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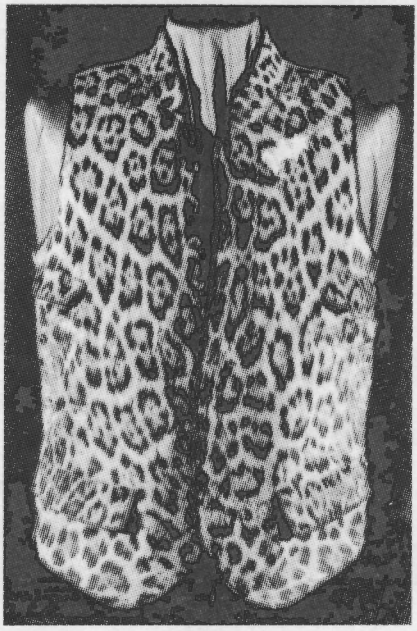

Jaguar vest made for Sam Houston.
See article page 165.

Credits for Hall of Honor material: The material for the two Hall of Honor documents was provided by the original nominators, members of the El Paso County Historical Society, the personnel of the Research Center at the Burges House, and Lynn Sanchez at the El Paso County Law Library.

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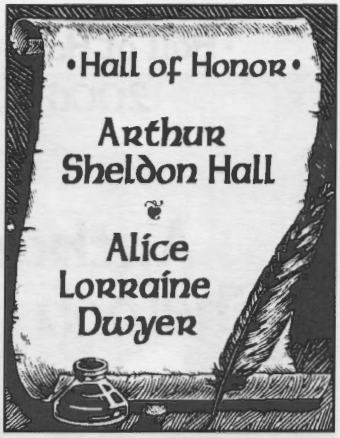
• Hall of Honor •
2006

Hall of Honor



Since 1961 the El Paso County Historical Society has chosen two recipients who are inducted into the Society's Hall of Honor, one living and the other deceased. The criteria for selection is that they shall be outstanding men and women of character, vision, courage, and creative spirit who have lived in El Paso County. Among them are those who have consistently done the unusual which deserves to be written or recorded, or who have created that which deserved to be read, heard, or seen, and who have made El Paso better for their having lived in it. Also treasured are El Pasoans who have influenced the course of history of El Paso County or have brought honor and recognition to El Paso.

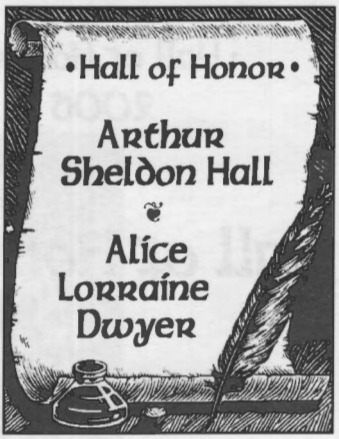
Among those who were honored and who received their award in person were Chris P. Fox, Jean Carl Hertzog, Eugene O. Porter, José Cisneros, Tom Lea, Abraham Chavez, Jr., Manuel Acosta, William I. Latham, Karl O. Wyler, Gertrude Goodman, Charles Leavell, Dr. Louis W. Breck, and Richard C. White. In recent years the Society has honored Myrna Deckert, Peter deWetter, Ellis O. Mayfield, Dr. Diana Natalicio, Richard W. Mithoff, Woody Hunt, Roy T. Chapman, Frank W. Gorman, Adair Margo and Jane Burges Perrenot.

There have been many more honorees over the years and a complete list can be found in the Yearbook of the Society.

This year, the Society chose to honor Arthur Sheldon Hall and Alice Lorraine Dwyer.

• Hall of Honor •
2006

Arthur Sheldon Hall



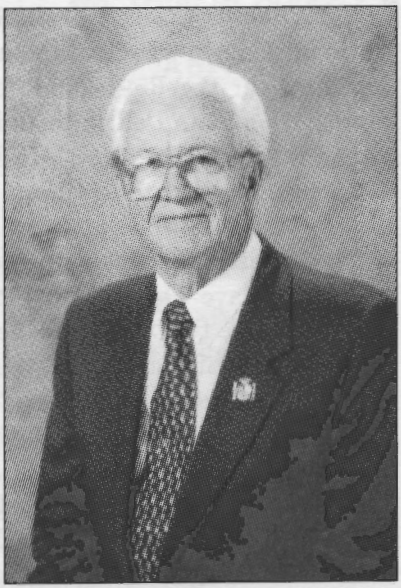
An agent for change and preservation—those words describe Sheldon Hall who was inducted into the 2006 Hall of Honor of the El Paso County Historical Society. He is responsible for so much—history, culture, and even convenience, for it was his persistence and hard work that gave us the "right turn on red" law.

His passion for history led to a life of historical preservation that has made El Paso famous for more than gun fights. He was the founder and life member of the Mission Trail Association and arranged for the program which designed plans for the restoration of the Presidio at San Elizario and the Socorro Mission. Governor Bush appointed him to the chairmanship of the Quadricentennial Commission which donated $50,000 to initiate the restoration of the Socorro Mission.

Sheldon brought national and international celebrity to El Paso when he led a group of Conquistadores to Plymouth, Massachusetts, traditionally the home of the first Thanksgiving in 1620. They made the trip in order to declare that the history was not accurate—that El Paso was the REAL site of the first Thanksgiving in the year 1598. The vision of Conquistadores in full regalia marching around the ornate portico under which lies Plymouth Rock is most fascinating!

Born in Columbus, Ohio, in 1917, he attended Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. During his college years, Sheldon captained the 1938 state championship cross-country team and was an active member of Sigma Chi Fraternity. He graduated from Miami University with a bachelor of science degree in industrial management.

In 1941 he enlisted in the United States Army Corps and served as a test pilot at Wright Field. He was also commander of training for a dive bombing squadron in Brazil. Discharged from the service in 1945, he founded Blair Hall Company which specialized in building commercial buildings. Marriage and a family also occupied his time as did the many boards and charitable organizations of which he was a part. He also became involved with historical groups.



Arthur Sheldon Hall

Sheldon has served many charitable, historical, and health-related groups. He has served as president and chairman of many boards of directors including the Salvation Army, American Heart Association, and the El Paso Cancer Treatment Center and has served on the Texas Historical Commission. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Mended Hearts Club and the Stroke Club. There are now programs which offer blood pressure screening and CPR education to the general public which owe their existence to Sheldon Hall's work.

Our ability to "turn right on red" which saves gasoline and time is the product of Sheldon's work. He worked for three years to convince the state legislature to enact the law. His campaign to have street numbers prominently displayed on houses and places of business seems to have taken hold, at least in El Paso. He is also behind the campaign to have the name "Lower Valley" changed to "Mission Valley" and indeed, little by little, "Mission Valley" is being used more often.

History seems to be his preeminent passion. He is a founder and life member of the Mission Trail Association, and as such arranged for John White, professor of architecuture at Texas Tech, to have students design plans for the restoration of two of our "icons," the Mission at Socorro and the Presidio Chapel at San Elizario.

Probably the mission which earned for him not only local but national renown was his campaign to have the thanksgiving celebration near the Rio Grande celebrated as the FIRST Thanksgiving. Don Juan De Oñate and his followers did indeed celebrate a thanksgiving in 1598—fully twenty-two years before the "Pilgrims" invited the Indians to their celebratory feast on the shores of the Atlantic at what is now Plymouth, Massachusetts. Sheldon has made this so obvious that surely writers of history textbooks have had to revise their thinking. To enlighten the remainder of the nation he led a group of "Conquistadors" to Plymouth during a thanksgiving celebration to emphasize that the Texas "First Thanksgiving" is the legitimate one!

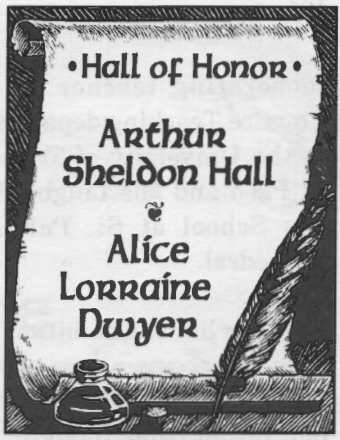
He holds membership in the El Paso Historical Alliance, the Sons of the Colonial Wars, the Sons of the American Revolution, and *Los Caballeros de Oñate* of which he serves as president. It is through his affiliation with this group that he has been instrumental in bringing artistic and historical groups to El Paso for the *Siglo de Oro* festivals at the Chamizal Memorial. Sheldon has received many honors in Spain as well as in Texas. As a member of the *Granaderos de Gálvez* he has had several audiences with King Juan Carlos of Spain and was awarded the *Cruz de Caballero de la Orden de Isabel la Catolica* by his majesty. He was also named *Académico de Mérito* by *Academia Balear de la Historia* in Spain. In 2005, Sheldon received *El Adelantado* Award in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Working with Leon Metz and others, Sheldon was a driving force in the selection of don Juan de Oñate as one of the Twelve Travelers whose statues are and will be erected in El Paso.

Having contributed his work and talent to many of the charitable and health-connected organizations in the area as well as most of the historical organizations, the influence of Sheldon Hall will be seen and felt for many years. El Paso history and indeed the history of the entire area would be much poorer without the leadership, guidance, and the vision of Arthur Sheldon Hall.

• Hall of Honor •
2006

Alice Lorraine Dwyer



Alice Dwyer was a pioneer as were her ancestors—the French, Flores, Magoffin, Stephenson, Nordstrom, Bermudez, and Ascarate families. She was one of the first Hispanic female attorneys in El Paso when the profession of law was dominated by men.

She married in 1952 and went to Paris with her husband, Dr. James Cardwell Harvey, who was a Fulbright scholar studying at the University of Paris, Sorbonne. Studying for a doctoral degree in history and government, she also studied German, Spanish, and French as well as studying French civilization at the National Library in Paris. She was working on her doctorate when her advisor died. She then worked assisting her husband to complete his doctorate.

Dr. Harvey accepted a position with the Pan American University in McAllen Texas where, during her pregnancy, Alice contracted rheumatic fever. The family returned to El Paso because Alice was confined to Hotel Dieu for nine months while baby Nancy was cared for by family members. Fortunately both she and the baby survived and that baby is now Dr. Nancy Harvey, a prominent local veterinarian.

Upon recovery, Alice fell into the pattern that many women followed in those days when women became nurses, secretaries, or teachers. Alice entered the field of education. She worked at many positions in the El Paso Independent School District. She taught many history courses and all related social studies subjects, assisted in summer workshops for the complete revision of the social studies program, and served as chairperson for the social studies department at El Paso High School. She served as a

cooperating teacher in the Practice Teaching department at the University of Texas at El Paso and she taught Sunday School at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Alice Lorraine Dwyer

Her lifelong ambition had been to become a lawyer, but had not been encouraged by her father who thought the more "traditional" women's roles were more suitable. After he died, she felt free to pursue her goal. She entered Southern Methodist University School of Law from which she graduated in 1970 after she endured another round of setbacks and difficulties.

She worked in the offices of Sib Abraham then Gus Rallis and then had her own practice for two years. Deciding that she needed "a predictable income," Alice then worked for El Paso Natural Gas in contracts and administration. Although she retired in 1990, she became associated in practice with her brother Pat Dwyer, then with her other brother Sam Dwyer. She helped Sam close his practice when he fell ill.

Alice Dwyer was a devoted mother, scholar, teacher, and lawyer. She competed in what had been a man's world. She was a role-model who opened doors for the many professional women who followed her lead.

El Tigre: The Jaguar in the Southwest Borderlands

By Dan Scurlock

The cry, *El Tigre*!, the jaguar, which in the past brought fear to ranchers and other residents of the Southwest and New Mexico has rarely been heard in recent decades. Stories of man-eating "tigers" and individual animals which killed livestock for "entertainment" fostered this reaction in human residents living in the region during the historic period [AD 1600 to the present]. In truth, there are no substantiated cases of man-eating jaguars, and predation on livestock similarly occurred because of the reduction of native prey populations or because of advanced age or injury which hindered an animal's hunting ability. Nevertheless, the erroneous beliefs about this big cat led to relentless hunting, trapping, and poisoning from the mid-1800s to the 1980s in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas in the United States, and Chihuahua and Sonora in northern Mexico.

Human fear of jaguars was a result of their deep, chesty roar, which not only startles nearby humans, but other creatures as well. The mountain lion and other New World wild cats produce no such roar; the African lion, leopard, and true tiger are the only other cats that do make this deep roar. *Tigres* also make a hoarse coughing sound known to zoologists or mammologists as caterwauling, either to attract females or to keep other males out of their territory.[1]

Fossils of jaguar remains dating from before the last ice age, more than 10,000 years ago, have been found across the southern half of the United States, especially in the Southwest. These animals were much larger than the jaguar of modern times and had

longer legs. Studies of these and much more recent physical remains revealed that this species is the largest wild cat in North or South America, with males weighing 140 to 250 pounds. Similar in appearance to the African leopard, the jaguar has a stouter body, heavier chest, and more muscular forelegs than its African cousin. Some of its "spots" are broken rings, or rosettes, on the back and flanks. In addition, the tail is shorter and more tapered because it does not need its tail to aid in climbing trees. From tail tip to the nose, *El Tigre's* length ranges from six to nine feet.[2]

The earliest name used by a European in the New World for this animal was actually *pantera,* panther, applied by Amerigo Vespucci during his 1500 exploration of Venezuela. The name *Tigre* came from later Spanish-speakers in Latin America who thought the animal generally resembled the tigers of Asia. Still, another early historic name was *leopardo,* or leopard—another wild cat, more familiar to other early Europeans such as Coronado and Juan de Oñate who first encountered jaguars in the Southwest. The word jaguar was derived from a word used by a group of Indians in the Amazon Basin, meaning roughly "an animal which overcomes its prey with a single leap." This name was generally applied by non-Hispanics in the historic period, and it remains the dominant name in the region today.[3]

Recently, taxonomists changed the animal's early scientific name to the genus *Panthera.* Its former name was *felis,* Latin for the genus cats; the specific name *onca* was derived from the old romance language words *lonce* in French, *lonza* in Italian, and *lince* in Spanish, all meaning lynxes. At some point in time the "l" was dropped from *lonza* and that later evolved into *onca.* The jaguar found in the Southwest is the subspecies *arizonensis.*[4]

Historically, jaguars lived in a variety of habitats in the borderlands region—riparian woodlands, desert chaparral, upland scrub forests, and pine or hardwood forests. There were, perhaps, small breeding populations, represented by resident jaguar females with young in southwest New Mexico and southeast Arizona recorded before the early 1900s. More commonly, old male *Tigres,* driven from their Mexican territories to the south by younger rivals, were the animals which wandered as far as central and northern New Mexico and Arizona in the late 19th and 20th centuries. These solitary jaguars generally moved north from Mexico via major river valleys such as those of the Santa Cruz,

San Pedro, Gila, Rio Grande, and Pecos. Jaguars found in Arizona and New Mexico in the past, and even those of today, come primarily from from southern Sinaloa and east-central Sonora. Historically, some also came north out of the northern Sierra Madre along the Chihuahua-Sonora border, but there has been no evidence of resident jaguars there in many decades.[5]

Biologists who have conducted extensive research of jaguar records from the borderlands, as well as field investigations, have concluded that jaguars were never common along the borderlands in the historic period.[6] Whether these animals were transient or a part of small breeding populations is uncertain.

The largest wild feline in North America, jaguars eat a wide range of wild foods such as deer, javelina or peccary, rabbits, mice, birds, snakes, lizards, turtles, and fish. As its natural food sources diminished because of various human land-use activities, such as ranching, farming, and mining, and because of ever-increasing Spanish and Anglo populations, older male jaguars or females with cubs sometimes turned to preying on livestock. In addition to livestock, the jaguars sometimes preyed on dogs. Hunting generally took place at night, and wild prey was commonly stalked or ambushed along trails or at water holes.[7]

Unlike Europeans, prehistoric Mexican Indians generally respected, or even revered the jaguar. To the Aztecs *El Tigre* was "the lord of the animals." Among the Olmec, Zapotec, Maya, and Aztec cultures there were mythical and religious beings who were jaguars in form. Present at the creation of the sun, during which time it received its beautiful coat of tawny yellow with black rosettes and solid spots, *El Tigre* was considered to be noble, wise, and proud.[8] They were ancient symbols of the earth, and among some of these human groups there were jaguar military orders, known as Knights of the Jaguar. The Mayan calendar included a jaguar day as one of the twenty days for each month. Exquisite wall paintings of *El Tigre* blowing shell horns and warriors or priests clothed in jaguar skins have been uncovered by archeologists at some major ceremonial ruins in Central America and southern Mexico. Stone thrones, seats, and drums elaborately carved and decorated in the form of jaguars or their skins have also been found at some Mayan sites. For example, inside a sealed chamber at *Chichen Itza* a stone jaguar throne was painted bright

red with inlaid jade discs forming spots on its coat and its eyes. The fangs were made of flint. Aztec merchants sold belts and rugs made from jaguar skins.[9]

The earliest record of a possible jaguar "cult" in the northern part of the region was discovered just south of Albuquerque at Pottery Mound, a prehistoric Pueblo site. Excavated under the direction of University of New Mexico professor-archaeologist Frank Hibben in 1958–1961, images of this animal were found painted on the walls of two kivas dating between 1300 and 1475 A.D. The head on one of these pictographs was missing, probably destroyed by pothunters prior to the University of New Mexico field work. The other figure was a seated jaguar with an eagle between its paws and mountain lion figures close to it on the same wall. Like Mexican Indians to the south, some Puebloans of central and northern New Mexico apparently associated the jaguar, which they referred to as *rohona*, with their war societies many generations ago. Anthropologist Leslie White came to this conclusion during his studies at Acoma, Laguna, Zia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Santo Domingo pueblos in the 1920s to the early 1940s. This Pueblo belief and association may have resulted from late prehistoric and early historic contacts with, and influence from, Mesoamerican groups to the south, at a time when *El Tigre* ranged into the Pueblo region.[10]

When the earliest European expedition led by Coronado reached what is now east central Arizona and west central New Mexico in 1540, small populations of *Tigres* roamed the southwestern landscape. Chroniclers of this *entrada* referred to them as "leopards" or "tigers."[11] Based on later historical documents of the Spanish, the jaguar ranged as far west as Baja California and as far east as Louisiana during the colonial period (1540-1821).

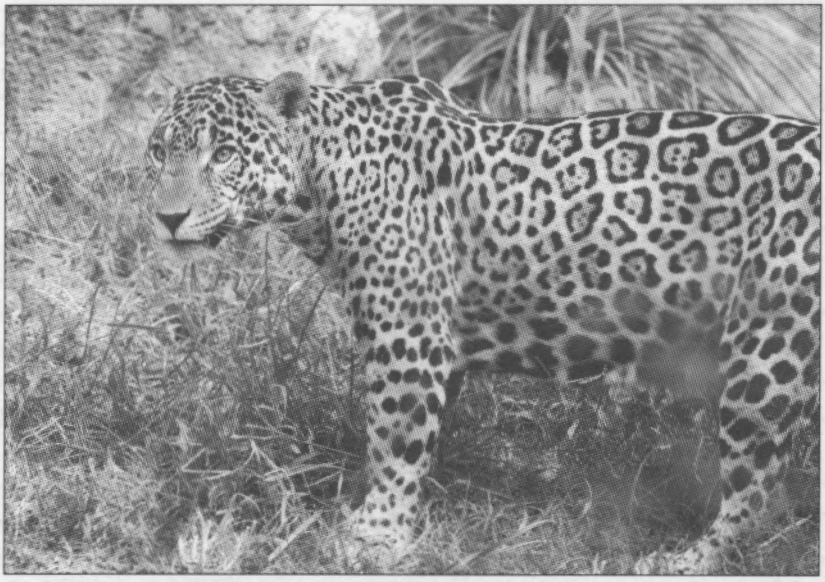
A Jesuit priest who served at missions of southern Arizona and northern Sonora in the late 1700s purchased a jaguar skin from a Native American which "covered a horse from ears to tail." This *padre* also described the Indian use of skins and their hunting technique:

> Tiger skins are prized above all others by the Indians who use them for fashioning handsome quivers. The quest for such ornaments inspires the Indians with great daring. They search indefatigably for the track of the tiger, pursue the animal until they come upon it, and slay it with their arrows. At times the tiger gives them much

> trouble, for he may hide himself in a cave to escape death. The Indians are not stopped by this. They light a fire at the cave's entrance and thus force the animal to emerge. Upon its appearance, it is met with arrows, and rarely does the first shot fail to slay it.[12]

In historic times, the Chiricahua Apache of southwest New Mexico, southeast Arizona, and northwest Mexico, sometimes hunted the *El Tigre*, ate the meat, and made use of the skin in fashioning various artifacts. They, like other regional Native Americans, respected the big cat for its hunting prowess and innate power. A renegade White Mountain Apache "made medicine" on another Apache "with jaguar power," saying "Now I'll jump on you and kill you like jaguar would do. The other man couldn't do anything."[13] Hispanic ranchers in Sonora and Chihuahua sometimes used *Tigre* skins to decorate their riding gear. Hides were also used for furniture coverings, as wall hangings, and as rugs. New Mexico governor Miguel A. Otero was given a rug made from the skin of a jaguar killed in 1902 in the county in southern New Mexico that was named for him.[14]

Perhaps the best known historic "account" of a human-jaguar encounter in New Mexico is a supposed incident involving a big cat which entered the convent of San Francisco, either in Santa Fe or nearby Peña Blanca in 1825. Probably untrue, the story has ap-



Jaguar *Photo by ShellEy Shay, iStockphoto*

peared in print a number of times, perhaps due to its luridness and sensationalism. This tale involved four men at the convent who were killed by this animal before it was shot and killed by a fifth man at the scene.[15] This story is reminiscent of others in Mexico and Central America which exaggerate the jaguar's ferocity and propensity to attack and kill humans. No unprovoked attacks on humans by *El Tigre* have been recorded in the Southwest, Mexico, or Central America.[16]

Probably the first recording of a jaguar in the Southwest by an Anglo-American was that of trapper James Ohio Pattie in 1826. While with a party of beaver trappers in the lower Colorado River valley, a "leopard," as he called it, wandered into camp and was quickly killed. Fifteen years later, the head of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary Survey noted that "leopards" were seen along the border of what is now New Mexico-Arizona and Chihuahua-Sonora.[17] In 1855-56 members of a second boundary survey noted that local residents claimed that *El Tigre* was "common" along the Santa Cruz River valley in southern Arizona. One jaguar was observed by them in the first year in Guadalupe Canyon in New Mexico's bootheel, an area sometimes frequented by solitary individuals from then until now. A hunter killed a *Tigre* near the southern end of the Santa Rita Mountains in southeastern Arizona in 1858. A year later a United States military doctor also reported jaguars in the border region.[18]

To the northeast, along the middle Pecos River in eastern New Mexico, a keen observer of the fauna in the area, Captain John C. Cremony, reported that jaguars were "by no means uncommon" in the early to mid-1860s.[19] Cremony was stationed at Fort Sumner/ Bosque Redondo "Reservation" for Mescalero Apache and Dine (Navajo) at this time.

Upriver, just southwest of the modern Sumner Lake dam, there is an arroyo—formerly a creek—and a spring which produced a steady flow of water, both named *Tigre* or jaguar. These two place names suggest that this was the location of a *Tigre* or *Tigres* that were found or perhaps killed there. Other *Tigre* place names found across the southwest region indicate their presence and interaction with various cultural groups in the historic period.[20]

With the arrival of Hispanos and Anglos in the Fort Sumner area in the mid-1800s, the jaguar population began to decline as a result of shooting, trapping, and poisoning. As their prey base of deer, other mammals, birds, reptiles, and amphibians were deci-

mated by these Euro-Americans and the starving or under-nourished Dine and Apache prisoners, *Tigres* turned to the taking of livestock which sealed their fate. No jaguars probably remained along this reach of the middle Pecos Basin after the 1870s.[21]

A third source of information indicating the historic presence of jaguars in the Fort Sumner area is a 35mm. transparency of a cat-like painting taken by retired history teacher Bob Parsons. The image, which was on the roof of a rock overhang in the area, was rendered in a red outline of a long-tailed feline with red spots.[22] This "rock art" painted by Pueblo or Mogollon Indians in the late prehistoric period, the 1300s –1400s, or perhaps later by Comanches or Apaches, suggests a reverence for the hunting prowess of this powerful animal. Similar images of *Tigres* painted on pottery or chiseled on rock or by various Native American peoples have been found across southern New Mexico and other parts of the Greater Southwest dating from 1000 to 1500 A.D.[23]

A cluster of jaguar kills in southern New Mexico was recorded in the early 1900s. One animal was trapped in the Mogollon Mountains near Grafton in 1900, and another, reportedly a killer of livestock, was poisoned two years later on a ranch located at 9000 feet in the Datil Mountains, the highest ever recorded elevation of the cat's occurrence.

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To the north, during the winter of 1902-03, a jaguar was sighted on Ute Creek in Harding County in New Mexico. Possibly the same animal was observed the following summer near Ribera in San Miguel County, west of the earlier sighting in the area. During this time period a jaguar was also seen near Springer. Another jaguar was killed in Clanton Creek Canyon in the bootheel of southwestern New Mexico in 1903. Still another jaguar was taken on the west side of Sierra de los Caballos, Sierra County, in 1904 or 1905.[25]

Almost a century after James Pattie killed that jaguar on the lower Colorado River, Aldo Leopold, who began his remarkable career in conservation as a forester in Arizona and New Mexico, unsuccessfully searched for jaguar sign on the delta in 1922. He later wrote in *A Sand Country Almanac* the following lamentation on the disappearance of *El Tigre* from this area:

> We saw neither hide nor hair of him, but his personality pervaded the wilderness; no living beast forgot his potential presence, for the price of unwariness was death. No deer rounded a bush, or stopped to nibble pods under a mesquite tree, without a premonitory sniff for *El Tigre.* No campfire died without talk of him. No dog curled up for the night, save at his master's feet; he needed no telling that the king of cats still ruled the nights; that those massive paws could fell an ox, those jaws shear off bones like a guillotine.
>
> By this time the delta has probably been made safe for cows, and forever dull for adventuring hunters. Freedom of fear has arrived, but a glory has departed from the green lagoons.[26]

Some forty-three jaguars were killed in isolated mountain ranges in the southern parts of Arizona area between 1900 and 1950 by professional trappers and hunters, as well as ranchers. At least seven other *Tigres* were killed by hunters and ranchers in southwestern New Mexico and southeastern Arizona from 1957 to 1971.[27]

Jaguar records for Texas show a pattern similar to that of New Mexico and Arizona; there may have been breeding populations in the central, eastern, and southern parts of the state from at least as early as 1836 to about 1900. Those jaguars recorded after that time were probably solitary animals observed or killed by ranchers, trappers, or hunters. Most reports between 1900 and 1963 occurred in south and west Texas. One animal was killed in the Big Bend National Park area in 1962 or 1963, but it may have been a "release." No jaguar has been seen or killed in Texas since.[28]

The number of historic observations or kills in northern Mexican states is not known, although these would undoubtedly total more than those of the United States borderlands as jaguar populations were, and still are, greater in number in that region. These larger populations were the result of the vast isolated ranges of the Sierra Madre with evergreen woodland and the lowland

desert, and the scrub forests of Sinaloa, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Nuevo Leon.[29]

During 1968–1970, the average annual decline of Mexican jaguars was thirty-six percent. This drop in *Tigre* populations was due to government trappers, hunters, and ranchers. Another factor in this decline was the demand, primarily in the United States and western Europe, for their skins in the production of clothing and furniture coverings after World War II. Virtually all of these skins legally trafficked in the 1960s were from jaguars killed in tropical Latin America, but some no doubt came from the southwest borderlands. In 1968 a total of 13,516 skins came from this great cat; the numbers dropped to 7,758 in 1970. Subsequently, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna was successful in getting some countries to stop the transactions in jaguar and ocelot skins. Mexico was one of the countries which did this in 1974, and the skin trade plummeted there and in other nations following these actions.[30]

One *Tigre* was killed in 1986 in the Dos Cabezas Mountains, Arizona, near the New Mexico border, and still another jaguar was observed in the Buenas Aires National Wildlife Refuge, also in southern Arizona, in 1993. Another *Tigre* was also encountered by an Arizona rancher, Warner Glenn, in the Peloncillo Mountains east of Douglas on March 7, 1996. His mountain lion hunting dogs brought the jaguar to bay in the Peloncillo Mountains and Glenn photographed the animal. These were the first pictures taken of a wild jaguar in the United States; a number of them were published subsequently in his 1996 booklet, *Eyes of Fire: Encounter with a Borderlands Jaguar*. Remarkably a friend of his, Jack Childs, photographed a jaguar near Tucson later in 1996.[31]

These events and widespread publicity of the rarity and ecological importance of these big cats may, at least in part, account for their recent sightings along the southwest border and the formation and involvement of several regional conservation groups to protect borderland jaguars. Supporters of protection for current and future jaguars in the borderlands hope to sustain small breeding populations of Aldo Leopold's "glory" which "ruled the night."[32]

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FOOTNOTES

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11. Herbert Eugene Bolton, editor, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706,* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1946), 217. F.W. Hodge, editor, "The Narrative of the Expedition of Coronado, by Pedro de Castaneda," *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States–Original Narrations of Early American History,* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), 349.
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13. Keith H. Basso, editor, *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare: From the Notes of Granville Goodwin,* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), 139.

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17. Goode P. Davis, Jr., *Man and Wildlife in Arizona*, Tucson, Arizona Game and Fish Department, 1982), 1942: 22, 72, 78.
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21. Scurlock, 15.
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27. Davis, 1982,185. Brown and López Gónzalez, 7-8. K.I. Lange, The Jaguar in Arizona," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* 63 (2): 96-101.
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29. Brakefield, 117. Brown and López Gónzalez, 5-13. Gehlbach, 82-86.
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32. A Jaguar Conservation team (JCT), based in Tucson, was established in 2003. The group began to work with a coalition of existing environmental organizations to determine the population status of borderland *Tigres*, to develop regional strategies to protect these animals, and to create jaguar preserves in Sonora. Specifically, JCT helped convince state agencies to increase legal protection for jaguars. Working with the Malpais Borderlands Group, they created a compensatory fund to pay ranchers for loss of livestock due to *Tigre* predation. With the Arizona Houndsmen hunting group, a reward program to prevent illegal killing of the big cats was established. Another coalition affiliate, Defenders of Wildlife recently initiated a reward fund for information leading to the arrest of anyone who takes a jaguar. Perhaps most importantly, JCT, supported by Naturalia, a Mexican conservation organization, in purchasing a 10,000 acre jaguar preserve in east central Sonora. Funds are being raised to buy an adjacent ranch of 40,000 acres. These efforts, plus the spirit and strength of this great cat clearly indicate that *El Tigre* is "back," probably to stay in the southwest borderlands for centuries to come. See Peter Friederici, "Is The Big Cat Back?" *Defenders* 81, (2);11,13. 2006.

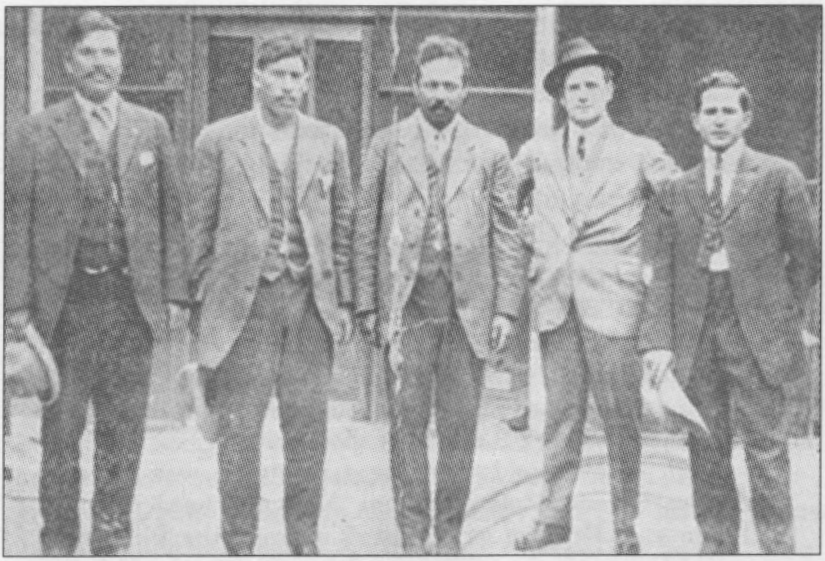
And Starring Pancho Villa as Himself

By Robert L. Sharp

The 2003 television movie "And Starring Pancho Villa as Himself,"[1] starring Antonio Banderas and Alan Arkin, was based on true-life events that took place in northern Mexico during the Mexican Revolution in 1913 and is directly connected to my son's home in San Francisco.

When my son bought a house in the Noe Valley section of San Francisco a few years ago, he found in the basement several colorful linen-backed movie lobby posters which extolled the virtues of a film, "The Great Mexican War," and which carried the imprint "Pictures taken by Dr. Chas. A. Pryor, Associated Press Reporter and President, El Paso Feature Film Co."[2] Included was another poster with clippings from a San Francisco newspaper from the spring of 1914 about Pryor and the film, and a confirmation of his cinematic efforts in the form of a notarization dated "Presidio, Texas, Jan 12, 1914."

Under his contract with the Mutual Film Corporation, Pancho Villa received a $25,000 advance and was promised fifty percent of the profits from the film "The Life of General Villa" (1914). This agreement would allow the company to shoot his battles in daylight, and for reenacting them if more footage was needed. The actual contract that Pancho Villa signed with Frank N. Thayer and the Mutual Film Company on 5 January 1914 to film the battle of Ojinaga still exists and is at *Biblioteca Centra de Estudios de Historia de México* (CONDUMEX) in Mexico City.[3] The Banderas film credits Mary Pickford's long-time cameraman Charles Rosher as the cinematographer covering Villa's battles, although it appears there were a large number of foreign cameramen including Charles Pryor filming both Villa's rebel army and the Federal defenders.[4]



General Villa, center, with officials of the motion picture company and officers of the Mexican army.

I learned that film historian Kevin Brownlow of Photoplay Productions in London is the foremost authority on Charles Rosher. In his book *The Parade's Gone By* published by Knopf in 1968, Brownlow tells the story of filming Villa as the story was told to him by Charles Rosher, which as indicated below, seems to have been an appropriation of Pryor's experience.

Besides Pryor's movie posters, there were a couple of posters for a "Lubin Special" movie entitled *Mexican War Picture* with a similar theme, which led me to Professor Joseph Eckhardt at Montgomery County Community College in Pennsylvania, the leading, and perhaps the only, expert on early day movie pioneer Siegmund Lubin.[5] This was an important breakthrough as Eckhardt pointed me to the Library of Congress which has a film collection which, I learned, had been consulted in the making of the Banderas film.

Following Professor Eckhardt's suggestion, I contacted the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. Moving Image Section, obtaining invaluable information from Reference Librarian Rosemary Hanes. Ms. Hanes reported they have holdings of fifteen reels of film shot between 1914 and 1916 regarding the Mexican Revolution. The collection is named for the donor: AFI/Lawrence Seffens Collection. She further said that Mexican film historian Aurelio de los Reyes examined the films in 1985 and concluded

that Charles Pryor filmed eighty per cent of the material. She also sent me a written narrative of Pryor's film, which tracked the Banderas film closely.

I discovered University of California-Irvine professor Juan-Bruce Novoa's critique of the Banderas film.[6] Novoa said of Professor de los Reyes:

> In *Con Villa en Mexico, testimonios de camarôgrafos norteamericanos en la revoluciôn,* Aurelio de los Reyes lists Charles Pryor in the Biofilmografias section. He states that Pryor filmed the Villistas for the El Paso Feature Film Co. His camera was damaged by a bomb and he was deported by the Federales. His film was successful in the US and was shown in May of 1914 in London. Reyes adds that "apparently" it was shown also in France, Italy, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. He also says that in Europe the film was called Great Mexican War, implying that in the U.S. it had a different title. His last sentence clouds the issue even more when he says that Pryor might be the pseudonym for Charles Rosher, who might have had to change his name.

I contacted Professor de los Reyes, who told me through Ms. Gurrola, a professor in the *Universidad Iberoamericana:*

> I can not categorically confirm that Pryor is the same person as Rosher. Now I would say that they are two different persons because there are photographs (possibly taken by Pryor) of Rosher taking pictures of Villa. These photographs appear in Raymond Fielding, *The American Newsreel, 1911-1967* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), and in another photo there is a man with a cap, apparently it is Pryor taking a picture of Rosher.

The notarization above answers the question, since Rosher is one of the signatories, confirming that Pryor took the pictures, saying:

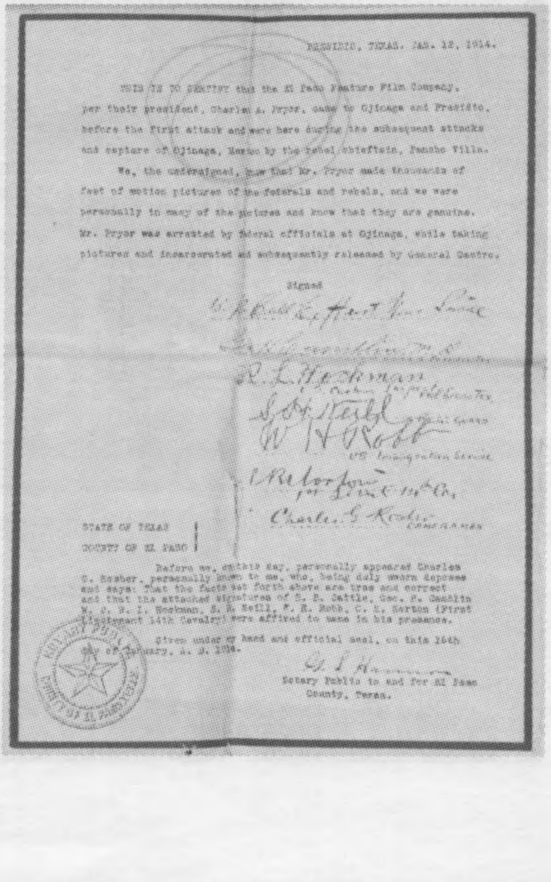
> We, the undersigned (which included Charles Rosher) know that Mr. Pryor made thousands of feet of motion pictures of the federals and rebels, and we were personally in many of the pictures and know that they are genuine. Mr. Pryor was arrested by the federal officials at Ojinaga, while taking pictures and incarcerated and subsequently released by General Castro.

One of the signatories of the 1914 notarization which confirmed that Pryor filmed the battle at Ojinaga was George H. Candlin, M.D. who was postmaster of Presidio, Texas at the time.[7]

Of additional interest is the documentary *Lost Reels of Pancho Villa / Los Rollos Perdidos de Pancho Villa*"[8] made by Gregorio Rocha, who searched for the original film made pursuant to Mutual Film's agreement with Pancho Villa, *The Life of General Villa* (1914).[9]

Ms. Hanes at the Library of Congress gave me a second important item to investigate when she advised me of a note dated 1984 which accompanied the AFI/Lawrence Seffens Collection, which gave his home address and telephone number. It turns out the Seffens address was only a few blocks from that of my son in San Francisco, and while the Social Security Death Index shows Mr. Seffens passed away in the year 2000, a call to his telephone number found his widow alive. She provided the fact that the AFI/Lawrence Seffens films at the Library of Congress had been brought to her husband by her brother-in-law, Anthony Torrano, because Mr. Seffens had been a projectionist serving in the army at Fort Ord.

Seffens had listened to a radio talk about the historical value of old pictures. It gave a number that he called, which led to the American Film Institute in Hollywood, which in turn gave the films to the Library of Congress. The clincher was that the address of Mrs. Seffens brother-in-law is the same address which is currently that of my son! The film and the posters had been together.


PRESIDIO, TEXAS. JAN. 12, 1914.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that the El Paso Feature Film Company, per their president, Charles A. Pryor, came to Ojinaga and Presidio, before the first attack and were here during the subsequent attacks and capture of Ojinaga, made by the rebel chieftain, Pancho Villa.

We, the undersigned, saw that Mr. Pryor made thousands of feet of motion pictures of the federals and rebels, and we were personally in many of the pictures and know that they are genuine. Mr. Pryor was arrested by federal officials at Ojinaga, while taking pictures and incarcerated and subsequently released by General Castro.

Signed

STATE OF TEXAS }
COUNTY OF EL PASO }

Before me, on this day, personally appeared Charles G. Rosher, personally known to me, who, being duly sworn deposes and says: That the facts set forth above are true and correct and that the attached signatures of [illegible], Geo. H. Candlin M. D. R. L. Hockman, [illegible], W. H. Robb, C. E. Norton (First Lieutenant 14th Cavalry) were affixed to same in his presence.

Given under my hand and official seal, on this 16th day of January, A. D. 1914.

Notary Public in and for El Paso County, Texas.

It is unclear how the film reels and posters came to San Francisco, although it may be that San Francisco was the nearest source for professional developing, or the best market for showing the result. Newspaper clippings found with the posters report that the film played to acclaim in San Francisco theatres in April 1914 and later in Sacramento. Pryor must have moved more quickly than I would have thought possible with the transportation that was available in those times, for he then showed the film in London in May, 1914.

In any case, Pryor's life before and after his Pancho Villa adventure is so far unknown, as is the connection with my son's house.[10] We looked up the names and occupations of those former owners of the property for whom we could find records, but found nothing relevant. Of course a former owner may have had a friend or relative who worked in a movie theatre and brought home some left-over materials, but one would think these items were so unique that they would not have been left seemingly discarded.

Note from the author: *I am grateful to the many people interested in this subject who helped fit together various pieces of the puzzle, in addition to the marvelous resources of the internet.*

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ENDNOTES

1. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0337824/
   http://imdb.com/ltitle/tto337824/
2. Posters range from 62" x 40" to 81" x 80," called in the trade as a "Six-by" or six feet square.
3. Per Nancy Westfall de Gurrola, a classmate of the author from forty years ago at the *Universidad de las Americas* in Mexico and currently a professor in the *Universidad Iberoamericana*. The contract is in Folio 3057 of the Federico Gonzalez Garza Archive, number CMXV. CONDUMEX is located at Plaza Federico Gamboa No. 1 Col. Chimalistac. San Angel, C.P. 10705.
4. Rosher won the first Academy Award for photography with *Sunrise* in 1927. He later photographed such MGM films as *Showboat, The Yearling, and Kiss Me Kate.* Earning as much as $1,000 per week he was able to purchase and retire to Erroll Flynn's plantation in Jamaica.
5. http://faculty.mc3.edu/jeckhard/lubin.htm
6. http://garnet.acns.fsu.edu/lnr03/Pancyo%20Villa.htm.
   Novoa is a professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, at University of California, Irvine, CA. 92697-5275.
7. http://www.rootsweb.com/~txoost/presidio.html
   http://www.rootsweb.com'~txpost/presisio.htm;>
8. http://www.subcine.com/lostreels.html
9. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0004223/
   http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0004223/
10. There is an entry in the Internet Movie Database for "The Tonopah Stampede for Gold" (1913) http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0699392/ <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0699392/> showing Pryor as the director, but it does not shed much light on him beyond the fact he was not new to the movie business.

El Paso's Civil Defense Network in Crisis

History of Local Nuclear Preparedness Focusing on the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis

By Allison Ring

Today, as always, 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.' But, as never before, this vigilance must be active, broadly shared, and informed. With the help of Almighty God we shall be ready and we shall survive."

— MAJOR A.M. SALCIDO
El Paso City/County/Civil Defense "Operational Survival Plan" (Foreword)[1]

During the height of the Cold War in the early 1960s, El Paso's fledgling Civil Defense Administration was making tentative attempts toward developing a system to protect local citizens in case of nuclear attack. At the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis in October, 1962, those plans were still in the preliminary stages, leaving the local population unorganized and uncertain in the face of a possible atomic strike. The disjointed state of civil defense in El Paso was exacerbated by special conditions, including local isolation and lack of organizational sophistication. However, the condition of civil defense nationally was less than adequate.

Despite the popular cultural tendency to look back on 1962 as an idyllic era in America, the autumn of that year was actually a time of intense conflicts in the United States as well as globally. In India and China, large-scale wars were in progress. In the United States the civil rights movement was struggling in the

South with use of military force at Ole Miss, the University of Mississippi, and in Alabama, as blacks attempted to enroll in previously all-white universities. In Texas, the political and financial abuses of Billie Sol Estes predominated in the news.

Life in El Paso, then a city of roughly 200,000, was still relatively "small town" oriented, with the exception of the city's important location on the United States-Mexico border. The economy was largely dependent on cotton and agriculture; manufacturing, primarily of clothing; and smelting of metallic ores, primarily copper. The jewels in the Sun City's economic crown, however, were the large defense installations of Fort Bliss and Biggs Army Airfield, whose enormous economic impact had bolstered the city for decades.

In addition, with the advent of the nuclear age, El Paso was significant as the major city closest to White Sands Missile Range, Holloman Air Force Base, and the nuclear testing grounds of central New Mexico. Politically, El Pasoans adored President John F. Kennedy in those years, and Mayor Ralph Seitsinger presided over an all-white, all-male City Council. With the exception of longtime politician Rogelio Sanchez, who in 1962 was Precinct 3 County Commissioner, the city's Commissioner's Court was also all-white and all-male.

The Sun City's safe haven on the border was only an illusion. Common sense indicated that El Paso was a probable target in case of nuclear attack, by virtue of its size and strategic military location. On October 10th, this fact was brought home in a newspaper article in the Republican-supported *El Paso Herald-Post*, in which the republican gubernatorial candidate Jack Cox, in town campaigning in an unsuccessful bid for election, said that all of Texas was within the range of Cuban missiles—only 1,500 to 2,000 miles.[2] This eventuality had been considered after the 1961 Bay of Pigs crisis, when Civil Defense efforts nationwide had taken on a higher profile and been assigned a higher priority by President Kennedy. Locally, this resulted in the *Operational Survival Plan*, which was published jointly by the city and county governments in cooperation with the Civil Defense Administration on January 1, 1962.[3]

CIVIL DEFENSE: AN EMBATTLED CONCEPT

By the time that the implied threat of nuclear war that had been precipitated by the Cuban missile crisis brought the issue of Civil Defense to the forefront of national concern, its effectiveness and

feasibility had been the subject of rigorous debate for years. As a result, the subject was a target for both ridicule and confusion. In 1946, the debate was born with the publication of W. L. Borden's book, *There Will Be No Time,* and a government report in support of "a large scale" federal defense program involving "shelter construction, emergency-evacuation planning, and the stockpiling of medicine and other critical supplies." The problem was complicated further in early years by the question of just how much help the armed forces would be to the general population in case of nuclear attack.

In 1948, the problem was addressed in the government report, *Civil Defense for National Security*:

> Total war which embraces all peoples, all communities, all industries of a nation, creates protective problems which involve both military and civilian capabilities. The line of demarcation in this protective problem between military and civilian, while very finely drawn, indicates that in modern warfare the Armed Forces of the nation must be released to the maximum for their primary mission of offensive combat. As a result, protection of communities against saturation or atomic bombing or other means of destruction becomes a problem. No community in itself is self-sufficient in its protective services to be able to cope with problems brought about by catastrophic destruction which large scale enemy attacks might cause.[4]

Over the next decade, scores of magazine articles, television news programs, and government reports were published on the appropriate public response in case of nuclear attack. Radiation expert Richard Gerstell, who wrote extensively on the subject, endorsed the utilization of public shelters versus the policy of urban evacuation or dispersal. Increasingly, psychologists and psychiatrists saw civil defense as an important aspect of social/psychological preparation for atomic attack. The culmination of the early debate on civil defense was the passage of the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950 (P. L. 920), which created the Federal Civil Defense Agency (FCDA). However, the FCDA was unsuccessful in obtaining adequate funding for the proposed mass public shelter construction program in those years, for reasons which included the Korean War and the frugality of the Truman/Eisenhower administrations.[5]

The shelter program continued to suffer setbacks with the appointment in 1953 of the former governor of Nebraska, Frederick "Val" Peterson, to the post of Federal Civil Defense Administrator. After seeing military films of bomb tests, Peterson decided that evacuation was the most effective and most economical approach. However, after official data released in 1955 showed the dangers of radioactive fallout from nuclear detonations, the concept of public shelter once again entered the realm of debate. The Kefauver hearings of that year examined the problem of radioactive fallout as well as the administrative structure of civil defense organizations. Although no new policy developments resulted from the Kefauver hearings, the next round of Congressional hearings on the subject, headed by California Congressman Chet Holifield, ranking member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, were to delve deeper into the issue and the pros and cons of each option.[6]

Holifield openly criticized the evacuation principle as being unfeasible, with many unpredictable factors such as traffic, fallout patterns, possibility of multiple strikes, etc. contributing to widespread public panic and confusion. As a congressman from the Los Angeles area, where the population would be at the mercy of an already overloaded freeway system if evacuation were called for, Holifield was vocally opposed to the policy of evacuation.[7]

Debate followed over a public shelter policy versus evacuation versus a "balanced" or "fluid" approach which purported to be a combination of the two options. A great part of the problem was financial. As New York's Governor, Averill Harriman, declared "the states do not begin to have the financial resources to undertake realistic preparation for civil defense, including the probable necessity of extensive shelter programs." Finally, the Naval Radiological Defense Laboratory (NRDL) submitted the concept for which Holifield appeared to be seeking—shelters established within a system framework.[8]

Hearings and debates continued through 1958, when the FCDA presented its National Shelter Policy. Securing adequate funds and support for construction of shelters was not possible during the Eisenhower era, but under very limited funding, some preliminary and prototypical shelter construction was done. In addition, public information programs were implemented.[9]

Dramatic examples of the public's lack of understanding of "civil defense" occurred in Oakland and Chicago in 1955 and 1959, respectively. On both occasions, a false air raid alert was sounded,

but for very different reasons. The Oakland incident on May 5, 1955 was due to human error and the Chicago incident was a misguided celebratory signal of the Chicago White Sox's American League victory over the Cleveland Indians on September 22, 1959. In both cases, there was widespread confusion. In the Oakland case, the signal was generally ignored, whereas in Chicago there was considerable panic and uncertainty as to what the signal actually meant.[10]

In Chicago, the atmosphere was said to resemble the panic brought on by Orson Welles' "War of the Worlds" broadcast in 1939, in which aliens were thought to have landed in New Jersey. In a painstakingly detailed study of the Chicago event, *Joy in Mudville*, a survey was taken to measure public opinion on civil defense in the aftermath of the false alarm, and a majority of respondents indicated that there was concern regarding the scarcity of public shelters and ignorance of civil defense procedures.[11]

After the election of President John F. Kennedy, a more receptive environment for the shelter concept existed, giving the entire civil defense issue a major shot in the arm. Kennedy spoke to Congress on May 25, 1961, in a "State of the Union" address and declared that one of the "challenges" that America had "never squarely faced up to [was] Civil Defense." In this well-known speech, which refers to nuclear war and "rational calculation by rational men," Kennedy justified the need for a wide-ranging civil defense program "as insurance for the civilian population in the event of . . . a miscalculation" by the leader of a major world power. Days after the speech, Defense Secretary McNamara requested $207.6 million from the Senate Appropriations Committee to implement the first stage of the public fallout shelter program. More than eighty percent of this amount was to go toward locating, stocking and marking fallout shelters in existing public and private buildings. The funding was hastily approved, and the new impetus given to the civil defense program represented a new age in federal support of the shelter policy.[12]

By this time, El Paso government leaders had climbed aboard the civil defense bandwagon, and with the implementation of the local *Operational Survival Plan*, in 1962, they were ready to begin the arduous task of identifying public shelters, stocking them with supplies, and informing and organizing the public on proper procedures to be followed in case of an emergency. Although the manual was a fine effort for its time, at 400 pages it is unclear

what the scope of its use was to be. The wording of Snyder's introduction and many of the sections implied that the book was to be generally distributed, but considering its size, it would seem economically prohibitive. At any rate, in 1962 the local civil defense organization had, at the very least, a substantial plan on which to build a feasible network.

One of the manual's first objectives is the identification of local target areas. The major target was Biggs Army Airfield, and, in case of a direct hit on the main target, the plan was designed around several concentric areas of varying degrees of damage. The assumption was that the "radius of total destruction from the detonation of a 20-megaton nuclear device would be five miles with four damage rings spaced five miles apart." The plan did not take into consideration the possibility of a non-direct hit, however, or multiple missile detonations.[13]

Inadequacies in the existing system were also mentioned in the book. The plan admitted to a lack of an air-raid siren system in El Paso County but confidently claimed that fifty-nine Federal Thunderbolt air-raid sirens would soon be purchased and installed throughout the county to provide a public warning system. This promise would later prove much more difficult to make reality as officials wrangled over funding. Overall, the plan included twenty-three chapters or appendices on subjects ranging from transportation to health and religious affairs. The last chapter is entitled "Women's Division." This unit's primary mission was "training and education of the family as a unit," and this was to be accomplished by "placing the greatest emphasis on the mother as the leader and educator."[14]

The ultimate success of the plan, however, rested primarily upon the individual, as explained in the plan's foreword. Although couched in noble language, the message was simple and scary: "You're on your own. Make sure you are familiar with and follow the plan." The actual wording was:

> The optimum success of this plan depends on the degree of acceptance by every citizen that Civil Defense is an inescapable personal responsibility. It is dependent on the willing and wholehearted cooperation of all agencies and personnel directly associated with the operation of the entire... organization. It will be imperative that during the pre-war phase, strict compliance with the contents of all the annexes be adhered to during all practice

alerts and all types of exercises. It will be equally essential that during the post-attack phases that all members of the Civil Defense Organization be so familiar with the Plan of Operation that action will become nearly automatic.

The El Paso Civil Defense agency was designated within Region 4 nationally, which also included New Mexico, Louisiana, Arkansas and the rest of Texas.[15]

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MISSILE CRISIS

Civil Defense efforts in early 1962 were still very much in the preliminary stages when events in Cuba accelerated into the closest of nuclear "close calls." The chronology of the Soviet buildup of weapons in Cuba in the late summer of that year and the decisive response of the Kennedy Administration during October to halt and prevent a Soviet military threat is the story of the Cuban missile crisis. In El Paso, preparations were inadequate for an actual attack—as was the case in most cities, including New York and Washington, which was called "The Naked City" because of its lack of protection or preparation for nuclear attack. Since El Paso was indeed on the short list of potential nuclear targets, however, the situation was all the more inadequate and extreme.

In the months leading to the crisis, newspaper reports indicating civil defense-related training or planning are few. On May 26, 1962, the *El Paso Herald-Post* reported "bomb fallout classes" at Texas Western College (TWC). These radiation monitoring classes, offered by the Civil Defense Agency, taught basic methods of measuring radiation using cobalt x-rays. Professor J. A. Hancock of the Chemical Engineering faculty taught the class of twenty-six city firefighters.[16]

During July and August, intelligence sources of the United States noticed "suspicious" movements of military personnel and supplies to Cuba. These shipments were assumed to be defensive. On September 4th, President Kennedy declared that the Cuban military buildup was defensive: "Were it to be otherwise, the gravest issues would arise." In El Paso on October 12th, the *El Paso Times* reported that an Army Corps of Engineers survey team would come from Albuquerque to complete site markings of fourteen additional public shelters to be stocked with emergency supplies. In addition, the Civil Defense Field Chief for Texas, Mattie Treadwell, was in El Paso all week to observe El Paso's progress

in the shelter program. The first public shelter to be stocked in the five-state region was the State National Motor Bank at 116 South Oregon.[17]

On October 14th, however, an American U-2 spy plane photographed Soviet medium-range missiles in place near San Cristobal, one hundred miles west of Havana. The next day, the Washington intelligence community was stunned as the photographs were developed and analyzed. Later that night at a state dinner, Secretary of State Rusk was notified of the situation. The president, however was not notified until the next day.[18]

On October 16th, President Kennedy was notified of the Soviet missiles in Cuba. Preliminary meetings were held and possible alternatives were discussed: Was this a retaliatory scare tactic by Kruschev due to events in Berlin? Was it a move to threaten Latin America? Should the United States stage a blockade or invasion in response, and what would be the consequences? Worst of all, the threat of possible nuclear war appeared as a real possibility. In El Paso, the *Times* reported that Civil Defense Director Major Al Snyder was in Knoxville promoting local tourism by making a bid for El Paso to host the 1963 national convention of Civil Defense directors and officials. The convention would have attracted 1,200 delegates to El Paso.[19]

Even before the missile crisis, the hostility between the United States and Russia caused perpetual public concern and debate over the possibility of nuclear war. On October 17th, the subject of a Gallup Poll in the *El Paso Times* was public opinion on the emerging crisis in Cuba. The poll found a majority feared war with Russia if the United States were to invade Cuba. Events in Washington on October 18th reflected acceleration of the crisis. President Kennedy, aware of the presence of missiles and a large labor force working furiously to ready them, met with the Secretary of State and Soviet Foreign Secretary Andrei Gromyko. Gromyko may not have been informed of the full scope of Russia's military plans in Cuba when he met with the President, and he repeated to Kennedy that the weapons were defensive. Kennedy had not told Gromyko what he knew because he had not yet decided what course of action the United States would take. Secret talks and a busy Kennedy schedule of public appearances gave October 19th an outward semblance of normalcy which belied the grim decisions being made behind the scenes.

On Sunday, October 20th, the President canceled his campaign tour and was reported ill with a cold. However, this was a ruse Kennedy used in order to return quickly to Washington to prepare plans for a military blockade of Cuba and compose a speech to inform the American public. Kennedy's speech went through five drafts, and the media became suspicious. As described in a detailed, dramatic chronology of the crisis in the *New York Times*, "the smell of crisis hung over Washington that evening like the smell of burning leaves. Too many trips had been cancelled, too many announcements made for what seemed 'good' rather than real reasons." Kennedy's speech was scheduled for 7 p.m. on October 22nd, which was code-named "P Day." Plans within the administration were orchestrated to correspond with this event in a military fashion, such as "P Day minus 48." The speech would take place at "zero hour." [21]

On October 21st, a great deal of diplomatic orchestration took place as the administration informed global embassies and sought to align support. In the *El Paso Times* that day, an especially troubling example of the many bomb-related stories often published at that time described the underestimated threat of nuclear accidents on American soil. In his book, *Kill and Overkill*, nuclear physicist Dr. Ralph Lapp reported an Air Force plane crash near Goldsboro, North Carolina, in January 1961, in which a 24-megaton bomb was allegedly jettisoned accidentally. When the bomb was recovered, five of the six safety interlocks had apparently been set off, leaving only one between the unexploded bomb and disaster. Were books of this kind true or simply sensationalist accounts calculated to frighten or titillate the bomb-shy public?[22]

On October 22nd, "P Day," Kennedy formed the executive committee of the National Security Council and summoned the top leaders of both political parties back to Washington. Those who could not book a commercial flight were picked up by Air Force planes and even jet fighters. In the afternoon, Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin was informed of the situation and appeared especially grim and terse with the press after meeting with Kennedy. Promptly at 7 p.m., the President went on national television to order a military quarantine of Cuba and Soviet removal of missiles, military equipment, and personnel.[23]

The full-blown crisis dominated newspaper headlines on October 23rd. In Washington, Kruschev's initial reaction to the moves of the United States appeared to be to stall for time. In world-

wide opinion, however, Kennedy was hailed as a decisive leader whose firm action checked the Russians and effectively blocked their strategy or exposed the lack of it. In El Paso, the *Herald-Post's* banner headline read, "Russia Threatens Nuclear War." Military personnel at Fort Bliss and Biggs Army Airfield were placed on full alert. In the *Times*, blockade headlines were accompanied by a large front page map of the United States and corresponding bomb target ranges. In a conflicting report with the *Herald-Post*, Fort Bliss and Biggs personnel were said to be on "normal vigilant alert." The state capital nearest El Paso is Santa Fe and Santa Fe's newspaper, *The New Mexican*, featured an editorial approving Kennedy's decision with characteristic New Mexican elan and fatalism: "Our compliments to President John F. Kennedy for picking our time, our place and our issue for the apparently inevitable test of wills with the Soviet Union."[24]

October 24th was the first day of the blockade. As the Soviet Union hesitated, the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant interjected an independent proposal suspending further action by either the United States or Russia for several weeks. Kruschev hastily accepted the offer, but an annoyed Kennedy turned his back on the proposal, which he viewed as outside interference. More importantly, the blockade continued without incident. In El Paso, the *Times'* editorial, "We Are United," supported Kennedy's action regarding Cuba: "President Kennedy's strong action in quarantining Cuba against further shipments of Communist offensive weapons was exactly what he should have done." The *Herald-Post* printed an official warning from local Civil Defense Director Snyder, whose volunteer staff of fifteen was on full twenty-four-hour alert: "I would advise El Pasoans to stock up on canned goods . . . on a conservative basis." Apparently, Snyder was truly worried: "I believe people should sit tight and see what develops. Anything we haven't done now, it's too late anyway." Snyder had received no official word from Washington, where his superior, Fort Worth Regional Civil Defense Director Bill Parker, had been summoned the day before. In other related reports, Mayor Seitsinger, County Judge Bob Schulte and Snyder met to discuss emergency plans and readers were notified that in case ballistic missiles were launched from Cuba, they would hit El Paso in a mere eleven minutes.

On October 24th, in Santa Fe, a grim article on the inadequate condition of their civil defense organization was published, "No Hiding Place Down Here." Santa Fe Civil Defense Director John R. Hardesty said about 100 homes had private shelters, but the large buildings that could serve as public shelters were useless because they were not stocked or even had signs properly designating them as shelters. The signs were still in an Albuquerque warehouse. If stocked, existing buildings in Santa Fe could have sheltered about 14,600 persons—less than half of the population. Mines and caves were also to be used as shelters. In reality, Santa Fe, although a state capital, was not a prime target in the same respect as El Paso and was possibly outside range of the missiles.[26]

The crisis continued to gain seriousness on October 25th. Blockade forces detained the oil tanker "Bucharest" which was on its way to Cuba but it was not boarded since its cargo, petroleum, was considered non-defensive. In the United Nations Security Council, United States Ambassador Adlai Stevenson confronted Russian Ambassador Valerian Zorin over the purpose and presence of Russian missiles in Cuba, in the famous "I am prepared to wait until hell freezes over" speech. In El Paso, city personnel director Jim Ewell was appointed communications coordinator in case of attack. Civil Defense Director Snyder, instead of giving words of comfort or practical advice, said in a *Herald-Post* article that his office was swamped with calls: "Rumors are ripe. One person called to ask if it were true that the whole town is being evacuated at noon." Another report claimed 200 local policemen and firemen were receiving emergency training. In Santa Fe, Civil Defense Director Hardesty was only slightly more practical in his advice, admitting that many local shelters had low radioactivity protection factors, but suggesting that "any protection [against a nuclear attack] is better than none."[27]

October 26th was another day of tension. Work on the missiles was still going on around the clock in Cuba, despite Kennedy's demands. Angry words from Washington implied a possible attack or invasion of Cuba as military forces of the United States amassed in Florida. At 9 p.m. Washington time a rambling letter from Kruschev to Kennedy hinted at a reconciliatory mood. In the *El Paso Times*, twelve additional shelters were reported stocked and ready for a maximum of 77,000 persons. Most of the shelters were downtown, on the Texas Western College campus, and in a cement plant on Doniphan Drive.[28]

The climax of the crisis occurred on October 27th. A second letter from Kruschev was clearly not reconciliatory. In the letter, Kruschev offered the swap of the Soviet bases in Cuba in exchange for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) missile base in Turkey, which Kennedy could not do with a clear conscience. Meanwhile, a U-2 plane was shot down over Cuba and it appeared that "careful control" of the situation was near an end.[29]

Local coverage of the events of October 27th was meager, with only the *Herald-Post* offering an editorial column praising Adlai Stevenson's "masterful" United Nations performance. The small-town nature of the El Paso newspapers is reflected on the front page, in which major world news, such as the missile crisis, was printed beside unimportant filler wire service material. On October 27th, news of the crisis competed for space with a large story and photo of "California Miss Takes Teen Crown," a story with no relevance to El Paso whatsoever.[30]

In New York, major efforts to mobilize a civil defense force seemed underway as city Fire Commissioner Edward Thompson called for 50,000 volunteer firefighters. Police Commissioner Michael Murphy said the step was taken to "revitalize" the civil defense program in New York City. At the same time, Mayor Wagner joined the appeal for volunteers, urging "calmness, common sense and courage." The New York newspaper also reported a Pentagon study on civil defense which indicated that nationwide only 112,000 structures were currently available to shelter approximately 60 million persons in case of attack. In the same report, it was acknowledged that the civil defense program was not popular with the public or thought to be of any real value.[31]

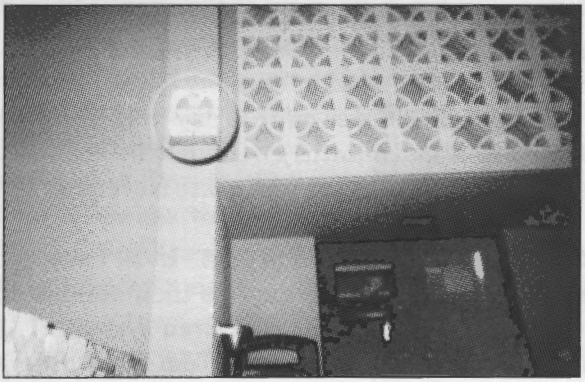
The crisis very suddenly de-escalated on October 28th as Kruschev ordered the dismantling of missiles and bases in Cuba and the return of Russians there to the Soviet Union. In response, the United States promised not to invade Cuba. A mood of cautious optimism and relief began to emerge after so many days of desperate tension. By interesting coincidence on that day in El Paso the top news centered around a much-anticipated visit by the Billy Graham Evangelical Crusade. The event took place November 4th at Kidd Field.[32]

By October 29th, the missile crisis was past. In El Paso, the public was asked to take part in a poll to express their opinion on the purchase of a civil defense county air raid siren system. The straw poll was the brainchild of Commissioner Tom Mays. Com-

missioners Court was divided on the issue, with those in favor claiming the system would save 40,000 lives in event of attack. Those against said the sirens would create panic and would come too late, since missiles could reach El Paso within eleven minutes. One-half of the cost of the system, $200,000 would be paid by the city and county; the other half would by paid with federal matching funds. At the time, El Paso was the only major southwest city without a siren system. A week later, the results of the poll were announced: 43 in favor and 29 against. Not all of those very few who responded were well informed. One response indicated that the present siren system was good enough—even though there was none. The siren system was never purchased.[33]

Significant coverage of local aspects of the missile crisis were reported by the then-weekly Texas Western College newspaper, *The Prospector*, after the worst had passed. In the November 3, 1962 issue, an anti-Castro editorial by editor Bill Coleman opined that Castro had "helped" the United States by causing the missile incident. His unusual logic suggested that the crisis focused American forces against Cuba while at the same time it revealed Castro's Cuba as good evidence against the reality of Communism. Coleman concluded by saying Castro's "days were numbered."[34]

One week later, the November 10th *Prospector* featured a complete report of a significant civil defense conference at Texas Western College—what might be called a town hall meeting today. According to the report, the event was attended by 500 students and faculty and was headed by T. W. C. Civil Defense Director, Dr. Anton H. Berkman and city-county Civil Defense Director Major Al Snyder. The college campus was the site of nine "extremely desirable" fallout shelters; so desirable because of their size and factor of radioactive protection.[35]



Sign on the east side Liberal Arts building indicates fallout shelter.

Lower level Computer Science building was a fallout shelter.

Berkman and Snyder encouraged students to familiarize themselves with the Civil Defense Plan and tune in to the Conelrad warning system at 640 or 1240 on the AM radio dial. Snyder spoke to the assembly about civil defense: "Civil Defense is a word that is commonly misunderstood. Our primary goal is to direct and provide disaster relief . . . we should remember that the Civil Defense organization is interested not only in war situations but in any other disaster which might arise." This statement foreshadowed the subsequent evolution of civil defense into an umbrella organization which over the years became less concerned with nuclear preparedness than reacting to other emergencies such as hurricanes, snowstorms, flooding, and other extreme weather disasters. By the eighties, the specter of terrorism on American soil also became a concern of the agency. During the Reagan administration, civil defense was incorporated into the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which oversees all types of disaster warning and recovery efforts.[36]

Returning to the events of the 1962 civil defense meeting at TWC, a federal representative, Col. Frank Worthen, outlined three types of nuclear bomb detonations and dangers to be considered: the blast, thermal, and nuclear radiation: "Thermal heat is an instantaneous, line-of-sight transmission of heat which will burn at intensities relative to distance from the detonation point. A single sheet of ordinary paper alone, placed directly in the line of heat transmission, can save a person from instantaneous burns." Despite the possible accuracy of this statement, it is possible that such comments may have confused or alienated some of the students.[37]

In the same issue, TWC Student Association Vice President Mike Holland submitted a letter to the editor. He further advised students that civil defense shelters were stocked with 14 days of

provisions, and he admonished that in emergency situations, common sense must be exercised. He also said "it is pretty certain" that TWC would receive a siren system with the rest of the city. He thereby expressed the widespread optimism for installation of a siren system that was essential to the viability of the local civil defense system at that time—but which would never be purchased by a dollar-conscious Commissioners Court. Holland's letter had a bizarre conclusion—he said he hoped the students "didn't feel that [the assembly] was a complete waste of time."[38]

The subsequent news developments after the Cuban missile crisis had dominated the headlines of newspapers for months, and also had a significant impact on the development of television news. In a full page *New York Times* advertisement on October 31st, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) promoted the news special, "Clear and Present Danger":

> Tonight NBC pre-empts 90 minutes of regular programming for a special presentation analyzing the crisis with the Soviets over Cuba, in context of world events . . . with background details, a summary of world reaction, and an interpretation of the latest developments. NBC News will explore the significance of this turning point in history, tracing the crucial events of the past week and placing them in the perspective of the past and future.

NBC seized the opportunity to enhance its reputation: "NBC News continues its alert on Cuba and on the world—to bring America the news—rapidly, accurately, responsibly, and with thoroughness that marks news programming on NBC television." Magazines also hung their reputations on coverage of the crisis. In a similar full page ad, the *Times* advertised a special issue, "Showdown on Cuba."[39]

LOCAL ORAL HISTORIES

Even though forty-four years have passed since the Cuban Missile Crisis, there are still many local residents eager to share their memories of those frightening days. Helen Ring was the young mother of an infant daughter when the crisis hit:

> I had attended some of the local group [civil defense] meetings before, but they were really just social get-togethers. When we heard about the missiles, I got scared. At the meeting, one of the men said we were all really on our own, that there was no workable plan or

> really any good way for the regular people like us to be warned in time if there was going to be a bomb. (My husband and I) decided to build a bomb shelter in the back yard. We never finished it. We really didn't know what to do. What could we do, really?"[40]

School age children also endured stressful days during the crisis. Ann Gabbert, who attended seventh grade at Bonham School in Central El Paso in 1962, said:

> If we lived closer than one mile from school, we could walk home if they dropped the bomb! But if it was farther than one mile, we were to stay at school. I remember that we did one drill where we went under the desks but the standard drill was to file out to the hallway and sit on the floor with our backs against the wall. The girls were told that if we were in a real attack, we were to throw our skirts over our heads. At home, we did not have a bomb shelter but my parents had purchased boxes of Civil Defense food. Also, during the crisis, my mother filled up the bathtub with water in case the utilities were cut off, at least we would have water.[41]

Of several men interviewed who were in their thirties during the crisis, none admit today to being significantly afraid at the time. Whether this is actually a true memory or due to their present age or attributable to 20/20 hindsight, I cannot say. One of the men, a past president of the El Paso County Historical Society, said he was sure "Kennedy would work it out. I mean, I was concerned that the matter was resolved, but we never really thought it would come to war."[42]

In the aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis, a considerable civil defense organization developed in El Paso. Over the next decade, hundreds of buildings were stocked and designated as fallout shelters. Two complete hospitals, a 200-bed and a 100-bed, were stored in boxes in a large downtown shelter. Civil defense classes were offered to the public and meticulous records on stocks and inspections were kept by the civil defense office. Despite the existence of an efficient bureaucracy, El Paso's civil defense agency never fully organized and educated the public as to exactly what to do and where to go in case of another nuclear emergency. El Paso's civil defense organization was in many ways a microcosm of the national situation—lots of debate, noble language, and plans for

the future—manifesting an inability to provide tangible protection and shelter for the here and now. Fortunately for us all, the adequacy of the local organization was never again put to the test.

ALLISON RING currently teaches high school English in the Ysleta Independent School District and also at the University of Texas at El Paso. She holds a B.A. in Journalism and an M.A.I.S. Degree from UT El Paso. Prior to becoming a teacher, her career in newspaper reporting included positions at *The El Paso Times, Rio Grande Gazette,* and *The Prospector.* During a brief residence in Washington, D.C., she worked for USA Today/Gannett Inc. and the Statistics of Income Division of the Internal Revenue Service. She is a fourth-generation El Pasoan, and credits her interest in local history to her late father John F. Ring, prominent architect and amateur historian.

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40. Ring, Helen J. Interview by author, 30 September 1998, El Paso, TX. Written notes.
41. Gabbert, Ann. Interview by author, 5 November 1998, El Paso, TX. Written notes.
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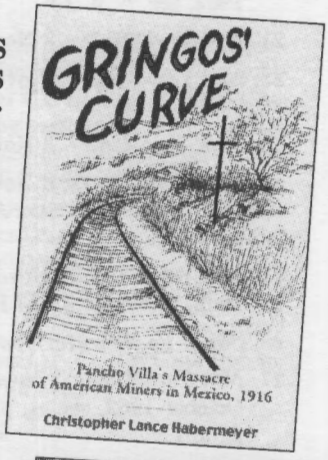
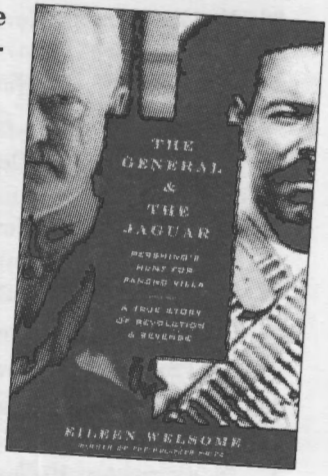
Book Notes

Book Notes by Richard Baquera, Book Review Editor



GRINGOS' CURVE: PANCHO VILLA'S MASSACRE OF AMERICAN MINERS IN MEXICO, 1916. By Christopher Lance Habermeyer. El Paso, TX: Book Publishers of El Paso, 2004. Hardcover. $10.95. ISBN 0-94455 J -72-6. 70 PP. + Preface + Sources.



THE GENERAL AND THE JAGUAR: PERSHING'S HUNT FOR PANCHO VILLA, A TRUE STORY OF REVOLUTION & REVENGE. By Eileen Welsome. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2006. Cloth, $25.95. ISBN 0-316-71599-9. 334 PP. + Prologue + Chronology + Notes + Selected Bibliography + Index.

By the beginning of 1916, Pancho Villa was in desperate straits. An original *revolucionario,* he had experienced the Madero disillusionment and subsequent descent into civil war. He had been receiving support, if not direct aid from the United States, and so was content with the relationship. That was until October, 1915, when the Wilson Administration recognized Venustiano Carranza as the legitimate head of the Mexican government. This development, coming on the heels of bruising, bloody defeats at the hands of the *carrancistas,* made for a bleak future for Villa. Desperate attempts to generate a direct United States-Mexico conflict led to the Santa Isabel massacre and the Columbus raid.

Few events in regional history elicit the type of response as do the developments involving Americans and Pancho Villa in the early months of 1916. Habermeyer and Welsome hope to add to what is known about Santa Isabel and Columbus in the ninety years since they occurred. On a personal note, I know that my

grandfather was a *villista.* As children, my father would tell us stories about what the *villistas* had done to outwit the gringos. Unfortunately, by the time I was interested in hearing directly from my grandfather about his experiences, he was gone.

I must admit that when I first saw Eileen Welsome's book my initial reaction was, "*another* Villa and Columbus book!" But as I read *The General and The Jaguar,* I found that it is not only well-written but I was learning new things. Welsome sets the stage for the March, 1916, Columbus Raid in the first half dozen chapters by placing it both in the broad context of the politics and foreign affairs of United States-Mexican relations of that period and in the local border situation. The raid, Pershing's Expedition and the consequences are discussed in detail and in a scholarly manner. What makes this book different and intriguing reading is that Welsome has taken the extra step of investigating and writing about the lives of the people directly impacted by these events of early 1916. She used written accounts and interviews of family members. For example, Maud Wright lived on a ranch in northern Chihuahua. *Villistas* rode up and separated her from her husband [who was subsequently shot] and her two-year-old son. She was taken hostage, forced to ride with the *Villistas* but later reunited with her son. She writes dramatic, chilling accounts of several families whose fate it was to be in Columbus at the time of the raid. Also there are personal details and accounts of the men involved in the Pershing Expedition. To me this is the best part of the book—the very personal, intimate aspects of this period that you rarely see in print.

Few El Pasoans might know that a race riot occurred in the city in January, 1916 when news arrived that *Villistas* had murdered nearly twenty American mining company employees at a train station in Chihuahua. The victims were Anglo-American, or gringos, in the slang term—thus the title of Habermeyer's short book, *Gringos'Curve.* El Paso's police had to be called out to stop other Anglo-Americans in the city from getting revenge for the murders by assaulting innocent Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Set in the period just two months prior to the Columbus Raid, the Santa Isabel [now known as General Trias] massacre is not as well known but just as bloody. The mining employees were under the impression that it was safe to travel to their jobs in the Mexican interior—expecting Mexican military protection that never materialized. Habermeyer's short account does attempt to place the massacre in an historical context but I feel this was too brief. Readers not familiar with the background of that period will have

to look elsewhere for more insight. The value *of Gringos' Curve* is in the author's use of personal details of the men who were on that train. Just as Welsome did for *General and Jaguar,* Habermeyer has made this a personal exploration of those involved. However an epilogue discussing the aftermath and reactions to the train massacre would also have helped—the story just stops. There are useful contemporary cartoons and photos but no map and the "Sources" cited are scant. *Gringos' Curve* is a quick read and interesting for its "up close and personal" look at the men involved but it lacks depth, a broader view of the setting, and consequences of the incident.

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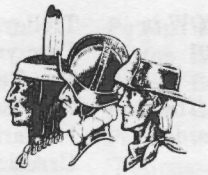

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