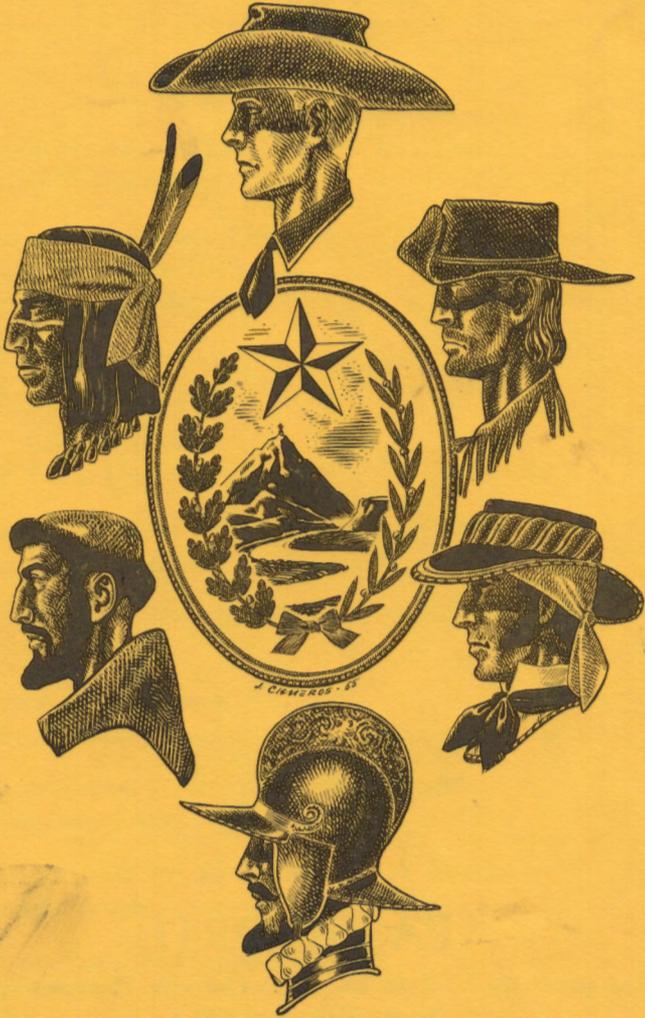


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SUMMER, 1980

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BLINTZES AND FLAUTAS, KABBALA AND COST CODES

by FLOYD S. FIERMAN

The American Southwest is a region where distinct cultures exist and have, at times, influenced one another. New Mexico Indian, Hispanic, and North American enclaves maintain themselves; German colonies survive in Texas, especially around San Antonio; and a community of people with Scandinavian forebears is to be found in East Texas.

In Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, where Old Mexico intersects with the United States, the East European Jewish immigrant to West Texas used his cultural background in a unique way in identifying with the Mexican national or the Mexican-American. This newcomer, in the course of becoming an American, witnessed Mexican natives in the interior eating a food that looked very familiar to him. What he saw them eating was the *flauta*. In the plazas of Old Mexico and in El Paso, people of Mexican background ate the *flauta* at their mid-morning meal. They brought their food from home or else purchased hot food from street vendors.

The *flauta* is prepared by filling a tortilla with shredded meat or shredded chicken and chile, then rolling it and frying it. When the cooking process is completed, the *flauta* is taken in hand and eaten. All this is strange, except that the *flauta* looked familiar to the East European. It looked like something he liked to eat. It appeared to be a *blintz*.

A *blintz* is stretched dough filled with cheese or meat, fried and baked. It is shaped like a *flauta*. Consequently, using his own language in the process of learning Spanish, the East European tagged his Mexican national or Mexican-American customer a "blintz." Nothing derogatory was intended. It was only a way of describing a person whose way of life was unfamiliar to the Jewish immigrant.

Kabbalism and Merchandising

Another cultural influence, much more removed, appears in the Jewish cultural proclivity to use codes in economic life as well as religious practice. Let me explain:

Found on the back of a Mezuzah parchment are the letters:

ויהי עתה.¹ This, according to Dr. Samson Levey,² reflects a kabbalistic practice³ whereby the reader substitutes for the written letter the letter which precedes it in the *alef-bet*. If one reads the inscription that way, it reads: "Adonoi (Yhvh) Elohenue Adonoi," which, of course, is from the Shema: "Hear O Israel, The Lord (Adonoi) Our God (Elohenue), The Lord (Adonoi) Is One." The purpose of the alphabetic

Floyd S. Fierman is the author of *Merchant-Bankers of Early Santa Fe, 1844-1893* and many other studies about pioneer Jewish settlers in the Southwest.

שֵׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד וְאַהֲבַת אֵת
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כָּכָל לִבְבְּךָ וּכְכָל נַפְשְׁךָ וּכְכָל מַאֲדְךָ וְהָיוּ
 הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְצַוְךָ הַיּוֹם עַל לִבְּךָ וּשְׁנוֹנֹתֶם
 לְבַנְיָן וּדְבַרְתָּ בָּם בְּשַׁבְּתְךָ בְּבֵיתְךָ וּבִלְכַתְךָ בְּדֶרֶךְ
 וּבְשֹׁכְבְךָ וּבְקוּמְךָ וּקְשַׁרְתָּם לְאוֹת עַל יָדְךָ וְהָיוּ לְטוֹטְפֹת
 בֵּין עֵינֶיךָ וְכִתְבַתֶּם עַל מַזְוֹזוֹת בֵּיתְךָ וּבְשַׁעֲרֶיךָ
 וְהָיָה אִם שָׁמַעַתְּ שָׁמְעוּ אֶל מִצְוֹתַי אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
 מְצַוֶּה אִתְּכֶם הַיּוֹם לְאַהֲבָה אֵת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וּלְעַבְדוֹ
 כָּכָל לִבְבְּכֶם וּכְכָל נַפְשְׁכֶם וְנָתַתִּי מִטֶּר אֲרִצְכֶם נִעְתּוֹ
 יוֹרָה וּמִלְהוּשׁ וְאֶסְפֶּת דֶּגְלָןךָ וְתִירְשֶׁךָ וַיְצַהֲרֶךָ וְנָתַתִּי
 עֵשֶׂב בְּשֶׁדְךָ לְבַהֲמֹתֶךָ וְאֶכְלֹת וּשְׁבַעְתָּ הַשְּׂמֵרוֹ לֶכֶם
 עַץ יִפְתָּה לְבַבְכֶם וּסְרַתֶּם וְעַבַדְתֶּם אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים
 וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתֶם לָהֶם וְחָרָה אַף יְהוָה בְּכֶם וְלִצַּר אֵת
 הַשָּׁמַיִם וְלֹא יִהְיֶה מִטֶּר וְהִאֲדָמָה לֹא תִתֵּן אֶת יְבוּלָהּ
 וְאֲבַדְתֶּם מִהֲרָה מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ הַטֹּבָה אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה נָתַן לָכֶם
 וּשְׁמַתֶּם אֶת דְּבָרֵי אֱלֹהֵי עַל לְבַבְכֶם וְעַל נַפְשְׁכֶם וּקְשַׁרְתֶּם
 אֹתָם לְאוֹת עַל יָדְכֶם וְהָיוּ לְטוֹטְפֹת בֵּין עֵינֵיכֶם וּלְמַדְתֶּם
 אֹתָם אֵת נְיִיכֶם לְדַבֵּר בָּם בְּשַׁבְּתְךָ בְּבֵיתְךָ וּבִלְכַתְךָ
 בְּדֶרֶךְ וּבְשֹׁכְבְךָ וּבְקוּמְךָ וְכִתְבַתֶּם עַל מַזְוֹזוֹת בֵּיתְךָ
 וּבְשַׁעֲרֶיךָ לְמַעַן יִרְבוּ יְמֵיכֶם וַיְמִי נְיִיכֶם עַל הָאָרֶז
 אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאַבְתִּיכֶם לֵאמֹר לָהֶם כִּימֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם
 עַל הָאָרֶץ

This is the Shema. It consists of three sections of the Hebrew Bible (Deuteronomy VI:4-8; XI, 13-22; and Numbers XV, 37-42). These words are also read in the Daily Prayerbook and are inscribed on the parchment in the Mezuzah which is here reproduced. It is a proclamation of the existence and unity of God; of Israel's complete loyalty to God and His commandments; the belief in Divine Justice; the remembrance of the liberation from Egypt and its corollary, the Election of Israel. In essence Israel, as Dr. Krister Stendahl, dean of Harvard Divinity School, has said, is God's Laboratory People and these thoughts are encapsulated in the Shema.

שְׂדֵי

The parchment of the Mezuzah is so folded in its container that only the words indicated here, "Shaddai" (Almighty) are exposed.

כּוּזֵי בְּמִזְוֹזוֹת כּוּזֵי

These Hebrew letters, referred to in the text, are found on the back of the parchment.

manipulation is to avoid writing the Holy Name. To do so would be a profanation of the Holy Name.

Interestingly, the utilization of codes is not limited to religious use. Pioneers to the American Southwest before the employment of electronics in merchandising adapted codes to the various businesses. Placing a "cost code" on the sales ticket of merchandise was widely employed by Jewish store owners in pioneer communities. In addition to recording the retail price on the merchandise, the cost price was also noted. Since the office force was usually limited to a lone bookkeeper, the cost code on the sales ticket readily enabled the proprietor to take a physical inventory at the cost price. Also, in case the proprietor wanted to offer a would-be customer a discount on the spot for an article of clothing, the cost was immediately available. He could lower a price without hazard.

The code worked in this manner. It involved a word or words which contained ten letters representing the numbers from one to ten. A word having two of the same letters was not feasible, and if it was utilized, one letter needed to be dropped. This would then represent the letters from one to ten.

At one time, the Zale Corporation in Dallas, Texas, used the code DIRT CHEAP. The letter X was added for the tenth letter. For example, the letters DIX symbolized 120. The cost price would then be either \$120.00 or \$1.20, depending on the circumstances. True to the design, the code had no duplicating letters.

Levine's Department Stores, another Texas firm, utilized the words JEWISH LUCK. In this code there are ten letters and no X is required. BLACK HORSE (from Schwarzer Pferd) or WHITE HORSE (from Weiser Pferd) were also used, the English being more adaptable than the German.

GOT HELF UNS (God Help Us, omitting the second T of Gott) was adapted to this plan, as was BORGE NICHT (Borrow Not). I have been told that in the 1920's the Rice-Stix Dry Goods Company in St. Louis used GOT HELF UNS X. BORGE NICHT was used by the Sanger Brothers over a hundred years ago.

In El Paso, Texas, the German GROSZ-KLEIN (Small-Large) is still used by a local business. MAKE PROFIT, and GIVEN BROS X were codes used by the Given Brothers in El Paso before they installed an IBM system in their retail shoe business. Haymon Krupp, a man profitably engaged in many businesses in the western states, modified his name and employed it as a code: HAYMN KRUP X. Hungarian Jews engaged in retail business in El Paso are known to have used the code BUDAPESHTI.⁴

Casa Oppenheim, a retail organization in Ciudad Juárez, at one time had as their cost code the German name KLAGENFURT, derived from

a small town in Germany known to the founder of the firm.

It is appropriate to ask the question: Is there any connection between the kabbalistic practice of writing ADONOI ELOHENU ADONOI in code on the back of the Mezuzah and the Jewish business practice of using cost codes? We have no documentation that there is, but this much can be said: Many of the pioneers to the American Southwest came from a European background which might have given them some knowledge of codes. Certainly many of them, when they saw YHVH, knew what every young Hebrew student knew. YHVH is read ADONOI,⁵ and BARUCH ADONOI (Blessed is the NAME) would also have been familiar to them. Instead of uttering ADONOI, one says THE NAME. Furthermore, to this day, GOD is written G-D by many a pious person in America.

Such a Jewish system of codes may very well have been introduced into their business experience. Perhaps as they kept and swept the store, they adopted a cost price in the family circle so that an employee who was not a member of the family would not be privy to this information.⁶

In the process of examining many a business journal belonging to early western pioneers of the Jewish faith, I have yet to discover one that notes the cost of merchandise placed for sale. Maybe one day we will discover if there is a bridge from a kabbalistic code to a merchant's cost code.

It would certainly be of interest, while attempting to reconstruct the history of the Southwest frontier, to find the cost code used by the Ilfelds, or the Spieglebergs, or the Zeckendorfs, or the Freudenthals, or any Jewish merchant who kept store in th's Southwest corner of our country.⁷

Maybe one day we will find out if there is a bridge or a hidden tunnel reaching from a kabbalistic code to a merchandise cost code. In the meantime, we speculate responsibly.

REFERENCES

1. An amulet placed on the doorpost of a Jewish residence.
2. Correspondence with Dr. Stanley Chyet, who discussed the question with Dr. Samson Levey. Both men are distinguished members of the Hebrew Union College faculty in Los Angeles, California. January 17, 1979.
3. "Kabbalah is the traditional and most commonly used term for the esoteric teachings of Judaism and for Jewish mysticism, especially the forms which it assumed in the Middle Ages from the 12th century onward
"Kabbalah is a unique phenomenon and should not generally be equated with what is known in the history of religion as 'mysticism.' It is mysticism, in fact; but at the same time it is both esotericism and theosophy In essence, the Kabbalah is far removed from the rational and intellectual approach to religion The Kabbalists were the main symbolists of rabbinic Judaism. For Kabbalah, Judaism in all its aspects was a system of mystical symbols reflecting the mystery of God and the universe, and the Kabbalists' aim was to discover and invent keys to the understanding of his symbolism."
"Kabbalah," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 1971, Vol. X, pp. 490-494.
4. The Popular, a large, privately owned department store in El Paso, before it introduced electronic record controls, used the cost code DUMBAZPKJY (and the

- letter L which indicated REPEAT THE LAST LETTER). The founder, Adolph Schwartz, was Hungarian. None of the present generation know whether the code's origin is English or Hungarian, and they do not know what the letters symbolize, if they did have a meaning, but they do recall that at one time in their lifetimes, the code was used.
5. The early Christians were unfamiliar with this code and they read it YeHoVaH, instead of ADONOI.
 6. In an effort to obtain more "input" on the question of codes in business, the researcher conferred with Dr. Hirotaka Takeuchi, professor of marketing and retailing at the Harvard Graduate School of Business. Dr. Takeuchi relates that Japanese business people use code systems based upon the Japanese alphabet. Codes are used in large enterprises as well as small enterprises. He cited, for example, that in a Japanese restaurant where a meal like sushi is prepared by a cook in the patron's presence, the cook keeps a record of the ingredients that go into the preparation. When the meal is completed the cook tabulates the cost in code and leaves it for the waitress. She in turn translates the code into symbols understood by the patron and collects for the dinner. Telephone conversation with Dr. Hirotaka Takeuchi, El Paso, Texas, to Boston, Massachusetts, April 23, 1980.
 7. They are all Jewish merchants engaged in business during the last half of the nineteenth century in Santa Fe, Tucson and El Paso. I recently learned from Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins of Santa Fe that there is extant a Cost Code Book once used by the prominent Ilfeld family of New Mexico, but it is a three-consonant code system and not a ten-consonant system. In all probability, it was a code that applied to their wholesale trade, rather than their retail customers, like those cited above. The code is preserved in a small book with a red cover; written on the cover is the name Herman Ilfeld, Las Vegas and Santa Rosa. At the request of the donor, William Ilfeld, the Code Book's use is restricted. Telephone conversation, March 26, 1980.

While historians are interested in the past, a new movement is aiming at the future. The First Global Conference on the Future is scheduled during July in Toronto. It is expected to draw some 4,000 scholars, decision-makers and other futurists from around the world to discuss the theme "Through the 80s: Thinking Globally, Acting Locally."

The conference is being organized by the 50,000-member World Future Society and the Canadian Futures Society.

Information is available from the World Future Society, 4916 St. Elmo Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20014.

DISSENSION IN A GARRISON TOWN: EL PASO IN 1898 AND 1916

by GARNA L. CHRISTIAN

Servicemen have toasted El Paso down through the years as a good duty location, and in turn the West Texans have shown their appreciation of the garrisons at Fort Bliss in thousands of tributes, large and small. There is probably no army town in the country in which relations between civilians and soldiers have been warmer or more enduring. Since the founding of the fort at the mountain pass following the Mexican War, the installation has provided the citizenry security, social life, and monetary profits, and the townfolk have not been reticent to acknowledge the indebtedness.¹

However, inevitably neighbors quarrel, marrieds spat, and forts and towns dispute. Accordingly, Fort Bliss and El Paso have rankled each other on at least two major occasions in the first century of their coexistence. Interestingly, each occurred as the result of military conflagration and both offer a curious point of contrast to the usually harmonious relationship.²

The first row accompanied the Spanish-American War, an armed conflict which El Pasoans supported to the hilt. Enthusiastic for the crusade to make Cuba safe for democracy, the citizenry joined the Rough Riders, signed on with "immune regiments," and sought wider participation in the war. They patriotically stifled the urge to protest when Washington emptied Fort Bliss for the war effort, a marked departure from the civic custom of lodging a complaint with the War Department for any diminution of the garrison.³

El Paso welcomed the arrival in July 1898 of Troop F of the First Texas Volunteer Cavalry as the first occupants of Fort Bliss, save for a score of caretakers, since mid-May. The unit, organized at Fort Worth and previously garrisoned at San Antonio, received a warm greeting at the depot. Major C. Towles' 104 horsemen immediately struck a sympathetic chord with the citizenry when one of their number beamed, "We are all much pleased with being assigned to Fort Bliss for the squadron headquarters." A newsman described the volunteers as "a little lonesome," but "sincere as can be and one hardly ever hears a grumble from any of them."⁴

The grumbling, it developed, was not long in coming and emanated from both the garrison and the populace. As with other volunteer troops stationed at various points in the state, the soldiers tired of camp life

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without prospect of military glory and importuned Washington for discharge. In isolated El Paso, boredom and frustration took the form of anti-social behavior in the case of some. In late August several drunken servicemen roamed the downtown streets in a manner judged by an observer as "a very disgraceful scene." A peace officer jailed a particularly rowdy trooper, while the remainder of the group "put in the night in very exciting sports." Some of the soldiers darkly threatened to capture the town, inspiring a local to exclaim, "It seems as if they came to town to make asses of themselves, and they succeeded admirably."⁵

When, in late September, Troop F left for San Antonio in preparation for military discharge, few El Pasoans mourned their exit. "Considerable relief was felt at their departure," stated an army reporter with unusual candor, "for their discipline was very lax. Two weeks ago Chaplain Kelly's house was entered while he was at church and two gold watches were taken."⁶

Company C of the Third Texas Volunteer Infantry replaced the cavalry unit at Fort Bliss and fared little better in the estimation of many residents of the Pass. After the arrest of a non-commissioned officer who had struck a civilian during an argument in the Wigwam Saloon and struggled with police, the judge lashed at the conduct of the volunteers to the arrested man, asserting they had "given more trouble than all the tramps that came to town." The accused indignantly denied the appraisal, blaming all past disturbances upon the cavalymen formerly stationed at the post and acclaiming his comrades as "gentlemen." Unswayed, the magistrate fined the soldier ten dollars and warned that future offenses by military personnel would carry fifteen-dollar fines with an additional five-dollar levy for each new infraction.⁷



Troops of the 25th Infantry at the new Fort Bliss in 1899.

Photo courtesy M.G. McKinney

The military installation itself suffered from the occupancy of the volunteer infantry. Members of the company reportedly stole articles left behind by the Eighteenth Infantry. A correspondent further noted, "All the chicken roosts in the post have at intervals been relieved of their feathered ornaments, and said ornaments, minus the feathers, have been converted into chicken pot pie for the delectation of the defenders of our country." The abuses extended beyond pilfering of personal property and chicken theft. In early 1899, following the transfer of the unit, Fort Bliss underwent "a thorough siege of repairs," including the painting of quarters, replacement of windows and glass doors, and other items "un-ceremoniously torn from their places by the volunteers . . ."⁸

While El Pasoans greeted the passage of this stormy chapter in the history of garrison and town, the disruption, if anything, strengthened the bond between civilian and regular soldier. Townspeople easily dissociated the antics of volunteers from actions of professional servicemen. Indeed, little existed to instill patience in the citizenry with the summer soldiers. For many years El Paso had remained free from Indian attacks, and the border was now relatively tranquil. Moreover, a single transient company, poised to depart permanently, hardly constituted a worthwhile investment in a local economy already rebounding from the panic of '93. In sum, El Pasoans possessed virtually no reason to condone such undisciplined behavior, and they did not.⁹

The next sustained period of tension awaited the overcrowded conditions in fort and town engendered by the Mexican Revolution. In the years between 1899 and 1911 El Paso nurtured the faint recognition at Washington of the importance of Fort Bliss by pressing through business and political contacts the enlargement of the installation at Lanoria Mesa. Ultimately, demands on border security by the upheaval to the south convinced the war department of the indispensability of a large and permanent garrison at the Pass, and Fort Bliss emerged as a major component in the national defense mechanism.¹⁰

The opening guns of the Mexican Revolution attracted reinforcements to Fort Bliss, but until President Wilson authorized the invasion of Veracruz in 1914 a thousand soldiers at most graced the fort. As even that modest number exceeded many times over the size of previous garrisons, El Pasoans took pleasure at their presence. When Senator Joseph W. Bailey charged that some members of the army had imposed indignities on American refugees entering the nation from Mexico, the *Times* fumed. Although a longtime supporter of Bailey, the newspaper snapped, "The conduct of both officers and men has been exemplary under the most trying circumstances. Any report to the contrary does them a great injustice."¹¹

Even then, tempers occasionally flared. In early 1913 the *Herald*

carried a story describing a struggle on a near-empty streetcar involving a soldier, a civilian, and a provost guard. The civilian alleged that he attempted to prevent the soldier from tickling two young girls when the guard intervened. Instead of placing the serviceman in custody, the guard supposedly threatened to arrest both men. The reporter recalled that recently he had witnessed a similar incident of a soldier making advances to an unwilling young woman on the Fort Bliss line. An army sergeant promptly wrote the newspaper, criticizing the publication of a story reflecting unfavorably, he thought, on the entire garrison. "We have always been reported so favorably by the papers of El Paso," lamented the non-commissioned officer, "that this misdemeanor was 'the blow that killed father.'" ¹²

The Wilson-Huerta clash of April 1914 pushed the United States and Mexico to the brink of war and sounded alarm across Texas. To preclude any possibility of a Mexican invasion, Washington filled El Paso with military. By the end of the month the city boasted a complete army brigade, with two regiments camped in the downtown area. Soon 7,000 soldiers strained the confines of fort and town. The presence of the fighting men provided El Pasoans mental and physical security, added color to the scene, and uncorked a payroll of \$250,000 on the local economy, an amount nearly twice as large as that of any industrial plant in the city. ¹³

Citizen and soldier hastened to compliment each other openly. The *Herald* cited the servicemen for "chivalry," especially in surrendering seats to ladies aboard the Fort Bliss streetcar line. *The Army and Navy News* in turn exulted, "Those selected to uphold the honor and pride of Uncle Sam may now consider themselves fortunate if assigned to the new Fort Bliss." Clearly, the threat of danger made the public uncommonly appreciative of the military and the sense of duty instilled incentive in the soldier to perform with dedication.

Still, tensions surfaced. Infantrymen encamped on the south side of the city complained bitterly of unsanitary conditions, prompting the administration to demolish more than 100 adobe huts in the section. Two soldiers beat a policeman for no other cause than the officer's having warned two women not to enter a tavern. On another occasion a serviceman fired his rifle repeatedly into a saloon window, wounding two men with whom he had been drinking and arguing. ¹⁴

As the troop buildup continued and the danger of war with Mexico appeared to recede, such incidents became more frequent. A court martial in mid-1915 judged three privates guilty of facilitating the illegal arms trade across the border. Subsequently, the government indicted a Mexican citizen for purchasing ammunition from soldiers in an ordnance depot. A near riot occurred when a number of soldiers attempted to



Camp Cotton, located on land later ceded to Mexico under the Chamizal treaty, about 1916 as pictured on a W.H. Horne Co. postcard.

Reproduction courtesy M.G. McKinney

release a comrade from the custody of police in the red light district. Conversely, several soldiers fell victim to tragic violent deaths at the hands of unknown assailants.¹⁵

Just as El Paso appeared to have weathered the worst of the Mexican Revolution, Pancho Villa struck fire to United States-Mexican relations with his notorious raid at Columbus, New Mexico, in March 1916. In rapid succession followed the assemblage of American troops at the border, General John J. Pershing's famed expedition into the interior, and a series of battles on Mexican soil. President Venustiano Carranza's emphatic demands for American withdrawal again raised the specter of war. El Paso soon received the largest numbers of national guardsmen and regular army in its history as more than 45,000 troops massed at the western tip of Texas.¹⁶

Wilson's directive of mid-June, which lined the Mexican border with troops, set cash registers jingling up and down the pass. A news item in early July carried the headline: ". . . Vast Increases in Already Immense Expenditures of War Department with Local Merchants." At the end of the month the president of the El Paso Real Estate Exchange confided that the servicemen spent "an enormous amount of money," which found its way "into the coffers of the businessmen of El Paso and . . . eventually . . . back into real estate." A full page advertisement by local merchants appealing for the trade of national guardsmen appeared in the same issue of the newspaper. Evidently the ad did not go unheeded; a few

months later the *Herald* boasted, "El Paso is so prosperous that the chief difficulty of the merchants is to obtain goods to sell." Bank clearings in October exceeded \$14,500,000, a gain of \$2,000,000 over the previous month.¹⁷

Indeed, so handsome was the profit margin of the merchants during 1916 that businessmen fell to the defensive on rising allegations of exploitation. Charges of price discrimination, mainly leveled by national guardsmen, circulated by midyear. "It is deplorable that prices should be boosted when a body of militiamen come to El Paso," complained a guardsman as early as July. "I have been 'stung' by the barber shops in your city more than once," he declared, bitterly condemning the twenty-five-cent shave. Later in the year the Boston *American* stated that Massachusetts guardsmen believed that El Paso merchants "bled them well," maintaining one price for civilians, a higher one for regular soldiers, and yet a higher price for militiamen. The wife of a regular joined the argument at year's end, claiming that she paid higher prices when shopping with her husband than when alone.¹⁸

Such claims ran counter to the position taken by the voices of authority. While admitting that merchants profited from the augmented numbers of military, an editor insisted that the majority of businessmen engaged in no unethical practices. Of the scheming few, he stated, "men of this kind are sternly discouraged both by the community in general and the authorities." The editor attributed the isolation of El Paso from major distribution points and rising national inflation as reasons for the erroneous assumption of price gouging.¹⁹

The local press happily printed comments which sustained that opinion. "This talk of El Paso merchants having the troops brought here in order that they might make money from the sale of goods is all rot and extremely foolish," opined a chaplain of the Twentieth Infantry. A correspondent with the Columbus [Ohio] *News* declared, "El Paso is giving the soldiers a square deal." A chaplain of the Twenty-first Michigan Infantry remarked, "I have no criticism of the manner in which I have been treated by the businessmen of this city." A "Michigan private" strongly defended El Paso's treatment of soldiers.²⁰

The controversy kept the community leadership sensitive to accusations of exploitation and discrimination. Early in 1916 a chaplain complained to the mayor that a local restaurant had refused service to three soldiers in uniform. The city council responded with an ordinance prohibiting at a \$200 fine any person, firm, or corporation owning or conducting a public place of business or amusement from refusing admission and service to a soldier because of his military attire. The board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce unanimously endorsed the ordinance and promised vigilance in its application.²¹

Months of fending allegations of business malpractices made the Chamber of Commerce skittish, as exemplified in the great pastry debate at year's end. For the purpose of demonstrating El Paso's appreciation of the armed forces, the military committee of the Chamber of Commerce voted to ask local homemakers to bake 10,000 cakes and 8,000 pies for the enjoyment of regulars and guardsmen with their Christmas dinner. Several days later the military command requested that the organization drop the project, as the army planned to provide all holiday sustenance for the troops. This caused consternation in the business community.²²

Meeting in mid-December the board of directors and the military committee jointly discussed their options. Although only about one-eighth of the number of cakes and pies solicited appeared forthcoming, the businessmen agreed that they must approach their decision with extreme caution. One speaker submitted that "the city must not be accused of failing in this undertaking," even if the business community were required to raise a large sum of money to effect the success of the campaign. "This board must take such action as to put El Paso in so good a light that no discredit or criticism can attach to it or the citizens of El Paso," he urged.²³

After airing various suggestions for demonstrating civic gratitude toward the military and reading letters of criticism from persons who suggested that the organization feed the needy, the business leaders voted to allocate \$1,000 for the purchase of flowers to adorn the servicemen's tables at Christmas. The group promised to raise the money even if it had to borrow the amount and agreed to explain its decision prominently in the local newspapers.^{24*}

If military personnel expressed dissatisfaction with certain elements of the community, the reverse proved true as well. A number of irate citizens penned letters to newspaper editors in 1916 describing anti-social actions committed by men in uniform, particularly guardsmen. "In Heaven's name how can we introduce them to our families and entertain them in our homes," bewailed a "Good Citizen" of the militiamen, "when they frankly admit their acquaintance with the restricted district and complain because it isn't quite up to their notion of cleanliness and goodness." "A Southern Man" complained that several guardsmen made off-color remarks to a party of young women and children at a Sunday picnic. "Of the two evils, Villa or whisky," declared a Canutillo woman, "I believe Villa would have been preferable." In the latter vein various

* EDITOR'S NOTE: Had the thousands of cakes and pies been delivered as originally scheduled, they would have come to a sorrowful and messy end. On Christmas Day, winds up to 80 miles an hour, carrying their cargo of desert sand, swept through the Army mess tents, destroying the soldiers' Christmas dinners. Many of the men went to downtown restaurants for their meals when the storm subsided. See "The Happy Invasion of 1916," by Helen Roberts Coggeshall, *PASSWORD*, VI, 109, Winter, 1961.

writers endorsed prohibition of liquor as a means of social control, a notion that gained momentum at the outset of the approaching World War.²⁵

Servicemen showed themselves capable of articulating a defense of their life styles. An Ohio guardsman dismissed a particularly critical letter writer as unrepresentative of the community and advised that the men serving his state's colors "conducted themselves as gentlemen at all times." "An Old Soldier" responded to a minister's denunciation of the existence of two red light districts within the city by stating, "General [Frederick] Funston [the Department Commander] certainly knows by his practical observation and sound horse sense what is best for his troops, and preachers are, most of them, dreamers . . ."²⁶

Some military personnel engaged in more serious misdeeds than carousal. A few militiamen joined striking streetcar workers in street rioting in early September, prompting General George Bell, El Paso District commander, to threaten to confine troops to their camps in the event of a recurrence. Interestingly, troops figured prominently in restoring order in two streetcar riots in the same year.²⁷

In the first of these, in late June, rampaging strikers and sympathizers derailed cars, smashed windows, and beat motormen in the center of town. At the time only ten provost guards patrolled the area, as Fort Bliss misconstrued a call for assistance and merely placed three companies in readiness. During the confusion at the garrison a number of rioters turned on the guards, one of the former demanding to know why the military "opposed American citizens." Because the guards were under orders not to shoot except in extreme circumstances, they offered little defense when several members of the mob struck them. Captain James B. Allison of the provost guard managed to contain the situation until the delayed arrival of reinforcements by walking among the rioters and urging restraint. He was joined in his efforts by Mayor Tom Lea and former mayor Charles Kelly, who climbed aboard overturned trolleys to calm the crowd.²⁸

A recurrence of the rioting flared on Labor Day, as the extended strike continued. With many policemen openly demonstrating sympathy for the strikers by refusing to intercede, various citizens urged relief from Fort Bliss. In this instance the garrison was bound by instructions from the Department of War which disallowed intervention in civil affairs by the military. The fort dispatched the provost guard to clear recalcitrant soldiers from the rioting area, however, and the presence of the guards, though under orders not to molest civilians, did have the effect of silencing the mob.²⁹

A portion of the controversy involving the military sprang from far less serious matters, such as the rivalry between the regulars and national

guardsmen. Although the militiamen shared responsibility with the regulars in guarding the borders and often operated from more rudimentary quarters, the professional soldiers at times questioned their military abilities and complained that El Pasoans fawned over them. Some career soldiers resented the extensive news coverage awarded the entry of the militia and the plea of community leaders that the citizenry accept them as "our guests," invite them into their homes, and provide transportation to and from camp.³⁰

Civilian backgrounds and distant origins appeared to make the militiamen more desirable than the regulars to the young ladies of the city. A long time El Paso resident later recalled that the "happy invasion" of the guardsmen in the summer of 1916 constituted one of her most pleasant memories. "Many young ladies . . . seemed to show a preference in dating the militia," she reminisced, "to such an extent that the hometown boys felt neglected."³¹

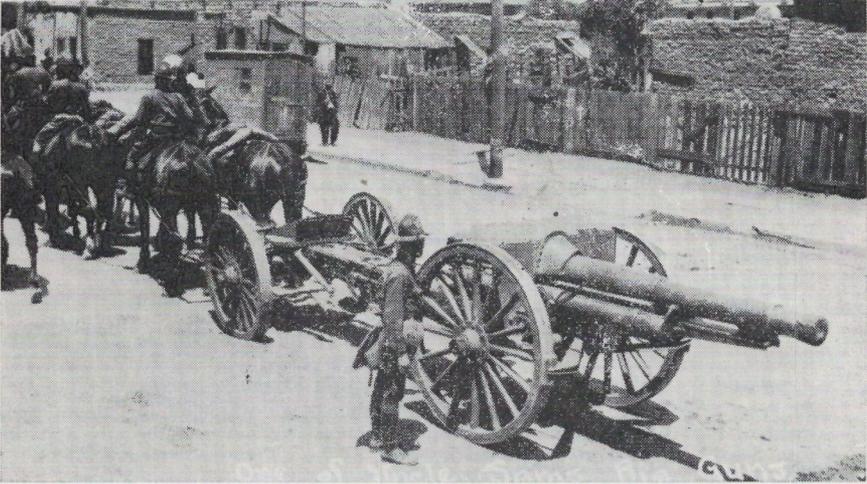
The regulars also felt neglected. "In 1913 I soldiered in El Paso," stated one, "and saw a soldier barred from going into a theater because he wore the uniform of his country. Today the same people . . . are doubtless breaking their necks to show how patriotic they are by feeding the militia ice cream and candy." He concluded with the traditional lament of the soldier: "It would also be a good idea if the people in general would treat the regular as though he were human in time of peace, and not wait to fall in love with him when war breaks out."³²

Another professional soldier scorned the conduct of the guardsmen in a scatter-gun literary approach: "Who started the fights? Militia. Jumping on the passing automobiles? Militia. Insulting women when alone? Militia." He then punctuated a series of questions with a different answer: "Who . . . protected El Paso from attacks during the revolution of Madero? The regulars. The second, of Huerta? The regulars. The third, of Villa? The regulars." To letters of this nature a guardsman countered, "There are as many real men in the national guard as there are in the regular army, and in any emergency we will be on the job twenty-four hours a day."³³

The *Herald*, whose letters-to-the-editor columns constituted the major sounding board for disagreements between careermen and militia, broke off the forum in mid-August with the statement that "the controversy has served its purpose." The quarreling simply continued outside the newsprint. Near year's end the newspaper succumbed to the temptation to allow a final sally from the wife of a regular. "Do you ever read," asked the woman rhetorically, "of an entertainment for the enlisted men and their families of the regular army?"

Complaints of the servicemen notwithstanding, El Paso honored both professional and volunteer during the crisis year. Fraternal organizations

created army auxiliaries. Hundreds of citizens answered the plea of the press to provide books, magazines, and fruit for the hospitalized casualties of the Pershing Expedition. The local Red Cross chapter supplied patients of Fort Bliss Hospital with jellies, jam, grape juice, oranges, cigarettes, and chewing gum. The First National Bank scheduled a barbecue and smoker for officers. The Soil Products Exposition admitted all men in uniform at a reduced rate during the International Farm Congress. The Chamber of Commerce donated lumber and funds for the completion of a recreational building at Fort Bliss.³⁴



*Big guns in service on the border in 1916, also a W.H. Horne postcard photo.
Reproduction courtesy M.G. McKinney*

In turn the military, regular and guard, sustained the larger community beyond the call of duty. The army fielded a team in the Commercial Baseball League and regimental bands entertained thousands with free concerts. Chaplains preached to civilian congregations. Three hundred soldiers participated in the Military Athletic Tournament for the enjoyment of locals. Guardsmen thrilled fight fans with frequent boxing exhibitions. When the Feldman All Stars edged the Fort Bliss baseball team in the last game of the season, El Pasoans could lustily cheer both sides.³⁵

El Paso's reaction to military turbulence in the years 1898 and 1916 illuminates the point that benevolent relations between garrison towns and garrisons rest on more than the demeanor of the military. An intricate stable of influences, including security, monetary profit, social enrichment, and expectations of an increase in all the above, separated the latter year from the former. A more sophisticated community in 1916 than in 1898, El Paso reacted accordingly. When camp towns sprang from the countryside the following year with the nation's entry into the

World War, El Paso was already wise in the ways of maintaining large bodies of troops and avoided some of the pitfalls which befell the newer sites.

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Dr. Don E. Carleton, a noted Texas historian, recently became head librarian and archivist of the University of Texas at Austin's Barker Texas History Center. The Barker Center contains the most extensive collection of Texana in existence with more than 110,000 volumes of printed materials, 18-million manuscripts and 2,000 Texas newspaper titles, as well as cartography materials.

Dr. Carleton previously was archivist and coordinator of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center in the Houston Public Library, wrote and narrated a local history program for TV, and was founder and director of the Houston History Fair. He started the Houston Review, a journal of history and culture of the Gulf Coast.

EL PASO'S DURABLE SINNER

by CARL HERTZOG

On a hot day in June almost sixty years ago, I arrived in El Paso, a stranger but full of confidence and expectations. Coming out of the Union Station, I started walking toward town but at the first corner, without hesitation, I turned right and went over to West San Antonio Street. And there it was — a two-story brick building with the sign McMath Printing Company. I didn't need to ask directions; an inner force was leading me there. Maybe it was the smell of printer's ink. More likely, it was the vibrations of kindred spirits.

Mr. McMath was expecting me, as he had offered me a job by mail. The printing shop occupied the ground floor and upstairs there were four or five small apartments rented to Mexican families, except for one apartment used by Owen P. White as a studio or office. At that time he was writing a book which was to become important to all of us, especially to Owen.

William S. McMath was better educated and on a higher intellectual level than most commercial printers, especially those in the Southwest 2,000 miles from civilization. And he had imagination. He had dreamed of producing a history of El Paso because he knew how unusual the city was. El Paso is unique and he felt sure that a good book could be produced. The Whites and the McMaths were friends and visited frequently. They talked about the book and, since Owen was a professional writer and McMath had a printing plant, they decided to collaborate to get the job done.

When I arrived in El Paso, the book was about half done. Some pages were in type and going to press. Owen was still writing in his hideout upstairs. As I look back on those days, I realize now that I was privileged to be in on something that was important to the City of El Paso as well as to those immediately involved with the book, entitled *Out of the Desert: The Historical Romance of El Paso*.

Although I came to El Paso as a typographer and designer, and was destined to produce many books over the years, Mr. McMath was the designer of *this* book. He had set the style for the typography and had ordered the covers made in St. Louis. The books were hand-sewn and bound in El Paso. Both McMath and White did a good job. The book was an immediate success. The first printing sold out in a few weeks and a second edition was put on the press.

Naturally there were criticisms. The nit-pickers pointed out errors in

Carl Hertzog, a charter member of the El Paso County Historical Society, was the first director of Texas Western Press and is one of America's foremost book designers.

historic facts, but the biggest noise came from those whose toes were stepped on. Owen was already exercising his ability to uncover questionable motivations, a perception that later served him well on the staff of a major national magazine. Owen had had previous journalistic experience, but *Out of the Desert* marked a turning point in his phenomenal career.

As soon as the first copies came off the press, Mr. McMath sent a copy to H. L. Mencken whose *American Mercury* was then the most distinguished magazine in the country. Mencken was intrigued and did a two-column review. According to Owen, "It wasn't complimentary and it wasn't damning. It was just honest. He had my number. He said I was no master of English, but that I could tell a story, and when he got to my 'mug section' he howled with delight at the way I had soaked my fellow citizens for a hundred dollars a page and then, in my own way, had made them ridiculous . . . and as a climax to my relief that he hadn't slaughtered me he wrote and asked me to contribute an article or two to the *Mercury*." To be recognized by the prestigious Mencken* was a big step forward. Fate also favored the book at the *New York Times*. With the constant deluge of books arriving there every week an unknown had little chance of being noticed, but *Out of the Desert* was reviewed and Owen White became a writer known to the editors.

Soon after this came the election and inauguration of Miriam A. "Ma" Ferguson as governor of Texas. This was a "first" and a good newstory and the *New York Times* wanted coverage. They wired Owen and asked him to cover the story for them. (In those days you didn't phone like today, you sent a telegram.) The *Times* liked the way Owen handled the story and invited him to come to New York and go to work for them.

Although busy with journalistic duties Owen began writing books for New York publishers and *Them Was the Days: From El Paso to Prohibition* was published in 1925. He did not have to do much research on a book like this, just remember his boyhood days. This was followed by *Trigger Fingers* and *Lead and Likker*, full length books about gunfighters and escapades of the Southwestern frontier with which Owen was well acquainted. In 1929 he published *A Frontier Mother* for which he modified his flippant style to be more respectful. Owen's mother was a courageous lady subjected to the horrors and hardships of the frontier. When Owen was born they were living in an adobe *jacal* with dirt floors. His father was a physician kept busy by the violence of saloons, gamblers, gunfighters and Indians.

After Owen moved to New York, he met other editors and publishers and was soon propositioned by *Colliers*, *The National Weekly*. Before TV this magazine of several million circulation was popular and influential. Owen became an investigative reporter and his name was carried on the

masthead. For thirteen years he was prominent in the national picture, uncovering scandals (the prohibition era) and fraudulent elections. *Colliers* was fearless and so was Owen. They were crusaders for the truth. Our native son was right in the big middle of national news.

Before the books and Owen's New York experience, he had some exciting times in Mexico. Fluent in Spanish, he was an on-the-scene observer of the Revolution. His whole story is told in *The Autobiography of a Durable Sinner*, published by Putnam's in 1942. (This title suggests that he was part of the scene but he was not one of the "bad guys," although he was close to them. As a young boy in the Sin City (El Paso before the coming of the railroads) he saw plenty, especially since his father was a physician who had to clean up a lot of messes. There are two kinds of sinners, he said, "The ones who are obvious: Gamblers, Gunfighters, Prostitutes and Racketeers, and the *covert* who pose as pious citizens but are wheeler-dealers behind the scenes." He exposed many of the latter long before Watergate became a dirty word.

Owen Payne White was, and is, important to El Paso. He was the first white child born in El Paso (as far as the record goes) and he recorded our early history for a wide audience. I don't know of any other El Pasoian who went so far and did his "thing" on such a nation-wide scale.

* Some of their correspondence is in the Library Archives at the University of Texas at El Paso.

The Tigua Indians of El Paso are among three Texas tribes featured in a mobile studies program focusing on the lives and habits of non-nomadic Indians, developed by the University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio.

The traveling program, "Texas Indians Who Lived in Houses," was developed under a \$5,000 grant from the Piper Foundation. The programs will be circulated statewide, beginning in the fall, mainly to schools whose limited budgets prevent their sponsorship of field trips for their students. Five trunks will be filled with identical books, music, tapes, artifacts, pottery and lesson plans about the Tiguas, the Alabama-Coushattas, and the Caddos.

TELLING IT LIKE IT WAS

by G. E. CONNER

In 1910 I lived in a red brick bungalow on the corner of Tremont and Ohio Streets. Jolly & Morris, contractors, built our house and many others with a screened back sleeping porch with roll-up canvas sides. This was supposed to give tuberculars and other health seekers the full benefit of El Paso's high and dry climate. In the north section of the city were several sanitariums: Sellers, Long, Hendricks and Laws, and Sunny Crest. The latter was run by "Toughie" (Dr. Delphin) Von Briesen's mother.

A system of street car lines served some 39,000 El Pasoans. The curvy old Highland Park line ran right by our house and ended at what is now Newman Park. Such friendly motormen as Mr. Blum, Mr. Blythe, Mr. Overman and Mr. Purco were on our line.

Downtown we shopped at Feldman Sporting Goods Co., Lightbody's, Harry Swain's, and Sol I. Berg's clothiers. Berg's advertising claimed the lowest prices. "Let 'Um Howl!" was his trademark. Silverberg Bros. Jewelers was where Mr. Holdsworth started working, and Nation's Market started Joseph C. Peyton's career. The Popular Dry Goods, originally The Fair in Juarez, was on Overland Street. We banked at the Rio Grande Valley Bank & Trust Co. on the corner of Texas and Mesa. The Silver Grill in the Blumenthal Bldg. and Union Depot's Harvey House were our favored restaurants. I well remember the Owl Drug Store in the 200 block of East San Antonio where Frank Williams' mother took several of us boys for sodas on Frank's birthday. Scott White's Drug Store was in the Mills Building. The original Providence Hospital was at Upson and North Santa Fe Streets. Dr. M. P. Schuster, physician for the El Paso Smelter, operated the hospital.

Fred Knolenberg, a neighbor, was my family's attorney. Our physician was Dr. James L. McKnight. He made house calls in a buggy type auto with hard rubber tire wheels and a small put-put motor. We also had Dr. W. Clarence Klutz, but he died working in a typhus epidemic in Second Ward.

The First Methodist Church, then on Myrtle, was a family social center. When I was about five, I remember that Hugh Worthington, Max Thomas, James Bias and I were in a "Tom Thumb" wedding there, resplendent in hand-made tuxedos.

The AirDome, between San Antonio and Myrtle near Stanton, was the scene of dog and pony shows we enjoyed. The Chautauqua performed

G.E. Conner, a member of the Historical Society, won second place with this entry in the fifth annual Historical Memories Contest.

in a large tent at the corner of Yandell and Newman Streets and provided a variety of entertainment.

Realtors gave big barbecues trying to sell land around the city. Dad and I went to one at old Stormville, now Rim Road. And we would take the interurban to Ysleta where valley land was for sale.

Saturdays were special. Dad took me to Keevil's Saloon where he ordered a 10-cent glass of beer which was served with a free hamburger. After dividing the burger we continued on to a movie. There were several to choose from: the Alhambra, Bijou, Grecian or Wigwam theaters. Also, Saturday night was reserved for grocery shopping. Mr. Watson of John B. Watson's Grocery was an Englishman who gave us personal attention. Often he gave me a free sack of stick or corn candy. A wagon delivered the order the following week. Ben Hazelton drove a delivery wagon for Sanderson's Grocery, and he would let me ride with him. Once Ben took me to the Happy Hour Theater to enjoy some vaudeville. Both Fatty Arbuckle and Charley Murray were booked there.

As boys we played mumble peg and such action games as Run Sheep Run. We loved to make bottle horses from bottles and scraps of leather. Frank Merriweather books were our favorites. When we climbed the mountains the goat herders would give us the location of wild burro herds. On several occasions we managed to rope a burro, but our families would not let us keep any.

The Fourth of July was something to anticipate. We bought our fireworks in China Town on South Oregon Street across from Pomeroy's Transfer Co. On South El Paso were the movie houses featuring serial cliff-hangers, real thrillers in an unsophisticated age. Movie stars such as Bronco Billy Anderson, Elmo Lincoln and James J. Corbett, former heavyweight champ, played in the serials. To finance my serial and cherry phosphate addiction, I raised pigeons and sold squabs to the sanitariums. Coke was then a fountain drink sold only at such places as the Elite and Pacific Ocean confectionaries. Hope Smith bottled orange, lemon and lime crush at a small bottling works on Myrtle across from St. Mary's School.

I attended Highland Park (later Fannin) grade school. Each morning August, the janitor, rang the bell and Miss Clifford Rice, the principal, started the Victrola in the hall near the door, and we marched to our classes to lively band music. My teachers there that I can remember were Misses May Anderson, May Buckaloo, and Grace Fleck. Soccer was our main school sport and we had some hard fought games with teams from Beall, Lamar, San Jacinto, and Grandview (Rusk) schools. In May our teachers would load us with our sack lunches into street cars for a picnic in Washington Park. R. J. Tighe was the school superintendent. We affectionately called him "Bull Dog," as Tighe was the name of a bull

dog in a comic strip.

The excitement of the Mexican Revolution brought a troop concentration to El Paso. Tent city camps sprang up east of Cotton Street and above Arizona Street. Juarez changed hands between Villa and Carranza several times. Soldiers from either faction knocked on Juarez doors trying to enlist supporters. My Dad told me of a Chinese laundryman contacted. He was asked by a soldier at his door, "Who are you for?" "Villa," said the Chinese. But the soldier was a Carranza man so he beat the Chinese up. A day or so later there was another soldier at the door. "Who are you for?" he demanded. "Carranza," replied the Chinese. But this was a Villa follower so he was beaten up again. A third time a soldier at the door inquired, "Who are you for?" "You say first," replied the laundryman.

During World War I, Lawrence and Walter Snyder and I sold candy at Fort Bliss. We carried wicker baskets filled with goodies and on the first of the month, pay day, we would clear about \$10. Also on pay day the street cars were so loaded that two cars were coupled together. Thus the Electric Railway Co. handled traffic adequately.

On the western edge of the post was the Fort Bliss Fight Arena. I saw some good fights there. Pinkie Urquidi and Dandy Dick Griffin were two of the big favorites.

Right after World War I the flu epidemic hit El Paso, closing the schools. In the alley by J. W. Peak's Funeral Home (where Mountain Bell is now) were stacked many caskets awaiting burial. While school was out I got a job at Bray & Co., wholesale grocers. On my bike I would take and pick up bills of lading from various other wholesale grocers, namely W. H. Constable Co., Trueba, Zozoya & Seggerman, James A. Dick Co., Crombie & Co., and J. W. Lorentzen, the food broker who first introduced Nucoa in El Paso. One day I ate lunch with a friend who worked for Pioneer Abstract Co. We were several stories up watching the construction of the Ellanay theater (named for J. M. Lewis and V. B. Andreas, the original owners). Suddenly we saw the walls collapse, killing some workmen and injuring others. Of course it was rebuilt and is now the Capri theater.

Houdini came to El Paso. At the corner of San Francisco and El Paso streets a wire was strung above the street. And Houdini was strung on the wire in a strait jacket. Sure enough he got out of the strait jacket to the marvel of the crowd.

I was about fifteen when I became an *El Paso Herald* paper boy. H. D. Slater was the publisher, C. C. Gibson the office manager, and Joe Clements was in charge of circulation. When heavyweight champ Jack Dempsey came through El Paso, he spoke to us paper boys. We regarded Dempsey as the height of macho. Were we surprised to hear

his squeaky voice!

During the World Series, the *Morning Times* on San Francisco Street put up a large scoreboard on the side of the building with lights so you could follow the game. The street was blocked off and Curley Joe Morgan announced the games.

When the *El Paso Post* was started, I was one of their first carriers. I developed a route on East San Antonio and Overland streets. The Courthouse and many lawyers were on this route. I delivered the paper to Judge W. D. Howe and Judge P. R. Price.

Paderewski presented El Paso High School with a grand piano while I was going there. Also a group of Victor Recording Artists, including Gene Austin, Sir Harry Lauder and Billy Murray, performed for us when they came through El Paso on tour. Special assemblies were arranged for these performers, free to all students.

We liked the special song assemblies where we all sang popular songs of the time such as "My Little Margie" and "Avalon." In 1923 the senior class presented the play "Miss Cherry Blossom," and I recall that Tom Lea was obliged to play not only his own part, but also some other parts too as some of the cast got into some liquor and indulged too freely. Tom did so well that no one knew that anything unusual had happened.

One of the best amateur prize fights of the time was between two El Paso High students, Lelo Soto and Sandy Esquivel. Sandy won. In 1921 and 1922 our basketball team was state champ. Each year a group of us students played hookey and touched up the "E" on the mountain. But Assistant Principal C. W. Mottinger made us make up the lost time in study hall under Miss Lena McKie and Miss Neal. Freshmen who were reluctant to help paint the "E" had their derrieres painted with iodine.

Maj. Paul X. English, assisted by Sgt. Place and Sgt. Shreve, was in charge of ROTC. Two cadets had to have special uniforms, Jake Erlich (later shown in the circus as the world's tallest man) and Bud Roe, a very fat boy who was bass drummer in the band. Both were well liked.

Most of us rode street cars and walked to school. But George Elliot had a Stutz Bearcat to drive to school in. It was really something if he gave you a lift in his car!

At Christmas, groups of us went over to Juarez to the Central and the Lobby for free eggnog, hot Tom and Jerrys and tamales. We didn't lack for places to go. John Campbell and Dog Wilkins promoted the "Dog and Campbell" dances at the Woman's Club. The Balmoral Tea Room featured tea dances for which the Parmelee-Parks orchestra played. We also liked to dance at the Modern Cafe, the West Ysleta Country Club, and at Jack McDonald's Red Mill. We traveled the Lower Valley highway on hay rides, ending up at Howard's Drug Store in Ysleta where

there was a dance area in back. Downtown, over the Chocolate Shop, was a small dance floor where some of Jimmy Fields' band members had their start. Glenn Moore, who became an arranger for Fred Waring, also played with this group. Dances were also held at Bell Pool in the Upper Valley.

It is hard to stop once you start remembering. Suffice it to say that my boyhood in El Paso was pleasurable and exciting and gave me a treasury of happy memories to recall.

The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures is establishing one of the few microfilm archives of ethnic and foreign language newspapers in the United States.

The new project also will make available to the general public and to scholars some of Texas' earliest newspapers.

The first step in the preservation of ethnic newspapers will be the micro-filming of two Czech language newspapers, the *Svoboda*, which operated in La Grange from 1885 through 1927, and the *Obzor*, active in Hallettsville from 1905-1912 and in 1914. Neither of the papers has been filmed before.

The microfilming of pre-Civil War Texas newspapers will preserve some which have not been microfilmed before and are deteriorating. Among them is the *Weekly Telegraph* of Houston, with those from October 29, 1856 through December 25, 1860 already filmed. Another is the *Indianola Bulletin* from March 11, 1852 to May 10, 1854. Early days of statehood are described in *The Texian Advocate* for November 12, 1846 and January 11, 1850.

Information on purchasing or viewing copies of the microfilm is available from the Institute of Texan Cultures, P.O. Box 1226, San Antonio, Texas 78294.

VILLA AS AVENGER: THE MURDER OF CLARO REZA

by JESÚS TRINIDAD REYES

Transcribed, translated and edited by RICHARD ESTRADA

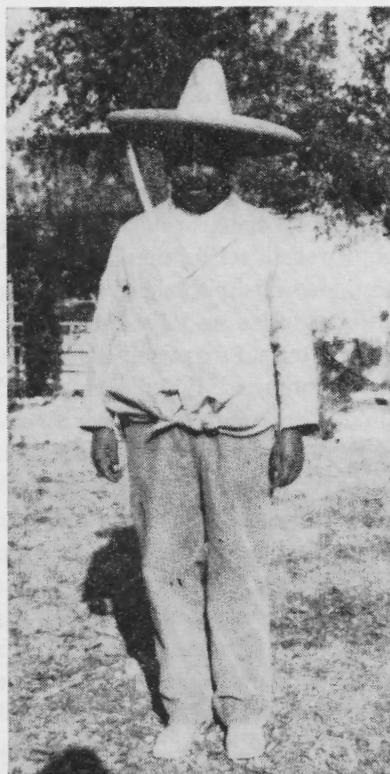
The first time I saw the bandit chieftain Francisco Villa was in Chihuahua City. I was thirteen years old. My close friends, the children of Don José Alcalá, our local butcher, had invited me to a *fiesta* to be held at their home. Don José was beaming as he returned from the old cathedral, located downtown, facing the plaza. He had just witnessed the baptism of his infant child. He had chosen Villa to be the baby's godfather. Basking in the goodwill permeating the Alcalá household, Villa momentarily seemed to forget that the authorities were looking for him, especially the dreaded *acordada*¹ that roamed the countryside in search of outlaws. Indeed, the celebration was held at night, so as to afford Villa a much-needed extra measure of protection. His bravado in abandoning the relative sanctuary of the rolling hills west of Chihuahua City to come to the capital itself could have very easily resulted in his capture or death, or both.

But for these two men the occasion was more than a baptismal celebration. To a certain extent it represented the closing of a business deal, or at least the formalization of a dubious partnership. It was common knowledge that Villa often sold cattle to his new *compadre*, and at a substantial discount, for they were more often than not stolen from the vast herds of Don Luis Terrazas. With the sacred ties of *compadrazgo*² binding them, their future business association would perhaps even flourish. Certainly Villa would be 'morally obligated' to sell to Don José before anyone else. But as the night wore on business was forgotten. Dressed in the coarse white trousers of the peasant, sporting a similarly inelegant white shirt called a *camisola*, and shod in plebeian sandals, or *huaraches*, Villa appeared unbothered by his plain unwashed garb, and enjoyed himself unabashedly. He was warm and amiable. He was generous when it came time to distribute the *bolo*, or presents of money, to the young boys and girls in attendance. After lining up the *muchachos* on one side of the room, and the *señoritas* on the other, he gave the latter ten-peso gold pieces, and the former one-half that amount. We were all very pleased indeed. However, the merriment was suddenly interrupted at 2 a.m. by an individual whom I had taken to be a milkman, but who was obviously a confederate of Villa. He shouted to the cattle-rustler in

Jesús Trinidad Reyes is a longtime El Pasoan. Richard Estrada, who received his Master's degree in history at the University of Texas at El Paso, is working toward a doctorate and specializes in the Mexican Revolutionary Period.

a resonant and authoritative voice, "Hurry up, Pancho! It's time for you to go!"³ Without speaking a word Villa darted outside, mounted his horse, and galloped away into the black, still night.

The second occasion on which I observed the bold bandit from northern Durango was vastly different from the first. It made an even more lasting impression upon me. As a child growing up in the tough mining center of Guanaceví, Durango, I had been inured to violence, witnessing as I did many murders, shootouts and knifings. The native folk were very good with pistols, I recall, while the laborers from Zacatecas loved to unsheath and hone their skills with the dagger.⁴ But I was nonetheless very much seized with curiosity and wonderment when the following event took place months after the baptismal fête. It was early afternoon, lunchtime, as I ambled homeward, down the Avenida Zarco, by myself. I had just left my school, the Jesuit-administered Colegio Guadalupano. A huge tree dominated the landscape down the way, near the Puente Guadalupe, a bridge which spanned a creek bed which was dry at the time. First, I focused my eyes on the tree, and then on three men on horseback,⁵ along with a riderless mount, halted nearby, in front of a store known as Las Quince Letras (The Fifteen Letters).⁶ Then, a familiar figure caught my eye as he exited from a butcher shop. His bull-necked, stocky physique and rolling equestrian's gait, advancing under an undistinguished peasant's sombrero — one woven with dried palm leaves — told me immediately that this was Villa. Claro Reza accompanied him. I distinctly heard Villa tell Reza that he had something to settle with him, to jump into the nearby "canal"; the latter answered in the affirmative without hesitation.⁷ Villa followed him, cat-like. Without warning he violated the soothing lassitude of the afternoon; swiftly he grabbed his pistol, cleared leather, pointed his weapon at Reza, and in a brutal cacophony of noise pumped several bullets into his unfortunate victim. Villa tried to scramble up and out of the ravine, but it was too deep and the incline too abrupt, and so he kept sliding back, trying all the while desperately to climb out by digging his fingers into the crumbling, uncooperative earth. (It was comical, but I do not recall having laughed.) Finally, realizing the predicament of *el jefe*, one of his henchmen dismounted, walked over, grabbed Villa by the arm, and hoisted him up. They mounted their horses and the four men rode away — slowly, coolly, deliberately, apocalyptically. No one interfered then and there, but someone did run to the nearby military garrison to give the alarm. Within minutes fifty or more mounted troopers arrived on the scene. They noted Reza's corpse. They inquired as to the route the men had taken, and how many of them there were. I answered truthfully, and yet, for some unexplained reason, they ignored or misunderstood my directions, and the bandits made good their escape.⁸



Villa as Mr. Reyes remembered him. Aultman Collection, El Paso Public Library.

In the wake of the murder I learned that Reza had been one of Villa's brigands. But he had been caught by the *acordada*, and in return for his liberty he had snitched on his erstwhile *confreres*. It was in retaliation against this betrayal, then, that the avenging Villa gunned down Reza in the bright sunlight of a lazy Chihuahua afternoon in 1910. Although I never saw or spoke to him again, I had seen enough of the fearsome Pancho Villa to know that I did not particularly want to.⁹

It is as interesting as it is futile to contemplate how different the next ten years of Mexican history would have been if the soldiers had listened carefully to what I said that afternoon, if they had proceeded to capture or kill the man who was destined to become the fiercest warrior of the great Revolution that was about to engulf the country.¹⁰

REFERENCES

1. A mounted police force, with vigilante overtones on occasion, that operated in various rural districts, and often summarily executed bandits and cattle-rustlers. The *acordada* appears to have been comprised largely of local men, not professional police from the outside.
2. "Not only should *compadres* respect each other and reciprocate the term in conversation; the tie is semi-sacred, stronger than that between first cousins and often compared to that between brothers. The *compadre* complex surrounds every adult male with four to eight or more trusted and loyal agemates with whom he has grown up, and who are typically his social peers in this egalitarian or 'horizontal' system." Paul Friedrich, "A Mexican Cacicazgo," *Ethnology*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (April 1965), 195, 196. Although Friedrich is referring to central western Mexico, his observations generally hold true for the north. Of course, Pancho Villa and men of his background were by no means "typical."
3. "¡Apúrale, Pancho! ¡Ya es tiempo que te vayas!"
4. The use of knives by *zacatecanos* probably reflected their relative poverty. (1) Higher wages and (2) a tradition of Indian fighting accounted for the prevalence of firearms in northern Durango, as well as in Chihuahua. The superb writer Amado Muro (the *nom de plume* of Chester Seltzer) makes reference to "Zacatecas knives" in the following excerpt from one of his short stories: "Once we saw two paisanos fighting in village style with Tarahumara *sarapes* in one hand and Zacatecas knives in the other. Tense and crouching like cats getting ready to jump, they circled each other feinting with their eyes and shoulders until someone shouted that the police were coming. When they heard this, they glared at each other and put away their knives reluctantly. Then they slung their heavy *sarapes* over their shoulders and stalked off in opposite directions." From *The Collected Stories of Amado Muro*, "Sister Guadalajara," (Austin: Thorp Springs Press, 1979), 43. Quoted with the permission of Mrs. Amada Muro Seltzer, El Paso, April 23, 1980.
5. In his memoirs, Villa mentions only two confederates on this occasion, José Sánchez and Eleuterio Soto. Martín Luis Guzmán, *Memoirs of Pancho Villa*, trans. and ed. by Virginia H. Taylor (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 21, 22.
6. This particular store is also mentioned in *ibid.*, and in Luz Corral vda. de Villa, *Pancho Villa en la intimidad* (Chihuahua City: Centro Librero la Prensa, S. A. de C. V., 1976), 13.
7. Villa: "Claro, baja para abajo; tengo un asunto que arreglar contigo." Reza: "Seguro."
8. Villa later related in his memoirs that he and his friends were actually able to see their pursuers after a while, but he remarked disparagingly that "they must have been calling upon God to save them from overtaking us, for at no moment did we have to push our horses." Guzmán, *Memoirs*, 22.
9. Although Mr. Reyes did not recall the date on which the murder occurred, it is known that Villa killed Reza on September 8, 1910. In 1950 the noted Chihuahua historian Francisco R. Almada wrote that the murder had nothing to do with the unstable politics of the day, and that it was therefore a purely vengeful incident. Moreover, it was not until a month later that the leader of the revolution, Francisco I. Madero, issued his revolutionary *Plan de San Luis Potosí* at San Antonio, Texas. According to Almada, Reza had been sentenced to four years in prison for cattle-stealing. However, he was granted his freedom after promising Santos Díaz, the chief of the rurales (the official rural police force, as distinguished from the *acordada*) that he would deliver Villa and his accomplices to the authorities. In 1967 Almada wrote that he had consulted documents proving that by September 1910 the authorities were keeping a dossier on Villa with regard not only to his bandit and cattle-rustling activities, but also in connection with state politics. Villa himself attempted to link the Reza murder with these particular circumstances. Reza and a force of some twenty-five *rurales* had besieged Villa and some companions, including Don Abraham González, the leader of the major oppositionist faction in Chihuahua, at Villa's home, *Calle Décima*, #500. Yet either Villa or Martín Luis Guzmán errs in referring to the Madero manifesto before describing the Reza affair; to do so is anachronistic. In 1967

the usually conscientious writer Alberto Calzadiaz Barrera published an account of the Reza murder that differs in some respects from that of Mr. Reyes and Almada. See Almada, *Gobernadores del Estado de Chihuahua* (Mexico City: Imprenta de la H. Cámara de Diputados, 1950), 480; Guzmán, *Memoirs*, 21, 22; Almada, *Vida, Proceso y Muerte de Abraham González* (Mexico City: Biblioteca del Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, 1967), 33, 34; William H. Beezley, *Insurgent Governor: Abraham González and the Mexican Revolution in Chihuahua* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 39; and Alberto Calzadiaz Barrera, *Hechos Reales de la Revolución*, 5 vols. (Mexico City: Editorial Patria, S. A., 1967), vol. I, 34. Citing Almada, Beezley writes that "from the reports made by Reza and other spies, the police soon accumulated a thick file on González, Villa, and others, but they only tightened surveillance, keeping lists of the names of all those who visited the rebel offices or associated with the conspirators." *González*, 39.

10. The Revolution formally began on November 20, 1910. Some historians mark the termination of the armed phase with the promulgation of the Constitution of 1917; others believe it ended with the assassination of Venustiano Carranza, the leader of the Constitutionalist revolution, in 1920.

THE FIRST RAILROAD BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIO GRANDE

by CHRIS P. FOX

A deep study of any and all records available, including the Southern Pacific engineering office, indicates that there was no railroad bridge across the Rio Grande before the one built near (Smelter Town) El Paso in 1880-81 for the Southern Pacific; and it remained in service during the early days of SP in this area. It brought the first train into El Paso from the west on May 20, 1881. It was replaced by an iron structure 886 feet in length in 1892. The Santa Fe Railway line from El Paso to Albuquerque officially opened for traffic July 1, 1881 and passed under the SP bridge, as it does today.

The iron bridge in 1892 replaced the wooden one that was built in 1880-81 and, in turn, was replaced by the sturdy steel bridge of today in 1906. Prior to its construction, a 12-mile line change was built from the Rio Grande to Strauss, New Mexico, so when the new 1906 steel bridge was completed, the "shoo fly" that had been built to Strauss became the main line of today. The years preceding this saw a railroad bridge built over the lower Rio Grande by the GH&SA (SP) at Eagle Pass, Texas. The steel bridge over the lower Rio Grande adjacent to the SP's at Smelter Town, was built by the EP&SW line in 1902, thereby completing the EP&SW from El Paso to Douglas and Bisbee and joining the Southern Pacific again at Benson, Arizona.

The writer owns what was commonly known in years gone by to those of the railroad bridge and structure divisions as a double-handed adz, which is a huge double-handed wood chisel. This adz was given years ago to a long-time railroad friend of mine, the late A. Terrill Ash, a conductor on both the EP&SW and SP lines west of here. The adz was given to Mr. Ash about 1907 by a member of the large railroad family of Henry Borcharding, who at that time was foreman here of the car repair department of the SP. Mr. Borcharding told Mr. Ash that the hand adz was used in the building of the first wooden bridge over the Rio Grande, and that a man who worked and used the adz on the bridge gave it to him.

On the hand adz is stamped "D. R. Barton-Rochester, New York". So we wrote a background letter about the instrument and Mr. Ash's comments to the Rochester Public Library of Rochester, New York, and received in part the following information from Wayne Arnold, head of the library's local history division. In addition to sending the written invi-

Chris P. Fox, a member of the Historical Society's Board of Trustees, was named to the Hall of Honor in 1967.

SOUTHWESTERN RESOURCES

by MARY A. SARBER

The Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe, 300 miles from El Paso, has in its Photograph Collection several interesting historic photographs of El Paso. At least two of these are by the noted 19th century photographer Ben Wittick, who passed through El Paso in the early 1880s. Copies will soon be available for viewing in the Southwest Section of the El Paso Public Library.

The Photograph Collection of the Museum of New Mexico includes a total of 165,000 historic photographs, of which 80,000 have been catalogued. The general arrangement is by subject; there are more than 15,000 photographs of Southwestern Indians, and other major subject holdings are development of the railroads, mining in the West, portraits of individuals, and towns and cities of New Mexico. The work of many well-known Western photographers such as W. H. Jackson and John K. Hillers is represented. The Museum holds 1,300 negatives taken by Ben Wittick throughout the Southwest. The Harroun Collection is an important record of everyday life in Santa Fe during the 1890s. The Musgrave Collection contains considerable material on the Mexican Revolution and the 1916 Punitive Expedition. Eight hundred cyanotype prints by Charles F. Lummiş provide an important but little known record of Pueblo Indian life and Penitente ceremonies of the late 19th century. Numerous stereo view cards of the region are also in the collection.

Not all of the collection's material pertains to the Southwest. Photographs by Jesse Nusbaum of archaeological sites and findings in Guatemala in the early 20th century are of great interest to scholars. Substantial material on Australia, New Zealand, and the Middle East rounds out the geographic coverage.

In 1973 the Museum published *Photographers of New Mexico Territory, 1854-1912*, compiled by photo historian Richard Rudisill. It lists more than 600 early photographers who worked in the region with brief biographical entries (sometimes aggravatingly brief, as complete information simply was not available). Fortunately Dr. Rudisill includes El Paso in his territory, and lists 64 photographers or firms which operated in El Paso before 1912. If only more of their negatives or prints were available today! Dr. Rudisill is continuing his research on Territorial photographers with the intention of publishing an expanded and revised directory, and is also pursuing more specific research on John K. Hillers.

Mary A. Sarber, coordinator of public services for the El Paso Public Library, is a graduate of the University of New Mexico and the University of Arizona. She compiled *Charles F. Lummiş, A Bibliography* (University of Arizona Library, 1977) and *Photographs from the Border: The Otis A. Aultman Collection* (El Paso Public Library Association, 1977) and currently is editing a book on El Paso architect Henry C. Trost.

tation which we will quote he also sent a number of copies of pictures of instruments of that period made by the Barton Company and its successors. Mr. Arnold wrote, "David R. Barton was first listed as a toolmaker in the Rochester City Directory from 1864/75. The 1878/79 directory was the last to list the company as the D. R. Barton Tool Company, Edge Tool Makers.

"In the 1879/1880 directory was the first listing of the firm as Mack and Company Edge Tool Mfg. The 1924/25 directory was the last to list Mack Tool Company. I am enclosing Xerox copies of the pages in Kenneth D. and Jane W. Roberts' *Planemaker and Other Edge Tool Enterprises in New York State in the 19th Century*, which deals with the D. R. Barton Tool Company." The hand adz in our possession thus was made sometime between 1864 and 1879, which would have easily allowed it to have been used by capable hands in building the first railroad bridge



Chris P. Fox holds a hand adz used in building the first wooden railroad bridge across the Rio Grande 100 years ago. Behind him is the successor to that bridge.

(wooden) across the Rio Grande.

While I have been writing about this bridge-building tool, my mind has constantly gone back to what it took to build railroads out in this western country 100 years ago — what it took besides money. Beyond question the first element was men of courage and endurance beyond description. So let us zero in for a moment on the Southern Pacific construction from the west and into El Paso and over that bridge you have just been reading about. Now it must be remembered that to get the supplies to the railhead was not the job for a boy. Nine-tenths of the items that were used in construction had to “come around the horn” into the ports of San Diego or San Francisco. There was no transcontinental railway to haul these needed construction items from east to west until the Central Pacific from the west and the Union Pacific from the east made the famous meet at Promontory in Utah May 10, 1869.

The bulldozer, jackhammer, drag line, air drills and dozens of other construction tools of the trade were not even a gleam in the design engineer's mind 100 years ago. It was hand-drilled holes through the granite that were filled with giant-black powder, that blasted out the tunnels and the deep rock cuts. Today it is an air drill backed up with the jackhammer and to a large extent, dynamite has given way to gelatin. The slow process of pop-shotting the larger stones following a blast where a single jack and a short drill did the job, is done today by the jackhammer. The tortuous task of moving the rock, gravel, sand or whatever it was, was entrusted to a tobacco-chewing, tough, cussing mule-skinner and his slip scraper. Despite the lack of modern-day equipment, they seemed to build rapidly as workers do today. Of course, instead of an eight-hour day and coffee breaks thrown in, it was a twelve and 13-hour day with lunch eaten out of a bucket on the job and then back to the task. No one had ever heard of a five-day week. It was always six days of labor and if it was a pressure-contract job, it would often be a 7-day work week.

So building the West in whatever field of construction it might have been, was always in the hands of those who invariably saw the sun rise in the morning and saw it set into the darkness of night and laid their aching bones down on a bed roll or on the lumpy, straw-filled mattress of a bunk car. The West was building and there remained much to be done by men of character, solid convictions and ever placing the community and area welfare above or on a par with those who had gone before.

In addition to the directory, the Photograph Collection is publishing a reprint series of early books of photographs. They have also published two completely illustrated catalogs from their own holdings, *The Railroad Collection, Volume I*, and *The Burro*. Both are available from the Museum for \$5 each plus 75¢ postage and handling. Three or four more volumes of the railroad catalog are projected. Now at the printer is a new catalog of portraits by various and often anonymous photographers, and coming next will be two volumes on photographs by J. R. Riddle who followed the route of the Santa Fe Railroad in the late 1880s.

The staff of the Photograph Collection, which includes Arthur Olivas, Curator, in addition to Dr. Rudisill, cautions that the Collection's primary function is to preserve significant historical material. Researchers are welcome but casual browsing is discouraged. As mentioned earlier, the photographs are arranged by subject, and a guide to subject categories is available. Prints of specific photographs can be ordered for fees starting at \$4 per print with an additional fee for publication in books or periodicals.

In general, the preservation of historic photographs is a labor of love, a few people working with not enough money and never enough hands to preserve precious images of life the way it used to look. This generalization holds true in Santa Fe, as it does in El Paso. Hopefully as awareness and recognition of the richness of these treasures grows, more funds will be made available. Meanwhile the staff of the Museum's Photograph Collection perseveres in acquiring, cataloguing, and making available to researchers the invaluable material in its keeping.

EL PASO CITY-COUNTY HOSPITAL IN THE THIRTIES

by J. LEIGHTON GREEN, M.D.

City-County Hospital was built in 1915 by the people of El Paso. It was intended to be a charity hospital, to provide medical and surgical care for indigent citizens. El Paso's population was then about 100,000.

In the thirties when the depression was still smouldering, few people had hospital insurance, and many had no money. The 240 beds of City-County were kept filled with all manner of illness and injuries and the clinics were very busy.

Seven El Paso citizens comprised the governing board. They spent many hours doing the business of the hospital, with no pay. El Paso doctors received no pay for the thousands of hours of service they donated. Internes labored long hours for a pittance, but they did gain a lot of experience. With a limited budget, the doctor superintendent managed to supply adequate equipment and deliver good treatment. The salary of the superintendent was inadequate. Nurses were ill paid, but most of their time was devoted to treating patients, not so much to doing government-imposed clerical work.

Many babies were delivered in the hospital. Some Caesarean sections were done, but only about 1 per cent of the deliveries, far fewer than in later years. Numerous surgical operations were done. Cardiac surgery was still in the future. Arteriography (injection of dye to demonstrate arteries of heart and brain) was not done. Scanning had not been invented, although X-rays were available. In the absence of air conditioning, in summer the operating rooms resembled furnaces.

There were no blood banks. To get blood for transfusions it was necessary to find a willing friend or relative whose blood matched. Some blood was obtained from prisoners in the County Jail, their payment being shorter incarceration. Patients sometimes died for lack of a blood transfusion.

Many a patient with a fractured hip had to lie in bed with traction for weeks, and often contracted pneumonia. Nailing fractured hips was just beginning to be used, a remarkable advance in orthopedics.

Thyroid disease was frequently seen. When surgery was the only treatment for toxic goitre, the mortality was high. Then drugs were developed — iodine and propylthiouracil — to treat patients before operation, and results were better. Next improvement was the introduction of radioactive isotopes. This treatment eliminated much of the thyroid surgery.

Dr. J. Leighton Green marked his 50th anniversary as an El Paso physician on May 13. He spent 17 years on the City-County Hospital Staff, two of them as chairman of the board.

Some diseases had been almost conquered. Malaria was rare in the Southwest. Thanks to vaccination, smallpox and tetanus (lockjaw) were seldom seen. Diphtheria vaccine was available to save patients from that dread disease. There were no dependable vaccines for colds, influenza, pneumonia, whooping cough, or poliomyelitis. Tuberculosis thrived in El Paso. There was no dependable drug to treat it. City-County built a separate building for tuberculars.

There were no antibiotics. Prontosil, a sulfanilamide drug, was being imported from Germany, shortly to be followed by other sulfa drugs. The only treatment for pneumonia — then known as the “old folks’ friend” — consisted of nursing care and a narcotic like codeine or morphine.

Few abortions were done in the hospital, since laws prohibited any except when the mother’s life or health was endangered. The Pap. smear had not been invented. Margaret Sanger was being jailed for advocating birth control, and vaginal diaphragms were being smuggled into the U.S. from Europe and Canada. Many illegal abortions were being done in El Paso and across the border, often with disastrous results.

City-County Hospital had no radium. When cancer of the cervix was discovered in a patient, it was usually in an advanced stage. To give treatment with radium it was necessary to rent the radium from local radiologists. Often there was no money available for such renting. The gynecologist’s only-alternative was operation, a poor second choice.

Many laboratory tests commonly used today were not available. Doctors made most of their diagnoses with their eyes, their ears, their fingers, sometimes even by their sense of smell. Since City-County had the only 24-hour fully-staffed emergency room in town (except William Beaumont Army Hospital) it did a rushing business. Often the emergency room resembled a field army hospital during combat. Visiting doctors were called to help the internes with serious cases.

Anesthesia was induced chiefly by ether or nitrous oxide. Local anesthesia was frequently used, and at times spinal anesthesia. Intravenous anesthetics came later.

In the thirties the annual budget for City-County Hospital was about \$100,000. As late as 1952 it was difficult to persuade the County Commissioners to adopt a budget of \$300,000. In fact, this was accomplished only by enlisting the support of the Junior League, who brought pressure to bear on that court. Never discount the power of women!

The budget of Thomason General Hospital, successor to City-County, now runs into the millions. With improved equipment and with a staff headed by the faculty of Texas Tech Medical School, it renders a great service to this community.

HERITAGE HOMES OF EL PASO:

by HARRIOT HOWZE JONES

THE REES HOME



Photograph by M.G. McKinney

The house at 2619 Altura Ave. was built in 1929 for Dr. and Mrs. Harry Leigh. Mabel Welch was the architect and builder. Mrs. Welch is credited with introducing Spanish style buildings to El Paso. Such famous architects and contractors as Ernest Krause, Henry Trost, Davis Mayfield and H. T. Ponsford have built many fine houses in town, including some in Greek Revival style. Malcolm and Mabel Welch, together, built a large number of so-called California Bungalows, in dark brick. After her husband's death Mabel Welch started building houses in Spanish and Mediterranean style. These are of white or pale color stucco, with tile roofs, patios and many arches. These features she felt to be appropriate to our mild and sunny climate.

The home at 2619 Altura is of brick construction, stuccoed white, with red tile roof and blue shutters. Built on a terrace, the house is approached by stone steps and walkway.

There is a stoop with red tile floor, the roof extends over the stoop and one corner of the roof is upheld by a sturdy wooden post, spindle shaped. This wood is from the old Santa Fe St. bridge to Juarez, built by Zach White in 1892. When the bridge was demolished to be replaced by a steel bridge, several contractors obtained the huge beams to be incorpo-

rated into new buildings.

From the stoop, through wrought iron gates, one enters a vestibule, with tile floor and vaulted ceiling. Then through a massive wood door, made of hammered slabs.

The house is U shaped, the square front hall, den, drawing room and dining room are in the cross part of the U, the bedrooms, baths, breakfast room, pantry and kitchen and maid's room are in the wings.

To the left of the hall is the den, which has a "bee-hive" fireplace, decorated with colorful hand painted tiles. The walls are white plaster, which artisans wearing rubber gloves, rubbed on to give a textured effect. On the right of the hall, through two beautifully carved wooden doors, is the drawing room, and doors of similar design lead into the dining room beyond.

There are dark, heavy, carved beams in the ceilings that are also from the old Santa Fe St. bridge. There are wrought iron chandeliers, a Spanish fireplace and the large windows are framed, on the outside, by elaborate wrought iron.

In back of the drawing room is a large loggia, opening into the patio. The fireplace has a heavy carved wood mantel, the floor is of red tile, as are the floors in the front hall and the den. The loggia was originally open, but has been glassed in.

The patio is charmingly planted. Doors from the two wings of the U open into it. On one side of the patio a tile staircase leads up to a flat roof, with a tile decorated parapet. One may glimpse a fine view of Mexico from the roof.

Colorful tile is used extensively throughout the house, on roof, fireplaces, baths, kitchen and breakfast room. This is not the largest of Mabel Welch's Spanish style houses, but is certainly one of the most charming.

Dr. Leigh was an obstetrician and pediatrician. Many El Paso women, now in their fifties and sixties, recall this beloved doctor who delivered their babies and cared for them in childhood. Many of these "babies" have had children brought into the world and then cared for by Dr. Leigh.

The present owners of the house are Mr. and Mrs. Rhys W. Rees. They came to live in the house when Mr. Rees, a geologist, retired. Mrs. Rees is the only child of Dr. and Mrs. Leigh. The Rees' have two daughters, Molly and Amy, who are being brought up in their mother's childhood home.

ACTIVITIES OF YOUR HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MUSEUM NEWS

Former El Paso Mayor Fred Hervey, who was instrumental in establishing the El Paso Cavalry Museum, was named to the Society's Board of Trustees at the April 1 board meeting. At his suggestion, the Museum was renamed the Museum of History by City Council on March 18. The change had been endorsed earlier by a committee representing the City's Department of Museums and the Historical Society which is sponsoring agency for the Museum.

A celebration of the name change is planned for July 13, during the month marking the Museum's sixth anniversary. Jack Redman is in charge of arrangements.

Wanda Bell, who was Museum curator, left El Paso in February to become a consulting curator of the Regional Conference of Historical Agencies in upstate New York. Loretta Martin assumed Miss Bell's former duties.

Leonard Sipiora, director of City museums, reported to the Society's Board on May 6 that he made funds available for construction of a storage room at the Museum. The Society's archives will be transferred there upon its completion. He also advised that the City expects the Department of Museums to reduce its next annual budget by 20 per cent.

Mrs. Chester Chope advised the Board on April 1 that the Woman's Department of the Chamber of Commerce plans to develop a picnic area west of the Museum. Mr. Hervey is assisting with funds for this project.

GIFT TO THE SOCIETY

President E. H. Antone and Bud Newman represented the Society at a meeting of the Juárez Historical Society (Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística) on April 18 in the Pronaf Museum of Art and History. In a special ceremony, they were presented copies of the Act of Foundation of Ciudad Juárez (Paso del Norte) dated December 8, 1659. The presentation was made by Juárez Society President Armando Chávez and Lic. Jesús Burciaga. One copy was given for the Society's archives and the other for the University of Texas at El Paso Library where Mr. Newman is archivist.

WORKSHOP SPONSORSHIP APPROVED

The Society plans to co-sponsor a seminar in the spring of 1981, one of three to be held in Texas cities in conjunction with the Texas Heritage

Council. Margaret Fouts, chairman of the El Paso Landmark Commission, requested the sponsorship at the May 6 Board meeting. She said the seminar, titled "New Approaches to Community History," will be limited to 30 participants, with some activities open to more. Speakers of national renown and local historians will take part. Dallas and Houston will present the same seminar under co-sponsorship of their local historical societies.

Also at the April Board meeting, Frank Mangan, new Board member, reported that 54 entries were received for the Gorman Essay Contest for students. Awards were presented to winners at the May 25 general meeting, when the speaker was William C. Ross, head of the Social Studies Department of Valley View Junior High School.

NEW MEMBERS

New members who have joined the Society in recent months include Mr. and Mrs. Stanley P. Bader, Mr. and Mrs. Joe D. Bacon, Mr. and Mrs. Chester L. Choep, Ross R. Goeldner, Mr. and Mrs. Hubert L. Koker, Miss Betty H. Rogers, Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Benson, Enrique Ramírez and James Kirby Read Jr.

Another new member is one whose name is familiar to all who haunt Millard McKinney's book sale table at every meeting: Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L. She is the author of *Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico, 1867-1882*; *Carlos M. Pinto, S.J.*; *Most Reverend Anthony J. Schuler, J.J., D.D.*, and several other historical books. Sister Lilliana was associate editor of the *Revista Católica* in El Paso from 1949-53, then served as librarian at Loretto Academy until 1955. She has been engaged mainly in research and writing since 1955, making her home in St. Louis. In May she observed her 82nd birthday.

FOUR CENTURIES PROJECTS

Dr. W. H. Timmons, who addressed the membership in February about the Four Centuries '81 celebration planned for El Paso and Ciudad Juárez next year, encouraged the Society to consider taking part in proposed projects. Among those he named were a textbook on the history of El Paso for use in local schools, erection of a historic marker, and purchase of a copy of a document collection related to the early history of the area. The monument, he pointed out, was designed by Pat Rand, past president of the Historical Society, to commemorate the arrival of the first Europeans at the Pass of the North.

MEMBERS' ACTIVITIES

Dr. James M. Day, third vice president of the Society, was a speaker for the annual conference of the Historical Society of New Mexico, held April 18-20 in Roswell. His topic was "New Mexico's Texans." The New Mexico Society in 1981 will hold its conference outside the state for the first time, when it meets jointly with the Texas State Historical Association in El Paso.

Several members of the Society took part in the program for the historic preservation seminar sponsored by the El Paso Historic Landmark Commission April 26 in the Museum of History. Among them were Mayor Tom Westfall, Leon Metz (president of the Mission Heritage Society) and Pat Rand, all past presidents of the Historical Society, current president Dr. E. H. Antone, and members Mary Sarber and Dr. W. H. Timmons. The program also brought guest speakers from New York City, Galveston, San Antonio, Houston, San Francisco and Roanoke. Three focal areas were: Architects and Planners, Community Leaders, and Citizens.

The El Paso Symphony Orchestra will focus on its historical background as it celebrates its 50th anniversary during the 1980-81 season. Carl Hertzog, distinguished book designer and member of the Historical Society, is designing a commemorative program for the opening concert on September 26-27.

Mary Ann Dodson represented the Society at a three-day workshop on trusteeship held in Arizona by the American Association for State and Local History.

* * *

The Society sorely misses Mrs. Betty Mary Goetting, who died recently. She was a founding member, became curator for many years, and was honored by the Society with a special award in recognition of her faithful service.

BOOK NOTES

by MARY ELLEN PORTER

A Texas Cowboy, or Fifteen Years on the Hurricane Deck of a Spanish Pony. Charles A. Siringo. Introduction and bibliography by J. Frank Dobie. Illustrated by Tom Lea. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Paperback, \$4.95.

Siringo's first chronicle of his years as a cowboy was published in 1885. This new edition reprints the 1886 addenda. It is precise in its facts and figures. Also included is a discourse on ranch life as seen through the eyes of a Spanish cow pony.

Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880. Julie Ray Jeffrey. Hill and Wang. \$11.95, paperback \$5.95.

Julie Jeffrey, professor of history at Goucher College, has examined primary sources to discover how pioneer women adjusted to frontier life. The sources are meager, since pioneer women did not write much. They are all white women with rural or small town backgrounds and the book deals with their adjustment to moving to the agricultural frontier, first to the Far West, then to the Great Plains. An important addition to the growing body of literature about women. Index, etc.

Texas Treasure Coast. Tom Townsend. Burnet, Texas: Eakin Publications. \$7.95.

The exciting and adventure-filled stories of the men and ships who have challenged the wild and unpredictable waters of the western Gulf of Mexico. A must for the historian. Shipwreck list, map and charts.

The Big Ranch Country. J. W. Williams. Burnet, Texas: Eakin Publications. \$8.95.

This book reaches deep down into the stories of the folk who made ranching in the Southwest. Colorful stories of the finest cutting horse, the meanest cow thief, the most princely cowman of them all. This is the story of the Big Ranch Country of the Waggoners, the Pitchfork, the Matador, the Four Sixes, the King and Kløberg ranches, told in a homespun yet extremely accurate fashion. Photographs.

Trinity River Paradox: Flood and Famine. Dr. Floyd Durham. Burnet, Texas: Eakin Publications. \$10.95.

An examination of the economic and social development of the Trinity River Basin from an historical perspective. Tables, exhibits and photos, appendix and index.

Suffering to Silence. History of the 29th Cavalry. John C. Grady and Bradford K. Felmy. Burnet, Texas: Eakin Publications. \$8.95.

The 29th Cavalry was organized by Colonel Charles DeMorse, famed pioneer editor and statesman of Clarksville, Texas. It engaged in battles at Elk Creek, Perryville, Poison Springs, at the siege of Fort Gibson and other smaller skirmishes. The men of the 29th were recruited from a dozen or more Texas cities and counties. Index, photos and roster.

Solon Love Owens — Texas Cowboy. Augusta Owens Smith. Burnet, Texas: Eakin Publications. \$8.95.

Solon Love Owens' family spread bordered the famous Matador Ranch in the Texas Panhandle. He was born in 1894 and moved with his father to the rolling plains and canyons just east of the famed "Caprock" in time to

witness the passing of the most colorful era of the American West. Mrs. Smith has written the book in the exact words of her father. It is his story throughout and is a faithful record of "cowboying in Texas."

David Lipscomb: A Journalist in Texas, 1872. John L. Robinson. Burnet, Texas: Eakin Publications. \$5.95.

David Lipscomb, pioneer editor, Gospel minister and guiding light of the Church of Christ congregations of a hundred years ago. As editor and one of the founders of "The Gospel Advocate," religious journal, Lipscomb wrote and spoke to a vast readership and audience.

Back Roads of Texas. Earl Thollander. Flagstaff: Northland Press. \$17.50.

Earl Thollander has created a fine addition to a growing collection of back roads books. The back roads trail rambles and bumps from the hill country of Central Texas to the Davis Mountains; from the Rio Grande to the Red River along the northern Texas border. Fully illustrated.

Arizona's Best Ghost Towns. A Practical Guide. Philip Varney. Preface by Byrd Granger. Flagstaff: Northland Press. Soft cover, \$10.95, hard cover, \$19.95.

A straightforward and up-to-date guide to the most interesting ghost town sites in Arizona. It provides the traveler with a rating of major, secondary and minor sites and gives valuable tips on road conditions, time and distance factors, information about the various towns and sites and the type of vehicle required to maneuver the often rugged roads. Covers more than eighty sites in eleven geographic areas across the state. Sixteen color photos, 110 black and white.

William Robinson Leigh: Western Artist. R. Duane Cummins. University of Oklahoma Press. \$19.95.

Twenty color and seventy black and white illustrations of works of this controversial western artist.

Peyote: The Divine Cactus. Edward Anderson. University of Arizona Press. \$6.95.

Definitive work on all aspects of peyote: history, use by Indians, origins of Peyotism, botanical classification, chemical qualities, physiological and psychological effects on man.

Ethnicity on the Great Plains. Frederick C. Luebke, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. \$15.95.

Twelve papers representing diverse disciplines demonstrating the marked impact of a variety of ethnic groups on the plains culture.

Hopi Cookery. Juanita Kavena. University of Arizona Press. \$8.50. More than 70 authentic recipes for such dishes as piki bread, Hopi tamales, prickly pear pads and roasted pumpkin seeds.

Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863. William H. Goetzman. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. \$23.50.

The colorful story of Army exploration and the winning of the West.

BOOK REVIEWS

PHOTOGRAPHING THE FRONTIER

by DOROTHY AND THOMAS HOOBLER

(Putnam, \$9.95)

The year is 1839, the beginning of the opening of the last great American frontier, everything west of the Mississippi River. To photographers, it was important as the year that Louis Daguerre and his partner Nicéphore Niepce, invented the method called Daguerreotype. With this new discovery, photographers were able to record the opening of the West and we are able to see it as it happened.

Any photographer of today can imagine what it is like to carry one or more cameras, film, extra lenses, and gadget bag, so he can have a feeling for the frontier photographer who had to carry a full darkroom as well as his camera. Most of his photographic equipment was carried on his back, on a horse or by horse and wagon. That was only part of his work. He had to also have his food, clothes, and bed. If he worked alone he had to find his way in a strange land.

About 1850 the "wet-plate" method of photography was being used. By this method, which made a negative on a flat piece of glass, many prints could be made. This wet-plate process made possible stereo cards which were made by the millions. By this method the people "back east" could see the scenery, Indians, settlements, and the development of the West, in three dimensions.

Many photographers traveled the West, like Andrew J. Russell who took pictures of building of the railroads. Alexander Gardner took photos of the stagecoach, and William H. Jackson photographed Yellowstone before it was a park. John W. Powell had a photographer by the name of John K. Hillers when he went to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. Hillers also made pictures of the Zuñi Pueblos in New Mexico.

Of interest to me was the number of states that were covered with these early photographic equipment. Pictures ranged from the small Daguerreotype to the large wet-plate cameras, as large as 11" x 14" to 20" x 24".

El Paso, Texas

RALPH A. GUILLIAMS

[Mr. Guilliams, a longtime member of the Historical Society, is a photography enthusiast.]

REPUBLICANISM IN RECONSTRUCTION TEXAS

by CARL H. MONEYHON

(University of Texas Press, \$19.95)

THE HOWLING OF THE COYOTES

by ERNEST WALLACE

(Texas A&M Press, \$15.75)

Two new scholarly books are devoted to political activities in Texas in Reconstruction years.

Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas describes the domination of state politics by that party from 1865-74, a period of adjustment to changing economic needs, political hatred, and freed slaves. Andrew Jackson "Colossal" Hamilton, appointed the first provisional governor, sought unity between the old Unionists and other factions. White Republican leaders,

more concerned with rights of blacks than were the Democrats, still were reluctant to insist on complete political equality for former slaves. Pressure came from railroad promoters, agrarian interests, frontier residents demanding protection, and ethnic and racial elements, especially Germans and blacks.

Among El Pasoans influential in politics at that time were Albert J. Fountain, who became the primary spokesman for the western part of the state in 1870, and W. W. Mills, son-in-law of Governor Hamilton.

Brief mention is made of the proposals to divide Texas after the war, a move that became the topic of *The Howling of the Coyotes: Reconstruction Efforts To Divide Texas*. While efforts at division began somewhat earlier, they became very serious during Reconstruction years. One proposal would break off the plains region for admission to the Union under Republican rule. The proposed territory was dubbed the State of Coyote because of the preponderance of that form of wildlife in the area, and those who favored it were, thus, "howling coyotes." Mills and Hamilton were important figures in these moves to divide the state.

Professor Moneyhon teaches history at the University of Arkansas-Little Rock. Wallace is professor emeritus at Texas Tech and a past president of the Texas State Historical Association.

El Paso, Texas

NANCY HAMILTON

THE CHICANOS OF EL PASO: AN ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS

by OSCAR MARTINEZ

(Texas Western Press, \$3.00)

This is a brief but well documented account of the historical disparity of the Chicano's socio-economic status in El Paso. Dr. Martinez shows in the monograph, using statistical studies, how the Anglo's influence and dominance increased as his numbers grew with the establishment of the railroad in this area. He exposes disparities found in occupational distribution, leadership roles, residential patterns, elected positions and education.

Dr. Martinez makes good use of oral history material to document prejudicial attitudes that have persisted and have helped to perpetuate the effects of racial discrimination, which is seen as one of the primary reasons for the alarming socio-economic underachievement by Chicanos in El Paso. He also mentions the various "techniques" that the dominant society has used to keep the influence of Chicanos extremely marginal. Aside from what seems to be a missing line at the bottom of page 32, the author should include some explanation for the increase in social status of Chicanos in the last two decades. He might do so by including some material on the Chicano Movement and its impact on social change and racial attitudes.

This short historical assessment of the Chicanos in El Paso should be read by persons interested in gaining some understanding of the social conditions of Chicanos. It is also highly recommended for sociology, political science and Chicano studies courses.

Dr. Martinez, who heads the Institute of Oral History at the University of Texas at El Paso, is a member of the board of the El Paso County Historical Society.

El Paso, Texas

CESAR CABALLERO

[Mr. Caballero heads the Department of Special Collections and Archives for the University of Texas at El Paso Library.]

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