

PASSWORD



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Editor's Note: Apologies are expressed to Elizabeth Blanton Hill McAlmon, the author of "As Good a Western Town as Can Be Found," whose name was truncated in the Table of Contents of the last issue of *Password*, volume 45, Number 3.



Company D at Realities, Texas in 1887.

Back row from left: Jim King, Bass Outlaw, Riley Boston, Charles Fusselman, Mr. Durbin, Ernest Rogers, Charles Barton, Walter Jones. Sitting: Bob Bell, Cal Aten, Capt. Frank Jones, Walter Durbin, Jim Robinson, Frank Schmidt. Leon C. Metz Collection.

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Rangers of the Last Frontier of Texas

By James M. Day

A new era began in 1881, an era when most of the Ranger force turned from chasing Indians to hunting and arresting outlaws. The death in that year of Major John B. Jones marked a new era for the Texas Rangers and the Frontier Battalion which had been organized in 1874 and which existed until 1900 when the opinion of an attorney general took its power. No longer was a frontier line clearly evident in Texas. Farms and ranches, cities and towns, and railroads and roads that would become highways were everywhere in evidence, and they were prominent features over the entire state except in the Trans-Pecos country.

In the Trans-Pecos, civilization existed only in pockets scattered among the rugged mountains and canyons and the vast dry expanses. West Texas was an arid stretch where man had to adapt or die, ruggedly beautiful and charming, yet so deadly. By 1882, a railroad ran through its mid-section and stagecoach and wagon roads meandered through its mountain passes and across its deserts. The ranches were big of necessity and the towns and farms were small for the same reason. Far to the west lay the step-child of Texas—El Paso, the most populous city and county in the area.

The Trans-Pecos was the last frontier of Texas. It was here that the last Indian battle on Texas soil was fought on January 29, 1881. A Texas Ranger force led by George Wythe Baylor surprised the remnants of an Apache band, fell upon it, and killed four braves, two women, and two children. In explaining the action, Baylor reported that all the Indians wore blankets and the Rangers could not discern their sex, but he added "the law under which the Frontier Battalion was organized don't [*sic*] require it." This battle in the Diablo Mountains west of Guadalupe Peak brought a

change in Ranger ways. Thereafter they gave up the pursuit of Indians and tried to confine their chases to "desperate whites and villainous Mexicans" in an effort to keep law and order.

Baylor's Company A had brought permanent Ranger service to the region in 1879, and Lieutenant C. L. Nevill commanded Company E which operated out of Fort Davis beginning in August, 1880. The arrival on June 6, 1880 of Sergeant Ed Sieker leading a detachment of nine men from Company D at Fort Stockton was a momentous occasion, for Company D was to play the major role in Ranger service in the Trans-Pecos. At the time that Baylor retired from service in 1885, his unit headquarters had been moved from Ysleta to Alpine. His sergeant, James B. Gillett, had resigned in 1882 to become city marshal of El Paso, but he resigned that position in 1885 to move to Marfa. From 1890 to 1892 he was sheriff of Brewster County. When the battalion was reorganized in 1882, Company D was the unit remaining in the Trans-Pecos region and along the border from Brownsville to El Paso.



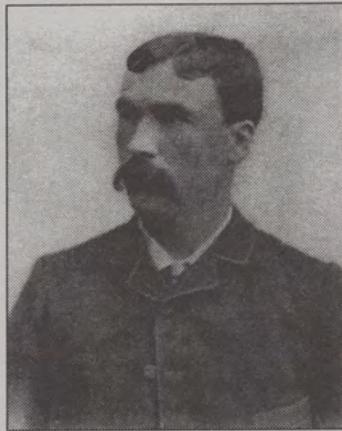
*James B. Gillett
Photo on display at
Bloys Camp Meeting.
Courtesy of
Ruth E. Gillett.*

As the Ranger leaders retired, new ones had already been trained under the same order. One such man was Frank Jones of Travis County. Born in 1856, the son of Judge William Eastman Jones of Georgia and Elizabeth Reston of Tennessee, Frank Jones was living in Kendall County in 1873 when he enlisted in Company C of the Kendall County Minute Men. He served one year, until March 1, 1874, when he took his discharge. His Frontier Battalion service began in September 1 of that same year when he enrolled in Company A. In 1876 he transferred to Captain Pat Dolan's Company F and stayed about nine months. After a break in service, he joined Company D commanded by Captain Dan Roberts on July 28, 1881. A month later he was promoted to corporal. When Captain Roberts retired in 1882, the newly promoted Captain L. P. Sieker took command of the company and Jones was promoted to sergeant. Later when Captain Sieker was appointed battalion quartermaster, Jones was appointed first lieutenant commanding Company D on September 1, 1885. He was promoted to captain on May 1 of the next year. He remained in service at that post and rank until his death.

Until 1890 Company D roamed the brush country of South Texas from Laredo to Brownsville, from Corpus Christi to San Antonio. They also had special assignments. The muster and payroll for March through May, 1887 shows that the company was stationed in Edwards County with Jones as captain and Ira Aten as first sergeant, and with twelve privates, one of whom was Bass L. Outlaw. Six men had been discharged in the three months period and three special Rangers were attached to the company. Pay ranged from \$100 per month for Jones to \$50 for Ira Aten to \$30.00 for the privates. Special Rangers received no pay. The teamster received \$20 per month. Into this company, on August 10, 1887 was enrolled, Rank and File Number 4, John R. Hughes. A strange and unusual connection of events tied Jones, Outlaw, and Hughes together until April 1894, by which time both Jones and Outlaw were dead, and Hughes was commander of the company. Their way of life was dangerous, exciting, and interesting as they attempted to tame the last frontier of Texas.

Frank Jones was not a tall man, standing only five feet, eight inches, but he was a man of great vitality. He was referred to as a Ranger's Ranger because he was always willing to set the example in leadership and energy. He had a dark complexion, dark hair, and brown eyes. When he signed on, he listed his occupation as "farmer." In the mid-eighties, about the time he made captain, he married a young lady named O'Grady from San Antonio, and they made their home at Boerne. Jones spent Christmas, 1887, at home and was back on duty on January 19, 1888 when his wife became ill shortly after their daughter, Kathleen, was born. Mrs. Jones died, leaving him with a daughter to raise. After the funeral, he made arrangements for the care of his daughter and, saddened, he returned to duty.

His duty as captain consisted of dispatching detachments wherever trouble arose, seeing to the camp and the welfare of his men, and reporting to the adjutant general. The camp was moved from Edwards County to



*Texas Ranger Captain
Frank Jones who died on the
Mexican side of the river.
Leon C. Metz Collection.*

Webb County, to Duval county, to Rio Grande City and finally to Alpine in 1890. In November 1887, he asked permission to appoint a corporal to look after the men in camp because Sergeant Ira Aten was never there. He concerned himself with wood, water, flour, bacon, beans, beef, coffee, corn, and hay. Railroad passes and Mexican interpreters were also part of the job.



*John R. Hughes with Winchester.
James M. Day Collection.*

John R. Hughes was thirty-two years of age when he became a Ranger, and he did so in a rather unusual way. Born in Cambridge, Illinois on February 11, 1855, he had moved with his family to Dixon, Illinois; and on to Kansas City, Kansas, and then to Mound City, Kansas where his parents operated a hotel. At age fifteen he struck out for Indian Territory where he worked for Art Rivers, an Arkansas man who

traded with the Choctaw Indians. Rivers was a crude man who provoked a fight with the Indians. In the melee one Indian struck Hughes, shattering the bones of the right arm which never healed properly and which never was strong again. From then on, although he never liked it, Hughes learned to use his left hand for the pistol. He mastered the use of his left shoulder for the rifle at which he became expert. He stayed on in the territory and learned Indian ways from the Osages. Horses were his main interest. Hughes liked horses: he studied them and decided to make his living from them.

Hughes with his brothers, Will and Emery, established the Long Hollow Ranch in Travis County which was six miles from Liberty Hill in Williamson County and thirty-three miles northeast of Austin. Their brand was a running H on the left shoulder of horses and on the left side of cattle. They ranched peacefully enough until April, 1886, a period of almost nine years. Then rustlers struck, taking sixteen head of their horses and their stallion, Moscow. The rustlers also took stock from the neighbors, so two weeks later, on May 4, 1886, Hughes took the trail to recover the horses. A long journey took him to the Silver City area

of New Mexico, where the animals were located. Enlisting the aid of Sheriff Frank Swafford and a deputy, Hughes visited the ranch of the thieves. The gunfight following the confrontation brought death to four of the rustlers. Hughes and a man he hired returned to Travis County with seventy-seven of the horses, which were returned to their owners.

Friends of the rustlers who lived in the wilds of western Travis County would not leave Hughes alone. Ranger Sergeant Ira Aten told Hughes about the threats on Hughes' life. The two men thwarted an attempt on Hughes' life by a man named Roberts, and thereby they became fast, life-long friends. They then followed Roberts almost to the Red River before they caught him and killed him in the gunfight that ensued. Then the friends went to Georgetown where Hughes enlisted as a Ranger private and they went on to the camp of Company D near Uvalde.

Hughes was tall, lithe, broad-shouldered and square-jawed, and those who knew him always mentioned his amazing dark brown eyes which dominated his whole appearance. His first assignments were routine. In early January, 1888, Captain L.P. Sieker ordered him to Edwards County to "look out for fugitives." He went by horseback in order to be more visible. In August he and a scout went into Frio and Duval counties looking for a wanted fugitive named Will Jacobs. They went through the "Allee Pasture," a piece of land owned by the Allee family in Duval county, looking for stolen cattle. They could not go farther because no one would guide them. Hughes said that "the whole country seems to live in dread of Allee and his crowd." In September Hughes was in charge of four men who were scouting in Cameron County. The scouting expeditions were endless and often barren.

Those were the days of the fence-cutting wars in Texas, and Hughes naturally was caught up in the turmoil as was most of the Ranger force. In order to discover who the cutters were, some of the Rangers went undercover. Hughes was one of those assigned to Navarro and McLennan counties. He left Wharton on May 14 and arrived in Corsicana the next day. The county judge was gone, but as Hughes reported to Captain Sieker, he asked to be kept

Those were the days of the fence-cutting wars in Texas, and Hughes naturally was caught up in the turmoil as was most of the Ranger force.

informed if more Rangers were coming. His contact in Corsicana was C. S. West. Heavy rains followed and Hughes had made no headway by the nineteenth, but when the rains stopped, he made his move. By May 26, he was near Richland and was "undercover." He wrote Sieker:

I am now staying with a man who is suspicious [sic] of cutting wire and have almost gained his confidence. He talks freely to me about stealing cattle. He and I stold [sic] a stake rope a few days ago and expect to kill a beef as soon as we eat up what he had on hand when I came. Then if he knows who the wire cutters are I think he will tell me.

But there were too many undercover men around as Lee Hall had detectives on the case, and so did a Mr. Waller from Waco. As Hughes reported, someone "made a confidant of the wrong man and gave the whole thing away." By June 13 he was in Waco making arrangements to put up a pasture fence so he could go back to watch it. If that tactic failed, Hughes concluded:

. . . it will be no use for me to work after them any more as they are the best organized band that I ever worked after. They keep spies out all the time. The big pasture men live in town and the people in the country are almost all in sympathy with the wire cutters.

For Hughes this proved to be a frustrating assignment.

While Hughes was learning his trade as a Ranger, Bass L. Outlaw was causing trouble wherever he went. He is a somewhat elusive character about whom few facts are known. Born in Georgia, he was of good family and had a good education, as attested by the letters he wrote. About five feet, four inches in height, he was wiry and well coordinated—a good athlete and a good pistol shot. His features were delicately refined with a receding chin—a face that did not go with the rest of him, symbolic perhaps of the confusion within him. His brother, E. B. Outlaw, who lived in Rector, Arkansas in 1894, stated that he had not seen Bass in twenty years. Rumor had it that Bass Outlaw was "Gone to Texas" because he had killed a man in Georgia. A study of his quarrelsome nature reveals that as a distinct probability.



Texas Ranger Bass Outlaw. Leon C. Metz Collection.

Bass seemed to be at home in the Ranger camp, having enlisted in Company E in 1885 and transferring to Company D in 1887. In July 1888 he was in Hempstead having a row with Wharton County officials over money. Wade Jones, sheriff of Wharton County, asked the Rangers to guard the jail during a ticklish time, promising to pay \$1.50 per day for the service. Outlaw volunteered and guarded the jail for eleven days before returning to Hempstead. Outlaw owed Jones \$10.00, and he wrote to Jones asking him to deduct that sum from the \$16.50 he had earned. The sheriff balked and so did the county judge, but when they appealed to Adjutant General W. H. King, the Ranger boss backed Outlaw, saying that the Rangers did not ordinarily charge for that kind of service, but if there was an agreement, the payment should be made.

Money was always one of Outlaw's problems. In August Outlaw was in Hempstead and was ill. He complained that Dr. Urban, who treated him, "was very liberal with his charges." Then when he went from Wharton to Hempstead he had a "rising" on his thigh and could not ride. Corporal Walter Durbin told him to take the train. Outlaw requested \$3.35 for the train fare and \$3.15 for the hotel bill. He frequently wrote Captain L. P. Sieker to advance money to pay bills.

After Ira Aten left Company D, Charles H. Fusselman became first sergeant and remained at that rank until he was killed on the east side of the Franklin Mountains on April 17, 1890. By then the affairs of the company had shifted from South Texas to the Trans-Pecos region, and Captain Jones was headquartered at Marfa. With Fusselman's death, Bass Outlaw was promoted to first sergeant. Evidence indicates that Outlaw was serious while on duty, but tended to cause trouble when off duty and drinking. Money continued to nag him. In a series of letters in 1891 and 1892 between Outlaw and Charley Murphy of Marfa, written on letterhead stationary from the Buckhorn Saloon in Alpine, he told the merchant clearly not to pry into his financial affairs. He did the same to Humphrey and Company.

Rumor had it that Bass Outlaw was "Gone to Texas" because he had killed a man in Georgia. A study of his quarrelsome nature reveals that as a distinct probability.

Money was not his only problem. On November 3, 1891, in Alpine, Outlaw got drunk and tried to force his way into the Zamloch Show managed by C. E. Van Horne. Zamloch was forced to leave the stage to find the source of the noise and disturbance. Because Outlaw was the source of the noise, Zamloch ordered him out of the show. Outlaw left, but only after threatening Van Horn. The next day Outlaw met Van Horne and a lady in Marfa and made threats, using abusive language. When Van Horn complained to the governor, Jones investigated, and finding that the accusations were accurate, he reported them to Adjutant General W. H. Mabry.

Women were also a problem. On February 13, 1892 at Alpine, Outlaw was drunk again. He went to the house of J. M. Watts, a Negro who ran a "low dive on the outskirts of town," pulled his gun on Watts and threatened to kill him. After Watts closed the door, Outlaw fired his Winchester but did no damage. Then he went to the house of Watts' prostitute and spent the night with her. Jones investigated the affair and reported Watts' statement to Mabry.

Trouble in line of duty finally was the undoing of Sergeant Bass Outlaw. When silver was discovered at Shafter, some seventy miles south of Marfa, a detachment of Rangers was stationed there to keep the peace. In December 1890 Outlaw was in charge of the detachment. A Mexican had been arrested by some citizens on a charge of theft. Outlaw released the suspect, saying there were no charges. When Sheriff Miller from Marfa arrived to take the man into custody, the sheriff and Outlaw had some sharp words. Miller told Jones that Outlaw was under the influence of liquor. Jones confronted Outlaw and threatened to discharge him, but several citizens were afraid of Outlaw and persuaded Jones to send him back to camp.

Bass Outlaw made his last mistake as a Ranger on September 17, 1892, when he got drunk in the saloon in Alpine. Jones was out of town. Outlaw was having a good time of it as he "shot up" the town. Sheriff Gillett heard the shots and came running. He read the "riot act" to Outlaw, ordered him to holster his pistol, and threatened him with instant arrest. Outlaw tried to brazen it out, but Gillett repeated his ultimatum in unmistakable terms. Outlaw laughed, said he was buying the drinks, and let a coin drop to the floor as he pulled the money from his pockets. It was a tense moment, one in which either man, or both, could die. Outlaw bent a little as if to recover the coin, then straightened suddenly as if to go for his gun, but he looked hard at the sheriff, checking

to see if Gillett planned to shoot him. Gillett read the thoughts, gently smiled, picked up the coin, and tossed it on the bar with the admonition "Now you remember what I told you. It's a fine thing when a Ranger has to be ordered to keep the peace."

Frank Jones got back to Alpine the next morning and heard about his sergeant's misbehavior. He called Outlaw in and ordered his resignation, which Outlaw duly signed so he could receive his pay. He left headquarters furious at Gillett because he thought the sheriff had told Jones of the fracas. Outlaw went to Jackson's mercantile where he bragged about wanting to kill Gillett. He was still there when James Gillett arrived for a confrontation, the result of which was that Bass Outlaw admitted his error. The previous June, Jones had written that Outlaw "has at times drank [sic] to some excess but he's given me no trouble." He concluded "He is a man of unusual courage and coolness and in a close place is worth two or three ordinary men. He has some fine traits and I have always felt a warm personal feeling for him."

But that did not stop Jones from forcing his resignation. Outlaw went to El Paso and became a deputy United States marshal under former Ranger Dick Ware, one of the men who had shot Sam Bass. In December, twenty prominent persons asked that he be appointed a special Ranger and Jones agreed. One of those making the request was James B. Gillett.

While Company D was undergoing the Bass Outlaw ordeal, John R. Hughes was solidly doing his duty of enforcing the law. He had been made corporal at the time that Outlaw had been promoted to sergeant, and had replaced Outlaw at Shafter when the sergeant had the trouble with Sheriff Miller. Hughes and Outlaw worked together very little. Hughes set up a systematic process of infiltration whereby he located most of the employees and their friends who were stealing ore. He was responsible and courteous

Hughes set up a systematic process of infiltration whereby he located most of the employees and their friends who were stealing ore. He was responsible and courteous and the mine owners appreciated it, and rumor has it that he was handsomely rewarded.



Co. D. Frontier Battalion at Ysleta 1894. Standing: Deputy U.S. Marshal F. M. McMahon, W. Schmidt, J. Latham, J. Sitter, E. Palmer, T. Cook. Seated: Unidentified Mexican prisoner, G. Tucker, J. Saunders, C. Kirchner, Capt. J. Hughes. Identification from Texas, Guns & History by Col. Charles Askins. Leon C. Metz Collection.

and the mine owners appreciated it, and rumor has it that he was handsomely rewarded. When Outlaw was discharged, Hughes was promoted to first sergeant. When the company moved to Ysleta in June, 1893, Hughes and a detachment of men remained at Marfa. The move of the headquarters of Company D to Ysleta on June 14 was probably precipitated by the recent marriage of Captain Jones to one Helen Baylor, who was divorced from James B. Gillett, and was the daughter of George Wythe Baylor. But there was also another reason. Above and below El Paso, where the Rio Grande spreads itself in its bed, a series of marshes and islands were formed. The areas, called bosques were essentially unpopulated, and outlaws from Mexico, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, called The Bosque Gang, gathered there. Jones and his Rangers decided to move them out—even if they had to cross into Mexico in pursuit. Jones admitted to Mabry that he did this, but he said he would never do it near a settlement.

Below El Paso there was a place called "Tres Jacales," named for the three little huts located on on Pirate Island, a stretch of land in midstream which alternately belonged to Mexico or the

United States, depending on which side of the "island" the river ran. In June, 1893, the river was on the American side, but Jones paid no attention as he led his Rangers in pursuit of the three Olguin brothers. Jones plunged into a well-laid trap and he paid for it with his life. He died that day, June 30, in the line of duty, but on Mexican soil. His body was taken to Juarez and it took Masonic connections to have Jones' body returned days later. Sergeant Hughes went immediately from Marfa to the site and took command. It was left to him to report the incident to General Mabry, to recover Jones' personal effects, and to explain as best he could why being on Pirate Island in Mexican territory was not such a bad thing.

Then came a somewhat political battle over the appointment of a successor to Jones. Bass Outlaw, citing his extensive Rangerservice, applied for the post. The county judge, an evangelist, and some eighty citizens of Brewster County petitioned Governor James Stephen Hogg in Outlaw's behalf. John R. Hughes also applied for the position and drew support from the leading citizens of Alpine and El Paso. Perhaps the most important telegram Hogg received was from the El Paso County democratic chairman, who said simply "Our people want Hughes." Although petitions, telegrams, and letters were created in great volume, the process was relatively short. Hughes applied for the captaincy on July 2,



Tres Jacales in 1983. Mexican town across the Rio Grande from San Elizario where Frank Jones met his death. Photos by Leon C. Metz.

and was appointed on July 4, 1893. The fact that the process was political, even though the most meritorious man won, augured ill for the Ranger force.

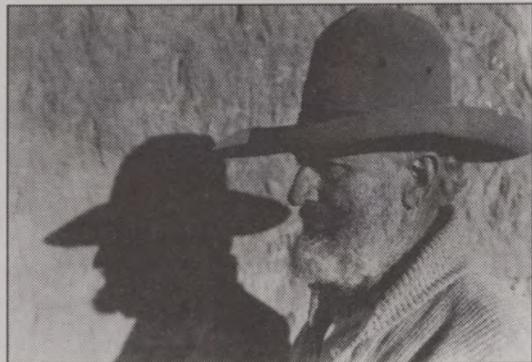
Hughes' exploits as a Ranger are legion. The explanation of what he did rests on three interviews Hughes gave in later life. He was interviewed by a well known journalist, L. A. Wilke, and the interviews were published in a true detective magazine. Then Dane Coolidge interviewed him and published his words in *Fighting Men of the West* in 1932. Finally Jack Martin did an extensive interview which led to the book *Border Boss* in 1942. All these works are good in the oral tradition but they cannot be considered completely reliable. However, they do point the way and they represent the nucleus of what is printed and available at this time.

There are many of Hughes activities which merit retelling—one of his bulldog-like searches is notable. It concerns the killing of Ranger Sergeant C. H. Fusselman by Geronimo Parra on April 17, 1890. Hughes, a corporal, was at Marfa with Frank Jones when they received the message telling of Fusselman's death. Jones gave his permission and Hughes caught the train to El Paso. He chased the killers but lost the trail.

Three years later Hughes located Parra in prison in Santa Fe. He tried to have Parra extradited but failed. Then one day, some years later, Pat Garrett visited Hughes in El Paso. Hughes told Garrett about Parra and said he wanted to get the outlaw back in Texas. Garrett struck a deal with Hughes—"You get me Pat Agnew and I will get Parra for you." Hughes agreed.

The Ranger struck Agnew's trail which led down the Rio Grande to Del Rio and Carrizo Springs, and then doubled back to Pecos. Hughes caught his man on a ranch in the Big Bend

John R. Hughes, the Border Boss and Captain in the Texas Rangers. Shortly before his death in El Paso. Leon C. Metz Collection, courtesy of James M. Day.



near the border. After Hughes delivered Agnew to Garrett at Las Cruces, the two went to Santa Fe where Garrett managed to have Parra released to Hughes and himself. The three of them rode the train to Las Cruces, where Hughes took over and delivered Parra to El Paso. Hughes was a "mighty satisfied" man when Parra was convicted to hang for the killing of Fusselman.

Yet the drama was not ended. Parra and another murderer, Antonio Flores, were scheduled to hang on January 6, 1900. As Flores was taken from his cell, he brandished a knife and started stabbing jailer and former Ranger Ed Bryan in the stomach. The door to Parra's cell had been left open and he too had a knife which he plunged into a policeman named Christy and into Deputy Will Ten Eyck.

As Captain Hughes rushed into the struggle, he saw that Ten Eyck had managed to put Parra back into his cell. It took four men to subdue Flores, but they did it, then they placed the hood over his head and dropped Flores into eternity.

As Parra was brought out, Flores body was handed up so the noose could be removed. It had become knotted in the drop and was difficult to untie. Parra had to watch the proceedings. Finally, the rope was retied and placed around Parra's neck and he went to his death at the end of the rope. Hughes said he felt satisfied that Sergeant Fusselman was avenged.

Hughes served the force admirably until his retirement in June, 1915, having been a Ranger captain for twenty-three years, the longest record in Ranger history. He retired because James Ferguson was elected governor and he was going to sell Ranger commissions. The old Ranger later said that Ferguson intended "to put me out of a job and let me starve." Hughes' remark was followed by a smile and he added "But I didn't starve." The fact is that Hughes was always a frugal man. He had saved his money and bought river bottom-land near Ysleta which increased in price when Elephant Butte Dam was built. Hughes sold the land and created the Citizens Industrial Bank in Austin. He led the Texas

The fact is that Hughes was always a frugal man. He had saved his money and bought river bottom-land near Ysleta which increased in price when Elephant Butte Dam was built.



Texas Rangers in El Paso in 1896. They were here to stop illegal prize fights and to watch the professional gamblers who were here because of those prizefights. The front row, from left to right: Adjutant General W. H. Mabry, John R. Hughes, J. A. Brooks, W. J. McDonald, and John H. Rogers. Leon C. Metz Collection.

Centennial Parade in Dallas in 1936 and led many Sun Bowl Parades in El Paso. He became something of a showman in his fine silver studded regalia. In 1940 he was selected by the *True Detective* magazine as the first recipient of the Certificate of Valor, an award inaugurated to call attention to the bravery of peace officers. Hughes drove his 1928 Model T Ford until he reached the age of ninety-two, when he committed suicide in the garage at the home of his niece in Austin. The date was June 4, 1942.

One more footnote needs to be added. Bass Outlaw went from bad to worse and started frequenting El Paso's houses of ill repute and the saloons, and was running with the "sporting crowd." On April 5, 1894 he went on a spree and was killed by the famed gunman, John Selman. In the process, Ranger Joe McKidrick, who was trying to separate the two, was also killed, and Outlaw, who was wounded, was arrested for murder. He died under arrest, saying "Where are my friends?" It was left to Hughes to make the report to Adjutant General Mabry.

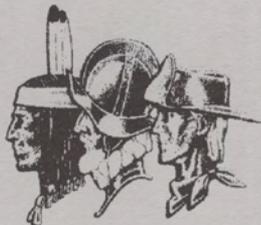
Captain Hughes, like Frank Jones before him, was a Ranger's Ranger.

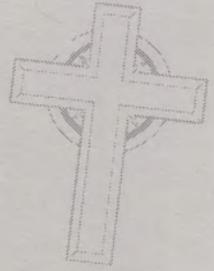
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Mexicans of the Better Class:

The Exile of the Chihuahuan Upper Classes in El Paso, 1913-1930

By Victor M. Macias-González, Ph.D.

When significant numbers of middle- and upper-class Mexicans fled to the United States in the years 1913 to 1930, they brought an infusion of talent, creativity, enterprise, and leadership that reinvigorated the Mexican communities of the region which, since the defeat of 1848, had come under strong pressure to acculturate and assimilate. Indeed, these "Mexicans of the Better Class": clerics, socialites, *hacendados*, intellectuals, and artists, took Anglo-Americans by surprise. Unlike the Mexican working poor to whom they had grown accustomed, these elite exiles arrived in the United States with pockets full of cash. They passed the time attending artistic performances and brilliant social events, as well as vacationing, shopping, and thinking of ways in which they could work to improve the situation of Mexicans living in the United States. This article focuses on the daily life and culture of elite Chihuahuan families in El Paso and evaluates their impact on the Mexican community in the border city.

In the autumn of 1913, the defeat of the supporters of counter-revolutionary General Victoriano Huerta in Chihuahua sent the state's urban populations into a panicked stampede for the United States border. Unlike the brief exile they had experienced in 1910-1911, that of 1913 lasted longer and a number of characteristics made the experience different.

Huerta's dictatorship, for example, was disgraced abroad and morally bankrupt at home. American politicians were not very welcoming of the old Huertistas, many of whom arrived seeking refuge. Once the Constitutionalists decreed the death penalty for the Huertista collaborators, wholesale flight occurred. The city of

Chihuahua, which had been filled with refugees from the district *cabeceras* [chief cities] fleeing Villista attacks, was emptied. After defeat at Tierra Blanca, General Mercado hastily organized the evacuation of government forces, sympathizers, and \$5,000,000 pesos to Ojinaga.¹ The city's oligarchy now had to consider their options; the Terrazas-Creels decided that the women and children would be safe, but that the men, particularly don Luis, would have to flee. Villa had already promised his death. The old patriarch was accompanied by his grandchildren, Jorge Muñoz and Fernando Horcasitas.² Don Luis, with other prominent oligarchy, the clergy, state and federal employees, merchants, bankers, and many others were among the 1,500 refugees who joined Generals Orozco, Mercado, and Salazar, who led a column of 1,000 federal troops. After a brief railroad ride, the convoy stopped at San Sóstenes station, close to Falomir. A few of the fleeing wealthy had had the foresight to pack well-fueled automobiles into the train, and upon reaching the end of the line, transferred to them and drove at top speed toward Ojinaga. Others proceeded to engage any and all vehicles and beasts of burden that could be found, to make the 300 kilometer trek through the Chihuahuan desert; the newspapers called their thirty-five-mile-long column "*la caravana de la muerte*."³

As the caravan made its way to the United States, businessmen and civic leaders in El Paso rubbed their hands in anticipation of the profits they would reap, knowing full well that many of the refugees had sizable deposits in United States banks and would begin spending large sums on their arrival. Newspapers announced the city's windfall with headlines like "Mexicans bring Millions to U. S."⁴ The Terrazas-Creel family whose members owned over 2.6 million hectares and had controlling interests in banks and businesses whose capital exceeded \$200 million pesos was but one of the many oligarchical clans that arrived in the United States seeking refuge from the revolution.⁵ In El Paso, a committee was organized to meet the refugees and to assure them of the city's willingness to extend hospitality. Businessmen readied their personal automobiles and hired additional transport, dispatching them to Presidio and Marfa, Texas, where the Chihuahuan refugees recovered from their forced march across the desert. The Chamber of Commerce building in El Paso was readied for their reception. Banks hired additional personnel to help them with the influx of new clients; between ~~and~~ 1914 and 1920, bank deposits increased

eighty-eight per cent.⁶ Department stores hired Spanish-speaking employees the better to serve the well-heeled shoppers. Many of the Spaniards whom Villa had expelled from Chihuahua found a niche for themselves either as salespersons or as mid-level managers—a few even opened their own businesses. The city's hotels could not accommodate the visitors and rooms became scarce. Many, who expected their families to join them soon, looked into renting or purchasing homes.⁷

Many exiles stayed in El Paso for only a short time, and used the city as a "gateway" to the United States. They remained in the city only long enough to recover from the arduous travel, to check on their deposits at local banks, and then, after replenishing their wardrobes, made travel arrangements to other places. Points of destination included San Antonio, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, St. Louis, New York, and Washington in the United States, or via New Orleans and Havana, to Spain and France. Others, particularly foreigners in Mexico, came and went depending on the relationship of their respective country with the revolutionary faction in power. The wealthy English miner of Parral, James "don Santiago" Hyslop, for example, rode out the Revolution on his *hacienda*. He and his wife made sporadic visits to El Paso which enabled them to visit their daughters who were studying in the adjacent town of Las Cruces, New Mexico at Loretto Academy.⁸ The Hyslop girls studied there throughout the 1910s and 1920s, and regularly reported to their friends and family in El Paso, Parral, and Chihuahua on events in their daily lives, particularly on shopping expeditions and extracurricular activities that included basketball, tennis, and piano lessons.⁹

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When forty-eight women and children of the Terrazas clan arrived in El Paso in late January 1914, don Luis rented an entire floor of the Paso del Norte Hotel, the city's most luxurious. Unknown to them, intelligence officers from the United States army stationed at Fort Bliss spied on them using a dictaphone. The flabbergasted spies listened all day to "chatter about women's hats and gowns" until the family traveled to New York City, presumably on a shopping trip.¹⁰ Upon their return, the family moved into the colonnaded mansion of New Mexico Senator Albert B. Fall, located on Golden Hill, a premier hilltop residential district overlooking El Paso. As the large residence could not accommodate the large extended family and its numerous household servants—totaling over 150—adjacent homes were rented or purchased. As the family learned of its great losses—Villa decreed the confiscation of many of their estates and businesses as soon as he became governor—they made preparations for a longer-term stay in El Paso or elsewhere.

While some had been able to bring large amounts of cash or had accounts in United States and European banks, a few had to work. Those unable to find employment in El Paso moved elsewhere, but even this did not improve their fortunes. Despite his education at Notre Dame University, Juan Terrazas Culty, son of don Luis, became a taxi driver in Los Angeles from 1914 until 1915. An indication of his difficult situation was that his wife, María Luján walked many blocks to a market, preferring to use the five cent trolley fare she saved to augment her grocery budget. By 1915, however, thanks to friends and a loan from family members, he began working in real estate. Eventually he bought a home, and before his return to Mexico in 1924, led a comfortable life.¹¹

Those who remained in El Paso—most until 1919—settled more firmly into their new home and developed a ritualistic routine. After breakfasting, don Luis held court, receiving family members, friends, and acquaintances in seigneurial style in the mansion's salon. Seated at a large and comfortable chair that must have appeared to visitors to be a throne, he welcomed those who sought his advice and money. He reached into a large pouch on a table at his side to disburse small cash gifts of twenty-five and fifty-cent American coins. On Sundays, a line of automobiles formed outside the mansion waiting for don Luis and doña Carolina to get into

their limousine so that the entire clan arrived at Saint Patrick's Cathedral in a motorized caravan at ten o'clock to hear mass.¹² The press regularly covered events in the family's life. The illness of don Luis and doña Carolina in the early spring of 1919, as well as her subsequent death, prompted the publication of seven articles in one newspaper alone, as well as more than one hundred memorial floral offerings received at the home.¹³ Confidential agents spied on the family constantly and compiled dossiers of activities they believed to have political overtones. Banquets for special guests and friends were reported as meetings to form *juntas* that would topple the revolutionary governments. One such *junta* allegedly included the Cuijly brothers, United States Senator Albert B. Fall, German diplomatic representatives, and representatives from sympathizers in Las Cruces and Columbus, New Mexico. Friends of the Terrazas-Creels were also supposed to organize a similar group in Los Angeles with sympathizers of Félix Díaz.¹⁴

After the death of his wife in 1919, don Luis suffered a stroke that left him partially paralyzed. Unable to care for himself—and preferring the attention of his daughter Angela Terrazas de Creel—he moved to Los Angeles where a number of family members had settled. Among these was his once-powerful son-in-law, Enrique C. Creel, ex-governor of Chihuahua and past cabinet member under Díaz. Creel had taken his family to Los Angeles during the Revolution. Don Luis did not remain long in California; he soon reached an accommodation with the Revolutionary government and returned to Chihuahua via El Paso, arriving in his native city on the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe in 1920. Three years later, he again returned to El Paso seeking medical treatment for a second stroke, from which he never recovered. Don Luis Terrazas Fuentes died in El Paso on 14 June 1923.¹⁵

The El Paso experienced by the exiles was the Southwest's largest metropolis, serving as a thriving center of industry, banking, transportation, ore smelting, ranching, and retail for New Mexico, Arizona, and West Texas. Of its rival cities, Tucson, Phoenix, Albuquerque and Santa Fé, it was not surpassed in wealth and population until after 1940 when Phoenix moved ahead of El Paso. Between 1910 and 1915, El Paso's population increased 50 percent, from 40,000 to 60,000; by 1925 it reached 100,000,¹⁶ and construction boomed. Buildings constructed during this period demonstrated the city's affluence and modernity, including the

highest poured-concrete, high-rise office building in the country, architect Henry Trost's eleven-story Mills Building and the luxurious six-story White House Department Store, built in 1912. That same year, Trost's firm completed the remodeling of the opulent ten-story Paso del Norte Hotel. By 1921, the Hilton Hotel, the first of this now famous chain, towered over the city with its seventeen

By 1921, the Hilton Hotel, the first of this now famous chain, towered over the city with its seventeen stories. The city boasted an elegant skyline of church spires, courthouse porticos, colonnaded public buildings, and elegant cupolas together with a growing number of high-rise buildings.

stories. The city boasted an elegant skyline of church spires, courthouse porticos, colonnaded public buildings, and elegant cupolas together with a growing number of high-rise buildings. Parks and avenues, electric trolleys, new theaters, elegant cafes and restaurants, modern department stores and boutiques, not to mention a few posh clubs, lent a refined air to the small bustling city.¹⁷

As the initial stay of one week in El Paso turned into a month, and then into a year, the exiled Chihuahuans began looking for more practical, less costly, and more comfortable lodging. Almost all bought homes in the elegantly planned and landscaped neighborhood of Sunset Heights, in the hills and mesas above El Paso.¹⁸ There, they found themselves living in convenient comfort, with schools, churches and a shopping district located nearby. Next to these wealthy Mexicans lived prominent Anglo-Americans and leading members of the Jewish community, whose synagogue was adjacent to the neighborhood. Curiously, two streets in this residential district, Porfirio Diaz and Miguel Miramén, served to remind them of their homeland—El Paso's city council had so named these streets in 1907 as a sign of their appreciation of the prosperity the city owed to Mexico. The refugees created a genteel "little Mexico" and there they recreated the institutions and spaces of Porfirian Mexico: exclusive social clubs such as *El Casino Mexicano*; the private boarding schools *El Colegio Palmore* and *El Colegio de Señoritas de las Hijas de Jesús y María*; libraries such as *Biblioteca Mejicana*; the cultural

center *Ateneo Porfirio Díaz*; and *Parroquia de la Sagrada Familia*, a church. These institutions eased their stay by providing spaces for the continuance of the social practices of their native land. In a certain sense, however, Sunset Heights became a silver-lined ghetto. Although Anglo-Americans initially welcomed the wealthy émigrés, the influx of poor refugees and Villa's raid on Columbus, New Mexico increased anti-Mexican animosities. In their separate district, elites took refuge, and quietly waited until—they hoped sooner rather than later—conditions in Mexico would favor their return. These exiled elites, despite their affluence and privilege, eventually became the object of racial and cultural intolerance at the hands of El Paso Anglo-Americans. Rather than swallowing their pride, they instead organized themselves, and because of their ability to mobilize influence and resources, developed a number of strategies that enabled them to ride out difficult circumstances with great grace. One such case involved the construction of their separate place of worship, *La Parroquia de la Sagrada Familia* or Holy Family Church.

As mentioned earlier, when the Terrazas-Creel family arrived in El Paso in early 1914, they worshiped on Sundays at St. Patrick's Cathedral. One day, they and other Mexicans were told to vacate the Anglo-only temple and to go "among their own kind." Indignant and shocked, the Terrazas family stormed out of the Cathedral, accompanied by the other Mexicans present. That afternoon, don Luis, accompanied by his Spanish son-in-law Federico Sísniaga and his grandson Juan Creel, visited the home of El Paso's bishop, Anthony Schuler. Fuming, the eighty-four-year-old oligarch confronted a mortified and visibly embarrassed Bishop:

We are, my Lord Bishop, truly disconcerted by an unheard-of event today in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Since our arrival in this city as political refugees, the majority of my family has attended that parish, since we live within its boundaries. Really, the fact that the church is contiguous to a neighborhood where many of our compatriots live had largely gone unnoticed by us, until today, when I realized that the fact is unbelievable. We were the only Mexicans assisting mass. Today, for the first time, we found a dark-skinned, poorly dressed, but quite clean family. I know not whether it was due to their skin color or their poor dress, but the priest dared to announce from his pulpit that we Mexicans are not welcome at St. Patrick's. I understand that this sort of thing may happen among ignorant, prejudiced, unchari-

table Texans, but there is no possible excuse for a representative of Christ to act in this manner. A man who should serve as an example of culture and love to others, a man whose invested dignity should [serve and observe and] respect for that of others, that such a man should act in this most uncouth manner, that is inexcusable. I do not know what Your Excellency thinks of this matter, nor do I hazard to guess, nor is it my place to speculate, how You will deal with this cleric. It very much pains me to think of the damage that this may have wrought on that poor family. A very sad impression they must have obtained of a Roman Catholic priest. For my part, I would like to remind You that the Church has never refused my family's monetary assistance—one, which I should note, has been generous in the extreme—particularly from my daughter-in-law María Luján, who has always kept her purse open to the many needs of the Cathedral. I doubt that she will continue to be as generous with her largesse after having seen her compatriots and family thus humiliated.¹⁹

Bishop Schuler attempted to excuse the events at St. Patrick's, arguing that no offense had been meant, and that the priest in question had simply meant to point out the fact that at Sacred Heart, the sermon and prayers were offered in Spanish. The Terrazas family would always be welcome at the Cathedral, but the poor Mexicans would have to go elsewhere.²⁰ Terrazas did not accept the Bishop's explanation, and replying that it was "a poor excuse," again launched into a speech that defied Schuler:

The Mexicans of whom we speak live far from Sacred Heart Parish. I think that Your Excellency forgets that they do not have automobiles and a chauffeur to ease their travel from one side of the city to another. I insist that a public apology be given to my compatriots. I cannot tolerate any slight to my race brothers, because the slightest disregard shown a Mexican shall have repercussions on all of us, even though we may not be of the same status as those that are humiliated.²¹

Terrazas had the influence to stand up to this offense, and also the funds to counter the Church's intransigence. With the help of exiled Mexican Jesuits, a group of wealthy exiles set up a provisional chapel in an old stone building in the vicinity of St. Patrick's. Doña Carolina, the wife of don Luis, raised funds to build a new church which was dedicated on 17 September 1916 in a festival that coincided with the observation of Mexican Independence Day.

The resulting building, Holy Family Church on Fewel, was an elegantly porticoed, colonnaded church built in the neoclassical style with a few eclectic neogothic elements. Its interior was richly decorated. Two notable works were commissioned for the church: the large paintings of the Virgin of Guadalupe and of St. Ignatius of Loyola, which flank the altar. They are the work of the renowned aristocratic Mexican Jesuit painter Gonzálo Carrasco y Espinosa who lived in El Paso in 1918. Carrasco, who lived from 1859-1931, was a graduate of the National Academy of Art in Mexico City and received training in Europe. He was the leading portraitist of the aristocracy during the Mexican *belle époque*.²² Like Carrasco, other exiled Jesuits of the Mexican Province, many of whom were Spanish and Italian, served at the decidedly high-brow parish. Newspapers referred to the parish as "the most aristocratic" of the city's Mexican Catholic churches. Many society weddings were held there, such as the February 1927 marriage of Antonio J. Bermúdez and Hilda Mascareñas, which featured a small orchestra and choir performing the works of Mendelsohn, Schubert, Gounod, and Wagner.²³ The social and cultural activities of the parish were well attended and enabled it to raise funds to cover building costs, as well as to contribute to charitable efforts for the poor. An "artistic evening" planned by women of the Samaniego and Velarde families, for example featured selections from numerous Mexican, Spanish, and French playwrights.²⁴

Upon arrival in El Paso, many were shocked to discover that the only schools that would accept non-English-speaking students were either Jesuit schools for poor Mexicans or Methodist mission schools where Mexicans were targeted for conversion. Alternatively, they would pay private tutors to teach their children, or, should the child have a passing command of English, as was often the case, they could attend a public school, since the better private schools would only accept light-skinned Mexican children. After completing the paperwork for enrolling their children at St. Patrick's parish school, for example, Mexican parents were asked to take the prospective students to an "interview" that would determine whether the child's complexion passed the rigorous exam of melanin deficiency—children darker than a brown paper bag were refused admittance.²⁵ The creation of a parish school at *La Sagrada Familia* was also an attempt by the elite exile community at constructing familiar social spaces not only to escape discrimi-

nation, but also to maintain societal distance in order to safeguard their status.

Elite exile families who refused to submit their children to any of these scenarios, however, soon organized to find a solution: the creation of a parish school at Holy Family Church. Parishioners opened their school on 15 September 1919, the anniversary of the birthday of the deposed dictator and the eve of Mexican Independence. This school, which closed in 1925 due to a lack of enrollment, was under the direction of the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, an order of nuns which has traditionally operated most Catholic schools in El Paso.²⁶

By some stroke of luck, the closing of the school at *La Sagrada Familia* coincided with the arrival of the Congregation of the Religious of Jesus and Mary in El Paso. A teaching order founded in France in 1818, the purpose of the Sisters of Jesus and Mary is to provide "young ladies a Christian education conformable to their social position."²⁷ The sisters opened the convent of the *Hijas de Jesús y María* in Sunset Heights in 1926. This religious community, which had transferred its novitiate from Mexico City to El Paso after difficulties with the government, was led by First Superior Mother María de Loyola. The mistress of novices, María del Dulce Nombre, was a granddaughter of Porfirio Díaz. Their school offered courses in English, Spanish, French, church history, scriptures, and etiquette—subjects deemed necessary for aspiring society matrons.²⁸ The nuns were very conservative. Alumni remember the sisters as strict prudes because they required that students cover their body at all times. María Teresa Rojas Romero de González, tells of having to bathe fully clothed! An aspect of the students' experience that merits increased attention is how alumni subsequently employed the ties of sociability developed at school.

The schools at *La Sagrada Familia* and the Convent of *Jesús y María* were not the only private schools that catered to middle and upper class refugees. Of the numerous schools founded in El Paso between 1913 and 1930, none has had a greater impact than *El Colegio Palmore*, a non-sectarian preparatory boarding school and business college that operated from 1914 to 1954. The Palmore formed a cadre of individuals influential in the region and in Mexico from the 1920s until the 1980s.²⁹ Its strong nationalist orientation fostered in its graduates a cultured, traditionalist out-

look and instilled in them an identity marked by conservative Hispanicist ideas. Its notable alumni include Ulises Irigoyen, José and Teófilo Borunda, Antonio J. Bermúdez, Carolina Escudero Luján de Múgica, and René Mascareñas, prominent civic leaders, entrepreneurs, and politicians influential not only in the border region but also in Mexican internal politics.

The school's founder, *profesor* Servando I. Esquivel, 1878-1962, was a graduate of American colleges. In the late 1890s, he taught business at a Methodist-operated school in Chihuahua City. Esquivel earned the respect of the city's elite and regularly served on advisory committees of local and state authorities. After the Maderista Revolution of 1910-1911, he assisted in the reorganization of education in Chihuahua. By 1913, he headed the Spanish Department of the *Instituto Científico y Literario de Chihuahua*, the precursor to the State University of Chihuahua. This post forced Esquivel into exile in late November 1913, because the Constitutionalist revolutionary faction had targeted him as a collaborator of the counterrevolutionary Huerista faction because he was a state employee. Fearing for his life because he had once spoken publicly against Francisco Villa, he arrived in El Paso, where within months—thanks in part to his much-admired educational credentials—he secured funds to open a private school.

Esquivel catered to the middle class refugee and upper-middle class exile community of El Paso, who thought that their children should continue their education in Spanish for the duration of their family's brief exile in the United States. The school, renovated in the 1920s, was described as "excellent and luxurious." It occupied a large, three-story building in Sunset Heights, El Paso's premier residential district. The building featured Mission Revival architecture, with red clay roof tiles, an ornate fountain, an arched walkway, and ample use of wrought iron, hand-painted *talavera* tiles,

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pottery, and carved stone. The school's gardens had almond, orange, and fig trees. Furnishings were in Mexican colonial style, with its characteristic dark, strong severity adding to the school's reputation and solidness. Moreover, the Palmore had the largest Spanish-language library in El Paso. Books, journals, and newspapers in English, French, Portuguese, Italian, and German were available; many South American journals were received with the compliments of the Ministry of Education or the Embassy of those countries. In its architecture, landscaping, furnishings, and facilities, *El Colegio Palmore* exuded an Hispanic character few other places in El Paso could muster.

The Palmore offered courses in French, Hispanic literature, history, music, and the classics, as well as a weekly class on etiquette and decorum. Students were active in extracurricular activities which spanned the arts as well as sports. Multiple recitals, plays, debates, concerts, and *zarzuelas* presented in local theaters, as well as the occasional live radio broadcast, made the Palmore the pride of the Mexican community of El Paso. The Palmore is perhaps best remembered for the great value it placed on bilingualism, recognizing the need to adopt English as the language of commerce and power while maintaining Spanish as a language of tradition and culture. The school reached its apex in the 1930s, when many elite exiles repatriated themselves. Eventually its academic component decreased and it became a small business school training Mexican students in English, accounting, and secretarial skills.

The elite exiled Chihuahuan community of El Paso also organized a number of significant cultural and social establishments. They could benefit from the great number of émigré artists leaving Mexico for the safe haven of the United States. The great tenor, José Mójica, left Mexico City after the *Decena Trágica* and eventually became a member of the prestigious Chicago Lyric Opera Company. A tour brought him to El Paso in the late 1910s and early 1920s, where he met members of the Terrazas family and other prominent exiles at receptions in his honor.³⁰ World-renowned artists, such as the pianist Conrado Tovar, singer Amparito Guillot, and even the acclaimed Theatrical Company of Virginia Fábregas, gave recitals to sell-out crowds at El Paso theaters.³¹ These artists performed in El Paso not only because of the city's strategic location on the border, but also because it was a major

hub for railroads, and its refugee population, which found itself with much spare time on its hands as it waited out the Revolution, was interested in high quality shows. Indeed, even non-Hispanic performers, like Anna Pavlova's *Ballet Russe*, often performed special Spanish and Mexican-themed numbers to please the demanding Mexican elite audiences of El Paso.³²

Not all of the entertainment was high culture; by the late 1910s, the most common form of divertissement was the cinema. Interestingly, some of the most famous silent film actors in the United States—the Mexicans Ramón Novarro and Dolores del Río—were themselves members of the elite exile in El Paso; they were among a group of exiles from Durango who arrived in 1914.³³ A very young Anthony Quinn—although clearly not a member of the elite then—also grew up in El Paso.³⁴ The Soler Brothers, Fernando, Andrés, Domingo, Julián, Irene, and Mercedes, who acted and directed in 520 films—10 percent of all Mexican movies ever made—also began their careers in the United States during the Revolution.³⁵ Another exiled family, the Calderóns from Ciudad Juárez, was involved in the movie business, although not as performers, but as *empresarios*. They founded the International Amusement Company in El Paso in 1919, which built many theaters in Chihuahua, and Coahuila, as well as in Texas. In the 1930s, it became an affiliate of the Azteca Films Company.³⁶ In the early 1920s, employees of the International Film Company developed a technique of imposing a Spanish text translation on films, making El Paso the home of the invention of subtitles. This development undoubtedly went far in acculturating the poor refugees—and a few of the wealthy—to the practices of everyday life in the United States.³⁷

Other leisure activities favored by the elite exile community of El Paso included dances, masked balls, banquets, teas, polo matches and other sporting events, ice skating parties, and salon games. Much of this occurred in public areas, such as Washington and Memorial Parks, the city's largest. While people danced, gossiped, listened to music, and couples courted, they also displayed their finery and through it, affirmed their privileged status. Washington Park was especially suited for this public flaunting, and a number of annual events took place there—the city's Horse Show and the Canine Exhibition of the El Paso Kennel Club, attracted the attention of people eager to figure in society. Socialites may have known that social columnists regularly prowled

public spaces eager for a good scoop.³⁸ Even in the coldest of winters, a reporter "caught" Alfonso Martinez and his family skating on the frozen pond of Washington Park.³⁹ Display—and particularly demonstration of wealth through gambling—was commonplace at the well-attended horse races and polo matches of the Jockey Club in Ciudad Juárez, which was owned by Alberto Terrazas. Through participation in these activities, exiles publicly demonstrated their status and affluence, reminding observers—particularly Anglo-Americans intent on affirming Mexican inferiority—that Mexicans were a sophisticated and civilized people. Leisure thus played an important role in how refugees created a positive impression on a host society that was not keen on their continued presence.

Outside of home, school, church, and leisure, the upper class Chihuahuan émigrés—particularly women—of El Paso also participated in a series of philanthropic efforts. There were many fundraisers to assist the Church or the poor such as the annual New Year's dance of the *Casino Mejicano*, a masked ball regarded by many as the premier social event of the season.⁴⁰ Also popular were bullfights—organized in Ciudad Juárez because they were illegal in the United States—whose earnings were targeted for noble causes. Some of these included the distribution of food, medicine, and clothing for poor Mexican immigrants, as was the case of the "Refugee Relief Organization" which was headed by the wife of Alberto Madero. Another prominent exile, Mrs. Ignacia de Campo, led "*El Club Amigo*," an organization that also aided the indigent.⁴¹ Many more continued to channel their charity through the church, a practice long established in Mexico. María Luján de Terrazas, wife of Juan Terrazas Cuijly, for example, had made sizable donations to the construction fund of St. Patrick's Cathedral before she left Chihuahua.⁴² The priest at *La Sagrada Familia* reminded young ladies of his flock to do charity work, even if it meant having to visit wounded revolutionaries being cared for ~~the~~ by the American Red Cross in a makeshift hospital in South El Paso.⁴³ The Red Cross, incidentally, regularly turned to the affluent exile families for donations of clothing and household goods for distribution among the poor.⁴⁴ Some of the upper class refugees believed it their duty to carry out acts of giving. Querido Moheno Tabares, exiled in San Antonio, urged wealthy émigrés to do as much as they could do for the poor to whom they should become an example

through "intelligent altruism attentive to the necessities of a historic moment, a profound respect for truth, [and] noble civic valour."⁴⁵

Unable to exercise much influence in events developing in Mexico—except the occasional and increasingly less frequent call to organize a *junta*—exiles heeded Moheno's call to action. Silvestre Terrazas Enriquez, for example, urged his readers in *La Patria* to work for the common good. In one notable episode, Terrazas urged all exile factions to put aside their political differences in order to work for the reconstruction of Mexico—if only symbolically—by cooperating to repair damage to the great monument to President Benito Juárez in Ciudad Juárez. Erected between 1909 and 1911, the forty-foot high carrara-marble and bronze memorial was the single most opulent public work of Porfirio Díaz in the region. Built at a cost of over \$120,000 pesos, it honored the memory of the Republic's valiant struggle against conservatives. During the various battles and skirmishes fought in Ciudad Juárez during the Revolution, the monument had suffered some harm and the small park around it had gone to seed. In the spring of 1919, a group of exiles, among them Jesús Frias, Manuel Rocha y Chabre, José Luis Velasco, Enrique Flores, and Silvestre Terrazas, met in El Paso to organize procedure for the rehabilitation of the monument. In addition to making some cosmetic adjustments, they agreed to construct a formal garden around the monument, where they hoped to install a series of fountains. Estimates of costs hovered upward of \$10,000 dollars, a considerable sum. Organizers planned a number of fund-raisers, including a grand *Cinco de Mayo* festival, whose proceeds went toward the worthy cause.⁴⁶

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Volunteerism, one of the few socially-sanctioned options for the activities of bourgeois women outside the home, gave women an opportunity to network among themselves while exercising their

civic and moral conscience.⁴⁷ In a few cases, this extended to extensive collaboration with wealthy women who had remained or later returned to Mexico. In 1923, for example, members of the *Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas (UDCM)*, sought to establish a home for transients where they would be provided clothing, shelter, medical attention, and food. The correspondence exchanged between women of the Terrazas families in El Paso and throughout Mexico in this regard reveals far more than a basic altruism or moral economy at work in their acts of giving. From Mexico City, Carlota de Landero de Algara y Cervantes—her husband's family held the title of Counts of Santiago de Calimaya—collaborated with María Luján de Terrazas and with Mrs. Amador Neftali Daguerre of El Paso. In their letters to each other, they discussed the creation of a unique space: a home for poor immigrant women and girls. At the planned institution, they hoped to provide "safety" for women who had either lost or become separated from their male kin during the Revolution.⁴⁸ How ironic that while they—the privileged women—experienced the freedom to engage in cross-national social welfare, they did so by constructing an institution that reinforced patriarchy and traditional feminine seclusion for the poor!

Conclusion. The elite Chihuahuan exiles in El Paso from 1913 to 1930 made a significant impact in the development of the Mexican American community through its everyday life, leisurely pursuits, altruism, and the institutions they created. Their presence in the city—and particularly their wealth—attracted artists and professionals who provided many of the services the elite émigrés required. Local businesses, in an effort to attract their patronage, hired Mexicans and other Spanish-speakers to cater to their needs. The presence of the rich brought employment opportunities for the poor and also more demanding standards to the city's cultural and entertainment offerings. The concern of wealthy émigrés with their sumptuous display also generated a certain prestige and a mystique of glamour about the city's social clubs.

By congregating in one neighborhood, the elites maintained their identity: living close to each other, they continued their lives almost uninterrupted. Most interestingly, to the outside observer, their strategy—whether intended or not—gave the im-

pression that they were numerically significant. This also added to the mystique—and the myth—of their vast riches. One is left to wonder whether the geography of the Mexican elite colony in El Paso was similar to those elsewhere and if there were any unique distinguishing characteristics of Sunset Heights that enhanced community cohesion.

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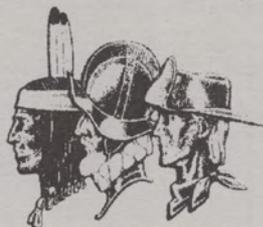
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EDITOR'S NOTE:

Dr. Macias leaves us with these questions:

- To what degree did the spaces and practices that they created during their exile there lay the foundation for the campaign for Mexican American civil rights in the United States?
- Did their willingness to confront the racism of the American catholic hierarchy trigger the eventual formation of the Bishops' Committee on the Spanish-speaking?
- Did the close collaboration between exiled elite families and the Jesuit Order result in the eventual removal of the Society of Jesus from El Paso?
- How was El Paso, which experienced a significant shrinkage in its economy in the 1920s and 1930s, able to support the large number of convents and monasteries—at least fifteen religious communities—that it did?
- How did exile affect the construction of masculinity and femininity?
- How did the experience of exile transform or reinforce the refugees' system of masculine and feminine?
- Should historians of Mexico look to cultural transformations in the Mexican-American barrios of the United States Southwest the better to understand the dynamics of sex differences in 1930s Mexico?
- Did the oppressive regulations of the schools create in alumni an interest in seeking more liberal, less patriarchal alternatives?
- Did émigré men feel inferior given their inability to speak English?
- Was their exclusion from Mexican national politics comparable to emasculation?
- How can episodes like the symbolic enfranchisement of exiled men through their involvement in the monument restoration campaign of El Paso serve to explain the emergence of alternative forms for the expression of civic responsibility for those excluded from suffrage?

He also leaves the closing comment "Much is owed to the work of oral historians in the 1970s and 1980s, but much more remains to be done." We await the results of his future studies.



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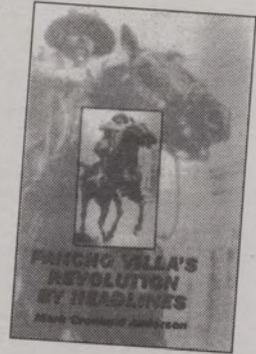
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Book Reviews

PANCHO VILLA'S REVOLUTION BY HEADLINES by Mark Cronlund Anderson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000. 320 pp. 28 b&w illustrations, \$34.95. Hardcover.

This book details how Pancho Villa and other rival leaders attempted to influence American newspapers and magazines during the Mexican Revolution. It also analyzes the reaction of the American press to those leaders based on previously held stereotypes of Mexicans held by both journalists and political leaders. From his rise as a major political power in 1913 when he successfully defeated the forces of the usurper Victoriano Huerta until his army was shattered in April, 1915, by forces loyal to Venustiano Carranza, Villa maintained a constant barrage of propaganda directed to American media.



The author recounts the double-barreled strategy with which Villa sought to nurture friendly relations with the United States while at the same time appealing to the Mexican media as a vigorous nationalist. Villa employed press agents in the United States, founded newspapers in Mexico, and sold his story to an American motion picture producer. He cultivated American reporters and, since he was always open to interviews, his macho image captivated many in the press.

The results were mixed. American publications continued to portray Villa as either a murderous villain or as a hero to the down-trodden. He reached the height of his popularity in 1913 when, commanding the most formidable army in Mexico, he continuously fought and defeated the Federalist forces, while many believed his nominal chief, Carranza, sat on the sidelines.

A key ingredient in his efforts to cajole American public opinion, according to Anderson, was his repeated assurances that the lives and property of foreigners would be respected. Particularly favored, he would say, was the property of Americans. He kept his word until, after repeated defeats in 1915, he became desperate for funds and levied "taxes," or extortions on American property in Mexico.

One result of Villa's favorable propaganda, the author asserts, was that President Woodrow Wilson's lifted the cross-border embargo against shipments of arms to Mexico in 1914. This favored the

Carranza Villa forces who controlled the United States-Mexican border, leaving Huerta reliant on arms imported from Europe. One might consider, however, that the lifting of the embargo was a result more of Wilson's distaste for Huerta rather than approval of Villa.

In a clever move, Villa, Anderson recounts, publicly stated that he approved the American occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914 while Carranza and Huerta both denounced it and threatened war against the United States. The author asserts that Villa's propaganda operations proved more effective than that of his rivals and that he won the struggle for public support in the United States. This, however, is tantamount to stating the operation was a success but the patient died.

In October 1915, the United States Government recognized Carranza, reducing Villa to the status of a bandit. Villa was rejected because of his military defeats, and because American investors in Mexico were uncertain about his future economic policies. Carranza, after all, was a *rico*.

Anderson provides an interesting section of political cartoons from American newspapers which portrays the "Often hackneyed, ethnocentric, and even racist images (that) permeated press representations" of the Mexican revolutionists.

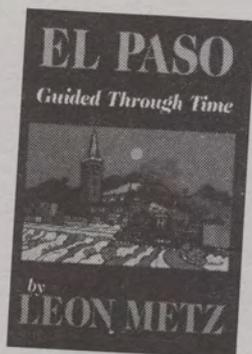
The author, assistant professor of history at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, writes clearly and forcefully. He presupposes the reader has a sound knowledge of the events and players in the grand drama of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920. One criticism is that he apparently accepts the fact that American newspaper reporters and editors accepted bribes from Villa and others. These allegations are supported only by partisan statements from each camp accusing the other side of bribing the press. The evidence is insufficient to support the accusations of the bribery of American newsmen.

Douglas V. Meed
Round Rock, Texas

Mr. Meed is the author of five books on Texas and southwestern border history. His latest book is *Texas Ranger Johnny Klevenhagen* published by Republic of Texas Press.

EL PASO: GUIDED THROUGH TIME by Leon Metz. El Paso: Mangan Books, 1999. 293 pp. Maps, photos. ISBN 0-930208-37-4. \$39.95. Hardcover.

El Paso has long needed a guide to its many historic sites and Leon Metz, the city's best known historian, has now produced this fine tour of our area. There have been several attempts over the years to produce guides, but most have focused on lodging, restaurants, entertainment, and major attractions. In this work, Metz takes us to El Paso's many unique, undeveloped, and usually unmarked, historic sites. It serves as an excellent introduction to the El Paso area: its history, people, districts, neighborhoods, and many hidden treasures. *El Paso: Guided Through Time* is a particularly useful and timely book because of the many new projects underway to develop heritage tourism sites and activities. It will guide both casual readers and serious students of history through some of the most interesting areas of El Paso.



Leon Metz has written an abundance of El Paso history and this project gave him the opportunity to locate and describe some of the many places to which he has referred in his works over the years. While he was familiar with many of the sites, he also "discovered" hidden birthplaces, homes, sites, and businesses that have been long forgotten or obscured by urban growth. The book is arranged by geographic areas of the city: neighborhoods, historic districts, and geological areas. There are also chapters devoted to Fort Bliss, Hueco Tanks, and the Mission Trail. He weaves a general history of each area with a tour of the structures, landscape features, and sites.

The largest section of the book deals with downtown, the only area that can truly be seen on a walking tour. More than one hundred pages detail the central district of the city with descriptions, exciting anecdotes, and specific directions to many sites. Some have been marked and celebrated: Pioneer Plaza, the Mills Building, and San Jacinto Plaza. Some structures such as the Sheldon Hotel, the Old Texas Grand Theater, the original *El Paso Times* building, or the many Chinese laundries are long gone. Throughout the tour, Metz points out former routes of stagecoaches, irrigation canals, trolley cars, and footpaths. At many sites, he tells the story of a local personality or a famous incident that took place there. Metz knows the downtown area thoroughly and is at his best when telling us about gunfighters, lawmen, ladies of the evening, and local celebrities.

Metz also describes some of our important neighborhoods. The Magoffin District is traced from its origins as the settlement of

Magoffinsville to its designation as an historic district in 1995. He takes us through Sunset Heights, El Paso's first subdivision, pointing out many of the area's beautiful residences. Golden Hill, Rim Road, Austin Terrace, Manhattan Heights, and others are also described. The Segundo Barrio, Second Ward, was a flooded *bosque* during much of its early history but it evolved into a thriving city neighborhood by the early 20th century. In fact, even its busy alleyways once had names. Metz gives an overview of its development and points out many interesting sites along the way. For example, during the Mexican Revolution Mariano Azuela penned *Los de Abajo* (*The Underdogs*) while living on South Oregon Street. The Segundo Barrio became more industrial and commercial in character and programs were begun to demolish or improve the tenements. While touring the Segundo Barrio, Metz points out many of the locations of prominent businesses and characters that many longtime residents of El Paso will surely remember.

Metz also takes us through El Paso's Chinatown, Chihuahuita, and its African-American neighborhoods. Many readers will be more familiar with the more prominent attractions of the area such as Hueco Tanks, the Mission Trail, and Fort Bliss. In each case, Metz gives a good general history of their development and notes the more interesting sites and structures that can be visited. While this book offers a grand tour of the El Paso area and its many historic sites it does overlook one type of site: our museums. Those truly interested in expanding their knowledge of the city should be immediately directed to our museums. The El Paso Museum of History vividly portrays the development of our city, the Wilderness Museum and the Centennial Museum at the University of Texas at El Paso will fill in the natural history of our area. These may not be, strictly speaking, historic sites, but they certainly should be included on a tour. Other than this minor omission, Metz's *El Paso: Guided Through Time* is a great way to learn about our city's history and be guided through time.

Overall, this book belongs in the collection of anyone with an interest in El Paso history. One of the nice qualities of the book is the fact that the chapters can be read in any order. Each one can stand alone as a history of an area. The illustrations and maps, produced by well-known area artist Frederick Carter, add a special quality to the work and make it easy to find one's way around the city.

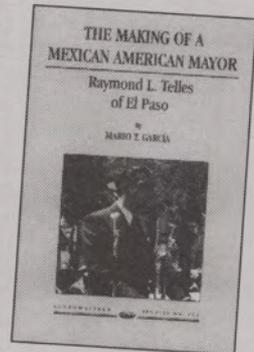
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THE MAKING OF A MEXICAN-AMERICAN MAYOR: RAYMOND L. TELLES OF EL PASO by Mario T. Garcia. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1998. 166 pages, 36 photographs. Paperbound.

Heralding Raymond L. Telles as the first Mexican-American to become mayor of a major southwestern city, *The Making of a Mexican-American Mayor* is an oral history of Telles' political career. Telles served as mayor of El Paso from 1957 to 1961, when President John F. Kennedy appointed him ambassador to Costa Rica. After serving in that capacity for six years, President Lyndon B. Johnson chose him to head the newly formed United States Mexico Border Commission, where he remained for two years. In 1969 Telles returned to El Paso, which he had reluctantly left in 1961. He ran for Congress in 1970, but conditions had changed in El Paso in thirteen years and some of Telles' former supporters were no longer available. After losing the election, Telles returned to Washington where he served Presidents Nixon and Carter in ambassadorial positions. Telles left political life in 1980 and returned to El Paso in 1982, where he accepted an administrative position with a financial firm. In 1988 the company went bankrupt and involved Telles in litigation that lasted for years and ruined him financially.

The author makes it clear early in the book that he greatly admires Telles and his family. The first two chapters of the book explore Telles' youth, education, and military career. Discussion of Telles' political career begins with chapter three. Garcia does mention some criticism leveled against Telles by his critics and opponents, but quickly comes to Telles' defense, downplaying any shortcomings on Telles' part. This is most evident in the discussions of the 1976 accusations that Telles had hired undocumented workers to work in his household and the 1980's insurance fraud scandal that nearly resulted in incarceration for Telles.

Garcia goes into detail about Telles' early political efforts. He discusses how the Telles family worked hard to get the support of the Hispanic community to elect Telles to the County Clerk's office. Subsequently, in the mayoral race, Telles father and brother built on the base they had established in the county clerk race. They went door to door and used their influence with the Veterans of Foreign Wars and other organizations. One of their most important efforts was in raising funds to pay the poll tax for those Hispanics who could not afford to pay it themselves and convincing those people to vote. Telles supporters went into the Hispanic communities where few people had voted before and set up mock voting booths to show these new voters how the machine worked and how to cast their vote.



Garcia is seeking to convince the reader that Raymond Telles was the pioneer who led the Mexican-American communities of the Southwest out of second class citizenship politically. He effectively demonstrated how the Telles campaign organized, educated, and gave direction and force to the Mexican-American community in El Paso. He showed how the election of Raymond Telles as mayor of El Paso marked the arrival of the Hispanic community of El Paso to its proper place in the political arena. However, he failed to show what import this event had on the national level, concentrating instead on Telles' career as an ambassador for several presidents. In fact, at one point the author takes exception with the news media that claimed in 1981 that the election of Henry Cisneros as mayor of San Antonio represented the first successful election of a Mexican-American to govern a major southwestern city. (page 149) This would suggest that perhaps Telles' election in El Paso had less of a nationwide impact than the author would like his readers to believe. His argument would have been more convincing had he discussed the repercussions Telles' election had in other Mexican-American communities throughout the Southwest and not just in El Paso.

The Making of a Mexican-American Mayor is an oral history, based largely on interviews with Telles and his immediate family and on articles from the *El Paso Herald Post* and *El Paso Times*. The bibliography is quite extensive however, and lists numerous sources. Clearly, the author did a great deal of research for this book and the bibliography is a good source for other researchers interested in related subjects.

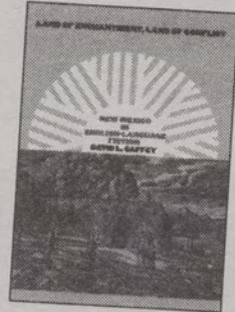
The book is intended for the general public and is not burdened with specialized phraseology or acronyms. The author avoids the use of long sentences and lengthy paragraphs that make a book hard to read or follow. A person who is not interested in politics might find the book somewhat boring at times. However, anyone who is interested in supporting an underdog for public office could find a wealth of hints and suggestions for success in this book. Anyone interested in the development of the Hispanic community in the United States, or in minority political development in America should find *The Making of a Mexican-American Mayor* an interesting book.

Mario Garcia, a native of El Paso, is a professor of history and Chicano studies at the University of California and has authored several books, among them: *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* and *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology and Identity, 1930-1960*.

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LAND OF ENCHANTMENT, LAND OF CONFLICT: NEW MEXICO IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE FICTION by David L. Caffey. Texas A&M University, College Station, 1999, pp. 235.

Paradoxically this book, despite its many very genuine virtues, has a fascinating weakness; that is, at once it attempts too much and does not achieve enough. Generally quite stimulating, it is both exhaustive and exhausting. In two hundred four pages of text, the author examines one hundred seventy-seven authors, with many mentioned only once, though others are considered several times.



With the exception of an early chapter titled "First Reports" which looks at a number of nineteenth century authors, the order of examination is not chronological, it is thematic. Among the topics considered are the clash and, rarely, the harmony of cultures: Native American, Hispanic, and Anglo-American in New Mexico; questions of freedom versus restraints, legal and other; diverse attitudes toward the law; the consequences of mountain/desert climate; noted lives and legends; the contrasts of images: "Wild West," "Agricultural West," and "Real West" all as treated in the fiction of authors who have lived in the state as well as those from other locales who have written about New Mexico.

Among the major literary figures considered are such luminaries as Adolph Bandelier, Willa Cather, Oliver La Farge, Paul Horgan, Fra Angelico Chávez, Sabine Ulibarri, Tony Hillerman, John Nichols, N. Scott Momaday, Edward Abbey, Rudolfo Amaya, and Cormac McCarthy. This is an impressive group but, given the number, the inevitable lack of depth in the treatments of these figures is disappointing.

Fortunately, there is an excellent final chapter titled "Writing New Mexico" in which the author concludes ". . . New Mexico's best novelists and storytellers write to make a difference—to tell their stories, full of ideas and images, truths and illusions, that thoughtful readers may sift, like so many shards and so much backfill, in search of themselves."

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