Americanization”— which he implicitly equated with progress — of the territory:

On the annexation of New Mexico to the United States there was a considerable influx of Americans. Isolated from “the States” by a thousand miles of unpeopled plains, they became Mexicanized. As a rule they married Mexican wives, and their children, in most cases, speak little or no English. Now the railroad has brought a large secondary immigration, which is, in turn, Americanizing the Mexicans. These throughout the territory are rapidly becoming trained in the United States ways of thinking and business dealings. It has been common for new-comers to sneer at the Mexicans as slow and behind the times, but careful observers have noted that the leaders among them have been fully abreast of the old American residents in welcoming the new order of things, conforming to the modern ways, and assisting in their adoption.<sup>21</sup>

Although he admitted that, in spite of this willingness on the part of the natives, New Mexico would not be completely Americanized for a long time because of the language barrier and the lack of educational opportunities, Baxter was nonetheless encouraged by the progress made in the 1880's. “The Nineteenth-century touch given by the railroad,” he reported, “has transformed the humdrum old Mexican place of Albuquerque into, or rather has added to it, a bustling railroad centre, with street cars, fine stores, a number of hotels, and a rapidly growing population and trade.”<sup>22</sup> Baxter, then, recognized the vestiges of an older way of life, but he was more interested in the new, in progress, which he (like many writers of his time) associated with the increase in business establishments.

During the winter of 1881-1882, C. M. Chase, the editor of the *Vermont Union* (Lyndon, Vermont), also took the writers' grand tour of New Mexico. “The advent of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé railroad a year ago,” he later reported of Albuquerque, “put a

new spirit into the old town. Americans are drifting in, and old things and old ways are giving way to modern style."<sup>23</sup> Chase then itemized some of the improvements he noted — increased business activity, gas and telephone service — and concluded that Albuquerque's "prospects are good, provided she permanently relinquishes her old Mexican slow coach gait [*sic*], and keeps pace with the spirit of modern times. She can sleep no longer and hold her place. She must wake up, abandon her 'dugouts,' study architecture, cultivate public spirit, make friends with modern styles, be liberal in public improvements, and then she will be all right. . . ."<sup>24</sup>

To some degree, at any rate, Albuquerque did precisely that. Sylvester Baxter found on his second visit to that city that tremendous changes had taken place:

Visiting Albuquerque again a year and a half later, in 1883, I found the changes which had taken place in the meantime still more remarkable. Where at that time there was but one business street, lined with an inferior class of buildings, and scattering houses dotted here and there over the level fields, outlining the anatomy of the town that was to be, the skeleton had become clothed with good solid urban flesh, or, to speak more literally, with brick, stone, adobe, and timber. The buildings now stood in sturdy ranks. Railroad Avenue had been paralleled by another and handsomer business street named Gold Avenue; the intersecting cross streets had also been built up with business houses; large and glittering plate-glass windows were filled with attractive goods in the latest fashions. . . ."<sup>25</sup>

All this may at first sight seem to have little to do with technology and mechanization. But the concept of progress which visitors noted in New Mexico was compounded of an anticipated business expansion based on technological enterprise and on the uncritical acceptance by most of the residents of the fruits of American industry, on street cars, modern buildings, and telephones. Baxter's account particularly emphasized the nature of New Mexico's concept of progress: Albuquerque with its plate-glass windows and business streets, *Gold Avenue* and *Railway Avenue*. This is the stuff of which New Mexican dreams of progress were made.

The myth of progress, based on anticipated technological development and its corollaries of prosperity and commercial expansion were, of course, part of the mainstream of thought. Even such men as M. A. Otero, whose father had participated in the transactions which brought the railroad to New Mexico, were not blind to the drawbacks of the new, but most of them regarded such drawbacks as the transitory ailments of a changing society. Thus Otero, for example, recalled with relish the lawlessness which accompanied railway expansion. The railroad brought not only substantial citizens looking

for new homes. It also brought a variety of lawless, violent men, the breed that thrived on the fringes of civilization. Otero's description of the railroad towns in which he spent his youth documents this facet of the railroad's expansion and needs little comment here, but it should be noted that the nature of the crimes perpetrated reflects a change not unrelated to the progress which the territory enjoyed. Crime and vice existed in pre-railroad New Mexico, but the crimes were generally crimes of passion resulting from emotional tensions and jealousies which manifested themselves in fights of varying seriousness. With the railroad, however, came confidence men and professional thieves, malefactors whose crimes were directly related to the rise of commerce.

It is not surprising, then, that many men who recognized without bitterness both the profoundness and the inevitability of the change nonetheless deplored the loss of certain attributes of the old way of life. Captain John Gregory Bourke, for example, who served with the Army during the Indian wars and remained in the Southwest later as a civilian anthropologist, spoke for many New Mexicans when he contemplated the future of the Southwest. Referring to Tucson, Arizona, Bourke was undoubtedly mindful of the universality of his lament in 1880, when he wrote in his notebook:

With the coming of the iron horse all will soon be changed; the dignified, grave and courteous bearing of the Castilian will give way to the prying, obtrusive and calculating manners of the Yankee and the Jew: soon from the signs above the doors of the tendajines will disappear the names of Velasco, Carrilo, Leon and Suastegui and flaring black and white will tell us that Gottlieb and Co. deal in Cheap Clothing or that G. Washington Smith has just received another invoice of Gents' Nobby Eight Dollar Ulsters. I know its [*sic*] heresy to say so, but I am just a trifle sorry to hear that Tucson is being so rapidly Americanized; I had much rather have it remain as it was, dirty, dusty [*sic*], vermin-infested if you will, but for all, a link binding our bustling aggressive civilization to the years when men in their sober senses scoured this vast continent in search of fountains of youth and caskets of treasure or when benevolent, good-hearted people burned their fellow creatures at the stake for God's sake.<sup>26</sup>

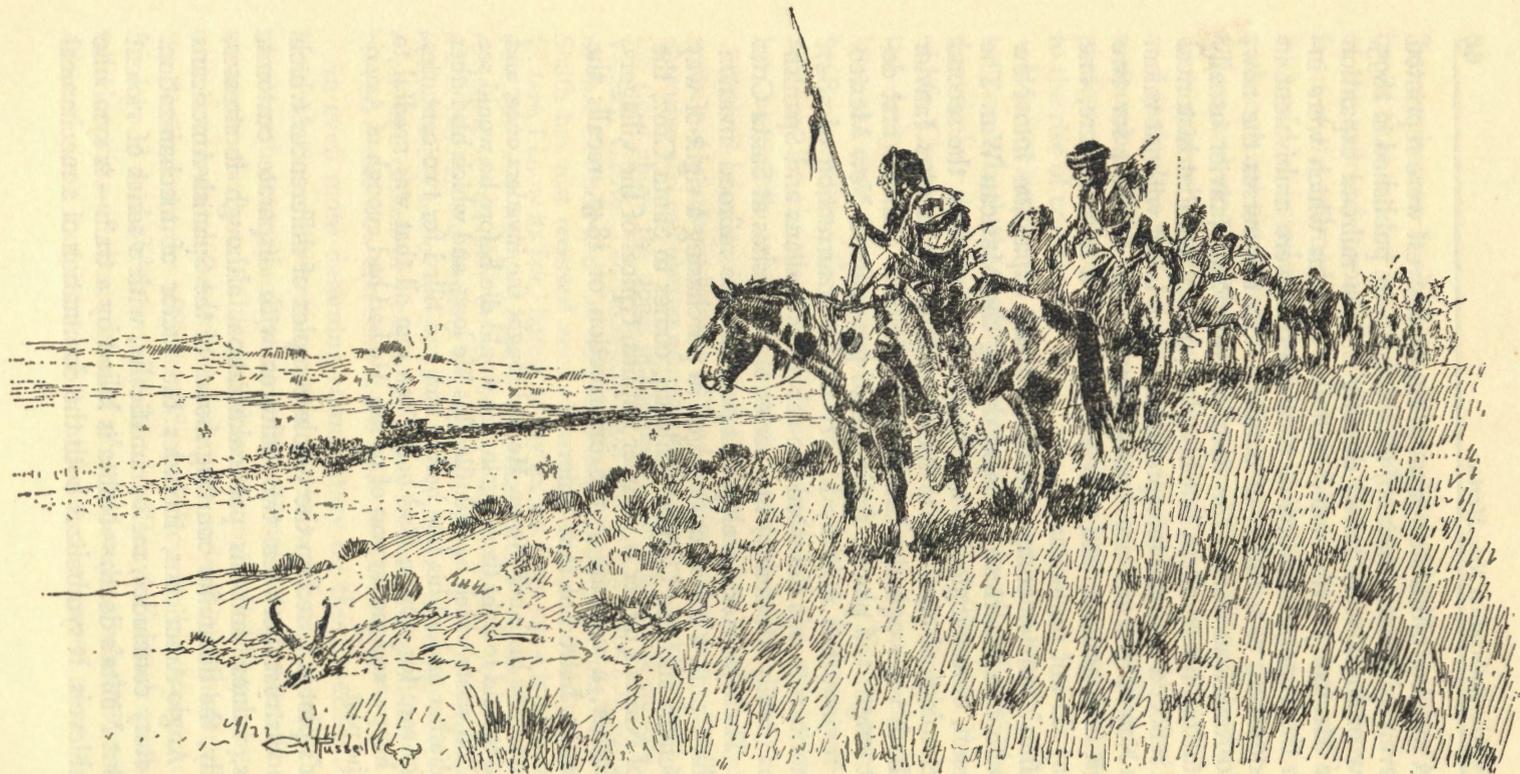
An even more damning commentary on the Americanization of New Mexico, however, appears in the work of a nearly forgotten nineteenth-century magazine writer. Thomas A. Janvier, who gained some popularity with his varied and extensive bibliography of mediocre, sentimentalized stories and more serious local histories, visited the Southwest from 1881 to 1884 and drew on his experiences there for a good deal of his writing. Much of Janvier's work on the Southwest consists of the same sort of competent trivia he wrote about other regions, but some of it, at least, represents serious regional

study.<sup>27</sup> A number of his stories set in the Southwest were reprinted in his uneven collection, *Stories of Old New Spain*, published in 1895, and a few of these were based directly on the railroad expansion into New Mexico. Janvier noted that the tensions which were involved in the Americanization of New Mexico were ambivalent in nature, consisting of a fusion of conflicts: the old versus the new, the Anglo-American versus the Spanish-American. Janvier usually sentimentalized his conflicts, but his plots are not without historical basis and reflect a regional interpretation which is not without value. Janvier's New Mexicans are hostile toward the railroad for two reasons: it is American, and it is a symbol of a new culture, one which they do not understand.

In "Niñita" Janvier compared the railroad expansion into New Mexico with the American invasion during the Mexican War. The first invasion, chronologically, had been a military one; the second was a technological one. But to the New Mexican farmers Janvier portrays both were equally distasteful. In "Niñita" Janvier first describes at length the placid, static life of pre-railroad New Mexico. Then he reviews the military history of the insurrection of 1847, when American troops defeated the rebellious Indians and Spanish-Americans (really Mexicans) in a series of skirmishes at Santa Cruz and Taos. Then Janvier develops his parallel: the railroad invasion. When John Grant, a surveyor engaged in purchasing a right-of-way for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, comes to Santa Cruz, the reaction of Niñita's father is, Janvier implies, typical of the villagers. Niñita's father, a veteran of the insurrection of 1847, recalls the gringo-greaser hatred of that time:

A railroad cross his land? Never. He had fought the invaders once, and he was not too old to fight them again. He would die before he would see the lands laid waste which he had tilled his life long, and which his father and grandfather and all his line before him had tilled for two centuries. He did not care for money; God had given him all that was needful to make life happy, and money was of no use. He had had enough of *Americanos* in the past. . . .<sup>28</sup>

Janvier's plot is based on the whole complex of differences which produces distrust between two cultures with disparate customs, traditions, values; and his particularization, although it stresses, specifically, the dissimilar courting moves of the Spanish-Americans and the Anglo-Americans, includes the factor of mechanization. Janvier's story concludes, melodramatically, with a series of violent deaths. But Niñita's death — Niñita is killed by a train — is symbolic on several levels. It symbolizes both the domination of a mechanical



*"The Coming of the Iron Horse" by Charles M. Russell*

[From the portfolio published by Carl Hertzog in 1950. The original drawing is now in the El Paso Museum of Art, gift of C. R. Smith.]

system over an older, agrarian economy and the domination of the Anglo-American culture over the Spanish-American. And the symbolism is far from subtle. After the train strikes Niñita, the engineer says, "Must 'a' been one of them Mexican goats." And his fireman replies,

Guess so. Serve him right for being fool enough to go to sleep on the track. Just like a Mexican goat to do that. Goats and Mexicans, they're all much of a muchness, and all d — fools together. What's the use of any of em I don't know, and I haven't found the fellow that does.<sup>29</sup>

The equation of Mexicans and goats is quite pointed in view of the insulting connotation of *cabrón* (goat) in Spanish. And Janvier ends his story with a prophesy. After referring to Niñita as "one poor little soul of the race that must go," Janvier ominously concludes, "And the engine and train, the advance guard of the coming race, swept on up the line."<sup>30</sup>

The railroad in Janvier's work is the advance guard of both mechanization and Americanization, and his New Mexicans hate it for both of these reasons. In "The Town of the Holy Children," for example, the railroad is imagined as a diabolic contrivance; the fact that it is an American innovation itself indicates that it is a devilish contraption that can bring no good to New Mexico:

... the Americanos were coming down again once more from the north — not as they had come long years before, but as railroad-builders; though what a railroad was, not a single man, woman, or child in the Town of the Holy Children, save the Padre himself and Don José, at all could tell. The phrase *ferro-carril*, a rut, a roadway of iron — was uncouth, strange, incomprehensible. Doubtless being an invention of the Americanos, this *ferro-carril* was also an invention of the devil. As everybody knew, between the devil and the Americanos the relations were the closest.<sup>31</sup>

A similar association between Americans, mechanization, and the devil is made in "La Mina de los Padres," but the narrative in this case reflects a distrust of the machine itself. Against enemy soldiers the natives could at least fight, could at least have the satisfaction of honorable defeat, but against the machine, something they did not even understand, they were helpless. Janvier writes that

... the valley was filled with a sullen alarm and wonder by the incoming once again of the hated *Americanos* from the North — this time not as an army (against which, as at the time of their first coming, could be had at least the hot satisfaction of fighting), but as the builders of a railroad, a devilish and hurtful contrivance, concerning which nothing was certain save that it was a thing of evil to be dreaded and abhorred. And when, the railroad being builded, all manner of evil *Americanos* — cut-throats, desperados, the advance guard of rascality that pours into each newly opened

region of the West — came down upon them, destroying the pleasant peacefulness of their quiet land, their hatred of their old-time enemies grew yet more bitter and intense because, instinctively, they knew their own powerlessness to stay the incoming stream.<sup>32</sup>

The history of the native New Mexican's hatred of the Anglo-American is too involved and too lengthy for analysis here. The Mexican War, the occupation of Santa Fé, and the later deprivations of the hated *Tejanos*, all thoroughly narrated in contemporaneous accounts, had created ill feeling that had not subsided by the 1880's (nor has completely subsided even today). But the fact that a traveler, like Janvier, would note that the mechanization of the area rekindled old distrusts at least hints at the nature of the minority attitude toward the railroad and the era of development which it promised.

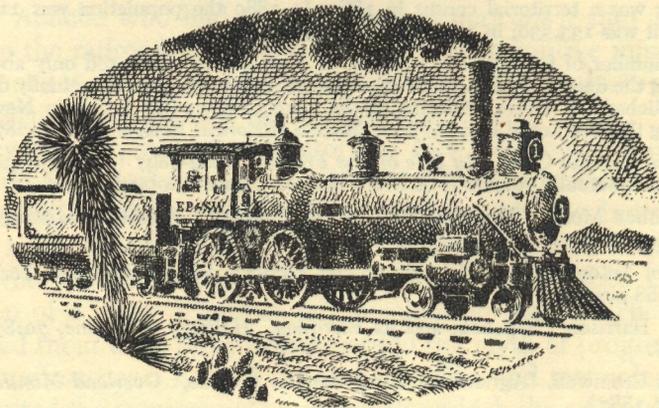
Possibly the segment of New Mexican society least affected by the expansion of the railroad was the Pueblo Indians. Aloof in the 1880's, and, in fact, until World War II, they could wonder at the innovations which they saw without being directly concerned. Columbus Moise described the Indian attitude in his study of the Pueblos. "Their theory of the railroad," he pointed out, "is that God himself gave man the locomotives, for it is beyond their conception how a man could make one; but they acknowledge human agency in laying the rails, since they have seen it done."<sup>33</sup> Even the Pueblo attitude, however, reveals a significant opinion on mechanization. Having had less to do with the Anglo-American (it was the Navajo and the Apache who had cause to hate Americans), they did not associate the railroad with the devil, but their primitive minds, too, felt the need to rely on a myth, on superstition, specifically, to account for the changes which they saw happening.

In any case, as American visitors to New Mexico in the 1880's noted, the American immigrant and the business-minded New Mexican, the agriculturally oriented New Mexican, and the Indian were all fully aware that great changes were occurring in their homelands. Those who resented the changes were those who wished the perpetuation of a quasi-primitive, non-mechanical society. Those who welcomed them were those who accepted the myth of progress, who saw the railroad as a symbol of mechanization and technology, and who awaited the commercial opportunities which the railroad, as the first agent of industrial America, would bring to the territory. It was the railroad, the machine, which upset in less than a decade a civilization which had endured with virtually no change for centuries.

## REFERENCES

1. I use the term *Spanish-American* to refer to citizens of the United States who are of Mexican descent. The term is not an accurate one, but no suitable substitute has yet been invented, and it has become more or less standard in historical, literary, and social science studies of the Southwest. The situation is the same with *Anglo-American*, which refers loosely to Americans not of Mexican descent.
2. The drafting of young men into the armed services (and thus introducing them to "American" values and life) has been cited by anthropologists as a major factor in the Americanization of such groups as the Pueblo Indians. The opportunity afforded by the services for equal training and promotion has accelerated the economic advance and cultural change of Spanish-Americans in a similar manner.
3. The mitigation of the old wantlessness of the Spanish Americans after the immigration has been noted by various authorities on New Mexican sociology. Mary Austin also refers to it in "Mexicans and New Mexico," *Survey*, 66:144 (1931).
4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), XIX, 771.  
Bancroft's history, old as it is, is still basic to a study of New Mexico. Its text and notes are the most detailed study I have found and cites the most impressive primary data. Most recent histories rely heavily on his work, repeating his data and often his errors.
5. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé did not build the line through Santa Fé but through Lamy, which was connected to Santa Fé by a spur line.
6. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad were persistent competitors in the Southwest and did not limit their battles to the court room. When Santa Fé railroadmen prevented the Denver and Rio Grande from using any passes east of the Sangre de Cristo mountains, the latter company, realizing it could not make transcontinental junction before the Santa Fé line, built west of the mountains south to the mining region north of Santa Fé.
7. The publication of articles on New Mexico increased in frequency during the 1890's and reached a peak in the years during which New Mexico's eligibility for statehood was being debated.
8. There was a territorial census in 1885. In 1880 the population was 119,565; in 1885 it was 133,530; in 1890 it was 153,593.
9. The number of foreign-born residents in New Mexico increased only about 3,000 during the decade, and the number of foreign-born from Mexico actually decreased. See Richard R. Greer, "Origins of the Foreign-Born Population in New Mexico during the Territorial Period," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 17:281-287 (1942).
10. Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1882-1897* (Albuquerque, 1939), 1. This is actually volume II of Otero's three-volume autobiography.
11. Columbus Moise, "New and Old Mexico," *Potter's American Monthly*, 17:205 (Sept., 1881).
12. Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882* (New York, 1935), 176-288 *passim*.
13. Birge Harrison, "Española and its Environs," *Harper's Magazine*, 70:835 (May, 1885).
14. O. E. Cromwell, "Agriculture along the Rio Grande," *Overland Monthly*, 9:552 (May, 1887).
15. *Ibid.*, 554.
16. *Ibid.*, 556.
17. Richard J. Hinton, "Along the Rio Grande," *Harper's Weekly*, 33:158-159 (1889). Hinton's earlier article was "Irrigation in the Arid West," *Harper's Weekly*, 32:721-724 (1888).

18. Columbus Moise, "New and Old Mexico," *loc. cit.*, 194.
19. *Ibid.*, 194.
20. H. H., "By Horse Cars into Mexico," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 51:352 (March, 1883). The allusion in the title is to the streetcar connecting El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Mexico.
21. Sylvester Baxter, "Along the Rio Grande," *Harper's Magazine*, 70:693 (April, 1885).
22. *Ibid.*, 694.
23. C. M. Chase, *The Editor's Run in New Mexico and Colorado* (Lyndon, Vt., 1882), 150. The book consists of a collection of columns published in the *Vermont Union* between October, 1881, and January, 1882.
24. *Ibid.*, 151.
25. Sylvester Baxter, "Along the Rio Grande," *loc. cit.*, 695.
26. Lansing B. Bloom, ed., "Bourke on the Southwest, IV," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 9:283 (1934).
27. Thomas A. Janvier, *Stories of Old New Spain* (New York, 1895), 43. One story, "Niñita," was originally published in *Century Magazine*.
28. *Ibid.*, 57-58.
29. *Ibid.*, 58.
30. *Ibid.*, 100.
31. *Ibid.*, 194.
32. Columbus Moise, "New and Old Mexico," *loc. cit.*, 204.
33. *Ibid.*, 206.



## Stage Coach Days

by GEORGE RUHLEN

☛ One winter day in early 1938, my battalion commander, Major G. D. Wahl, hailed me near the gunsheds of Battery D, 82d Horse Artillery, then stationed at Fort Bliss. "Hay, young fellow," he said, "I've got a job for you." Recalling other times when Doug Wahl had so greeted me, I figured I was about to be honored by supervising the detail to drag the dirt polo field near the cemetery, inventorying the Post Exchange, or putting up a new picket line at the polo stables. It was a unique surprise to learn that the chore this time was to rehabilitate an old stage coach Doug had found lying unused and forgotten in a corner of the City Corral. "This will be just the thing to give a different touch to Army Day," remarked our imaginative major, whose innovations ranged from improvements in artillery fire direction to changing the time honored placement of polo boots on our ponies.

Marshaling the combined efforts of the battery mechanic, the carpenter, saddler, and one of the horseshoers, while concurrently trying to convince them that fixing up this stage would really be fun, we commenced to disassemble the old wagon. This we felt was necessary as its outward appearance left grave doubts that it could ever carry passengers with any degree of safety to them. To our surprise we found that the frame, wheels, axles, and thick leather thoroughbraces were in remarkably fine condition. Some of the rodding needed replacing or welding, most of the leather curtains and luggage boots needed restitching, and considerable repair was needed on the wooden body which had warped and split over the years.

Where to obtain the paint to refinish the carriage and body and what parts to paint in what color posed a problem. This dilemma was solved by our old and good friend, Tom Burchell, who upon learning what we were doing immediately became our advisor on all matters pertaining to stage coaching-body construction, coloring, harness, team handling, and old staging traditions. In addition to his advice, Tom generously offered to furnish the paint to assure that the finished product would be an accurate restoration of an old time coach.

In early March the job was completed. The four roans of E. Battery's stable teams were hitched to our rehabilitated coach, now resplendent with maroon body, yellow undercarriage and yellow



The coach passing in review at Fort Bliss, Army Day, April 6, 1938.



The hold-up on Armstrong polo field, Army Day, 1938. Holding the lead pair, in the white hat — Lt. James E. Goodwin; dismounted facing the group — Lt. William A. Enemark; in the black dress — Sally Cregor (now Mrs. H. H. Critz); next lady unidentified; next in bonnet and long white dress — Miriam Strawn (now Mrs. George Ruhlen); next lady unidentified; in the long dark dress and black hat — Mrs. J. J. Carrithers; man in black — Lt. J. J. Carrithers; mounted on the right, with his horse giving him the laugh — Lt George Ruhlen. Others unidentified.

wheels with black points on the spokes. Tom had been asked to be our first driver, and as the five of us who had spent days working on the coach piled in, away we went on what was to be the first of many "test" runs. Reasoning that if women and children were to ride in the coach, all possible precautions had to be taken to assure no dangerous weaknesses developed in any of the old parts. Obviously then, frequent test runs at varying speeds over rough terrain were essential to a proper trial period. They were also a lot of fun. The waiting list of volunteer drivers increased rapidly, and a frontier days atmosphere was enhanced by all participants affecting what they considered to be attire appropriate for old time stage travel.

Sunday afternoon "tests" became quite popular, especially after it was determined that female passengers could ride with comparative safety so far as the coach was concerned. After all it wasn't many young fellows who could take their dates for a Sunday afternoon ride in a stage coach. Our greatest enjoyment on these rides was to appear suddenly on the sand bluffs just east of the road running from the Pasotex refinery to the Carlsbad highway, and then gallop over the mesa crest toward the road, turning to the north as we came beside it. With passengers, driver, and express guard all in the dress of a bygone day, and the latter nonchalantly resting the butt of a lever action Winchester rifle on his thigh, we galloped beside the road for about a mile, looking resolutely straight ahead, oblivious to startled drivers, near accidents, and amateur photographers. Bearing to the right, up a trail through the sand bluffs, we galloped over the mesa crest and vanished from sight as suddenly as we had first appeared. Once out of sight of the road, walking the team home, we laughingly recalled the startled expressions on the faces of unsuspecting motorists when first they noticed an old time stage team galloping along just behind them.

On Army Day, April 6, 1938, after the last troops of the First Cavalry Division galloped by the reviewing stand, our stage coach rolled by. The stable roans ran smoothly and in stride, as though elated at their first participation in a garrison review. Car horns tooted a swelling crescendo as the coach passed.

A skit had been planned as part of the afternoon's entertainment in which the coach was to gallop by the east stands on Armstrong Polo Field, hotly pursued by masked banditti, portrayed by Lieutenants Enemark, Goodwin and myself, each intent on armed robbery of the shrieking passengers. Things got off to a fine start, except that the roans and their driver entered into the spirit of the action a bit too realistically, or else the blank cartridges we fired were more

successful in livening things up than we had planned. Instead of galloping by the stands once, circling at the north end, and then stopping in the middle of the field for the hold-up, we three outlaws found that although we were mounted on our better polo ponies, after one turn around the entire field we had gained only imperceptibly on the stable team roans. Cheating, we cut the corner the second time around the north end of the field and thus finally succeeded in circling the stage team and bringing it to a halt. Loudly and sternly commanding the frightened passengers to dismount, I was completely nonplussed to hear my fiancée, Miriam Strawn, announce that she wasn't going to get out in front of all those people, whereupon the entire group stepped out on the side opposite where I was threatening all and sundry with a six shooter.

The day drew to a fine close as all three of the banditti, regaling each other with the mishaps of the skit, were ordered out of the Bliss Officers' Club by the Club Officer, who with level eyed mien and cool incisive voice informed us that, "You boys put on a good show out there. Now here's a beer. Take it outside and drink it. This is an officers' club and only members are allowed in the bar." We had arrived. We had at least been taken for legitimate range riders.

The stage was said to have been used between El Paso and Chihuahua from around 1900 to 1920. It was not a true Concord stage but of the type known as a "mud wagon." In later years it was taken over by the Sheriff's Posse and has since been used in many parades and welcomes for distinguished visitors.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### MORELOS OF MEXICO, Priest, Soldier, Statesman

*By Wilbert H. Timmons*

(El Paso, Texas, Texas Western College Press, 1963. \$5; with coin inlaid \$8.)

José María Morelos is one of the really towering figures of Mexican history. The Father of Mexican agrarian reform, Andrés Molina Enríquez, has described Morelos as "the greatest Mexican of all time, the true author of the political independence of Mexico, and the initiator of the indispensable social revolution to make it effective." In view of his importance, it has been remarkable that a full length biography in English of this great Mexican patriot has not been published long before.

Now comes Dr. Timmons, chairman of the History Department of Texas Western College, to make up this omission with a scholarly and most readable biography. It does not try to be one of those definitive studies that lingers over every detail of the subject's life to the exhaustion of the reader. Rather it captures the grand sweep of Morelos' life from beginning to tragic end, as well as decisive events of Mexico's struggle for independence.

The student of Mexican history and the general public will find here a thoroughly documented account. In well-organized chapters, the author makes clear the achievements of Morelos as the greatest military and political figure of the independence movement. How, after the defeat and death of Hidalgo, he organized and trained revolutionary armies that won great victories. How he clarified the objectives of the revolution, and formally declared independence from Spain which Hidalgo had never done. How he called an insurgent congress into session and drew up a program of socio-economic and political reforms.

The whole book is a brilliant development of all the factual material of Morelos' life, from the unusual circumstance of his birth in the doorway of a house at Valladolid (now Morelia, capital of the Mexican state of Michoacán), to a very dramatic and intense description of his execution by the Spanish troops. It is based largely on the original source materials, heretofore unavailable except in Spanish. The publication of this distinguished work does great honor to the Texas Western College Press, to its editor, Dr. Samuel D. Myres, and to the President of the College, Dr. Joseph M. Ray, for bringing out this type of research.

Carl Hertzog, the famous typographer of the TWC Press, has outdone himself in the splendid design of the book, whose artistic features are

enhanced by the drawings of José Cisneros, including the insignia of the Insurgent Congress on the title page and the reproduction of Morelos' battle flag. Complete footnotes are conveniently located at the end of each chapter, while the whole work is concluded by an informative bibliographical essay, more useful than a straight bibliography would have been. A good job of indexing appears at the end of the book. Especially attractive is the Mexican peso on the cover.

Indeed, it is hard to find any unfavorable criticisms or suggestions to make. The author writes so well that we hope, in later editions of his book, he will add some to its length and give us more of the same, without interfering with the distilled compactness of the first edition. Alfonso Teja Zabre, the best biographer of Morelos in Spanish, has already followed this policy in three successive editions of his work.

— JOHN H. McNEELY

*Texas Western College*

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THE ROMANCE OF DAVIS MOUNTAINS  
AND BIG BEND COUNTRY

*By Carlisle Graham Raht*

(Odessa, Texas: The Rahtbooks Company, 1963. \$6.95.)

Forty-four years ago a roving writer, adventurer and sometime newspaperman came to El Paso to have a book published. The author's name was Carlisle Graham Raht and the book was *The Romance of Davis Mountains and Big Bend Country*. "I wasn't particularly proud of the book," Mr. Raht recalled. "I just wanted to put my love for the region on paper."

Over the years, however, Mr. Raht noticed an increasing number of references in other books to "Raht's History of the Big Bend." Writers and collectors began to prize it. Out of print it began to command premium prices until today first editions have brought as much as seventy-five dollars. Recently old friends in West Texas began to urge the author to republish the book. The result is the present volume called the "Texana Edition."

Except for the preface and a chronology of events the present edition is identical with the first. It contains many stories of early Spanish days, the coming of the Anglo settlers, the savage raids of Indians, the exploits of Texas Rangers, the depredations of white outlaws, and disturbances

rising from the Mexican Revolution. In addition there is a wealth of photographs.

Dr. C. L. Sonnichsen, Dean of the Graduate Division of Texas Western College and himself the author of ten books on the Southwest, has high praise for both the author and the book. He is quoted on the book's jacket as follows: "Carlyle Graham Raht — Carl to his friends — has spent almost fifty years learning, writing and talking about West Texas. Born in Gainsville, Texas, September 13, 1882, he grew up on the old Block Bar Ranch in Clay County. After school days in Fort Worth and Austin, he came in 1906 to the arid expanses which he has loved ever since.

"He knew he wanted to write about his new home and took time out from cowboying, mining and newspaper work for history courses at the University of Texas. In 1919, he published in El Paso the first fruit of his endeavors: *The Romance of Davis Mountains and Big Bend Country*.

"It was a unique book, one which could never be written again, based not merely on documentary sources but on oral information from people who would not talk to anyone they did not trust. Since it was privately published without much promotion, it did not get the notice it deserved from critics and historians. But such books have a habit of emerging from the mass of short-order history and Sunday journalism as a reef of hard rock stands up when erosion has worn away the surrounding country. Mr. Raht's work was too useful to be forgotten and the passage of time has increased its usefulness. Its republication was inevitable and would have occurred sooner if Mr. Raht had been less modest about his own achievement."

Another professional historian, Dr. Rex W. Strickland, Research Professor at Texas Western College, is also quoted on the book's jacket: "One need not summarize: open the pages and the panorama of distance and time spreads out — from the granite height of Capitan in the north to the ghostly, azure slopes of the Chisos in the south; westward with the day from the turbid flow of the Pecos to the sunset shadows on the Organs at El Paso; and four centuries of time — from the coming of Cabeza de Vaca and his tattered trio to the raid on Glen Springs."

Texas Western College

— EUGENE O. PORTER

## THE MAXWELL LAND GRANT

By *Jim Berry Pearson*

(University of Oklahoma Press, 1961. \$5.00, 280 pp.)

Dr. Pearson is at the present time a member of the history faculty and Assistant Dean of Arts and Sciences at The University of Texas. His interest in western history began while he was a graduate student at The University of Texas, from which he received his Ph.D. degree.

This book traces the history of the Maxwell Land grant located in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. Lucien B. Maxwell began accumulating property in 1858 and by 1869 he had acquired 1,714,764 acres, the largest single landholding in United States history. The land had been originally granted to Guadalupe Miranda and Charles Hipolite Tratier de Beaubien in 1841 by Governor Manuel Armijo of Santa Fé.

In gathering the materials for this work Professor Pearson studied carefully the older histories dealing with this subject and also added much new material. Included among the latter, Pearson made extensive use of the untapped company records which were located in the vaults of the First National Bank at Raton, New Mexico.

Most of the story deals with the extremely complicated legal and business history of the Maxwell Land Grant Company which purchased Maxwell's holdings in 1870. By 1959 the company had disposed of all but 10,000 acres. This book tells of the costs and profits of various company operations, with financial collapses and reorganizations under various American, English, and Dutch owners, and with the perennial conflicts between the various owners and the "squattors" who thought they had settled on free government land. There was frequent resort to violence in these conflicts.

Professor Pearson has an interesting quote towards the end of the book. He states that "The history of the Maxwell Land Grant and those who settled on its property is replete with both disappointment and good fortune. Many people who moved onto the Grant thinking they were settling on government land, trapped by legalities which deprived them of farms and ranches they regarded as their own, severely denounced the Dutch, the managers, the American trustees, and employees. Their feelings are quite understandable. The company's name arouses bitter emotions among their descendants today. And yet the investments poured into cattle, mining, timber, coal, farming, and irrigation projects, the efforts to secure railroad branches, and employment of scores of men, played the major role in developing this part of northern New Mexico. A lot of mistakes were made — that has been obvious — but the company brought business management and capital that vitalized the area's economy."

The author himself gives ample evidence that the above generalization may not be fully warranted — certainly this region in northern New Mexico is still one of the most “underdeveloped” areas in the United States. It is marked by poverty, ethnic conflicts, and land monopolization. One may wonder if the land grant did not prevent an orderly settlement of the area and also make more difficult its modernization.

Despite my critical remarks the author has done a marvelous job of synthesizing so much material. The book is well-written and the University of Oklahoma Press has produced an attractive format.

Of special interest to readers is the fact that Martinus Petrus Pels, who managed the company’s operations for a time in New Mexico, was the maternal grandfather of Mr. Chris Fox, treasurer of the El Paso County Historical Association.

— JAMES C. HARVEY

Texas Western College

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## > HISTORICAL NOTES <

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McNeese State College, Lake Charles, Louisiana, publishes *The McNeese Review*, “an annual publication for meritorious articles of general scholarly interest.” In the 1962 (Vol. 13) issue Dr. Martin H. Hall, Associate Professor of History at McNeese, had the lead article: “Albert Sidney Johnston’s First Confederate Command.” It is an excellent article and should be of interest to all Texans for, as Dr. Hall points out: “Although a native of Kentucky, Johnston considered himself a Texan.”

Dr. Hall is no newcomer to the readers of *PASSWORD*. He is not only a member of our Society but also the author of two outstanding articles published in *PASSWORD* — “The Journal of Ebenezer Hanna” and “The Baylor-Kelley Fight.” He is also the author of a book, *Sibley’s New Mexico Campaign*, reviewed by Major Richard McMaster in Vol. VII, No. 2 (Spring, 1962) of *PASSWORD*.

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The Press of the Territorian has undertaken an ambitious plan to publish a number of short books on the early history of New Mexico. Already three such books have been published. These will be reviewed in *PASSWORD* in the Fall number. Others in preparation include: *New Mexican Ghost Towns and How to Get to Them*, *The Disappearance of Colonel Charles Potter*, *Legal Hangings in New Mexico*, *The American Valley Murders*, *New Mexico Lynchings*, and *Bloody Santa Fé*.

## CONTRIBUTORS to this ISSUE

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FLOYD S. FIERMAN serves jointly as Rabbi of the Temple Mt. Sinai, El Paso, Texas, and as a visiting lecturer in philosophy at Texas Western College. Dr. Fierman is well known to readers of *PASSWORD* for his several articles on early Jewish settlers in the Southwest.

FRANCIS A. EHMANN, Assistant Professor of English at Texas Western College, was born in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, but was brought by his parents to El Paso in 1939. He attended Austin High School and, after serving as an army pilot in World War II, returned to El Paso where he took his degree at Texas Western College. He later attended Harvard where he received his Master's degree in English. He has taught English at TWC since 1950 with the exception of a two-year period when he was teaching and studying for his doctorate at the University of Minnesota. The present article is a product of the interdisciplinary studies undertaken at the University of Minnesota.

MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE RUHLEN needs no introduction to readers of *PASSWORD* which has published several of his articles on the early military history of the Southwest. Presently he is stationed in Pakistan with MAAG. He writes that he hopes 'to get around to winding up my blurb on old Fort Quitman started several years and three countries ago.'

JOHN H. MCNEELY is Associate Professor of History at Texas Western College. He received his doctorate in Latin American History at the University of Texas at Austin.

EUGENE O. PORTER is Professor of History at Texas Western College and the author of a recently published book, *Fallacies of Karl Marx*.

JAMES C. HARVEY is Assistant Professor of History at TWC. He received his doctorate in history from The University of Texas. Recently he published a series of articles on papal encyclicals and one on Lenin.

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