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CAPITULO PRIMERO.

DE LAS ORDENANZAS DE MINAS de el nuevo Quaderno, y ſubſiſtencia de las antiguas no revocadas: ſu obſervancia en los Reynos de Nueva-Eſpaña. Refierenſe las que han formado algunos Virreyes, y las que ſe obſervan en el Perù.

Ley 9. Tit. 13. lib. 6. de la Recopilacion de Caſtilla.

ORDENANZA PRIMERA.

PRimeramente revocamos, anulamos, y damos por ningunas las Prematicas, y Ordenamientos hechas en Valladolid, y en Madrid, que ſon la Ley quarta, y quinta de eſte Titulo, y qualeſquier Leyes de Ordenamiento, y Partida, y otros qualeſquier Derechos, è Prematicas, y fueros, y coſtumbres, en quanto fueren contrarios á lo diſpueſto en eſta Ley: y queremos, y mandamos, que en quanto à eſto, no tengan fuerza, ni vigor alguno, quedando ſolamente en ſu fuerza, y vigor la Ley quarta de eſte Titulo, que trata de la incorporacion en nueſtro Real Patrimonio, de los Mineros de Oro, Plata, y Azogue de eſtos nueſtros Reynos, de que ſe havia hecho merced à perſonas particulares, por Partidos, Obiſpados, y Provincias: por la qual, y por eſtas nueſtras Leyes, y Ordenanzas, y no por otras algunas, queremos, y mandamos, que ſe labren, y beneficien las dichas Minas, y ſe juzguen, y determinen todos los pleytos, y diferencias, que cerca de las dichas Minas, y de lo à ellas anexo, tocante, y concerniente ſucedieren en qualquier manera.

A page from Comentarios a las ordenanzas de minas *by Francisco Javier de Gamboa (Madric:Ofcina de Joaquin Ibarra, 1761).*

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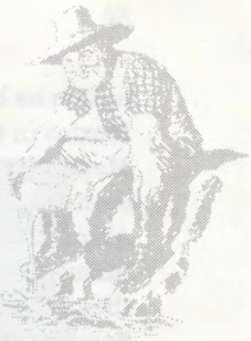


Searching for Lost Padre: Eighteenth-Century Mining Claims

in the Organ Mountains and Greater El Paso del Norte Area

By Rick Hendricks, Ph.D.

When the aristocratic miner, don Juan de Oñate, led his band of colonists into New Mexico in 1598, he came prepared to prospect for, find, and mine silver. As Oñate biographer Marc Simmons put it:

> Success in New Mexico would rest upon finding silver—Oñate's own area of specialty—to furnish a viable economic foundation for the new realm. To that end, he carefully selected a full stock of mining tools and smelting equipment to be packed tightly into carts for the long journey north.[1]

Oñate hoped to duplicate his family's tremendous successes in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya. Recent research has demonstrated that mining for silver and other metals in colonial New Mexico was more widespread than previously thought.[2] Oñate took possession of New Mexico for the Spanish crown four hundred years ago. From 1598, until the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 drove the Spaniards from New Mexico, prospecting and silver mining were common activities in the colony, as they were throughout Spain's New World dominions. Yet, Oñate and those who followed failed to locate in New Mexico a bonanza similar to the one his father found at La Bufa in Zacatecas.

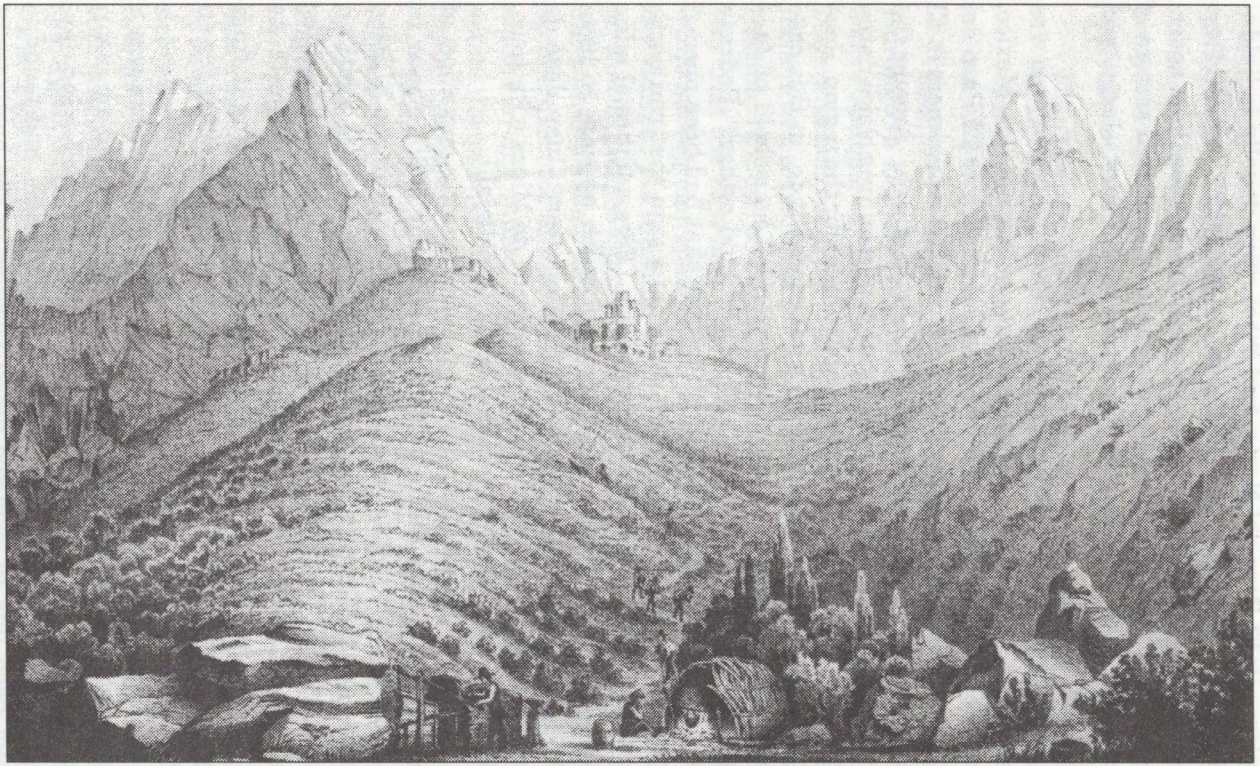
This lack of success notwithstanding, the hope of finding silver, perhaps even the mythical silver mountain known as the Sierra Azul, which was said to be "more than 200 leagues long, composed entirely of silver ore,"[3] and the Cerro Colorado, which was judged to contain mercury, fired don Diego de Vargas's imagi-

nation as he led the successful reconquest of the province of New Mexico in the 1690s. With Spaniards firmly reestablished in New Mexico by 1693, they returned to prospecting and mining and soon opened the important mining district of Los Cerrillos in the Alamo Creek area.[4] Even though the seemingly promising mountains yielded no bonanza or sustained production comparable to the great mining centers of Potosí in Alto Peru or Zacatecas and Sombrerete in Nueva España, mining activity in New Mexico continued as the eighteenth century wore on.

To date, most of the research on Spanish colonial mining in New Mexico has centered on such areas as Los Cerrillos in the northern part of the colony. Investigations of collections that have been largely ignored as sources for mining history reveal a particularly interesting set of documents relating to mining in the Organ Mountains in the far south of New Mexico in the late eighteenth century. The research presented here examines documents relating to mining claims in eighteenth-century El Paso del Norte, places them in the wider context of the history of mining in colonial New Mexico in general and in the Organ Mountains in particular, and attempts to relate them to nineteenth-century mining operations. The documents include mining claims, titles, and litigation arising out of conflicts over claims. In addition, biographical information on the individual miners, gleaned from a variety of archival sources, is presented.

Documentary references exist for nearly a dozen separate mines in the Organ Mountains of New Mexico, the Franklin Mountains of Texas, and the Sierra de Juárez in neighboring Mexico. The most interesting, voluminous, and enlightening documents come from a lawsuit over the ownership of one of these mines.

Given the prominent role that Spaniards assigned to seeking precious metals in the New World, it should come as no surprise that they sought silver in the mountains of the greater El Paso del Norte area. Although at the time there was no settlement in the Mesilla Valley in the shadows of the Organ Mountains, by the middle of the eighteenth century El Paso del Norte was an important trade center in a regional economy.[5] Agricultural activity, including trade in farm and ranch products, was the principal source of wealth. Bountiful harvests from the region's farms produced sufficient maize and wheat to meet local demand with enough left over to export. More significantly, the El Paso del Norte area was renown for its wines, brandy, vinegar, and raisins.



Carl Schuchard illustration for A.B. Gray Report, 1856.
Courtesy of Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State Library.

Local ranching operations supplied sheep, cattle, and horses throughout New Mexico. Chihuahuan trading houses had representatives in El Paso del Norte, and these were usually individuals of means with aspirations to match. As a frontier town, El Paso del Norte attracted its share of entrepreneurs, among them several would-be miners. This spirit was represented in all sectors of the colonial elite, including civil-military authorities, clergy, and merchants.

Evidence of mining in the greater El Paso del Norte area was collected as a result of the activities of the governor of New Mexico, Tomás Vélez Cachupín. Following an inspection of El Paso del Norte in 1751, Governor Vélez Cachupín ordered landowners in El Paso del Norte to produce titles for their holdings. Among the documents presented was the registration of a mining claim dated 2 September 1738, the earliest such instrument for the region. José Pedraza, who described himself as a salaried *criado,* in this case doubtless meaning a member of the extended household of José de la Sierra, a prominent local official and land owner.[6] Pedraza registered a vein in the *paraje* of El Tornillo that had been opened and was ready to be worked. The mine, on a vein that ran north to south, was named Las Benditas Ánimas. Five additional mine registrations were filed in 1751, none of which appears to have survived to the present. Those filing claims were: Juan José de Rojas, Juan Antonio Pérez Velarde, Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, Cristóbal Sánchez, and Francisco García Carabajal.[7]

Additional information relating to the mining operation of Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco survived. During 1750, a year in which there was a notable shortage of cereal crops in the El Paso del Norte area, Miera y Pacheco, describing himself as a citizen and miner of El Paso del Norte, stated that he "needed food for his household and for the rations of the laborers of his mine."[8] At the time he was able to obtain grain only by purchasing it from Vicar José Lorenzo de Rivera at a cost of five pesos in silver for an unspecified amount.

In addition to being a mining provisioner, Vicar Rivera was a mine owner as well. On 29 January 1756, he registered a mine in full partnership with José García Carabajal.[9] The following day, the local magistrate asked to see the *pozo,* or shaft, and found it had not been dug to required depth because of the hardness of the ores and risk of enemy attack.[10] As demanded by the royal mining ordinances in force at the time, the partners had to work

their mine to a depth of three *estocados,* the height of a man, in order to be given possession. If, after they opened it, no third party presented a prior claim, they would be given the privileges of discoverer. The claim on a given vein was limited to 180 by 80 *varas,* or approximately 180 by 80 yards, of surface area. The description of the mine, called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, was typically vague:

> The mine is located in the foothills of the mountain range on the other side of the Rio Grande between two knolls in a small arroyo that descends from the range. The veins run in all four directions and the entrance is to the west.[11]

Bachiller Rivera was the resident priest of the diocese of Durango in El Paso del Norte.[12] He was a native of Durango, the son of Antonio de Rivera and Estefana Silva. Although it may seem unusual today, in the Spanish empire it was not uncommon for a priest to own and operate a mine. At the risk of oversimplification, it must be recalled that the pattern of Iberian families was that the first-born son inherited most of the family property while subsequent sons looked to careers in the military and with the church. At the time of Father Rivera's death, it was revealed that Francisco Díaz Moradillos, an El Paso del Norte merchant and miner to whom Rivera owed a small sum of money, was named second executor of his estate. Although there was no mention of shares in any mines, and only a very few items of silver in his estate documents, Father Rivera did have a surprising number of copper goods, including a large, unworked copper plate.

Father Rivera's partner, José García Carabajal was the son of Miguel García Carabajal and María Padilla and a member of the established local elite. He was the nephew of another El Paso del Norte miner, Francisco García Carabajal.[13]

The partners had a difficult time getting their mine into operation. On 27 April 1756 Father Rivera asked for a ninety-day extension.[14] An oft-repeated pattern then began. Delays followed delays and the partners requested extensions at three-month intervals. He advanced various reasons for not putting the mine into operation: the struggle to penetrate the hard earth, the risk the Apaches posed, and high water in the Rio Grande.[15] Every three months, he requested extensions. Finally on 24 January 1757, Father Rivera asked to be placed in formal possession of the mine, having met the requirements of ownership by putting the mine into operation.[16] He described the location of the mine as

being in the Sierra Madre, or main ridge of the El Paso del Norte mountains on the other side of the river from the town. In early February, Father Rivera and his partner accompanied inspectors and measurers who determined, only after a lengthy examination, that the shaft was more than the required three *estocados* deep. There followed the formal granting of possession.[17]

On 1 April 1758 José García Carabajal and Father José Lorenzo de Rivera registered a claim for a mine they called El Patriarca y Señor San José. Its location was described as follows:

> The mine is located between two small arroyos that descend from the mountain range and there are knolls above the arroyos. The veins run south to north. The entrance is between east and west.[18]

Following the pattern, the partners asked for and were granted an extension of ninety days on 1 July 1758.[19] They had been unable to open the mine because of the risk of Apache attack. They requested and were granted another extension for ninety days on 30 September for the same reason.[20] Absence from El Paso del Norte was offered as a reason for requesting another extension in 9 March 1759.[21] Again, on 9 June, they requested more time because of the twin dangers of Apaches and high water in the Rio Grande.[22] On 7 September 1759 Miguel García Carabajal requested an extension on behalf of his son, José, who was absent in New Mexico and on 15 December 1759, without offering a reason, José asked for and was given an extension.[23] There the record ends for this particular mine. The absence of additional information strongly suggests that this mine was never put into production.

On 27 February 1759, Father Rivera registered a second mining claim as sole owner, also calling it Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the second of that name. He stated:

> The mine is located in the mountain range on the other side [of the river] to the east in a red hill. There is a virgin vein that runs west to east in the middle of an arroyo that descends from the range from west to east dividing the hill from other [hills] that are to the north. The entrance is to be made to the north, with the hill behind it to the south.[24]

As before, he asked for two extensions, on 27 August and again on 14 November 1759, stating that the risk of Indian attack had prevented him from putting his mine into operation.[25]

The first of the mines registered in 1759 for which evidence exists that it was put into production according to the mining ordinances was a mine that Francisco García Carabajal registered on 18 January 1759. In his claim he stated that he was presenting an ore sample to the local magistrate for examination. He also asked that his mine shaft be examined pursuant to his being granted possession of the mine. This mine was the third to bear the name Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. The mine is near the Puerto de los Órganos on the other side of the river in a *cañada* or narrow canyon. Its vein runs south to north.[26]

García Carabajal was a retired sergeant of the El Paso del Norte militia at the time that he was actively engaged in mining. He was married to Manuela Téllez Girón, who, like her husband, was a member of the local elite. So far as is known, he is the only miner to have operations on both sides of the Rio Grande, that is, in both the Organ or Franklin Mountains and the Sierra de Juárez. His son, Juan Pedro, was involved in mining with him. One of the business associates of García Carbajal was Francisco Elias González, the father of Juana Rita Elías González who was the wife of Francisco Díaz Moradillos. Finally, it should be noted that Francisco García Carabajal gave Moradillos his share in the mine called Nuestra Señora Santa Ana.[27]

García Carabajal was one of twenty-one individuals who went prospecting for the mine: Juan Pedro Carabajal, Francisco Varela, Diego Antonio Maese, Manuel Granillo, Lucas Maese, Antonio Maese, José Apodaca, Andrés Montaño, Miguel de Mesina, Nicolás de Herrera, Ignacio Herrera, Joaquín López, Domingo Herrera, Juan Brusuelas, Ignacio Téllez, Javier Márquez, José Téllez, Domingo Sánchez, Antonio Rodríguez, Manuel Griego. Although not so stated specifically, presumably these men were partners in the mine, since by the late eighteenth century, it became normal for mines to have twenty-four shares or partners, with some partners holding more than a single share.[28]

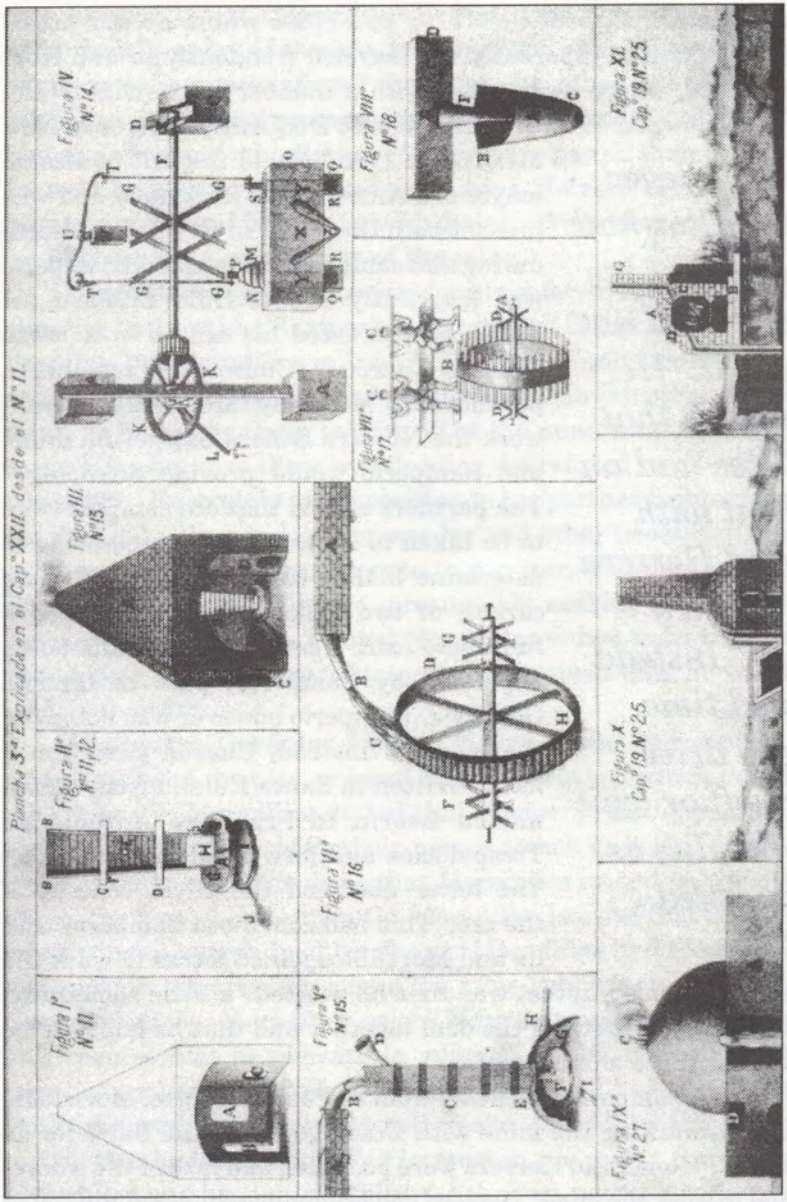
There is a hiatus of fifteen years before another mining claim appears in the historical record for El Paso del Norte. On 9 January 1774, Francisco Moradillos registered a claim for a mine in the greater El Paso del Norte area, possibly in the Sierra de Juárez, which he called Santo Tomás Cantuariense.[29] When he filed his claim, he also presented an ore sample for inspection. The location of the mine was described as follows:

> The mine contains a virgin vein in the foothills of the mountain range commonly called Del Paso. It is 3/4 of a league from this pueblo [of El Paso]. Its ore runs behind the range from south to north. Another vein is located to the east. Its entrance is to the north where an arroyo runs. Contiguous and squared up to its entrance on a different vein is the mine worked for Cosme de Mier and his associates.[30]

A man who styled himself "merchant and miner" of El Paso del Norte, Francisco Moradillos was born in Puerto de Cabrales in Asturias in Spain.[31] He married into the local elite, wedding Juana Rita Díaz del Carpio Elías González de Zayas, daughter of Francisco Elías González and Francisca Ignacia Díaz del Carpio. Moradillos was a merchant with ties to merchants in Chihuahua. He also had family and business relations in Mexico City. Among the goods in his possession was what was described as "everything needed for mining," to wit: *barras* (crowbars); *barrenas* (drills); *picas* (pickaxes); *cuñas* (wedges); *atacadores* (lighting sticks, literally rammers to tamp down the charges in the blasting holes); and *azadones* (mattocks or picks). These items belonged to Pedro del Barrio. Also among Moradillos's goods, but listed as belonging to his father-in-law, Francisco Elías González, were iron bars, wedges, and a bellows. Among Moradillos's possessions too was a set of scales for weighing silver. After the affairs described here, Moradillos and his wife apparently moved to Arizpe, Sonora.[32]

Two months after registering Santo Tomás Cantuariense, on 21 March 1774, Moradillos requested possession, and measurers and inspectors were named.[33] Two days after that, possession was given to Vicente Bravo, who accepted it in Moradillos stead, since the mine owner was prevented from traveling up to his mine for some unstated reason. At the time possession was granted, it was found that there was an earlier, abandoned mine entrance next to this mine. Nothing more is known about this mine.

Another hiatus lasting thirteen years ends with information about another mine in which Moradillos was involved. Scant detail exists about the location of a mine called Nuestra Señora Santa Ana beyond the fact that it was located on the northern side of the river, meaning in or near the Franklin or Organ Mountains, but in other respects it is the best documented of all the El Paso del Norte area mines because it was the subject of a protracted lawsuit. The particulars of the suit reveal important details regarding the nature of silver mining in this area in the late eighteenth century.



Original drawing of eighteenth century Spanish mining equipment by Joannes Minguet, 1761.

The documentary record for this suit begins with proceedings already in progress in March 1787.[34] Sometime earlier, Moradillos and an individual named Gaspar Samperio de la Mora had become embroiled in a lawsuit related to their efforts to dissolve their partnership in order to gain sole proprietorship of the mine.[35] Little is known of Samperio. He was in and out of the El Paso del

Norte area throughout the 1770s and 1780s where he was active as a merchant. Apparently, he traveled frequently to and from Chihuahua, where he had ties with a number of merchants and may have owned a store.[36] He was also frequently upriver in New Mexico. In 1788 he held the title of alcalde mayor of Santa Cruz de la Cañada and was present both there and in El Paso del Norte during that same year.[37] Given that Samperio was frequently absent from El Paso del Norte, he entrusted his affairs to Lorenzo Antonio Cuarón.[38] Cuarón put together a partnership whereby Moradillos would work the Nuestra Señora Santa Ana mine, and Samperio would provide financing.[39] The partners agreed that ore samples were to be taken to Chihuahua for processing to determine if they contained silver.[40] Two *cargas,* or two sacks, which constituted a full burro load, were taken and nine pesos expended by Samperio, paid to Ignacio González. Samperio however was not given the results. Instead, Cuarón gave him a letter written in Santa Eulalia from a man named Leorín to Francisco Antonio de Trespalacios and forwarded to Moradillos. The letter disclosed the silver content of the ore. This had convinced Samperio, and he and Moradillos joined forces to work the mine. Cuarón's interest was that he wanted "a little something, not a share" for putting the deal together and that he hoped to be chosen as mine administrator.[41]

Samperio alleged that Mordillos had ore piled up at his house and had not processed it. He also charged that Moradillos had an agreement with Rojas and Herrera to pay all their expenses. Instead he wasted time, hoping to drive Herrera off or wait for him to die, as had happened with Rojas.

While Samperio was away from El Paso del Norte, Moradillos had been working the mine with Domingo Rojas and Salvador de Herrera.[42] Rojas and Herrera were poor men and lacked the wherewithal to work the mine. Herrera had originally registered the mine years earlier, but Moradillos, who had obtained his interest from Francisco García Carabajal, was claiming to be sole owner. As a partner, Samperio requested that Moradillos be made to produce an accounting of expenses incurred or to be incurred so that the *Asesor* or *Diputado de la Minería* in Chihuahua could decide the matter.[43]

At some point, Moradillos had stopped working the mine, even though assay of the ore, *por revoltura,* yielded three marks of silver.[44] Samperio alleged that Moradillos had ore piled up at his house and had not processed it. He also charged that Moradillos had an agreement with Rojas and Herrera to pay all their expenses. Instead he wasted time, hoping to drive Herrera off or wait for him to die, as had happened with Rojas. With Herrera dead, he could claim to be sole owner of the mine.

Fearful about arrangements for his safety when he delivered supplies to the mine, Samperio requested an escort for his trips to the mine, but Moradillos refused.[45] There were only two *barreteros,* or ore cutters, one miner, and one *tenatero,* an ore carrier, at the mine, so Samperio chose to drop off at the mine what was needed to work it. Because there was flooding, he refused to return without escort. He explained his position to his partner before departing for Chihuahua to buy gunpowder and other necessary items. At that time, he also sent a note to a miner, [Nicolás] López, at the presidio of San Elizario, presumably seeking his advice or assistance.[46] Samperio wanted Moradillos either to be true partner or give up his share. Samperio maintained that he was the principal owner.

Lieutenant Governor Alberto Máynez, who had opened an investigation of the case, ordered Moradillos to reply to Samperio's allegations.[47] Moradillos stated that Samperio had appeared before Máynez in their both their names to ask that they be given permission to work the mine that Moradillos owned on the other side of the river.[48] Subsequently, Moradillos learned that Samperio was trying to strip him of his share. Moradillos had the registration and the act of possession of the mine, while Samperio had no documentation. Moradillos asked Máynez to summon Samperio and require him to indicate to what needs he had seen, what supplies he had provided, or what salaries had been paid to the workers during the previous seven weeks. Moradillos implied that his partner had abandoned his interest in the mine. By contrast, Moradillos had been at the mine for the last twenty-six days and had recently purchased twelve pounds of gunpowder from the lieutenant governor himself. Moradillos had given Samperio an interest in the mine because of his promises to help, but he had returned empty-handed from Chihuahua.

According to Moradillos's testimony, on 5 March 1787, Samperio took supplies to the mine in a cart drawn by six oxen with four

young men to care for them.[49] After less than thirty hours, Samperio sent Moradillos a message by a young man, who had been taken from his work at the mine, asking Moradillos "to send for everything because the mine had absolutely no basis."[50] Francisco Barrio and another man were present when this message was delivered. The young man was told to return and ask Samperio if he were playing some child's game. Moradillos learned from some men who were making charcoal for the mine works that Samperio had left the mine and returned home. Samperio had stated that even if the mine contained gold, he did not even care to look at the mine, much less go to it. He discredited the mine, running down its ores. Moradillos thought that Sampiero talked negatively so that he, Moradillos, would lose interest.

Moradillos asked that the lieutenant governor summon and question Nicolás López, miner; Gabriel Gradillas, Carlos Montoya, Juan Lara, ore cutters; Carlos Lara, ore carrier; and Rafael Trujillo, Cornelio Vargas, and Cristóbal Padilla, *escolteros* or guards. They were questioned about who had paid them since they started working and about what Samperio supplied to the mine beyond what he took when he went up to the mine with one hide for two ore carriers, a pesos's worth of candles, a piece of steel, and one pound of gunpowder. Rather than show the accounts of what he did with his own money, as Samperio had demanded, Moradillos argued that Samperio should present documents proving that he owned the mine. If he could not, Moradillos wanted to dissolve their company.

Samperio responded by saying that the documents Moradillos possessed related to the share in the mine he had been given by García Carabajal.[51] Samperio also countered his partner's charge, saying that Moradillos had abandoned the mine many years earlier. For that reason, Samperio had claimed and registered the abandoned mine, agreeing to pay the *quinto,* or royal tax. Now Moradillos wanted the mine back. Samperio asked that Moradillos, Herrera, and Cuarón be questioned about whether mine was abandoned, for how long, and how many times it had been occupied. Samperio stated that he asked Francisco Herrera, Antonio Maese, Mariano Granada, Cristóbal Perea and others to work as guards, but when he sent them to Moradillo's house to get paid, they were refused.

Before the matter was resolved, Samperio informed Máynez that he had to travel to Chihuahua for thirty-five to forty days.[52] He petitioned for permission for Cuarón to work the mine in his

absence, adding that Cuarón had had his power of attorney since 1784. In response, Máynez stated that he would not stop Moradillos from working the mine, which would be detrimental to the interest of the crown.[53] The lieutenant governor noted, however, that Samperio retained his rights to pursue the case.

Máynez took further testimony from Samperio regarding his recent activity at the mine. He stated that he had not spent anything on the mine in seven weeks, but that from October 1786 until March 1787 he paid all costs for ore removal and transport to Chihuahua,[54] as well as the cost of lead; *cindra*, or bone ash[55] and *greta*, litharge–lead monoxide, used as flux. He also sought out ore cutters and a miner in Chihuahua. Finally, in March 1787, he purchased gunpowder, candles, steel, and a hide to be used by the ore carriers.

As the case ground on, Máynez questioned other witnesses regarding Samperio's abandonment of the mine. Francisco Barrio corroborated Moradillos and added the interesting particular that Samperio had called the mine a *"pisarrón sin esperanzas"* (hopeless slate bed).[56] Three more individuals, Manuel Varela, Nicolás López, and Gabriel Gradillas all provided further corroboration of Barrio's basic assertions.[57] Because there seemed to be nothing to contradict what Moradillos had alleged against Samperio, Máynez halted this line of investigation on 9 May 1787 and proceeded to Moradillos's activity with the mine.[58] The testimony on this point was very contradictory.

Moradillos indicated that he had owned the mine since 1773, having worked it initially for two years after which he went upriver into New Mexico to work a lead mine on which he spent two thousand pesos.[59] He maintained the position that although he did not continue to work his mine, he continued to be its owner. Cuarón stated that Moradillos had abandoned the mine ten years earlier and that Moradillos and his partners had been working the mine for only a short time of late.[60] It had not been worked during the previous nine years until Moradillos and Samperio had formed their partnership. Salvador de Herrera revealed that the mine had actually been discovered much earlier.[61] He had originally registered it and was its owner with Rojas. They had no money and gave Moradillos a share. Together they worked it two years at which point Moradillos wanted to abandon it and go to New Mexico. Nine years passed, and then it had been worked for six months after Moradillos and Samperio had asked Herrera for permission

to work it. He had agreed, he said, but had retained his rights as owner. Francisco Herrera corroborated earlier testimony that Moradillos had not paid the guards as Samperio had requested.[62]

In what was to prove the deciding line of argument, Moradillos made several telling points to show his involvement in the mine and his rationale for working it as he did.[63] First, he demonstrated that the Nuestra Señora Santa Ana mine was subject to a special ruling. Pedro del Barrio Junco y Espriella had decided that because El Paso del Norte was *tierra de guerra viva*, a zone of active warfare, an owner was free to work a mine whenever he could and not lose his rights. Second, he pointed out that the mining ordinances required nine consecutive days of publication of a claim that a mine was abandoned, and Samperio had failed to comply. Third, Moradillos described the work schedule at the mine. It was his practice to go up to the mine on Monday and come down on Saturday. The testimony indicates that this mine, and Moradillas's other mine, Santo Tomás Cantuariense, both of which were established at about the same time, were not very far from El Paso del Norte. Third, Moradillos indicated that other individuals had been involved in the mine from the beginning, whereas Samperio presented the case as though he and Moradillos were the only ones involved. He named Ignacio Idoyaga and Barrio as men who went along with Samperio and him for the original establishment of the mine. Also present at that time were ore cutters named Juan Ledesma and Felipe López, as well as two overseers, Bautista Lucero and Juan Jiménez. Moradillos said he went to New Mexico after his workers and to get lead to use as flux with the smelting operation. If there were any doubt, Máynez could just ask the old blind man, Isidro Ramírez, "who knew all about it."[64]

It is clear that Samperio and company were unaware of Máynez's position regarding the mine. Cuarón stated that the Rio Grande was high and asked for a delay in putting the mine into operation.[65] Máynez responded that Moradillos was still working the mine and would continue to do so until the matter was settled.[66] Although this position favored Moradillos, Máynez provided a balance by curtly ordering him not to mix irrelevant matters in the case or use denigrating arguments.[67] What was being decided was whether he had a share in the mine. Then, with matters very much undecided, Samperio again absented himself from El Paso del Norte.

Because Samperio suddenly went to New Mexico, the matter had not been resolved and seven months passed before the matter was taken up again on 5 March 1788. Sampiero was back in El Paso del Norte holding the title of *alcalde mayor* of Santa Cruz de la Cañada.[68] He indicated that all he wanted was to be paid what was due him. Just as he had been admonished the previous July, Moradillos returned to the original document and asked that Samperio be told to give someone power of attorney to settle the matter.[69] As a response Samperio relinquished all rights to the mine.[70] On 29 March 1788, Salvador de Herrera one of the two original owners, stating that he owed Moradillos favors, also relinquished all rights to the mine to Moradillos.[71] Although nothing more about the Nuestra Señora Santa Ana mine is known for certain, the possibility exists that it played a part in local legend.

An area of keen interest to historians of mining in the western United States is how Spanish colonial mines relate to their successors in the early Anglo-American period after 1848. It may never be possible to connect definitively a Spanish colonial mine works to an Anglo-American counterpart, because under the Spanish system an individual held a single claim on a given vein, adjacent workings could and did have different names and owners.[72] This makes it practically impossible to say that a given named Spanish mine was the exact forerunner of a modern mine. It seems a reasonable conjecture, however, that later miners would have been guided by the work of earlier ones. Moreover, in the zone under scrutiny here, there are a limited number of sites where mining was possible. In fact, a brief comparison of the known Spanish colonial mines and some of the early Anglo-American mines is suggestive of several likely matches.

Given the very vague descriptions of the mines, it is difficult to determine with precision just where they were located. Based on the text of the claims and other documentary evidence, it is possible to state that all but one of the mines under discussion were located on the northern side of the Rio Grande opposite El Paso del Norte, present day Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Only the description of Santo Tomás Cantuariense fails to mention that it was located on the "other side of the river." Since this qualifier was used consistently, this would suggest that this mine was located in the Sierra de Juárez. Likewise, the third mine called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the one belonging to Francisco García Carabajal, is

the only mine noted as being in the Organ Mountains, specifically in the Puerto de los Órganos, or San Augustine Pass.

It remains, then, to consider whether the other mines were more likely in the Organ Mountains of New Mexico or the Franklin Mountains of Texas. The nomenclature can be confusing, since the Franklin Mountains were frequently called the Organ Mountains and so labeled on maps as late as the nineteenth century. In discussing mineralization in the northern Franklin Mountains, Roy D. Deen states that:

> Although there is no surface evidence to indicate any area of good mining potential in the Precambrian rocks of the Franklin Mountains, the area has good examples of almost every type of mineralization found in nature, therefore it is exceptionally well suited for use as an outdoor laboratory for the study of ore deposits.[73]

Another treatment of mineral occurrences in the Franklin Mountains reveals the presence of tin deposits not far from what was Tom Mays Park. Located within the boundaries of the present Franklin Mountains State Park is copper-bearing vein mineralization.[74] Taken together it would seem that the Franklin Mountains would have been a tempting area for prospecting, given the variety of mineralization present.

There is also tantalizing evidence that Father Rivera had found a source of copper, which would explain the unusual amount and differing forms of copper in his possession. The second of his mines called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was sited "in the mountain range on the other side [of the river] to the east in a red hill."[75] The vein was described as running "west to east in the middle of an arroyo that descends from the range."[76] In many respects this seems remarkably similar to the location of the copper deposit in the former Tom Mays Park, which is described as being "on the east-facing slope of a red knoll, on the west side of the canyon."[77]

It is significant, however, that silver is not known to be found in the Franklin Mountains. Tree-ring dates for a structure on a site near San Augustine Pass suggest a construction date of 1800.[78] Located on this site is a large adobe *horno,* or oven, that shows evidence of very hot firing, such as would be present in a smelter. If, indeed, the Spaniards were mining silver on the opposite side of the Rio Grande, they were probably doing so in the Organ Mountains. There too, Father Rivera could have located a source for

his copper. A mining prospectus issued in the 1880s indicated that five silver mines that were being worked in the Organ Mountains showed evidence of having been worked in the Spanish or Mexican period. The mines were the Hawkeye, Memphis, Stephenson, Modoc, and Dos Arroyos. The first three were within three miles of San Augustine Pass and the latter two were eight miles south of the pass in Fillmore Canyon.[79]

The Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe mine that belonged to Francisco García Carabajal seems a rather good fit for a precursor of the Stephenson mine. Even though it is known that this mine once bore the name Santo Domingo de las Calzadas, the Spanish practice of having multiple names on a given vein would not preclude Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe from being located nearby, and, in fact, on the same vein. In addition to its location close to San Augustine Pass, the Stephenson had north-south veins of galena ore containing silver, and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe's veins also ran north-south. Although farther away from San Augustine Pass, the Modoc Mine also had north-south veins of silver-bearing galena ore. This mine also produced a small quantity of gold and copper.[80]

The description in the original claim for the mine called El Patriarca y Señor San José, indicated that it was located "between two small arroyos."[81] This is suggestive of a relationship between that claim and the Dos Arroyos Mine area southeast of the Modoc Mine in Fillmore Canyon. The Dos Arroyos mine took its name from "the occurrence of two deep and precipitous arroyos."[82]

Nuestra Señora Santa Ana, about which the most is known, is, in many ways, the most intriguing. It seems to be associated with another mine, Santo Tomás de Cantuariense, which, in turn, was located at a site where other mines had been operating. There seems little doubt that Nuestra Señora Santa Ana produced some silver. If the work routine described was not an exaggeration, then it must have been closer to present-day Ciudad Juárez than the two mining districts near San Augustine Pass. Since it was clearly on the opposite side of the river from El Paso del Norte, this information breathes new life into an old legend. As the legend has it, the Mina del Padre, or as it is better known, the Lost Padre Mine, could be glimpsed from the bell tower of the church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in Ciudad Juárez. By lining up one's vision on certain landmarks, the mine was visible in the nearby Franklin Mountains. Which landmarks, however, no one seemed to know.[83]

According to Elias Brevoort there was a silver mine located in the southern tip of the Franklin Mountains or nearby hills, which he describes in this way:

> The mine is situated at the southern point of the Organ mountains [Franklin Mountains,] here about 1,500 feet high, two and half miles from the City of El Paso, and is a lode or vein of black chloride of silver, containing sulphurets, the outcropping about forty feet wide. This immense lode, or vein, runs north and south, dipping to the west at an angle of 45°. The silver lode lays in a bed of old red sandstone, and the overlying face rock is igneous, with traces of iron in it. There can be no doubt that this lode is extremely rich, and immensely valuable.[84]

Apparently this mine was reopened in 1872-1873. Some twenty years ago, a crew digging a sewer line under Murchison Street in El Paso encountered a cavern, which they subsequently covered over. They might have located Nuestra Señora Santa Ana or one of the associated mines, but in all probability, we shall never know.[85]

This mining activity demonstrates that, just as in the rest of the Spanish empire, mining was pursued in a serious way in the far south of colonial New Mexico in the hope of attaining material wealth. In addition to the men mentioned in these documents relating to their involvement in mining, there were at least two other men in El Paso del Norte at this time who were miners by occupation, Guadalajara native Manuel de Ulloa and Dionisio Membrilla, an Indian from Mexico City.[86] Thus, peninsular Spaniards, men from elsewhere in the empire, as well as local men participated in mining in the area. This is an important example of the fact that even Spain's distant frontier regions formed integral parts of the empire. In this, as in many other respects, Spanish colonial New Mexico was more like the rest of the empire than it was different.

The body of documentation examined here establishes that there was indeed prospecting for and mining of silver in the Organ Mountains and in the greater El Paso del Norte area as early as 1738 and it was fairly intensive by 1759. This is significant because historians have generally placed this activity no earlier than the first decade of the nineteenth century. The details about the Nuestra Señora Santa Ana mine reveal that Spaniards were blasting with gunpowder and extracting ore of sufficiently high quality to smelt. Further, Francisco Díaz Moradillos had in his possession

all the equipment required for a smelting oven. This lends credence to the report of a relatively high percentage of silver found in the ore assayed in Santa Eulalia. From the attitude of the local authorities, it is clear that this particular mine, at least, was considered to be important enough to the crown that a lawsuit over ownership was not permitted to halt production. This is not to suggest that great wealth was derived from these mountains. Still to be determined is just how much silver was extracted from the Franklin, Organ, and Juárez mountains as a result of this activity and what became of it. Finally, it is unclear whether this mining activity continued into the nineteenth century when the Anglo-Americans arrived, and if it did not, why it was abandoned. The same hopes and dreams drove miners to seek the next mother lode, searching to find the next La Bufa or the next Potosí.

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NOTES

1. Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 62-63.
2. Recent works on mining in New Mexico include Homer E. Milford, "History Section," *Cultural Resource Survey of the Real de los Cerrillos Project, Santa Fe County, New Mexico,* New Mexico Abandoned Mine Land Bureau, Report No. 1994-2 (Santa Fe: New Mexico Abandoned Mine Land Bureau, 1995); Rick Hendricks, "Spanish Colonial Mining in Southern New Mexico: A Spanish to English Translation of Documents Relating to El Paso, the Organ Mountains, and Santa Rita del Cobre," *The Mining History Journal: The Sixth Annual Journal of the Mining History Association* (1999): 143-62.
3. John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, eds. *By Force of Arms: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1691-1693* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 154, 159.

4. John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, eds., *Blood on the Boulders: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1694-1697* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 952 n. 9; Homer E. Milford, "History Section," *Cultural Resource Survey of the Real de los Cerrillos Project, Santa Fe County, New Mexico,* New Mexico Abandoned Mine Land Bureau, Report No. 1994-2 (Santa Fe: New Mexico Abandoned Mine Land Bureau, 1995), 20.
5. Rick Hendricks, "The Camino Real at the Pass: Economy and Political Structure of the Paso del Norte Area in the Eighteenth Century," in *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro,* Colección Biblioteca del INAH, José de la Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, coords. (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000), 125-41.
6. Legajo en que constan todos los registros de tierra hasta 31 deciembre 1752, El Paso, 1752, Private Collection of Larry Garcia, El Paso, Texas. José Pedraza, Mine registration, El Paso, 2 September 1738, Garcia Collection.
7. Registros de tierra: Registros de minas, El Paso, 1751, Garcia Collection.
8. Actions carried out to determine the state of wheat, maize, beans, and so forth, in this jurisdiction and royal presidio, El Paso, 1750. Garcia Collection.
9. Bachiller José Lorenzo de Rivera, Mine registration, El Paso, 29 January 1756, Juárez Archive, University of Texas at El Paso, microfilm, second filming (JA II), roll (r.) 5 , book (bk.) 4, 1757, frame (f.) 433-34.
10. Bachiller José Lorenzo de Rivera, Petition, El Paso, 28 April 1756, JA II, r. 5 , bk. 4, 1757, f. 434-36.
11. Bachiller José Lorenzo de Rivera, Mine registration, El Paso, 29 January 1756, JA II, r. 5, bk. 4, 1757, f. 433-34.
12. Documents relating to the death and estate of José Lorenzo de Rivera, El Paso, 18 August 1779-19 May 1780, JA II, r. 11. bk. 1, 1774, f. 62-87.
13. Rick Hendricks, "Wills from El Paso de Norte, 1754-1817," *Nuestras Raíces* 6 (winter 1994): 167; Rick Hendricks, "Wills from El Paso de Norte, 1754-1817," *Nuestras Raíces* 6 (summer 1995): 87; Francisco Elías González, Francisco Díaz Moradillos, and Juan Antonio García de Noriega to Alberto Máynez, El Paso, 5 August 1786, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 56-62.
14. Bachiller José Lorenzo de Rivera, Petition, El Paso, 28 April 1756, JA II, r. 5 , bk. 4, 1757, f. 434-36.
15. Bachiller José Lorenzo de Rivera, Petition, El Paso, 28 July 1756, JA II, r. 5 , bk. 4, 1757, f. 440-42; Bachiller José Lorenzo de Rivera, Petition, El Paso, 27 October 1756, JA II, r. 5 , bk. 4, 1757, f. 442-4.
16. José Horcasitas, Act of Possession, El Paso, 31 January 1757, JA II, r. 5, bk. 4, 1757, f. 451-55.
17. José Lorenzo de Rivera, Mine registration and petitions, El Paso, 29 January 1756-31 January 1757, JA II, r 5 , bk. 4, 1757, f. 433-436, 440-55.
18. José García Carabajal, Mine registration, El Paso, 1 April 1758, r. 5, bk. 1, 1758, f. 42-44.
19. José García Carabajal, Petition, 1 July 1758, JA II, 1758, r. 5, bk. 1, 1758, f. 45-46.

20. José García Carabajal, Petition, El Paso, 30 September 1758, JA II, r. 11, bk. 1, 1774, f. 129-30.
21. José García Carabajal, Petition, El Paso, 9 March 1759, JA II, r.1, bk. 1, 1750, f. 532-36
22. José García Carabajal, Petition, El Paso, 9 June 1759, JA II, r.1, bk. 1, 1750, f. 565-66.
23. Miguel García Carabajal, Petition, El Paso, 7 September 1759, JA II, r.1, bk. 1, 1750, f. 585-86; José García Carabajal, Petition, El Paso, 15 December 1759, JA II, r.1, bk. 1, 1750, f. 589-90.
24. José Lorenzo de Rivera, Mine registration, El Paso, 27 February 1759, JA II, r.1, bk. 1, 1750, f. 531, inc.
25. José Lorenzo de Rivera, Petition, El Paso, 27 August 1759, JA II, r.1, bk. 1, 1750, f. 583-584; José Lorenzo de Rivera, Petition, El Paso, 14 November 1759, JA II, r.1, bk. 1, 1750, f. 587-88.
26. Francisco García Carabajal, Mine registration, El Paso, 18 January 1757, JA II, r.1, bk. 1, 1750, f. 485-88.
27. Francisco García Carbajal, Will, El Paso, 10 June 1775, JA II, r. 10, bk. 1, 1774, f. 372-76; María Manuela Téllez, Will, El Paso, 10 September 1785, JA II, r. 11, bk. 1, 1785, f. 56-58.
28. D.A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 203.
29. The name Cantuariense derives from the Latin *Cantuaria.* There is no indication why Moradillos chose to name his mine after Saint Thomas of Canterbury, whose feast the Church celebrates on 29 December, which was not the day he indicated that he registered it. There are a number of churches dedicated to Thomas Becket in Asturias, Moradillos's home province. Perhaps he had a particular devotion to Saint Thomas.
30. Francisco Díaz Moradillos, Mine registration, El Paso, 29 January 1774, JA II, r. 10. bk. 1, f. 24-27.
31. Francisco Díaz Moradillos and Juan Rita Elías González, Diligencia matrimonial, El Paso, 17 October 1778, Catholic Archives of Texas, University of Texas at El Paso microfilm, roll 3; Eugenio Fernández, Proceedings, Chihuahua and El Paso, 12 January 1782-1 July 1783, r. 11, bk. 1, 1783, f. 300-465.
32. Baptism of Gerónima Atilena González de Zayas de Moradillas, Arizpe, Sonora, abstract of 1789; baptism of María Manuela Nacrisa González de Zayas Díaz de Moradillas, Arizpe, Sonora, 30 October 1791, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Family History Library, Las Cruces, New Mexico, microfilm no. 155348.
33. Antonio María Daroca, Proceedings related to granting possession of a mine, El Paso, 21-23 March 1774, JA II, r. 10, bk. 1, f. 28-35.
34. The incomplete *expediente* in which most of the documents are grouped chronologically is only a part of the case-file of this lawsuit concerning mine ownership. Other documents related to the case are found in other sections of the archive. Gaspar Samperio de la Mora vs. Francisco Díaz Moradillos, El Paso, [6 March]-July 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 2-55, inc.

35. Gaspar Samperio de la Mora, Petition, El Paso, 6 March 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 3-6.
36. Leonardo Urraco to Gaspar Samperio de la Mora, Obligation, Chihuahua, 7 April 1783, Archivo Histórico de Notarías del Estado de Chihuahua, Francisco Briseño, 1780 y 1783.
37. Virginia Langham Olmsted, trans., Margaret Leonard Windham and Evelyn Lujan Baca, comps., *New Mexico Baptisms, Santa Cruz de la Cañada Church,* Volume 1, 1710-1794 (Albuquerque: New Mexico Genealogical Society, 1994), 240.
38. Gaspar de Samperio de la Mora to Lorenzo Antonio Cuarón, Power of attorney, El Paso, 27 August 1784, JA II, r. 11, bk. 1, 1784, f. 238-41.
39. Gaspar Samperio de la Mora, Petition, El Paso, [6 March] 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 3-6.
40. Sampiero de la Mora.
41. Sampiero de la Mora.
42. Sampiero de la Mora.
43. Sampiero de la Mora.
44. Brading and Cross warn that "the historian should always guard against statements about ore general levels." D. A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, "Colonial Silver Mining: Mexico and Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review 52* (November 1971): 556. Mindful of this caveat, it is difficult to know what to make of this assay. If is was referring to an assay of the entire two *cargas,* the ore yielded around 3 ounces per hundredweight. If the assay was expressed in the usual terms, that is, is silver per quintal or hundredweight, then Samperio de la Mora was stating that the ore yielded some 24 ounces per hundredweight. That would have equaled the rich vein in the Rayas mine in Guanajuato in the eighteenth century, which is described in this way, "la parte S.O. de la veta, que atraviesa la mina de Rayas, ofrece minerales cuyo contenido pasa comúnmente de tres marcos." José Garcés y Eguía *Del beneficio de los metales de oro y plata* (Mexico City: n.p. 1802), 92.
45. Gaspar Samperio de la Mora, Petition, El Paso, 25 April 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 7-8.
46. Nicolás López was a native of San Miguel de Horcasitas. 1788 Census of El Paso de Norte, Spanish Colonial Censuses for El Paso del Norte, compiled by John B. Colligan and Terry Corbett, 1998.
47. Lieutenant governor Alberto Máynez, Order, El Paso, 25 April 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 8-9.
48. Francisco Díaz Moradillos, Statement and petition, El Paso, 28 April 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 10-13.
49. Moradillos.
50. Moradillos.
51. Gaspar Samperio de la Mora, Petition, El Paso, [May] 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 17-20.
52. Gaspar Samperio de la Mora, Petition, El Paso, 7 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 21-22.

53. Lieutenant governor Alberto Máynez, Order, El Paso, 7 May April 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 22, 25-26.

54. Gaspar Samperio de la Mora, Statement, El Paso, 7 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 26-27.

55. The Spanish formula for *cendra* in the eighteenth century was: cooked, dry ash; burned and ground dried sheep's horn marrow, all mixed together and liquefied in water to which is added quicklime; this is put in a clay vessel and a concave indentation is pressed into the material. The vessel is covered with a muffle and placed in the oven in a hot flame; when hot half as much lead as silver ore is to be processed; when the lead melts, the silver ore is placed on top. *Diccionario de autoridades* (Madrid: Gredos, 1979), 1:264.

56. Francisco Manuel del Barrio, Statement, El Paso, 7 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 28-29.

57. Manuel Varela, Statement, El Paso, 8 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 29-30; Nicolás López, Statement, El Paso, 8 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 30-31; Gabriel Gradillas, Statement, El Paso, 8 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 31-32.

58. Lieutenant governor Alberto Máynez, Order, El Paso, 9 May April 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 32-33.

59. Francisco Díaz Moradillos, Statement, El Paso, 11 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 33-35.

60. Lorenzo Antonio Cuarón, Statement, El Paso, 11 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 35-36.

61. Salvador de Herrera, Statement, El Paso, 11 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 36-38.

62. Francisco Herrera, Statement, El Paso, 11 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 38-39.

63. Francisco Díaz Moradillos, Statement, El Paso, 12 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 43-49.

64. Moradillos.

65. Lorenzo Antonio Cuarón, Statement, El Paso, 13 May 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 50.

66. Lieutenant governor Alberto Máynez, Order, El Paso, 23 June April 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 51.

67. Lieutenant governor Alberto Máynez, Order, El Paso, 4 July April 1787, JA II, r. 12, bk. 1, 1786, f. 54.

68. Francisco Díaz Moradillos, Petition, El Paso, 5 March 1788, JA II, r. 13, bk. 1, bk. 1, 1788, f. 162-64; Gaspar Samperio de la Mora, Petition, El Paso, 6 March 1788, JA II, r. 13, bk. 1, bk. 1, 1788, f. 167-68.

69. Francisco Díaz Moradillos, Petition, El Paso, 5 March 1788, JA II, r. 13, bk. 1, bk. 1, 1788, f. 162-64. 70. Gaspar Samperio de la Mora, Cession, El Paso, 12 March 1788, JA II, r. 13, bk. 1, bk. 1, 1788, f. 170-71.

71. Salvador de Herrera, Cession, El Paso, 29 March 1788, JA II, r. 13, bk. 1, 1788, f. 162-72.

72. Peter Bakewell, *Silver and Entrepreneurship in Seventeenth-Century Potosí: The Life and Times of Antonio López de Quiroga* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1995), 60-61.
73. Roy D. Deen, "The Mineralization in the Precambrian Rocks of the Northern Franklin Mountains," in El Paso Geological Society Symposium on the Franklin Mountains, David V. LeMone and Earl M.P. Lovejoy, eds. (El Paso: El Paso Geological Society, 1976), 186.
74. Philip C. Goodell, "Mineral Occurrences of the Franklin Mountains, Texas," in *El Paso Geological Society Symposium on the Franklin Mountains,* David V. LeMone and Earl M.P. Lovejoy, eds. (El Paso: El Paso Geological Society, 1976), 195.
75. José Lorenzo de Rivera, Mine registration, El Paso, 27 February 1759, JA II, r.1, bk. 1, 1750, f. 531, inc.
76. de Rivera.
77. Goodell, "Mineral Occurrences of the Franklin Mountains", 195.
78. Karl Laumbach, Personal communication, 16 August 1999.
79. *The Organ Mountains of New Mexico: Prospectus, Descriptive Catalogue and Report on the Mines* (Philadelphia: Organ Mountain Mining and Smelting Association, 1881-1882), 12-15, 21, 25-29, 36, 54-55. My thanks to Homer E. Milford of the Mining and Mineral Division of the New Mexico Energy, Minerals & Natural Resources Department for this publication and for his help comparing the Spanish colonial mines to area Anglo-American mine works. Thanks also to John W. Hawley who provided copies of two indispensable works on the geology of the Organ Mountains. Kingsley Charles Dunham, *The Geology of the Organ Mountains* New Mexico Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, Bulletin 11, Part III (1935) and William R. Seager, *Geology of Organ Mountains and Southern San Andres Mountains, New Mexico* New Mexico Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, Memoir 36 (1981).
80. *Organ Mountains of New Mexico,* 12-14.
81. José García Carabajal, Mine registration, El Paso, 1 April 1758, r. 5, bk. 1, 1758, f. 42-44.
82. *Organ Mountains of New Mexico,* 25-26.
83. W. H. Timmons, *El Paso: A Borderlands History* (El Paso, Texas Western Press, 1990), 183.
84. Elias Brevoort, *New Mexico: Her Natural Resources and Attractions, Being a Collection of Facts, Mainly Concerning Her Geography, Climate, Population, Schools, Mines and Minerals, Agricultural and Pastoral Capacities, Prospective Railroads, Public Lands, and Spanish and Mexican Land Grants* (Santa Fe: Elias Brevoort, 1874), 82-83. My thanks to Homer E. Milford for this publication.
85. One mining historian is of the opinion that this mine could have been located in a limestone cave with a later galena intrusion, like the Gage deposit in Luna County, New Mexico. Homer E. Milford, Personal communication, 1 May 1998.
86. Rick Hendricks, *Two Spanish Colonial Censuses of the El Paso Area: 1784 and 1787.* CAR Report 709 (Las Cruces: Center for Anthropological Research, New Mexico State University, 1992), 34, 41.

First Place Award in the Frank W. Gorman Memorial Essay Contest

Sylvia Rede

By Michelle Rede

Sylvia Rede, "Sweetheart" of the Jefferson baseball team.

Driving past Jefferson High School, Chico's Tacos, and Washington Park, on Alameda Street, a large red sign looms, bearing the name of Sylvia's. This sign is located on top of a dilapidated building where clients had their hair styled and groomed. In the 50's patrons came in droves for their crew cuts, wedges, beehives, ducktails, and French twists, to Sylvia's Beauty Salon. Next door, Sylvia's Sandwich Shop catered to hungry, hard-working El Pasoans. Waking at 4 o'clock in the morning, Sylvia piled luncheon meats, cheeses, and fixings on bread, making the most delicious hero sandwiches. Later, twisting to Elvis Presley music, with scissors in hand, she clipped, trimmed, and shampooed hair. Sylvia's was then, and continues to be, an icon on Alameda street, and this is special to me.

You see, Sylvia is my grandmother.

On a cold, snowy day in 1939 a wooden shack in Mesa Rica, in northern New Mexico, became the birthplace of my grandmother Sylvia. Born to Edward and Vera Fonseca, my grandmother lived her childhood years in the Segundo Barrio of South El Paso. Her tiny house, with no air conditioning or carpeting, only had two rooms and a kitchen. Her family of four made the

Arthur and Frank Gorman, Carolyn Breck presenting the award to Michelle, and Wilma Hudson.

Sylvia as a young "glamour girl."

best of their cramped environment. Grandma would spend most of her summer days playing outside with her best friend Graciela, who was a nice, pretty girl. Graciela knew my grandma's deepest secrets and dreams. Together they'd race each other in the streets and would drain their energy playing tag until nightfall. Her most memorable childhood game was called "crack the whip," which was a fast, fun game where all the kids would hold hands, and run like a screaming runaway human roller coaster. During her childhood, World War II presented problems for her family. There were many shortages of food, clothing, jobs, and automobiles.

In her teenage years, my grandma attended Jefferson High school, "Home of the Foxes." She was a responsible student who was involved in many school activities. Her high school activities included membership in National Honor Society, varsity tennis, and as "sweetheart" of the baseball team. On campus, Grandma wore all the latest trends, including pink puffy poodle skirts, bobby socks, pedal pushers, cardigan sweaters, and saddle oxford shoes. Grandma also sported the latest hair fashions. Working in the salon, my grandma would wear her brunette hair in a classic pony tail, at school she wore it in a French twist, at school dances, her hair looked like a beehive, and playing tennis she would wear her hair "flip style." As a teenager, Grandma also maintained different jobs to help put bread on the table. She worked as a demonstrator at Safeway, a clerk at Union Fashion, and as a baby sitter. Working late at night, she would always day dream about being a teacher. Someday she wanted to prove that her dreams could come true. When my Grandma turned nineteen, she married the love of her life, Edmundo. Marriage proved difficult for my Grandma. She wanted to graduate from Texas Western College, and pursue her dreams of becoming a teacher, but Grandfather objected. Despite the difficulties, she raised four children each of whom successfully earned college degrees. As soon as her children left the nest, she decided to go back to school. It took her four years,

but she finally earned her Bachelor's degree in Education. Later, at the age of fifty-seven, she earned her Masters Degree in Education, and all the family celebrated her accomplishments. We were all so proud of her.

She has been teaching at Bowie High School the last ten years. She has a passion for teaching, and loves working with her students. Every year, she gives back to the less fortunate students of the barrio by taking them on trips to Washington D.C. She continues to impact their lives and future, and tells them, "Don't let your dreams die!"

She plans to retire soon, and she'd like to travel all over the world. It will be nice for her to enjoy herself, instead of grading papers. I can picture my grandmother in retirement, pulling weeds, washing her car, watching a movie, or cuddled up with a good book and a glass of wine. I look forward to being with her, I love her so much. My grandmother once wrote in my baby book "Thank God for her life!" My grandmother has always loved me unconditionally, and is my role model and inspiration. She has proven in life that you can be or do anything you want to be or do. Don't let your dreams die! Thank God for my grandmother's life!

Sylvia Rede, Michelle Rede, and Cynthia Rede

MICHELLE NICOLE REDE was born in December 1986, the daughter of David and Cynthia Rede. She attended Eastwood Middle School and will be entering the ninth grade at Eastwood High School. Her hobbies are reading, writing, drawing, and playing soccer. She is a member of The National Junior Honor Society, Y-Teens, the Math club, and the AYSO Soccer league. Michelle plans to attend the University of Arizona.

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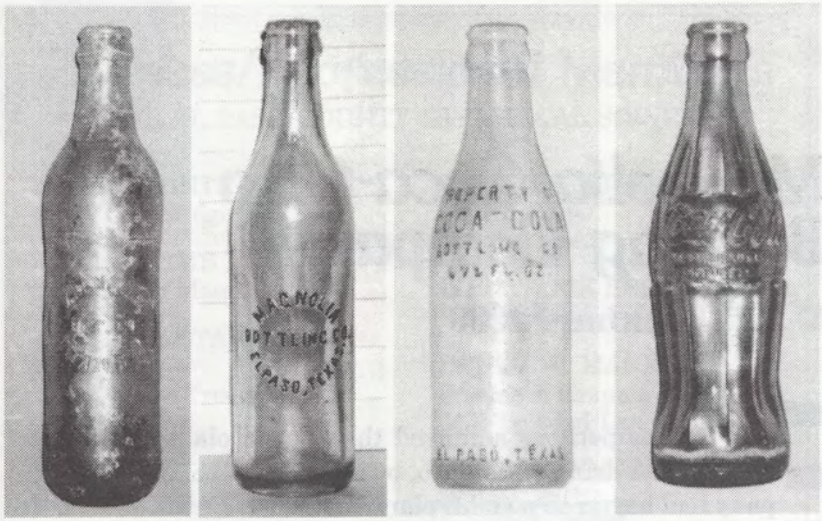
Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Company[1]

Even the competitors admitted that Coca-Cola was the most popular soft drink in El Paso, but the Magnolia Bottling Company had begun as a small plant that bottled fruit flavors. Its founder, Hope Melnotte Smith, had the insight in 1911 to buy a franchise from the best-selling, fastest-growing nonalcoholic beverage company in the United States. By doing so, he established himself permanently in El Paso and became an important business and civic leader of the city.

But Smith's story began in Jefferson, Texas, where he was born in 1883 and, as a youth, worked for an uncle, J. M. De Ware, delivering ice and laboring in the bottling plant before he moved on to seek his fortune at the age of eighteen. His exact path is unknown, but despite the inauspicious start as a bottle washer[2] for a soft drink producer, he enjoyed working in the industry and labored in bottling plants in Hattiesburg, McComb, and Greenwood, Mississippi. Smith may have gotten his start in the bottling business at the Coca-Cola Bottling Works of Greenwood which began bottling the well-known soft drink in 1904, before he moved on to Hattiesburg where he may also have worked for Coca-Cola. The Hattiesburg Coca-Cola Bottling Company began operation as a Mississippi corporation two years later, in 1906, in a rented building that was only thirty by fifty feet in size. The company sold 175 cases in its first week and deposited $80.55 in its bank account.

A second plant where Smith may have worked was the Hattiesburg Bottling Works that opened near the turn of the century. The plant, located in a two-story building on Main Street, was noted for Jarvis Celery Tonic as well as soda water. In 1907, the McComb Coca-Cola Bottling Company started business. Be-



(left to right) The first bottle style used by Magnolia from 1908–ca. 1911. These common bottles were used by Magnolia from ca. 1910–ca. 1915. These embossed bottles also used paper labels to identify the product. The famous, hobble-skirt Coke bottle, 1916–ca. 1925.

cause no other bottler has been discovered in early McComb history, this may have been the last bottling company that employed Smith prior to his move to El Paso.[3] Possibly Smith worked at any combination of the companies prior to relocating to Stamford, Texas, as the manager for the Stamford Ice and Refrigerating Company "that also operated a bottling works."[4] While at Stamford, Smith wrote a short piece of advice about carbonating water for other bottlers.[5] He finally arrived in El Paso in August of 1907.

The wandering Smith apparently arrived too late in 1907 to be included in the El Paso City Directory, as he was not listed until the following year. The city directory for 1908 lists the proprietors of the newly-formed Magnolia Bottling Company as Carl Kirchner, H. Clay Bouldin, and William S. Campbell. Although he was not one of the owners, Hope M. Smith managed the company and may have been the one responsible for its inception. With his already notable background in bottling, Smith presumably convinced the three backers that El Paso was ripe for a new soft drink company. A year later, in 1909, Magnolia became incorporated with Kirchner as the first president, Bouldin as secretary, and Smith continuing as manager. Apparently Campbell became disassociated with the firm during the incorporation proceedings as he is not mentioned after 1908. In 1909 Bouldin, too, was absent, and

Kirchner became both president and secretary. Hope Smith purchased Kirchner's share of Magnolia from Kirchner's heirs in 1912 for $10,000, a sum he borrowed, according to family tradition, from an aunt. Smith then became both president of the corporation and manager of the bottling operations. His brother, Clopton T. Smith, became secretary for the firm.[6]

Carl Kirchner was a colorful character long before he settled in El Paso. Born in Bee County, Texas, on November 19, 1867, he began his service as a Texas Ranger on May 18, 1889, and rose to the rank of first sergeant. By the time he was discharged on July 24, 1895, he had been in several gun fights and had killed an indeterminate number of men in the line of duty. He was involved in the famous gunfight on Pirate Island in 1895 when Ranger Captain Frank Jones was killed. Kirchner was also involved in the later retrieval of Jones' body. He served in west Texas, being stationed at Shafter, Marfa, Pecos, Alpine, and Ysleta, just 12 miles southeast of El Paso, before settling in El Paso after his discharge.

Although the date of purchase is unknown, Kirchner operated the Silver King Saloon from sometime after 1895 to 1905. On October 30,1899, he married Mary Beck in San Antonio and brought her home to El Paso. Kirchner was not involved in any gunfights after his retirement from the Rangers, but he carried a sidearm for the rest of his life in the belief that some of his old enemies might want revenge.[7] If Kirchner had an occupation during the next few years, he did not let the city directory know what it was, but, about the time that he became involved with Magnolia Bottling Company in 1908, he also became the agent for the San Antonio Brewery Association and Houston Ice & Brewing Company. With Magnolia's incorporation in 1909, Kirchner became president and treasurer and held those positions until his death. Carl Kirchner contracted typhus while viewing the bodies of revolutionaries in Ciudad Juárez and died on January 28, 1911.[8] He was buried in Concordia Cemetery in El Paso.

Henry Clay Bouldin, too, had come to El Paso in the 1890s and worked as a printer for the *El Paso Daily Herald* until the turn of the century when he worked briefly for the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railway before returning to printing in 1902. In 1904 he became the bookkeeper for the San Antonio Brewing Association in El Paso and continued to keep books there for

Kirchner and was an officer for Magnolia. He was listed as one of the principals in Magnolia in 1908 and as secretary in 1909 when the company incorporated, after which he disappeared from El Paso records. Like many others of his day, he was known as Henry C. prior to his elevation into bookkeeping, when he became H. Clay Bouldin.

William S. Campbell was a latecomer compared to the other two, arriving in the west Texas town in 1903. He first was a clerk for the El Paso and Southwest Railroad Company, but became a bartender the following year. In 1906 he became part owner of a saloon, known first as Campbell & Lancaster, then as Campbell & Truit in 1907. Concurrently with his saloon business, he was a driver for San Antonio Brewing Association and continued in that capacity, as well as running his saloons—two by 1908—and his position with Magnolia. By 1909, he had apparently given up Magnolia for his saloons and was thereafter recorded at Magnolia no more.[9]

The first Magnolia plant was a one-room building on the northeast corner of Main Drive and North Kansas Street where the six foot, five inch tall, 230 pound Smith mixed and bottled fruit flavors under the brand name "Hope's" for a population of 25,000 thirsty El Pasoans. The old brick building sat beside the railroad tracks and housed the foot-powered bottling machine that Smith operated by himself. He bottled beverages in the mornings and delivered the finished product from a horse drawn wagon in the afternoons. In addition to soft drinks, he distributed beer, probably Kirchner's brands from San Antonio Brewery Association and Houston Ice & Brewing Company and he worked as bartender at night.[10]

In 1911, Smith made the decision that set him on his life's path. He obtained the Coca-Cola franchise and began selling the first bottled Coke in El Paso.[11] Although hard to imagine today, people in El Paso were completely unaware of Coca-Cola in 1911—and mostly uninterested. The only way Smith could get people to try the new drink was to slip two or three bottles in a case of mixed flavors. Customers eventually sampled the new drink and liked it. Before long Coca-Cola outsold the other flavors. The popularity of the new drink caused sales to boom to 1,500 cases for the year 1911. Although small by today's standards, the increased business probably caused Smith to instigate the move to larger quarters at 921 Myrtle Avenue at the corner of Ange Street the following year.[12]

G. E. Connor recalled the days before Smith began bottling Coca-Cola. He remembered that "Coke" was then a fountain drink sold only at such places as the Elite and Pacific Ocean confectioneries. Hope Smith bottled orange, lemon, and lime crush at a small bottling works on Myrtle Street across from St. Mary's School.[13]

The company name was officially changed to Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Company in 1916 to reflect the commitment to the new product that was boosting its sales. By 1922, the young company had grown enough to purchase three new trucks to improve its delivery service. The expansion was a harbinger of things to come. Hope Smith was awarded membership in the Knights of the Golden Bottle in 1930 for cleanliness and excellence of plant operation. The presentation was "a special honor that had been awarded only four times previously."[14] Sadly, two years later, Smith bought out the interest that his brother, Clopton had in the company. Clopton, a victim of the disease of alcoholism, had become more and more of an embarrassment to the business. After several years of bailing his brother out of trouble, Smith was forced to take action. Another brother, Eugene F Smith, a sales manager for Crombie & Co., became the corporation's secretary.[15]

The stock market crash of 1929 and the following depression struck everyone a hard blow although El Paso was relatively unaffected until late in 1931, and the decrease in sales was not reflected in Magnolia's records until later. In 1931, Smith employed seventeen workers in the plant during the peak sales period and retained seven to eight of them during the slack winter months. Plant employees labored a ten-hour day, six days a week to enable seven one-ton capacity trucks to make deliveries. That year the company sold 95,473 cases of six-and-one-half-ounce bottles at seventy-eight cents per case. Just two years later, in 1933, the picture had been altered. Now the plant employed only eight workers during the highest sales month with a reduction to only four as early as October. Although the case price remained the same, sales plummeted to 65,216 cases during the year—a reduction of 31.7 per cent. Even with that drastic decrease, Coca-Cola, the most popular brand in El Paso, suffered the smallest loss. Competitors found their sales reduced by as much as 62.7 per cent! Many of the smaller bottlers could not withstand the loss and went out of business.[16]

In August 1935, Smith obtained a city building permit for $3,000 to start construction of the new Magnolia Coca-Cola plant

at 2720 East Yandell Boulevard at the corner of Birch Street. The new plant was expected to cost $20,000, but, by the time the new plant opened in September of 1936, the cost had risen to $60,000. The plant, visited by 15,000 people at its grand opening,[17] was "a modern building. . . especially designed for a bottling plant." It was tastefully landscaped—so well done that it won the commercial division of the Annual Yard and Garden contest jointly sponsored by the *Herald Post* and El Paso Garden Club.[19] Four years later, in 1940, the company built a garage and stockroom extension at an additional cost of $20,000. The architecture of the new structure conformed to that of the existing building[20] and contained sufficient additional space for forty railroad cars of bottle cases, or 96,000 cases for Coca-Cola bottles. Charles A. Goetting, the designer and builder of the structure who was also Smith's brother-in-law, described the building as "a modified and streamlined form of Pueblo architecture which has all its share of beauty combined with utility." At the same time the company installed "new filler and bottle washing equipment which will almost double present mixing and bottling capacity."[21] Concurrent with the 1936 move, Smith discontinued all other bottling, including Hope's flavors, in order to concentrate the firm's energy exclusively on Coca-Cola.[22]

During World War II, world-wide sugar shortages restricted the operation of Magnolia as well as the rest of the bottling industry. Despite the shortages, Smith planned an expansion program for the plant that was estimated at $205,000.

During World War II, world-wide sugar shortages restricted the operation of Magnolia as well as the rest of the bottling industry. Despite the shortages, Smith planned an expansion program for the plant that was estimated at $205,000. Smith remained optimistic, telling reporters, "I just can't see anything but a great future for our business in El Paso."[23] Plans included the purveying of vending machines, an industry still in its infancy. Coolers, such as wooden syrup barrels that were sawed in half and filled with ice and water, had been in use for many years prior to the addition of a coin mechanism. Many of the early machines were little more than cooling boxes with a mechanism to restrict removal of individual soft drinks until after the insertion of a coin. These

boxes were horizontal rather than the vertical configuration familiar to everyone today.

Although mechanically refrigerated coolers had been available since 1930, the Coca-Cola Company did not begin recommending the use of vending machines by its franchisers nation-wide until 1937.[24] By 1941, Magnolia had placed the then-state-of-the-art vending machines made by Mills Novelty Company of Chicago very sparingly in El Paso. Just over a year later, however, contracts with the Army, at that point escalating due to the war effort, caused the company to increase radically the placement of Coca-Cola machines at Fort Bliss.[25]

Because gasoline was rationed for war use during the early 1940s, Smith decided to try a publicity stunt. He borrowed a horse to pull an old wagon that he loaded with Cokes. He then called the newspapers and invited them to come to take a picture of how Coca-Cola was saving gas for the war effort.[26] By this time Magnolia employed between forty and fifty men and expected to provide jobs for all former employees returning from the war. The sugar shortage primarily affected the civilian population, and in June 1945, Smith delivered a message to El Paso citizens, saying that he

> regrets to inform civilian Coke drinkers that they're facing another reduction. Production of Coca-Cola for civilians has been 65 per cent of the 1941 base year, but about July 1 a 15 per cent cut will take effect, so that civilians thereafter will get only half the 1941 supply. About half of the company's output has been going to the Armed Forces. The Army quota is based on the amount of sugar the Army can provide. Each case of Coca-Cola represents 1.14 pounds of sugar.[27]

Although they had no way of knowing at the time, relief was on its way. The war would soon be over and a new boom period of prosperity would end the rationing of sugar and other staples. The company grew from six routes in 1941 to ten routes by the end of the war in 1946, and route drivers looked great in white uniforms with green pinstripes. Soon the production of carbonated beverages would reach a new high.

Thomas C. Lucky had joined the firm in 1941 at a salary of $3.00 per day. Lucky had just turned eighteen when he was hired to answer the telephone at the plant. Because he did not speak Spanish, Lucky had some problems with the job but managed to survive. He served in the navy for over three years during World

War II but returned to work for Magnolia. Because of the manpower shortage caused by the war, there had been no one available to relieve the route drivers, therefore no one had been on vacation in three years. Lucky became the route manager with specific duties to relieve routes and give the regular salesmen a hard-earned rest. The drivers got their vacations, and Lucky learned all the routes and became acquainted with all the company's customers. In 1955 he became the manager of the new Alamogordo plant, a position he held for five years. He then returned to El Paso as sales manager, then vice president, and finally as general manager of the El Paso plant in 1967. Lucky also spent a short while in the advertising section and became an integral part of the plant's operation. [28]

A loyal company man, Lucky was once informed that a tabloid had gone into print with an article claiming Coca-Cola caused cancer. Enraged at the unfounded claims, he bought all copies of the edition and burned them.

Lucky liked people, and the job with Magnolia gave him a chance to become acquainted with a variety of customers from different walks of life. A loyal company man, Lucky was once informed that a tabloid had gone into print with an article claiming Coca-Cola caused cancer. Enraged at the unfounded claims, he bought all copies of the edition and burned them. At one point, Lucky had the opportunity to buy the Seven-Up franchise but instead remained loyal to the company that had provided for him for so long. He even attempted to buy Magnolia when Milda Smith sold it in 1975 but his bid was a bit too low; he decided that he was ready for retirement instead. He had been with Magnolia for thirty-four-and-a-half years when he retired in mid-November of 1975. The decision was a wise one. Like so many other El Paso bottlers, Lucky was beset by physical ailments that included gall bladder problems in 1985, four heart bypasses performed in 1987, and an aneurism in 1995. If he had bought Magnolia, Lucky may well have joined the other El Paso bottlers whose widows followed them into the presidential chair. Lucky and his wife, Dorothy, enjoyed retirement in El Paso until his death on February 10, 1997.[29]

By the early 1950s, the bottling industry was booming, and El Paso was serving an ever increasing area. Eugene F. Smith had left the firm in 1949 leaving Hope Smith as the only family member in the corporation, now a major industry in El Paso. The *El Paso Times* boasted on April 4, 1954 that "nine beverage bottling companies located in El Paso go far to make this city the soft drink capital of the Southwest," and Magnolia was the top-selling company. The firm bottled more than 1,000,000 cases of Coca-Cola in 1953, more than six hundred times the sales of 1911 when the company first obtained its franchise. Their new, fully automatic bottling machines were capable of turning out as many as three hundred filled bottles per minute. All bottles and the crown caps used to seal them were purchased directly from the manufacturers.

The firm now employed seventy-three full-time employees and had a fleet of thirty-five cars and trucks that served El Paso, Hudspeth, and Culberson counties in Texas as well as Otero and Lincoln counties in New Mexico. The franchise continued to grow and eventually served twenty-two counties in west Texas as well as the two in New Mexico. The company maintained a warehouse in Alamogordo, New Mexico after World War II and finally opened a plant there in 1955 with Smith as chairman of the board. Magnolia sponsored more sub-bottlers in Monahans, Marfa, and, later Alpine, all of which bought syrup from the parent company in El Paso.[30]

Smith was honored for being continuously active in the bottling industry for fifty years and was happy to inform the public that Magnolia bottled only a single product—Coca-Cola. He was proud that Coca-Cola had not raised its wholesale prices. Smith told the Times "I still believe that a kid's nickel should be good for a Coca-Cola. The kid's nickel has made our business."[31]

Smith's friends described him with words like "great individual" or "man of character." Florence LaBelle, the nurse who attended Smith during the last few years of his life, called him "one of life's true noblemen."[32] The son of a Methodist minister, he loved people. Although businesses are usually run on contracts, Smith believed in handshake deals. He was noted as a man who always kept his word, and his employees felt he was a good man to work for.[33] Perhaps his greatest public tribute came from W. W. Bridges in the *El Paso Herald Post:*

> Among these [splendid people] is Hope Smith, a blunt man of no pretensions but of wonderful deeds. No seeker after glorification of any sort, not pompiousness [sic], not rich but fair and honest and always steadfast, he has made his way among us as a friend of every right principle and foe of every wrong. To live and let live, I would say, is consciously or unconsciously his method of life. He has never touched anything that was sordid, has taken undue advantage of no man, is a builder, a helper, and a model citizen.[34]

Smith loved people, especially children, and would spend thousands of dollars on Christmas decorations every year, always including Santa Claus, sleigh, and reindeer for the Yandell plant. One year he even had a revolving Santa shipped in from New York. The animated Yuletide figure had a recorded voice that greeted passers-by. Smith always started preparation on first of December, and carloads of kids would come by to see the display. The experience made such a big impression on the children that many of them, now adults, still recall the episode. For the Christmas of 1941, plant employees went to Cloudcroft and cut a forty-foot Christmas tree. It took Tom Lucky and other employees until 10:00 o'clock that night to finish decorating the tree. Lucky recalled that "we couldn't get done fast enough to suit him [Smith]."[35]

Competitors respected Smith but called him "tough competition." For years he kept the price of Coke at 80¢ per case—when others were practically pleading for a price increase.[36] Other bottlers had frequent meetings to discuss important issues of the trade, topics such as when and how much to raise the deposit on bottles. Smith remained aloof from the meetings. At the same time, he kept an eye on the competition. He used to frequent the Haufbrau, where he would set up the drinks for the patrons while carefully positioning himself where he could watch the Barq's trucks unloading across the street and get an idea of how well his competitor was selling. Sometimes people took advantage of Smith's well-known generosity.[37] Employees and probably others tried to guess what bar Smith might visit in order to take advantage of the free drinks he always offered.[38]

He was active in El Paso business outside the beverage industry as well as in civic affairs. He was a director of the State National Bank of El Paso, an officer in the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Company of Alamogordo, New Mexico, and even a volunteer fireman. He was a member of the Elks and Kiwanis Lodges and was active in St. Clement's

Episcopal Church. Smith was a 32nd degree Scottish Rite Mason, a participant at El Maida Shrine, and a member of the Pioneer Association. If civic involvement were not enough, Smith was an anonymous philanthropist, making contributions to the Red Cross, El Paso General Hospital which is now R. E. Thomason General Hospital, Providence Hospital, and other worthy organizations in El Paso.

Smith had married late in life. In 1918, when he was thirty-five, he met and wed Milda Connelly, a union that lasted the rest of Smith's life. Smith suffered a long illness in 1959 and finally died in the hospital on November 27th. The couple had no children, and Milda Smith became president of Magnolia upon Smith's death, with W. Frank Smith as vice president.[39] Hope and Milda Smith had discussed the operation of Magnolia throughout their marriage, so the transition to the chief executive role was an easy one for her to make. She knew the business well and was described as "a great lady... friendly, outgoing... full of stories." She trusted her employees and truly enjoyed working with them. She would get so excited after sales meetings that she would "drive ninety miles an hour" while talking to her terrified executives. The officials became so alarmed that there was practically a stampede at the end of meetings to beat Mrs. Smith to the steering wheel.[40]

Despite—or maybe because of—her antics behind the wheel, the company flourished under the control of Milda Smith. On July 15, 1966, Magnolia built a new $200,000 warehouse with 22,000 square feet of storage space. The new facility was designed by

Tom Lucky in the center and Hope Smith on the right, circa 1950; others unknown.

Nesmith-Lane & Associates to accommodate both empty cases and full cases of bottled product. Built by Croom Construction Company, the opening ceremonies were officiated by Mayor Judson Williams who fittingly "christen[ed] the building with a bottle of Coca-Cola."[41]

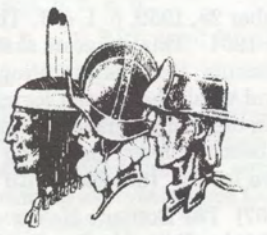
Magnolia was respected by its competitors on both sides of the Rio Grande and generally kept up good relations with them all. Friendly feelings became strained, however, when Tom Lucky noticed just how much business was going across the river into Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Because Mexican wages were lower, the Mexican Coca-Cola dealers were selling Coke at a lower price. In an attempt to regain some of the lost revenue, Plant Manager W. Frank Smith, had erected a billboard readable from the bridge entering Juárez. It warned travelers who were driving in that direction that Magnolia Coca-Cola used better materials and cleaner processes in bottling than were practiced by plants in Juárez. The Juárez Coca-Cola manager became angry and ceased friendly relations with Magnolia. A few years later, when the sign came down, Lucky was able to reestablish a closer relationship with his Mexican counterparts.[42]

Forrest M. Smith, Hope's youngest brother, joined the company as vice president in 1972 and became executive vice president when Mrs. Smith died on May 28, 1973 at nearly ninety years of age. Forest retained the position of executive vice president until November 1975 when the family sold the firm to the Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Fort Worth. Forrest Smith was replaced by J. Mike Bates the following year as the Fort Worth firm prepared for another move. The magnificent building of earlier years was no longer sufficient to service the 400,000 people that now lived in the growing metropolis of El Paso. In June 1977 Magnolia opened a new plant at 11001 Gateway West near Lomaland Drive.[43] The *Times* proudly proclaimed that "the new plant is approximately 180 times as large as its pioneer predecessor. . . . In 1911 the plant here used four barrels of syrup. Today that four barrels would only be sufficient for about ten minutes of production time."[44] The new facility included a second bottle line and the first can production line in El Paso under its 200,000 square feet of space. By this time the five cent bottle was a thing of the past: cans and bottles from

vending machines then cost twenty-five cents each, although 85 per cent of sales were still in returnable bottles.

Coca-Cola had traditionally been a believer in the idea that a one-size, one-product format would insure better service to the customer. The home office began diversifying that policy in 1955 with the introduction of ten-, twelve-, sixteen-, and twenty-six-ounce bottles to supplement their familiar old standby, the six-and-one-half-ounce returnable container. They added Fanta and Sprite in 1960, followed shortly by Tab. Six years later Fresca joined the product line.[45] In 1980, Swire acquired Magnolia and placed Sam Dell'Olio in the leadership role. One of Dell'Olio's first official acts was to purchase the Dr. Pepper Bottling Co. of El Paso from Joe W. "Dub" Yowell in May 1980. Although the actual plant was excluded from the agreement, Magnolia acquired the bottling rights for Dr. Pepper and the firm's other brands, Big Red, Lipton Tea, Dad's Root Beer, and Squirt, giving Magnolia control of sixty per cent of the carbonated beverage bottling business in El Paso. The new owner continued to employ twelve of the eighteen former employees of the Dr Pepper Company.[46]

The Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Company has changed ownership twice since Sam Dell'Olio signed the agreement to buy Dr Pepper. American European Associates (A.E.A.) purchased the company in 1983 with Peter Dixon as manager, then sold the firm to the Wolslager family in 1988. The Wolslagers have owned bottling companies throughout Texas and New Mexico and currently retain ownership with J. W. Wolslager, Jr. as chairman of the board of directors in El Paso. In 2000, the plant remains at 11001 Gateway West, and the Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Company is the only distributor in El Paso that currently bottles its own drinks.



WILLIAM W. "BILL" LOCKHART is an archaeologist who lives in Alamogordo, New Mexico. He graduated summa cum laude from the University of Texas at El Paso for both his Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees. He has taught at the University of Texas at El Paso, Park College, New Mexico State University, and El Paso Community College and is presently a member of the faculty at New Mexico State University in Alamogordo. He has researched extensively and has published in *Password,* in *Artifact,* and in other publications. His article "Casa Ronquillo in San Elizario" earned the prize as the best article in Volume 41 of *Password.*

Bill Lockhart states that this article was published on the Internet through the Townsend Library, New Mexico State University at Alamogordo. Because many of our readers, we feel, may not be devotees of the Internet, we feel that this article is an integral part of the "Bottle" series that we have been publishing. The URL for the book is http://alamo.nmsu.edu/~lockhart/EPSodas/indes.html.

NOTES

1. See also Bill Lockhart & Wanda Olszewski, *The El Paso Coliseum Collection: A Study of 20th Century Bottles,* El Paso, County of El Paso and University of Texas at El Paso, 1993, 76-77.
2. *El Paso Herald Post,* April 20, 1931, p. 1, c. 5. According to Jack Moranz, who presumably had interviewed Smith, Hope began his bottle-washing career at the age of eight. The early age suggests he washed bottles for his uncle, De Ware, in Jefferson.
3. Manuscript written by Thomas C. Lucky and Smith's relatives, ca. July, 1979; McComb Chamber of Commerce, *McComb, 1924-1925,* McComb, Miss. McComb Chamber of Commerce, 1925, 32; Kenneth G. McCarty, *Hattiesburg: A Pictorial History,* Jackson, University Press of Mississippi, 1982, 39; Cecil Munsey, *The Illustrated Guide to the Collectibles of Coca-Cola* New York, Hawthorn Books, 1972, 303; *Hattiesburg American* August 20, 1981; EPT November 28, 1959, p. 1, c. 2, June 28, 1977, sec. G, p. 13, c. 1; and the *El Paso Herald Post* November 27, 1959, p. 1, c. 6. The Coca-Cola connection would have been an obvious one: in 1894, Joseph A. Bledenharn of Vicksburg, Mississippi, was the first to bottle Coca-Cola. Prior to that date, Coca-Cola was only available as a fountain drink. Mississippi rapidly became the hot-spot for Coca-Cola sales. His bottle-washing days, however, if in his teens, could not have been for any of the Mississippi Coca-Cola plants. Smith would have turned twenty in 1903, a year too soon for the earliest plant in the cities where Smith was reported to have worked.
4. *El Paso Times,* November 28, 1959, p. 1, c. 6. The *Times* claims that Smith moved to Stamford in 1904. This suggests that the move may have been prior to his life in Mississippi. If so, his migrations were not linear; Stamford is west of Jefferson and would have been logically in line with a move to El Paso, rather than an eastern reversal to Mississippi. Alternatively, the date of 1904 may have been incorrect. According to Thomas C. Lucky, Smith worked at the Stamford Ice Co. Interview with Thomas C., June 11, 1991.
5. Blumenthal, M.L. [1907] *The Bottler's Helper: A Practical Encyclopaedia for the Bottler of Soft Drinks.* Edited by Ron Fowler. (Seattle: Dolphin Point Writing Words, 1988).

6. Lucky interview; El Paso City Directories (hereafter cited as EPCD), 1908-1912; Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Co., "The History of Coca-Cola," unpublished manuscript distributed to employees; *EPHP* November 27,1959, p. 1, c. 6; *EPT* November 28,1959, p. 1, c. 2. The *Times,* June 28, 1977, sec. G, p. 13, c. 1, claims that the company was named for the Magnolia trees of Hope's East Texas youth.
7. Robert W. Stephens, *Texas Ranger Sketches,* Dallas, Privately published, 1972, 77-78.
8. Stephens, 80; EPCD 1888-1912.
9. EPCD 1888-1912.
10. Lucky interview.
11. Although the *El Paso Herald Post,* November 27,1959, and the *El Paso Times,* November 28,1959, place the franchise date at 1912, other editions, e.g. *EPT* April 25, 1954; June 28, 1977; *EPHP* January 1, 1968 set the date at 1911. The earlier date is confirmed by Munsey, 309. El Paso City Directories first list Magnolia Bottling Company in 1908. Beginning in 1912, the firm is listed twice, once as Magnolia, and again as the Coca-Cola Bottling Company.
12. Lucky interview.
13. G. E. Connor, "Telling It Like It Was." *Password* 25(2):71-75 (1980), 72. Connor apparently confuses two events. Magnolia received the Coca-Cola franchise in 1911, a year before the move to Myrtle. At the time prior to the bottling of Coke, Smith was still at Kansas and Main. Smith bottled three different flavors later on, but he did not call them "crush." Connor was confusing two different products. Orange Crush was introduced in 1916. The two crush flavors, Orange Crush and Lemon Crush were not offered in El Paso until 1919 by Tri-State Beverage Company (1919-1923).
14. EPCD 1916, 1932-1933; *El Paso Evening Post* December 15, 1930, p. 10, c. 2; *EPT* June 28, 1977, sec. G, p. 13, c. 1.
15. Lucky interview; EPCD 1932-1933. E. F. Smith may not have taken an active part in the corporation as he continued to work for Crombie & Co.
16. United States Census of Manufactures, 1931 and 1933.
17. *EPT* August 14, 1935, p. 1, c. 6; April 17, 1936, p. 14, c. 1; September 19, 1936, p. 9, c. 4; EPCD. After the opening, Magnolia may have continued to use the old building for a while. City Directories do not confirm the move to Yandell until 1938.
18. *EPT* June 28, 1977, sec. G, p. 13, c. 1.
19. *EPHP* November 18, 1938, p. 5, c. 5.
20. *EPHP* April 30, 1940, p 2, c. 1; *EPT* April 30, 1940, p. 7, c.8.
21. *EPT* October 7, 1940, p. 10, c. 2.
22. *EPT* November 28, 1959, p. 1, c. 2. The timing of the discontinuance is interesting. The previous year, 1935, Woodlawn Bottling Co. obtained the Pepsi-Cola franchise and provided the first serious competition to Coke. Smith may have discontinued everything but Coke in an attempt to drive the new competitor out of business.
23. *EPHP* June 14, 1945, p. 7, c. 1.

24. Woodroof & Phillips, 342-343.
25. Lucky interview.
26. Lucky interview.
27. *EPHP* June 14, 1945, p. 7, c. 1.
28. Lucky interview.
29. Lucky interview.
30. Lucky interview; *EPT* April 5, 1953, sec. B, p. 13, c. 4; April 25, 1954, sec. E, p. 11, c. 2; November 28, 1959, p. 1, c. 2; *EPHP* April 24, 1954, p. 39, c. 1.
31. *EPT* April 5,1953, sec. B, p. 13, c. 4.
32. Undated handwritten letter from Florence LaBelle.
33. Lucky interview.
34. *EPHP* September 22, 1936, p. 4, c. 4.
35. Lucky interview.
36. Woodroof, Jasper Guy and G. Frank Phillips, *Beverages, Carbonated and Uncarbonated.* (Westport, Ct.:AVI Publishing Co., 1974) 339-341, state that the 10¢ soft drink became the industry standard in 1964, replacing the 5¢ beverage that had been the norm for so many years.
37. Lucky interview.
38. Interview with Kenneth Josselyn, December 20, 1997.
39. Manuscript written by Thomas Lucky and Smith's relatives, ca. July, 1979; Letter from Mrs. Walter L. Wulfjen July 7, 1979—an attempt to place Smith in El Paso Hall of Fame; EPCD 1960; *EPHP* November 27, 1959, p. 1, c. 6; January 1, 1968; *EPT* November 28, 1959, p. 1, c. 2.
40. Manuscript written by Thomas Lucky and Smith's relatives, ca. July, 1979; Letter from Mrs. Walter L. Wulfjen July 7, 1979 in an attempt to place Smith in El Paso Hall of Fame; EPCD 1960; *EPHP* November 27, 1959, p. 1, c. 6; January 1, 1968; *EPT* November 28, 1959, p. 1, c. 2.
41. Blurb written for newspaper by W. Frank Smith, July 15, 1966.
42. Lucky interview.
43. EPCD 1972-1976; *EPT* May 30, 1973, p. A8, c. 2; June 28, 1977, sec. G, p. 13, c. 1.
44. A reference to the one-room structure Hope originally used as a bottling plant in 1907 when El Paso's population was only 25,000. *EPT* June 28, 1977, sec. G, p. 13, c. 1.
45. Munsey, 60.
46. EPCD 1980; *EPT* May 1, 1980, sec B, p. 1, c. 1.

Do You Remember This?

By Dinny Breese

Does anyone remember the sweet long days of summer?
The spring; the frantic end-of-school days.
1929—not yet realizing that the world was crumbling—
1930 and 1931.
Before the reality of the Great Depression hit us.
Before the families were torn apart.
Before we saw the hungry and the desperate.
Before we saw the hoboes on trains and on the road,
the miseries in the streets.
The movies were one salvation, if you could "wrassle"
up a dime.
Washington Park and Memorial Park swimming pools.
The Plaza Theatre. The Ellanay, and the Wigwam.
And Louie Onick in the Del Norte who usually managed
a great dollop of ice cream after the movie—gratis!
And so many other-things.

Perhaps I have joggled your memory.

There were two dance studios in the old days—circa the early thirties. Each had a different "rhythm," an off beat, and variant meanings.

The first to be established was the Martha and Joe Esquivel Studio of Le Ballet.

Martha was the daughter of an old don from Mexico who was a stern father and did not understand The Dance—who forbade his daughter to have anything to do with theatrics. Of course it did him no good—Martha fled the household with one Joe Hahn, whose antecedents I do not know. I do, however, know that he was a fine man, and a wonderful dancer. He was renown for his acrobatic performances. He danced barefoot on his toes—considered a

remarkable achievement. No other artist is known to have equaled this feat. Martha was small for a danseuse, but very like the great one, Pavlova, in demeanor and performance. They joined the Chicago Ballet and became the stars of this organization. For some reason unknown to me they left Chicago and started their studio in El Paso.

My mother was a firm believer in "finishing" one's daughters, so my sister and I took many lessons—piano, equitation, tennis, swimming, golf, art, elocution, the ballet, French, and who knows what else. Our time after school was spent going back and forth to these various studies, and our Saturdays were filled. We did go to the movies every Saturday and probably learned more there than any other place.

We were duly enrolled in Le Dance. Oh boy, the gallivanting about the floor was loud—shattering as the girls stomped about on their toes. Of course there were many lessons before we graduated to that high calling, on our toes.

Perhaps we did learn something, and a certain amount of grace was apparent in our posture and our walk. And I especially worked very hard. I aspired to dance Swan Lake at the Metropolitan. I was tone deaf so I probably would never have made it.

Then upon the horizon loomed a threat. A new dance studio opened. Its owner and teacher, one Karma Dean, was the antithesis to Martha and Joe. She was effervescent, bold, and bouncy. She taught tap dancing at first and then expanded to acrobatic dancing and ballroom. This latter "device" "caught" many of the boys—not that they liked it, but they needed the rough edges honed and softened.

I did not get to go to Karma Dean's. There was a lot of plain old fashioned jealousy between the two schools, and in some quarters, the Karma Dean's was considered not quite "top-drawer."

I am not saying I agreed. I began to hate all dancing schools and pined to go to the dances that Karma Dean arranged. But, for the moment, it was not to be.

At the end of the school year the recitals were held, all jammed up—music, dance, and whatever. Parents were kept busy going from one to another. Some of the fathers—most of them—arranged business trips at that time.

My last year I worked really hard. I was determined to be one of the headliners for our recital. For some reason both Joe and Martha liked me, I was sort of a pet, and not loved by other students. So, guess what! I was to star in the finale.

This ensemble was planned meticulously. It was named "The Dance of the Jewels," and was complicated and intricate. The music chosen was The Blue Danube and was choreographed by Joe Hahn. It was a noble effort. There were eight dancers, chosen from the best students. Four held corners of a large diaphanous cloth, aqua in color, to represent the river; billowing swinging, rising up and down creating a feeling of a flowing river as they danced. The other four, meanwhile, pirouetted about. The most difficult part came when the dancers changed places—but it came off without a hitch.

Joe and Martha chose the Texas Grand theater as the locale for this mighty endeavor. A landmark on Texas Street and the scene of many road shows, it was considered by many to be very elegant for its time, but the dressing rooms in the Texas Grand could not be called elegant, luxurious, sumptuous, or anything even remotely pleasant. They were very, very bad.

The first part of the program featured most of the younger dancers and it went off reasonably well. There were some mistakes, the worst one being the young dancer who kept dancing long after the music stopped. I think she was mesmerized by the lights and frozen. She could not stop. Martha hissed from back stage, and the child finally wobbled off.

In the mean time, we were busy putting on our coats of paint, for we did have to apply paint—to approximate the Jewels! The colors were lovely jewel tones but difficult to apply. We were warned that the paint was poisonous and should be showered off immediately after our performance. This hint of danger was perfect. We should be commended for taking this risk for the sake of ART!

The lights dimmed, the lovely tones of The Blue Danube wafted over the stage—the lights came up, the scene was applauded, and we began our well rehearsed dance. Amazingly it came off without a hitch. Perfect from beginning to end, with the exception of the star, me, who did not twirl but stayed rooted to her spot for at least a minute, and again Martha was heard from back stage, hissing, "Virginia." Oh boy, I finally caught up with the music and thenceforth performed flawlessly. It was a close thing.

Wild applause, curtain calls, and then the magic night was over. A brief foot note—there were no showers in the building and no water. We were rushed to our respective homes to get the darned paint off. There was a dance that night and I made it there for the last number, but I was walking in tall cotton the rest of the week. Then back to earth, and finals.

But this is not the end of the story. Martha and Joe had an offer to dance with the San Francisco ballet and soon left El Paso. Then my world was ruined—for a day—until mother said "Would you like to go to Karma Dean's summer session?"

What fun! All my friends were going, and even if I was leaving that fall for Bishop's School in La Jolla, I would have the summer at Karma Dean's.

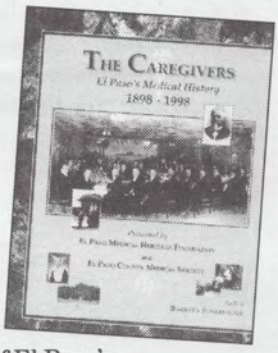
Magic youth in those days. We played in the park on summer nights, listening to the band concerts and dancing to the music, dodging mosquitos, as we wove about. I remember looking back to the house and seeing the reassuring glow of my daddy's cigar. We twirled faster even though the music did not keep up with us. Then when the concert was over we ran to the house and mother always had ice cream and cake and lemonade.

Truly blessed were those summer days and I am thankful for them.

VIRGINIA "DINNY" LUCKETT BREESE was born in El Paso and attended El Paso School for Girls, which later became Radford School. She graduated from El Paso High School at the age of sixteen in 1934. Her father was a merchant and banker who spent most of his business life in Mexico. Ms. Breese's grandfather was Sam Winkler who was a judge of the First Court of Appeals of Texas. Ms. Breese attended the University of Arizona and George Washington University. During World War II she participated in the building of Deming Air Base. She later married Edward W. "Pete" Breese to whom she was married for fifty-one years. The Breese family bought a ranch in the Ruidoso Valley where they lived for fifteen years before they returned to El Paso. They had four children, the oldest of whom passed away quite young. She has two daughters who live away from El Paso and her son is the well known El Paso chef, Peronneau Breese. She was a member of many civic and social organizations and was at one time the president of the Comadres. She devotes her time now to painting in oils and to copper enameling, and now resides in Hawaii.

Book Reviews

THE CAREGIVERS: EL PASO'S MEDICAL HISTORY, 1898-1998. Presented by El Paso Medical Heritage Foundation and El Paso County Medical Society. Written by Barbara Funkhouser. El Paso: Sundance Press, Inc., 1999. 280 PP. + Index. $50.00; Limited edition $100.00.



In the life cycle of an emerging town or village, an important factor that often determines whether that town or village continues to grow and eventually become a city, is the arrival of professionals—the lawyers, businessmen, and doctors.

The Caregivers celebrates the centennial of the establishment of the El Paso County Medical Society. Using interviews, past articles from *Password,* reminiscences, and other accounts, Mrs. Funkhouser and others present an overview of El Paso's medical history as seen through the history of the Medical Society and its Woman's Auxiliary.

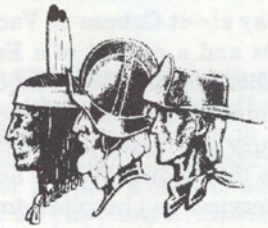
The history of medicine and medical practitioners in the El Paso area follows the same patterns of settlement and conquest that divide local history—from the early native settlers to the Spanish missionaries and presidial officers, the Anglo-American arrival, and the development of El Paso north of the Rio Grande after the war with Mexico. With the exception of a short essay about Cabeza de Vaca's self-described medical treatments of the 1530s and a reprint of a Eugene Porter article from *Password* about the medical history of the conquest, the Spanish-Mexican period is not really examined here. Instead, the major focus is on the late 19th to early 20th Century and then, it examines for the most part, those doctors who belonged to the Medical Society and their significant role in bringing vital medical services and hospitals to the area. There are short biographies of the doctors who arrived before the creation of the Medical Society—men such as Dr. Yandell, Dr. Vilas, and Dr. Schuster. Essays discuss El Paso's evolution as a treatment center for tuberculosis as well as the arrival of doctors to treat employees of the smelter. There is a good description of the role that the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul played in the evolution of what became Hotel Dieu Hospital. Indeed, there is a short history of all the major hospitals of the county—including some which no longer exist. But the bulk of the material deals

with the Medical Society itself, its leaders, the woman's auxiliary, and the role they played in El Paso's growth as a center for medicine.

The Caregivers is a "coffee-table" sized book and is profusely illustrated. Here you will find what I think is it's other major asset—there are photos of many of the doctors and the members of the woman's auxiliary, yes, but also old photos of hospitals and of old medical equipment. All the photography is black and white but I think that adds to the character of the book.

In sum, if you are looking for a history of medicine in the El Paso area, this is not that book. This is a book that focuses extensively on the El Paso County Medical Society and its Woman's Auxiliary. But, if you are searching for a place to begin investigating that history and, particularly, for photos to illustrate that story, this is the place to begin.

Mr. Richard Baquera, History
El Paso Community College



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