

SOUTHERN NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW



Pasajero del Camino Real

Doña Ana County Historical Society
Volume XIV Las Cruces, New Mexico January 2007

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The *Southern New Mexico Historical Review* (ISSN-1076-9072) seeks original articles concerning the Southwestern Border Region for future issues. Bibliography, local and family histories, oral history, and well-edited documents are welcome. Charts, illustrations or photographs are encouraged to accompany submissions. Please do not send original photographs or artwork; electronic scans are preferred. We are also in need of book reviewers, proofreaders, and an individual or individuals interested in marketing and distribution.

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Editor's Page

This issue of the *Southern New Mexico Historical Review* contains a variety of articles covering a wide variety of topics. Linda G. Harris, perhaps best known for her outstanding community history *Las Cruces: An Illustrated History*, contributes an article on the tradition of bell ringing at area churches. As the author points out, this practice, which was once so much a part of community life in the Mesilla Valley is rapidly disappearing. More troubling is the fact that the history of this significant tradition being lost. Perhaps this article will spur others to research and record the history of the church bells of the valley.

Archaeologist Bill Lockhart continues his exploration of the bottling industry in the southwest with a thorough history of the Coca-Cola Company in Deming. Bottle Bill has contributed similar studies to the *Southern New Mexico Historical Review* and other publications over the last decade as he seeks to fully document the history in the area of a utilitarian item we really could not do without—the beverage bottle.

Frequent contributor Roberta Haldane comes to us again, this time with a biography of Andrew Hudspeth, a Texas native who eventually became Chief Justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court. Readers with an interest in Lincoln County but no abiding love for William Bonney will note that The Kid does not make an appearance in these pages.

William Henry Harrison Llewellyn is the subject of a biographical treatment by Albuquerque resident Mark Thompson. I suspect that most readers will be unfamiliar with Llewellyn, a Las Cruces district attorney before President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him United States Attorney for New Mexico in 1905. The story of rise and fall of this Wisconsin transplant to New Mexico makes fascinating reading.

The probing research and graceful writing of Martha Shipman Andrews, university archivist at New Mexico State University, is on display in an article on the recruitment and hiring of the original faculty members of the school where she now works. Her mining of primary sources provides a revealing look at the early days of our community's institution of higher learning.

Finally, Eloise S. Evans, another frequent contributor, gives us an oral history with one of Las Cruces's most beloved educators, Clarence Fielder. In his own words, Clarence relates the history of segregation and school integration in our town, offering his unique perspective of young student and adult educator. His story, like the others presented in this issue, are a testament to the remarkable richness of the history of the area, which the Doña Ana Historical Society strives to preserve.

In our section of memorials, Daniel Aranda contributes a Reflection on Giovanni Maria Deagostini in tributes to Santiago P. Baca.

Rick Hendricks
Editor

“Where Have All the Church Bells Gone?”

Linda G. Harris

Last year after writing a magazine article on the bell ringing tradition at San Albino Catholic Church in Mesilla, I decided to search for the bell at my own church, St. Paul’s United Methodist. I discovered an old bell—sitting quietly in an interior patio. Then I drove the few blocks to St. Genevieve’s Catholic Church, and saw no sign of a bell. “Where,” I asked myself, “Where *have* all the church bells gone?”

Since then I’ve spent several afternoons driving Doña Ana County north to south, taking photos and asking questions. The questions I asked at the twenty-some churches I visited put people to thinking about and searching for information on their own church bells. For me, what began as a search for church bells, became a quest for information on those bells I did find. From that experience I found that churches in the county’s larger communities are losing the tradition of church bells. My survey also underscored the need for church members to record their unique histories.

The tradition of church bells dates to 1598 when Juan de Oñate led his colonists into New Mexico. Among his vast inventory were six church bells donated by the king of Spain.¹ The bells in New Mexico’s early churches served both religious and community purposes. The bells rang the call to mass, tolled the mournful *doble* in time of death, and sounded three peals to signal danger. Eric Gallegos, who rings the bells in Mesilla, said that in his grandmother’s day when the women in town heard the *doble*, they would begin making food for the mourners even before they knew who had died.²

The finer bells, such as those Oñate hauled over the Camino Real, were made in Spain or Mexico and often were inscribed with a saint’s name and the date cast. Parishioners in poorer villages cast their own bells from in-ground sand molds or made use of itinerant bell casters who traveled New Mexico in the 1800s. Sometimes these bells bore the names of respected church members who served as the bell’s “godparents,” or *padrinos*.³

Among nineteenth-century Protestant churches in the west, church bells were a visible and audible sign of success. In 1871 the priest at El Paso’s St. Clements Episcopal Church boasted that the church’s copper bell was the only Protestant church bell for a thousand miles.⁴ However, not everyone was impressed with church bells. One resident who lived near a Methodist church in Montana offered to donate \$100 to the church if it would *stop* ringing its bell.⁵

From the 1830s on most of New Mexico’s church bells—Catholic and Protestant alike—came from bell foundries in the Midwest. St. Louis alone counted thirty-three bell-related businesses in the last half of the nineteenth century. Only one or two are in business today.⁶ Most

of these bells were bronze, consisting of eighty percent copper and twenty percent tin.⁷

Most of the communities and the churches in Doña Ana County are clustered in towns along the Rio Grande Valley with Las Cruces at its midpoint. The area was settled late by New Mexico standards with its colonists coming up from the El Paso area to establish Doña Ana in 1843.⁸ While Catholics built the first churches in the valley, Protestant denominations, namely Methodists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians gained footholds with the coming of the railroad in 1881.⁹

I began my search for Doña Ana County's church bells at the northern end of the county and angled southeast through the agricultural valley, ending at the Texas state line some seventy-five miles to the south.

The first community in the survey is Hatch, a farming community that was first established in 1851. But because of the ongoing threat of Indian attack, the village was not permanently settled until 1875. Later it became a stop on the Santa Fe Railroad line.¹⁰

Our Lady of Mercy Catholic Church in Hatch has an electronic bell but the parish priest, Father Franklin Eichorst, said he had never used it. He did not know even if the bell was hooked up.¹¹ Because Father Eichorst had been in Hatch only a year, his newcomer status illustrates the point that as priests come and go, it is most often up to long-time parishioners to maintain their church's history. Father Eichorst also serves the church at Rincon, where its parishioners have taken an active role in preserving their church and its history.

Rodey, just south of Hatch, is a former railroad community. Today it is a collection of run-down adobe buildings and mobile homes clustered around the walled church compound. Every day at noon the bells of the 1860s St. Francis de Sales Church play "Home on the Range." In truth, the old adobe hasn't been a church since 1965. It's now the home of Teako and Josie Nunn. And the bells? A player piano hooked up to speakers.¹²

Still, the playing of the "bells" has brought the community together in ways no one dreamed possible. Josie Nunn said at first the "bells" tolled only when someone died, but later religious and patriotic songs and old favorites like "Home on the Range" were added. The community began to congregate when the bells rang and eventually began meeting at the Nunn home. As a result of the community organization, Rodey's roads are being repaired and a new community center is being built. In this case, the bells truly brought the community together.¹³

Rincon, just off the exit at I-25, was established at the bend, the *rincón* where the El Paso-bound rail line branched west toward Deming in 1881. Once a haven for outlaws, today it is a quiet village where the century-old Lady of All Nations Catholic Mission is the pride of the community. The church, originally called Santo Thomas de Aquinas, burned down in 1952. The entire community—not just the

congregation—helped rebuild the church. When it was completed, the parish priest, who had been a prisoner of war in World War II, renamed the church Our Lady of All Nations dedicating it as a shrine to peace. The church bells survived the fire and still ring for mass and the dole.¹⁴

Mary Ann Benavidez, a life-long resident of Rincon, remembered “the men ringing the church bell five times to let the Jamaica (a fiesta) begin and [then] they lighted fireworks.”¹⁵

In 1843 Doña Ana became the first permanently settled Mexican land grant colony in southern New Mexico.¹⁶ Doña Ana grew into a large settlement, but was eclipsed by Las Cruces in the 1880s with the arrival of the railroad. Doña Ana then turned its attention to its village life and to its church, Our Lady of Purification Catholic Church. Dating to about 1865, it is the oldest church in southern New Mexico. Initially, the thick-walled adobe church also served as a fortress against Apache raids.¹⁷

Around the turn of the century, a small wood-louvered bell tower was built above the entrance. In 1930 a large bell tower of poured concrete was added to the east side of the church. Today, the weight of the bell tower is causing it to settle but according to Pat Taylor, who helped restore the church, tearing down the tower would create even more problems. There are two bells in the tower. The first is a bell given to the church by the people at Shalam Colony, when the Fathist colony disbanded in 1907. The second bell is original to the tower and has the markings of the padrinos, the bell’s godparents.¹⁸

The new churches, built in the circular “kiva” architectural style popular for churches built in the 1970s. A large bell is hung above a circular stone ground-level “belfry” just outside the church.

But for its two roadside churches, Hill would have no identity at all. The little village at one time had a post office, a school, a general store and a railroad depot. One of the two churches, St. Mary’s-at-Hill Episcopal Church was built in about 1923 and was named for Mary Hill Campbell, the first bride married there—thus St. Mary’s-at-Hill.¹⁹ A 1948 photograph shows a single bell hanging from an arch above the church entrance. When the church was deconsecrated, the stained glass windows and pump organ were moved to Kendrick Chapel in Las Cruces. But the fate of the bell is unknown. After standing vacant for a number of years, the little rock church is now home to the St. Mary’s-at-Hill Anglican Church. Once again a bell hangs above the church. This bell was salvaged from an elementary school in El Paso when the school was demolished.²⁰

Las Cruces was founded in 1849 and grew slowly until the arrival of the railroad in 1881. Today, at 80,000, it is the second-largest city in New Mexico.²¹ The railroad’s arrival also ushered in the age of the Protestants. The pesky Protestants caused one Catholic Bishop to complain that “Each year (the biblical societies of New England) send bands of missionaries loaded with gold and astounding promises...

.²² The Episcopalians built the first Protestant church in the Mesilla Valley in 1875, with the Presbyterians building their church in 1883, the Methodists theirs in 1888, and the Baptists theirs in 1899.²³

The old St. Genevieve's Catholic Church, long a beloved landmark, was torn down in 1968 during urban renewal. The church bells, however, survived the demolition. The *first* bells at the 1859 St. Genevieve's were cast in 1862 and 1863 in someone's backyard, created from a molten brew of scrap metal, jewelry, and coins collected from parishioners. Those bells were traded in for new ones from a foundry in St. Louis, Missouri.²⁴



St. Genevieve Large Bell

When the 1969 church was built, the bell towers looked more like tall buttresses.

A church staff member thought the old bells were in the attic, but when I went up there, I couldn't find them. A former priest directed me to a spiral staircase that led to the second floor where I found a wall ladder leading to a hatch in the roof.²⁵ There, sheltered inside a wall at the back of one of the buttresses were the two "new" bells. Embossed on the bells were the facts and clues to their histories.

The large bell is in excellent shape and roughly 31 in. from base to top and 33 in. across. It is embossed with the following:

AGOSTO 12 DEC 1877 (The date the bell was dedicated.)

SENORA DE LOURDES (The bell is named in honor of the patron saint whose visions of the Virgin Mary appeared at the grotto in Lourdes, France.)

PADRINOS HJ. CUNIFF Y SU ESPOSA F.L. de C (Large bells in particular often have godparents, padrinos, respected members of the congregation who are charged with protecting the bell. Henry J. Cuniff was trader on the Santa Fe Trail who opened a store in Las Cruces in 1850 and married Francesca Lujan in 1854.)²⁶

MCSHANE BELL FOUNDRY, HENRY MCSHANE & Co., BALTIMORE, MD. 1877 (McShane Bell Foundry was established in 1856 in Baltimore, Maryland. The foundry, which is still in business, produces "America's Finest Church Bells" and has produced more than 300,000 bells.)²⁷

The small bell also is in excellent shape. A pulley wire used to ring the bell leads from the wheel down through a small hole in the roof. The bell is embossed with the following:

ST. LOUIS MO. 1884 (The date the bell was cast.)

SANTA GENOVEVA (St. Genevieve's was named for the woman who saved Paris from the Huns. The naming of a French saint is not surprising as three-fourths of the priests who served under French Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy in the 1850s were from the same town in France. Between 1850 and 1918, New Mexico was served by several French Bishops.)²⁸

G. STEPHENSON, M. ASCARATE (The padrinos.)

CAST BY HENRY STUCKSTEDE & CO. (The bell company was founded in 1855 and was probably the largest American producer of bells west of Cincinnati. While this particular foundry closed in 1931, various foundries under the Stuckstede name operated until 1960.)²⁹

Among the early churches in Las Cruces is St. Andrews Episcopal Church. The first St. Andrews, a compact Gothic-style church, was built in 1913 and is now referred to as the Kendrick Chapel. Its stained glass windows and pump organ originally were at St. Mary's-at-Hill.³⁰ It was thought that the bell from the little rock church also ended up at Kendrick Chapel, but that is not the case. The chapel's original bell, thought to be about a hundred years old, was installed in the bell tower of the new St. Andrews when it was built in 1962 next door to the chapel.³¹



St. Andrews Kendrick Chapel

St. Paul's United Methodist Church is one of the early downtown churches in Las Cruces. The story of its bell illustrates how easily a bell can be lost, and even when it is found, how it can lose its place in the heart of the church.

St. Paul's has occupied at least three church buildings at the same location. However, the original bell from these earlier churches still exists. Called the Hendrix Bell, it dates from the first church built in 1888. When *that* building was torn down to make way for a new church in 1912, its bricks were used to build a church in Berino, south of Las Cruces. The church bell was moved to the Berino church where it sat on the church porch. When *that* church closed, the bell was "loaned" to a church in nearby Brazito. Then in the early 1960s when that church also closed, a couple of St. Paul's members who worked for El Paso Electric borrowed a boom truck and moved the bell back to St. Paul's, where today it sits in the patio. While the bell is not inscribed with a date, it does have the markings CIN BELL CO., most likely a reference to the Cincinnati, (Ohio), Bell Co.³²

Over the years, speculation persists about a “lost” second bell that was thought to be original to St. Paul’s. Recent research shows the second bell was in fact from a school in Berino.³³ The confusion stems from the coincidence of both the Hendrix bell and the Berino school bell being removed from the Berino-Brazito area at about the same time. The confusion was compounded when the school bell ended up in the salvage yard of the same company that demolished the old St. Paul’s in 1965. The school bell sat in the salvage yard for a couple of years before the general superintendent, a man named Harry Stages, used a company crane to move the bell to his house. And there it is today. It has a small crack, which according to some accounts was caused when the bell was rung continuously during V-E Day.³⁴ People still question the fate of St. Paul’s “lost” bell, when in fact what was “lost” was the tradition of the bell.

El Calvario, the Spanish Methodist Church sits in the heart of Las Cruces and counts among its founders the Methodists of Doña Ana. Early Methodist missionaries established schools and churches in many Hispanic villages in New Mexico, confirming the fears expressed by the Catholic bishop.³⁵ The stained glass windows in the church are from the old St. Paul’s Methodist Church, and one of the church bells comes from the old Methodist church in Doña Ana. One of its members is still searching for the origins of the second bell.³⁶

The villagers of Tortugas count among their ancestors Pueblo Indians who came south to El Paso following the Pueblo Revolt. In 1850 a group of these people settled just south of Las Cruces at Tortugas. They performed their traditional dances in front of St. Genevieve’s Catholic Church until 1910 then moved the dances to their own church when it was built in 1914.³⁷

Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church defines the community of Tortugas. When their own church was built, their dances became a central part of a three-day celebration honoring the Virgin of Guadalupe. The December celebration, which includes feasting, all-night dancing, and a pilgrimage to Tortugas Mountain, serves as both a religious event and a homecoming of sorts.³⁸ The church bells are electronic and are rung for every mass.

Mesilla Park grew as a bedroom community to New Mexico State University. St. James Episcopal Church was the flagship church of Reverend Hunter “Preacher” Lewis. The colorful Preacher came to this small community in 1905 and over the next forty years served twenty-one missions in southern New Mexico. The original St. James, built in 1875, was the first Protestant church in the valley.³⁹ One story has it that when Preacher built a new church building in 1911, he forgot to allow for a bell tower and so he later added a small belfry onto the back of the church.⁴⁰

Because Preacher Lewis took great pride in the construction of the church, it is unlikely that he would commit such an oversight.

The truth is that the little bell on the roof was installed by some of the church men in about 1986 or 1987. The bell simply was one they picked up somewhere in El Paso. A latter group of men decided the little bell wasn't loud enough, so they installed a new one in front of the church in 1995. Today the call to worship is rung on *the* bell out front, but nobody knows where it came from.⁴¹

Holy Cross Retreat, once part of an eighty-acre estate, was built in 1913 by a California couple seeking a healthier climate. In 1954 the house and nineteen acres were sold to the Franciscan Fathers.⁴²

Outside one of the meeting rooms is a broken bell with this mysterious marking: JUNIPERO SERRA 1713—(here a portion of the bell is broken off). One person told me he heard the bell was found when they were building the road to the NASA site east of Las Cruces. He thought it might have been a marker on the old Camino Real.⁴³ Still, no one knows.

Mesilla, which dates to 1850, was the region's center for trade, transportation, religion and politics until the railroad bypassed it for Las Cruces. Today, though, Mesilla is still the region's historical hub. And no landmark has earned more importance than the picturesque San Albino Catholic Church. The first San Albino, named for a French monk, was built in 1856.⁴⁴ The second San Albino, dating to the 1870s, featured a French-inspired single bell tower. A small copper bell was cast in town for this tower. This bell is embossed with the names of its padrinos, Anastacio Barela and Rafaela Garcia, and the words "MOVIO ALBINO, LAS MESILLA, NM 1886."

A second bell, named María Albina, was hung at San Albino in 1886. Its inscription reads "SOGRADO CORAZON DE JESUS, LAS MESILLA 1886" and includes the names of the padrinos, Ramon Gonzales and Josepha Ortega.⁴⁵ In 1887 the final and largest of the San Albino bells, Campaña Grande was hung. This bell is inscribed with the names of its padrinos Mariano Barela and Rafaela Garcia and the date 1887. These last two bells were cast in St. Louis at the David Coughlan Foundry.⁴⁶

When the present San Albino was built in 1908, horse and manpower helped hoist the three bells into the twin bell towers—two bells in the east tower and the Campaña Grande in the west tower.⁴⁷ I climbed both bell towers to see the bells and found them dusty but sound.

The unique aspect of the San Albino bells is the tradition of bell ringers. Starting in 1890, five generations of one family have carried on the tradition of ringing the bells. While the Campaña Grande is rung only on Easter morning, the other two bells are rung for every mass and at funerals and on holy days.⁴⁸

From Mesilla south to the state line several small farming communities were founded along the old Camino Real. Most have a Catholic church, and all have bells. San Miguel, a small Hispanic village

dating to 1850, is typical.

San Miguel Catholic Church began as a small chapel built in 1879, and was followed by a second one in 1898. In 1927, San Miguel dedicated its new church, a sturdy structure built of volcanic stone from nearby Mesa Prieta. When the interior of the church burned in 1983, the stone walls and the tall belfry—along with its bells—survived. The church was quickly rebuilt and today parishioners say its bells ring out “Viva San Miguel!”⁴⁹

The village of La Mesa, which means table land, was established in 1857 by some three hundred settlers. This higher land was less vulnerable to flooding and better suited to agriculture. Sometime in the 1860s, the entire community organized to build San José Catholic



La Mesa Church 9-04

Church, making adobes on site. Oxen hauled cut timbers from the Organ Mountains to the Rio Grande where the logs were floated down to La Mesa for the church’s vigas. Tree-ring dating from these logs date the church to 1868. The building was completed in 1877. In 1989 the single bell tower began to crack at its juncture with the church. Fearing the tower would collapse taking the church with it, church leaders had local firemen bring it down using high-pressure hoses. The tower was rebuilt in 1992 using adobes from Mexico. The original bronze bells were re-hung in the belfry.⁵⁰

Stamped on the two old bells was the name L.M. Rumsey and Co., of St. Louis, a company that specialized in reselling bells.⁵¹ The bells bear the dates they were cast, the larger one in 1878 and the smaller one in 1892. These two bells are all that remain of the church’s original furnishings.⁵²

The residents of Chamberino took to higher ground after being flooded out by the Rio Grande in 1892. Today, the church sits on the highest point in this impoverished village.⁵³ The San Luis Rey Catholic Church, built at the turn-of-the-century, is constructed of adobes that are two-feet thick. Some refer to the church as King of the Hill because of how it looms over the village. The parish priest, Father Robert Villegas, gave me permission to climb the bell tower. However, when I saw that the climb involved a metal free-standing ladder parked beneath a trap door, I left without making the climb and without finding any information on the bells.

Later, though, Father Villegas made the climb himself and was happy to report his findings. The bell, about 30 in. in diameter was inscribed in Latin with the following:

H Y STUCKSTEDE BS CO, ST. LOUIS, MO (The company that cast the bell.⁵⁴)

1901

CHRISTO REDEMPTORIS SEVER
POPULUSQUE CHAMBERINUS

AES ISTUD SACRUM
DEDICANT AD MCM I

Roughly translated the inscription reads: "Dedicated by the people of Chamberino to Christ the Redeemer. 1901."

So where have all the church bells gone? Some, like the one at Chamberino, have been there all along, identifiable to anyone willing to climb the tower. The bells in these churches, mainly Catholic and located in the villages, still call parishioners to worship, to celebrate, and to mourn.

But what of the churches that have bells but don't ring them? Or churches that have lost track of their bells, or don't know much about the ones they do have? Many have already lost the tradition of church bells. In the larger churches, the bells have been replaced by organs. Not only are organs the new status symbol, they also can simulate a myriad of bell tones and tunes. Also, it may require too much physical work to ring the bells. Some say residents near churches complained about the noise of ringing bells, but many of the churches are not in residential neighborhoods. Others say bell ringing is too dangerous, but it is not necessary to climb a bell tower to ring its bell. Two of the churches that now have electronic bells do not even "ring" them. Bell ringing just may be too much trouble, and so the skill and the tradition have been lost.

Today church architecture only "hints" of a bell tower. The Disney-like tower in my own church holds no bell, while the newly built Church Triumphant in Las Cruces features a "prayer tower" instead of a belfry. Even St. Genevieve's hides its bells behind buttress-like walls on its roof.

While the future of church bells in Doña Ana County may be uncertain, I hope that my questions will spur church members to seek answers on their own—not only about their church bells, but also about their church histories.

Linda G. Harris has lived in Las Cruces nearly thirty years. She is the author of four books about New Mexico, including *Las Cruces: An Illustrated History*. She is a past president of the Dona Ana County Historical Society.

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- 40 Richard L. Marshall, Telephone interview, 31 March 2005.
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- 43 Patrick Beckett, Personal interview, September 2004.
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- 45 *History of La Mesilla*, 204.
- 46 Zimmerman, "Bell Foundries in St. Louis," 2.
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- 49 *San Miguel Catholic Church* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.).
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Coca-Cola in Deming, New Mexico

Bill Lockhart

Although it is difficult to believe now, when the word “Coke” is almost synonymous with cola drinks, Coca-Cola was poorly received in its earliest days in the Southwest. When Hope Smith introduced the beverage to El Paso in 1911, he could not get anyone to buy it. People were used to fruit flavors and regarded the brown liquid with suspicion. Smith finally created a market by inserting a few bottles in “mixed” cases (where bottles of various flavors were “mixed” in with each other). In the days prior to the 1923 invention of the six-pack,¹ mixed cases were popular in the home trade. Once people actually tried the drink, they found they liked it, and Smith’s Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Company became the soft drink industry leader in El Paso.

Coca-Cola pioneered the franchise system, selling flavored syrup, the use of the name, and home company support to local units throughout the country (and eventually in virtually every nation in the world). In New Mexico, Albuquerque hosted the first plant in 1904. The Roswell plant opened in 1912, followed by Tucumcari in 1914. When Lawrence Gardner opened the Deming Coca-Cola Bottling Works in 1916, Coke began achieving popularity in Southwestern New Mexico.²

Deming Coca-Cola Bottling Works (1916-1917)

According to Coca-Cola company records, the first Coca-Cola franchise in Deming, New Mexico, went to the Deming Coca-Cola Bottling Company in 1916.³ In the same year the *New Mexico State Business Directory* listed the Coca-Cola Bottling Works with L. Gardner as proprietor. L. Gardner was the same Lawrence Gardner who started the Purity Bottling and Manufacturing Company in El Paso, Texas, in 1906. Gardner was successful with Purity, and he merged his company with his largest major competitor, Houck and Dieter (founded 1881) to form Empire Bottling Works in 1912.⁴ On 14 January 1916, the *Deming Headlight* stated that “Mr. Gardener has the state rights for the sale of Coca-Cola in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, and he has already opened up a plant in El Paso to take care of the Texas trade.”⁵

In January 1916 Gardner had made arrangements to use the storeroom of the Western Transfer Company’s building on North Silver Avenue for the Deming Coca-Cola Bottling Works. As in El Paso, Gardner planned to start small.⁶ J. J. Noonan, the proprietor of Western Transfer was to be Gardner’s agent in Deming for the new venture. Gardner had ordered the machinery for the plant, and it was expected to arrive before February, the month targeted for the beginning of production. Gardner’s operation was assured to be a success because Coca-Cola was already sold in local soda fountains “where it has by far the biggest sale of all other drinks.”⁷ His high expectations were also

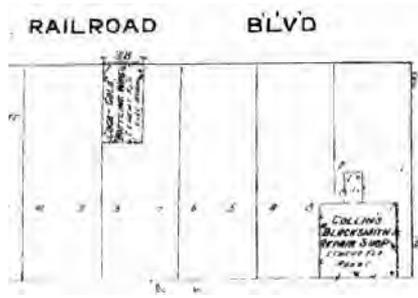
shown since “\$2,000 worth of bottles with the name of the new firm lblown [sic] on them have been ordered.”⁸

Why Gardner chose to open a plant in Deming⁹ will probably never be known, and it may have just been his desire to expand (he eventually built Empire to the point where its beverages were sold nation-wide and as far away as Mexico City and Puerto Rico). However, the new operation may have been caused by jealousy. In 1908, Hope Smith founded the Magnolia Bottling Company in El Paso. Competing with Houck and Dieter (El Paso’s oldest bottler), Henry Pfaff, Gardner’s Purity Bottling and Manufacturing Company, and Woodlawn Bottling Company may have driven Smith to obtain the Coca-Cola franchise for El Paso in 1911. It is clear that, after his initial difficulty convincing El Pasoans to drink a cola beverage, Magnolia’s Coca-Cola rapidly became the number one choice in the city. The ambitious Gardner probably wanted to take advantage of this popular beverage in settings where it was unavailable.¹⁰

Although we may never know the reason for the change, Gardner and Noonan certainly had a falling out in June 1916. Gardner posted a public notice stating that “Mr. J. J. Noonan is not nor has he ever been connected in a financial way with the Coca Cola Bottling Works of Deming, New Mexico, the undersigned being the sole and exclusive owner of the entire plant since its opening.”¹¹ The notice was signed by Gardner and his new manager, L. H. Phillips. Phillips would later be manager of the Southwestern Coca-Cola Bottling Company in Deming.

By November, the new Coca-Cola bottling plant, located along the railroad tracks “fronting the Union Station Park” was almost complete. Samuels and Son were in charge of masonry work; H. T. Foster was the primary carpenter; and one Nordhaus had the plumbing contract. The Deming *Graphic* cooed that “the pretty building is 25 x 50 [feet] with a second story as a laboratory. Mr. Gardner has purchased the very latest automatic machinery for the many beverages that have made his name famous in the Southwest and for the bottling of Coca-Cola.”¹² The building was to be completed about November 1. Unfortunately, the *Graphic* had no comment about where Gardner had been bottling his “many beverages” since his altercation with Noonan nearly four months earlier.

According to the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map (Figure 1), the new structure was rectangular with a cement floor and at least one electric motor. Just west of the center of the block along Railroad Boulevard, the building was surrounded by vacant lots and only shared space with two other structures along the block: Tri-State Oil Company on the western corner and Collins Blacksmith and Repair Shop along North Platinum Avenue to the east.¹³ The operation seemed to be highly successful, but change was in the wind.



Southwestern plant on 1917 Sanborn Map

Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Deming (1917)

An interesting sideline remains to be explained. The *Graphic*¹⁴ noted that Hope M. Smith, the man who introduced Coca-Cola to El Paso, opened a Deming branch in November 1917 in the new plant that Gardner had built. E. H. Bulis, described as “a gentleman of large experience,” was Smith’s new manager. The *Graphic*¹⁵ stated that “yesterday the company received two carload [sic] of bottles to take care of their trade” and bragged that the new owner made “Deming water 100% pure by putting it through a sand and water filter[,] and the manner in which their bottles are sterilized and cleaned would make a microbe flee in terror.” Since the Southwestern Coca-Cola Bottling Company incorporated in January 1917 (see below), it is strange that Smith showed up in November. It may be that Smith became one of the stakeholders, and the newspaper reporter once again misinterpreted his information. We may never know the full story. In any event, Smith was soon out of the picture (if he was ever really in it) and was never listed in any edition of the New Mexico State Business Directory, although Southwestern Coca-Cola Bottling Company was listed every year from 1917 to 1929.

Southwestern Coca-Cola Bottling Company (1917-1929)

Gardner’s desire for expansion could not be limited to a single plant, and he had experience with corporate maneuvering. Empire Bottling Works was incorporated in 1912 with some of the old Houck and Dieter directors on the board and Gardner as manager. Since Gardner had obtained the franchise for Southwestern New Mexico and Southeastern Arizona, he began a new corporation, Southwestern Coca-Cola Bottling Company, which was to spread to include four plants in New Mexico and eight in Arizona.

Southwestern was officially incorporated on 16 January 1917, with L. H. Phillips (manager of Gardner’s original Coca-Cola plant in Deming) as its agent and its registered office in Deming, New Mexico. The avowed purpose of the corporation was “Manufacturers and Mercantile” with an authorized capital stock of \$100,000, half

of which (\$50,000) was already subscribed (i.e., owned by the original incorporators). The list of incorporators contains some interesting names: Wheeler Shropshire, S. P. Shropshire, Nellie Gardner, R. G. Kemp, J. W. Donahue, E. W. Ferguson, S. Aronstein, Herman Andreas, H. Eichwald, F. G. Lemley, W. L. Kolberg, and R. A. Nook, all from El Paso, Texas; Arturo Ducas, Juarez, Mexico; J. L. Andreas, El Paso, Texas; H. P. Wiley, Douglas, Arizona; and L. H. Phillips, Deming, New Mexico.¹⁶ In 1917, the Deming branch of Southwestern was first listed in the *New Mexico State Business Directory*.

Although Gardner's name is conspicuously absent, he soon became president of the new corporation;¹⁷ however, the third name on the list of incorporators is Nellie Gardner, his wife. Eichwald and Lemley had been officers of Houck and Dieter (the corporation involved in Gardner's first merger in 1912), and Nooke and Eichwald had been officers in Empire Bottling Works.¹⁸ Others from El Paso were well-known business figures in the city.

According to the *New Mexico State Business Directory*, L. H. Phillips was superintendent in 1917 with Melvin Phillips as manager of the Deming plant at 208 East Railroad Drive (originally occupied by Gardner's Deming Coca-Cola Bottling Works). The Phillips combination apparently continued to run the operation until 1924 when Henry A. Voiers became manager.¹⁹ Voiers had been with the plant for quite a while. The *Graphic* (7/22/1924) in 1924 noted that Voiers had been an employee "for the past eight years" (i.e. since 1916).²⁰ Voiers remained as manager through 1926 when he went into the candy and tobacco business with his brother, Grover. Two years later, Voiers Brothers began bottling their own brand of sodas in competition with Henry's old employer. W. H. Greer took over as manager in 1927 and remained in that position until the plant was sold in 1929.²¹

The *Graphic* provides an excellent description of the building and its workings:

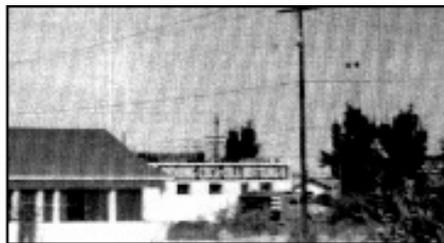
The brick building in which the plant is located [208 East Railroad Drive] is one and one-half stories in height and about 25 feet wide by 75 feet long, with a large lot on the east side for the storing of returned empty bottles and cases.

The first floor of the building is cemented, and on it is located an International water softener. From the softener the water is passed through two stone filters into a stone storage vessel; then it passes through ice cold coils just prior to being carbonated. All of the machinery for these several processes of preparing the water has been installed since the beginning of the present year.

The syrups are manufactured, in part, in a screened

room upstairs which is sanitary in every respect. All of the bottles are thoroughly sterilized in a Miller hydro-washing machine, and then filled by machinery which does the work automatically. After being filled and stoppered the bottles go through a machine which rinses them on the outside, after which each bottle is inspected and they are then packed in cases of two dozen each.²²

The Sanborn Insurance map of 1921 also shows that the building had grown slightly longer than Gardner's original 1917 structure. It had a little more company, however, Tri-State Oil Company on the western corner (East Railroad Boulevard and North Silver Avenue) had become a gasoline station; the blacksmith shop along North Platinum Avenue was now Kealy and Sloss Machine and Repair Shop; and a new (unnamed) garage was built along the alley with a front on North Silver Avenue.



Deming Coca-Cola plant – after 1945
(Courtesy of Luna County Historical Society)

Where Coca-Cola syrup was shipped to the plant in barrels, other flavor syrup arrived in gallon containers packed in cases. The plant also wholesaled “candies of all kinds.” The company employed eight men at Deming and used three delivery trucks. The newly-formed Silver City branch delivered its product in two trucks.²³ A year later, the *Graphic* announced “Free Drinks Wednesday” when Southwestern hosted an open house and invited everyone to “see for themselves just how these beverages are prepared and put up right in Deming.” In addition to the “free ice cold bottle,” Voiers offered a free “souvenir for every person who calls. The more the merrier. . .”²⁴ It would be interesting to know the nature of the souvenir. The Deming plant survived until August 1929 when all the New Mexico branches were sold.²⁵

Thanks to a receipt on file at the Luna County Historical Society, we have some insight into the early prices at Southwestern. Dated July 31, 1917, the receipt is to A. G. Raithel, an officer of the Bank of Deming and a former associate of John Corbett, Deming's earlier soda bottler and bank official. According to data on the receipt, Coca-Cola sold for \$1.10 per case, including a deposit of 30¢. The contents of the case of bottles, therefore, cost 80¢.

Although the Deming plant was the original hub of Southwestern's operation, plants soon sprang up in Las Cruces, Silver City, and (briefly) Albuquerque, as well as southern Arizona. The Douglas plant opened in 1918 and was followed by Bisbee (1921) and Lowell (1924). The southern Arizona plants were all closed by 1928, shortly before the New Mexico operations ceased.

George N. Baker, co-owner of the Phoenix Coca-Cola Bottling Works, became sole owner and then joined Southwestern in 1918. Phoenix Coca-Cola had been bottling Coke at 526 (later 532) West Washington Street since 1905. The plant expanded and moved to 547 West Jefferson in 1917, just before it was renamed as Southwestern.²⁶ By 1927, Baker had been replaced by Frank Lansing as manager of the Phoenix operation. A year later, R. H. Payne took the leadership position²⁷ and held it until the company became the Phoenix Coca-Cola Bottling Company in 1949. The Phoenix plant advertised itself as “Bottlers of Quality Beverages and Jobbers of Fancy Candies” in 1925 but dropped candy from the listing in 1930. The Phoenix plant finally sold out in 1947.²⁸

Phoenix became a hub for expansion into central Arizona. The Globe plant opened almost immediately thereafter (1918) and was followed by a plant in Superior and Ray a year later. In 1920, a plant opened in Jerome. At some point as yet undiscovered (although certainly by the time the New Mexico plants sold in 1929), the focus of Southwestern’s business shifted to Phoenix. For reasons currently unknown, expansion ceased after 1924 with all the Central Arizona plants except Globe and Phoenix closing in the early 1920s. The Southern Arizona plants ceased operations as branches of Southwestern in 1928, and the three remaining New Mexico plants all sold in 1929. Globe remained a part of Southwestern until sometime between 1933 and 1936, and the Phoenix plant finally sold in 1947. The great Southwestern empire was no more.

As an interesting epilog, I could find no record for the dissolution of the corporation, even though the New Mexico section ceased operation in 1929. New Mexico corporations are chartered for 50 years, so the charter did not run out until 1957, long after all branches of Southwestern had closed down or sold out. Apparently, the charter was allowed to run its course, and this may explain why some of the branches (e.g. Deming) continued to advertise under both its own and the Southwestern name.

New Mexico Coca-Cola Bottling Company (1929) and Coca-Cola Bottling Company (1930-1934)

The New Mexico Coca-Cola Bottling Company, still on Railroad Drive, was short-lived. The new owner was John A. Echols, and he was listed as manager of both the Deming and Las Cruces plants in 1930 and 1931 on South Church Street in Las Cruces and East Railroad Boulevard in Deming.²⁹ The structure of the building in Deming had changed little, although the Sanborn Insurance map of 1930 shows that a shed had been added since 1921.

Echols moved to Las Cruces from Albuquerque where he had been living for the past year after selling his bottling works in Corsicana,

Texas. He closed the deal with Southwestern in late August of 1929 and took over all three New Mexico branches.³⁰ He used the name New Mexico Coca-Cola Bottling Company at first but soon dropped the “New Mexico” and only used the name Coca-Cola Bottling Company. Although the official name and management had changed, the business continued to be listed as Southwestern Coca-Cola Bottling Company in the telephone directory.³¹

At the end of 1931, G. M. Green, Secretary-Treasurer for the corporation, filled out the Census of Manufactures for the U. S. Census Bureau. He listed the company’s products as “Carbonated Beverages,” and noted that the plant used “Sugar - Syrup - Extracts - Carbonic Gas - Colors.” The plant operated for 136 days during the year, and employees worked 48 hours in a “6 day week” during the bottling period. Three people worked from January to April with a fourth person added during the peak production period from June to September. The number again reverted to three for the last two months. Wages to workers totaled \$5,527 for the year, and materials cost \$11,383. The business sold 42,956 cases of “6 and 7 oz.” carbonated beverages at a value of \$30,069 (70¢ per case). In a year, the plant used 25,000 pounds of sugar (at a cost of \$1,444), 80 50-pound cylinders of carbonic gas (\$742), 41,400 pounds of corn syrup (\$1,242), and \$5,893 worth of flavoring extracts. In addition, the 7,187 crowns the company used cost \$1,124, and cartons cost a mere \$30. Echols delivered his product in five, seven-ton capacity, gasoline-powered trucks.

Green added several remarks at the end of the form. “This report covers manufacturing for the whole territory owned by this Company. No report on the Las Cruces New Mexico plant as it ceased operating Dec. 31, 1929. This will explain the increase over the report of 1929 on the Deming plant.” The “whole territory owned by this Company” probably meant Las Cruces and Silver City (although Echols likely shut down that plant fairly early as well). The large number of delivery vehicles (five trucks for a four-man operation) probably reflected the long-range deliveries to both Las Cruces and Silver City from the Deming plant. In the 1930s, few roads were paved, and technology had not yet produced very reliable vehicles.

In 1933, Echols filled out the census form himself. The firm now had four wage earners, but Echols claimed they were all employed on a year-round basis, an unusual condition in the bottling business – where sales were much heavier during the summer. Despite his claim, he noted the plant was only open 120 days during the year (16 days less than 1931) with each employee working 18 hours per day. Echols’ total payroll for 1933 was \$1,892 (88¢ per hour if the 18-hour-day figure is correct), and costs of materials topped out at \$8,997. He sold 26,500 cases of carbonated beverages in “6 and 7 oz.” bottles at a value of \$21,037 (79¢ per case—slightly higher than the 1931 price). The year, 1933, was deeper

into the Great Depression, and sales had decreased by 61%!

Under the “Remarks” section of the 1933 census, Echols wrote, “Carried on C. O. list as C. O. Raton N. Mex[.] Only 1 plant located Deming Luna Co. N. Mex[.] C. O. 120 church st Los [sic] Cruces N. Mex.” Although undisclosed by any other sources I have found, this indicates that Echols at one time controlled the Coca-Cola business in Raton.³² In any event, Echols sold the Deming branch to Paul Link, Sr. in 1934³³ but apparently reopened the Las Cruces plant, possibly using the money gained from the Deming sale.

Deming Coca-Cola Bottling Company (1934-present)³⁴



Fig. 3 Paul Link, Sr.
(Courtesy of Samuel Link)



Fig. 4 Lucie Link,
(Courtesy of Samuel Link)

In 1934, Paul Link, Sr. (Figure 3), his wife, Lucie (Figure 4), sons, Paul, Jr. and Samuel, and daughter, Susan, moved to Deming to buy the Coca-Cola plant. Paul had tuberculosis, and the cure in those days was to move west. To effect the remedy, the family left Abbeville, South Carolina, for San Bernadino, California, about 1925. They moved again to Pampa, Texas, in 1928, remaining in the Coke business in both places. They then moved to El Paso, Texas, in 1931 and operated a Red and White grocery store on Dyer Street for two years (the only time they left the bottling business). They heard that the Deming plant was for sale and made their final move in 1934.

Born in 1882, Lucie had been in the Coca-Cola business longer than Paul. She and her first husband, Charles Nabers, had been the owners of the Coke plant in Abbeville, South Carolina, since 1907. While Nabers was making deliveries one day, the horse he was driving shied and caused the wagon to overturn. He was seriously injured in the accident and later died of lockjaw (tetanus). Paul

Link, Sr. had been plant foreman and thus was in constant contact with Lucie, now a widow, as she ran the plant. The contact eventually became romantic, and Lucie and Paul later married.

When Paul died in 1937, Lucie ran the Deming plant (see Figure 5 for an ad from the period). She had difficulty during World War II (especially with hiring help, since most of the men were involved in the war, and in dealing with sugar and gasoline rationing) but was helped out by the proximity of the Deming Army Air Field, a bombardier

training base, located at that time in the area now occupied by the Municipal Airport and the industrial park.³⁵ The base was opened by at least June 1942 when “44,980 bombs were dropped” on bulls eye targets that consisted of concentric circles formed by being “graded into the soil or built up with rocks.” In addition to the actual bombing range, the base included “an ordnance storage area, a skeet range, a rifle and machine gun range, and a demonstration bombing target.” The range covered a total of 2,870.13 acres and was in constant use until December 31, 1944.³⁶ Because of the base, the company was able to stay in business – the Links could get all the sugar they needed to provide drinks for the service men.

Paul, the oldest son, was born in Abbeville in 1918. His brother, Samuel (always known as Sam), was born two years later and was followed by a sister, Susan. The boys were too young to be involved with the businesses until the family had moved to Deming where they began helping during the summers. When Sam started working in the plant, workers moved the bottles from one operation to another by hand. Upon adding the syrup to the carbonated water, he used to shake each bottle by hand in order to mix it.

Sam attended Howard Payne College in Brownwood, Texas, and graduated with a BA in Business Administration. Susan also attended college (Mary Hardin Baylor at Belton, Texas), but Paul remained at home and worked at the family plant. Paul enlisted in the Navy during World War II (1942) and served aboard two aircraft carriers, the Randolph and the Ranger. Sam also joined the Navy, although his enlistment was slightly later due to a delay until his college graduation. Sam first served on the destroyer John D. Ford as a radar and sonar



Fig. 5 Ad for the Deming plant (Deming Headlight 19 April 1940)

operator. He then attended Naval supply school and was awarded his commission as an ensign. As an officer, he served with the 90th Battalion (Seabees), stationed in Hawaii, Iwo Jima, and Japan³⁷.

In 1946, the boys were back from the war, and Lucie celebrated by retiring from the business “with the remarkable record of thirty-eight years in Coca-Cola behind her” (Figure 6). Sam became the manager with Paul as assistant manager. The boys told the Coca-Cola company, “We will try to the best of our ability to carry on in our mother’s footsteps as good and loyal members of the Coca-Cola family.”³⁸ Sam and Paul worked well as a team. Paul had good mechanical ability and worked on the vending machines and other equipment, while Sam’s talents leaned more toward office management and paper work. The brothers ran the plant together until Paul’s death from bone cancer in 1983.³⁹

In 1948 Sam married Barbara Hodgson, a native of the Milwaukee suburb of Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. Sam met Barbara when she taught school in Deming, and they were married in Wauwatosa. Barbara had two brothers, Paul and Norman. Sam and Barbara had three daughters: Barbara, Nancy, and Paula Jean. Barbara’s story appears below. Nancy married Greg Au and has one daughter. Paula Jean, the youngest, married Charles Weaver and had three children. Sam’s wife, Barbara, died in 1984.



*Paul Link, Lucie Link, and Sam Link on the cover of The Coca-Cola Bottler, June 1946
(Courtesy of Samuel Link)*

The old plant, the original building used by Southwestern Coca-Cola bottling Company (and its predecessor), was across Railroad Drive from the train depot. The syrup room, where different flavors were mixed, was upstairs. The syrup flowed by

gravity to the filter to mix with the carbonated water below. The plant had an adobe building in back, and the Link family lived in the small structure when they first bought the plant in 1934. The remains of the old plant are now buried under Interstate 10, the construction of which

removed a block of businesses when the highway was built in 1966. Construction of the highway necessitated the move to the new (current) plant at 2401 Atlantic Way in the Deming Industrial Park (Figure 7). Sam obtained a Small Business Association loan to buy the lot and build the new plant. He originally bought one acre of land, had the plant built, and moved in new bottling and delivery equipment.



*Deming Coca-Cola Plant in 2000
(Author's photo)*

The plant originally served (and continues to serve) three counties and part of a fourth:

Grant, Luna, Hidalgo, and part of Catron—up to Glenwood. Glenwood belonged to the Albuquerque franchise, but the long downhill return trip was hazardous to the truck drivers (and others on the road), so the problem was solved by transferring the town to the Deming franchise.

Sam went into semi-retirement in 1986 (although he was still working at the plant part-time in 2000), and his daughter, Barbara Schultz (Figure 8), took over as manager. Barbara grew up in the business, working in the office in the summers while going to high school. She attended Eastern New Mexico State University, University of New Mexico, University of Arizona, and Northern Arizona State University, and she eventually earned a Master's Degree in French and Spanish. After her mother's death in 1984, she returned home and started working in the plant full-time the following year. Barbara said she "came to help and stayed." She learned accounting on her own and installed a computer system for the plant. Barbara married Howard Schultz in 1987. Howard was a former welder who specialized in building water tanks and occasional baptistries in Deming. He conducted worked required by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration for the plant, especially building guards over exposed cogs and gears. Howard became co-manager in 1990, and the couple became owners of the plant in late 1992 with Sam as a consultant. Barbara and Howard bought more acreage around the plant and have since erected new storage facilities.⁴⁰



*Barbara Link in 2000
(Author's photo)*

The Links currently sell Dr Pepper, Minute Maid products, bottled water, and ice,

along with their primary product, Coca-Cola. The plant is one of the last in the United States that still sells Coke, Sprite, and Dr Pepper in 16-ounce, returnable bottles, although returnable bottles are currently very difficult to obtain. The Links carried 6.5-ounce returnable bottles until recently when the smaller bottles became virtually impossible to purchase.⁴¹ Although the company still bottles returnable containers at its own plant, it gets canned product from Southwest Cannery in Portales. The company buys plastic bottled product from El Paso and may buy cans from them as well. Sam dislikes the fountain business because the purchasers may not mix the syrup and carbonated water correctly. He prefers to sell premix (already mixed syrup and carbonated water) to the local bars and restaurants.

In 2006, Coca-Cola has a ninety-year-old tradition in Deming, as well as southwestern New Mexico. When Lawrence Gardner first obtained the franchise in 1916, he began a trend that continued. Although more and more Coke franchises have been reclaimed by the parent company, the Deming plant remains family owned.

Endnotes

- 1 The “‘Handi-Pack,’ the first carton for Orange Crush, was patented on 19 September 1923 – four days before Coke patented its ‘Home-Pack.’” Cecil Munsey, “The Six-Pack Commeth.” *Soda Pop Dreams Magazine* (2002) 5(5): 8-9.
- 2 Cecil Munsey, *The Illustrated Guide to the Collectibles of Coca-Cola* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1972), 305.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Bill Lockhart, “The Houck & Dieter/Empire Bottling Works: El Paso’s Most Successful Non-Franchise Soft Drink Bottlers,” Part I. (1997) *Password* 42(2): 93-101; Bill Lockhart, *Bottles on the Border: The History and Bottles of the Soft Drink Industry in El Paso, Texas, 1881-2000*. (Alamogordo: Townsend Library, New Mexico State University at Alamogordo, 2000); <http://alamo.nmsu.edu/~lockhart/EPsodas/>
- 5 As often happens in newspapers, the reporter for the *Headlight* was a bit inaccurate. Hope M. Smith had obtained the Coca-Cola franchise for El Paso in 1911, and the company he founded, Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Company, continues to bottle the product today. The “plant in El Paso” must have referred to Gardner’s holdings in Empire Bottling Works that serviced “a territory from San Antonio to Phoenix” (*El Paso Herald* 14 July 1920 5: 5). Similarly, there were other franchisees in New Mexico and Arizona.

- Gardner's franchise likely covered the southwestern section of New Mexico along with Albuquerque and parts of Arizona.
- 6 Gardner's original plant, Purity Bottling and Manufacturing Company, was located "in a small adobe shack at Texas and Campbell Streets" (El Paso Herald Post 2 Sept. 1939, 8: 6). Also see Lockhart, "Houck & Dieter" and Lockhart History and Bottles.
 - 7 Deming Headlight, 14 Jan. 1916.
 - 8 Deming Graphic, 28 Jan. 1916.
 - 9 The Headlight, (14 Jan 1916), was incorrect again when it stated that "Mr. Gardner will move to Deming shortly to make his home here." Gardner, in fact, remained in El Paso for the rest of his life.
 - 10 See Bill Lockhart, "Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Company" (2001) Password 46(2): 83-98 or Lockhart History and Bottles for more information on Magnolia.
 - 11 Deming Graphic, 16 June 1916.
 - 12 Deming Graphic, 6 Oct 1916.
 - 13 The only known photograph of the bottling plant is a picture of the gas station on the corner with the bottling works in the background.
 - 14 Deming Graphic 28 Sept. 1917.
 - 15 Ibid.
 - 16 New Mexico Incorporation Records, 10072, page 398, book 06.
 - 17 Doña Ana County Miscellaneous Records, book 5, page 441, 24 June 1921
 - 18 For details, see Lockhart, "Houck & Dieter" and Lockhart, History and Bottles.
 - 19 New Mexico State Business Directory (NMSBD), 1917-1924.
 - 20 If 1916 is correct, then Voiers actually started in Gardner's original plant then stayed when Southwestern took over He had been the manager of Southwestern's short-lived Albuquerque plant in 1918 and 1919, so an earlier employment seems likely.
 - 21 NMSBD 1925-1930.
 - 22 Deming Graphic, 22 July 1924.
 - 23 Ibid.
 - 24 Deming Graphic, 5 May 1925.
 - 25 NMSBD.1917-1930.
 - 26 Michael R. Miller, A Collector's Guide to Arizona Bottles & Stoneware: A History of Merchant Containers in Arizona (Peoria, Ariz.: Privately Printed, 2000), 21; Munsey, Illustrated Guide, 297.
 - 27 Miller, Collector's Guide, 21.
 - 28 Phoenix City Directories 1925-1947.
 - 29 NMSBD 1930-193 1.
 - 30 Deming Graphic 27 Aug. 1929.
 - 31 Deming-Lordsburg Telephone Directory, 1932-33.
 - 32 The first listing I find for Raton is the Coca-Cola Bottling Company at 324 Moulton Avenue in 1928. This company was consistently listed throughout the 1930s (NMSBD 1928-1938). If Echols actually owned the Raton plant, I have found no other supporting evidence.
 - 33 Barbara Link, "Link," in The History of Luna County" (Deming: Luna County Historical Society, 1978), 220.
 - 34 Unless otherwise cited, information on the Coca-Cola Bottling Compa-

- ny of Deming and the Link family came from interviews with Sam Link on 8 December 1999 and 4 January 2000.
- 35 The industrial park is also the location of the present Coca-Cola plant.
- 36 Army (website) <http://www.hnd.usace.army.mil/oew/factshts/factshts/deming.html>
- 37 Link interviews; Link, "Link," 220; Anonymous, "The Boys are Back." *The Coca-Cola Bottler* (1946) 27 June. 38. "The Boys are Back," 27.
- 39 Interestingly, the brothers listed the company under two headings (Coca-Cola Bottling Company and Southwestern Coca-Cola Bottling Company) in the Deming City Telephone Directories until 1956.
- 40 Paul Link interview; Barbara Schultz interview, 4 January 2000; Link, "Link," 221.
- 41 With the retirement of Martin Schwartze on 18 December 2001, the Jefferson City Coca-Cola Bottling Company halted its use of 6.5-ounce Coke bottles. It may well be the last Coca-Cola bottler to fill the tiny bottles. Dirk Burhans, "The Last of the Little Cokes," *The Soda Spectrum Series* 1(1): 30.

Andrew “Andy” Hudspeth: From Bookkeeper and Lawyer for the Cree VV Ranch in the Sacramento Mountains to Chief Justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court

E. Roberta Haldane

Background

Born 23 October 1874 in Fannin County, Texas, to John and Emily Hudspeth, Andy Hudspeth was educated in the public schools of Greenville, Texas. In 1890, after graduating from the Business College of Greenville, he began the law course at Cumberland University in Lebanon, Tennessee. Four years later, at the age of twenty, he was admitted to practice law at Greenville, Texas.¹

In December 1894 Hudspeth came to New Mexico, settled in Lincoln County, and hired on as secretary to the Cree family of Scotland, owners of the VV Ranch at Angus, New Mexico. His tenure on the Angus VV Ranch enabled Hudspeth to get to know personally many cattlemen and cowboys.

Early on he must also have caught the eye of politicians and businessmen in southern New Mexico as a promising, young up-and-comer. In April 1897, at the age of twenty-two, Hudspeth was invited to join the Eddy brothers in helping to host a Wild West roundup for a group of capitalists from the East. The Eddy brothers hoped to persuade the Easterners to finance a railroad they planned to push from El Paso to White Oaks.

Hudspeth and others organized a cavalcade north from El Paso through the southern part of New Mexico Territory. In this venture, he joined the likes of the well-known Oliver Lee, Albert Bacon Fall, George Curry, and William Hawkins. The group succeeded in securing backing for the railroad.

The Angus VV Ranch of the Cree Family of Scotland

The history of the VV Ranch goes back to the early 1870s when the United States under President Ulysses S. Grant issued patents to Paul Dowlin covering what later became known as the Cree Ranch.²

Dowlin died in 1877 leaving his estate to three minor daughters and appointing his brother William as executor. William died soon after, and the entire estate was sold, some of it to Frank Lesnet. Lesnet in turn sold 880 acres to James Cree of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Cree added to his original 880 acres in 1892 when, after President Benjamin Harrison issued a patent to a Jesse Greenlee, the Greenlee patent was incorporated into the Cree Ranch.

The boundaries of this historic ranch, then one of the most important ranches in New Mexico, were the forest and Mescalero Indian Reservation lines on the side of what is now Ruidoso, Carrizozo Mountain on the north, and from the Mescalero Indian Reservation to below what was in 1947, the Palmer Gateway Subdivision.

The Crees sent out a man named Brandy Kirby to manage the ranch. The old VV Ranch headquarters was located about five miles from present- day Ruidoso. The Crees shipped cattle all the way from Scotland to the railroad terminal near Socorro. Then the cattle were unloaded and brought the rest of the way to the ranch.



Andrew H. Hudspeth as a young man. 1911 Yearbook, Lincoln County, New Mexico. Publisher John Haley, Carrizozo, NM. Collection of Robert Leslie.

The elder James Cree died not long after obtaining his ranch, and, after a lengthy probate, his son James Edward took over the property. The Crees brought furniture and personal effects and established a Scottish “kingdom” for themselves right in Lincoln County, New Mexico.

The VV Ranch stayed in the Cree family until 1939, longer than any other such land in New Mexico, when the heirs of James Edward deeded the ranch to Aviland, a corporation controlled by a wealthy New York investor named Arthur Kudner. Kudner and Hudspeth eventually became close friends.³ Kudner came to love his New Mexico home so much that when he died, his ashes were enshrined atop a hill above the O-Bar-O Ranch he built on former Cree land.

The Cree Meadows Golf Course at Ruidoso owes its existence to James Edward Cree, who brought his love for the game with him from Scotland. The Old Mill in the heart of modern Ruidoso is also on former Cree land. There were large corrals nearby to lock up cattle and horses overnight. The Crees sold their land holdings in Ruidoso to the White Mountain Development Company around 1944, and development began in earnest. that he and Llewellyn would be leaving for Washington.⁶⁴ The *Journal* was happy.

Hudspeth's Continued Connection with the Cree Land

Andy Hudspeth worked as secretary and bookkeeper for the Crees until 1902. Later, as one of the best legal minds of the Southwest, he served as attorney for the original purchase of land by the Crees. He continued as attorney of the property through each subsequent owner until his death.

Over the Mountains to White Oaks

In 1902 Hudspeth moved to White Oaks and formed a law partnership with Judge John Y. Hewitt that lasted until 1913, when Hudspeth relocated to Carrizozo to begin his own practice.⁴ Hudspeth also unofficially continued to be partners with Hewitt until the latter's death in 1933. During his years in White Oaks, Hudspeth became a member of the Knights of Pythias and served the order as Grande Tribune.

Political Life

An ardent and lifelong Democrat, Hudspeth represented his district for one term in the New Mexico territorial legislature in 1907⁵ and served as a delegate to the 1908 Democratic National Convention.⁶ In 1910 he was elected as a delegate to the New Mexico Constitutional Convention, New Mexico's final step on its march to statehood. The election for the constitutional convention delegates took place on 6 September 1910. Republicans captured seventy-one slots, and the Democrats took twenty-eight. The one-hundredth delegate was a Socialist.⁷

Hudspeth and another ambitious Democrat, William C. McDonald, both hailed from White Oaks. McDonald began his career as a surveyor and lawyer in White Oaks and later acquired the land holdings of the Bar W Ranch and the famous Block Ranch. In 1912 Hudspeth, as chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee of New Mexico, helped McDonald win election as the first governor of the State of New Mexico, although Republicans continued to control both branches of the state legislature.⁸

Hudspeth remained very active for years in the Democratic State Central Committee in Santa Fe as a campaign fundraiser for national and state elections. In 1916 he raised about \$20,000, of which \$5,000 was earmarked for return and use in the New Mexico state Democratic election campaign.⁹

First United States Marshal of the State of New Mexico

As First United States Marshal of the State of New Mexico, Hudspeth quelled the last major Indian uprising in the United States. In 1913 he received his appointment as marshal with his headquarters

in Santa Fe, a post he served for eight years. After only a few days in office, Hudspeth faced an uprising of some 150 Navajos. They had attacked the Indian Agency at Shiprock and fired off many shots, fortunately wounding no one. Then the Navajos took their children out of the school at Shiprock and led a thousand men and women, many of them armed, to Beautiful Mountain thirty miles south of Shiprock. There they made a stand, defying Marshal Hudspeth and threatening more acts of violence.¹⁰

On a special train from Fort Robinson in Nebraska, the First Squadron of the Twelfth United States Cavalry rushed to Gallup, New Mexico. From Gallup the cavalrymen traveled to Beautiful Mountain. A seasoned Indian fighter, General Hugh Scott, accompanied Marshal Hudspeth and J. R. Galusha, one of Hudspeth's deputies, at the head of the troops to parley with the Navajo leaders. The negotiation proved successful, and the Navajos agreed once again to a treaty of peace and friendship.

A scant three years later another crisis loomed. On 9 March 1916, the Mexican revolutionary leader, Pancho Villa raided Columbus, New Mexico. General "Black Jack" Pershing was subsequently dispatched on a punitive expedition into Mexico. Hudspeth immediately went to Columbus and took charge of the crisis, including overseeing patrols on the United States- Mexican border. During this time many Mexicans were arrested for violating neutrality laws. General José Ynez Salazar, one of the Mexican generals who crossed the international boundary into the United States, was arrested and jailed in Albuquerque. Salazar later escaped.

In 1916 Galusha, then serving as chief of police of Albuquerque wrote Hudspeth and enclosed a campaign contribution for the Democratic cause.¹¹ At the same time, Galusha complained about his running fight with Albuquerque mayor Henry Westerfield. According to Galusha, Westerfield constantly vetoed his orders to his men, including one to keep Albuquerque's red light district closed. Because of his battle with the mayor and the likelihood he would not long remain chief of police, Galusha seized the opportunity to ask Hudspeth for a job again on his staff as United States Marshal.¹²

A Seat on the New Mexico State Supreme Court

In November 1930 Hudspeth was elected to the New Mexico State Supreme Court. He served nine years, the last two as chief justice. He served again in 1946 when Chief Justice Thomas Mabry



New Mexico Supreme Court Justices. Left to right: Andrew H. Hudspeth, John C. Watson, Howard L. Bickley, Frank W. Parker, Daniel K. Sadler. From F. W. Parker Collection, Photo No. 8167. Collection of NM State Records Center & Archives.

resigned from the supreme court to run for governor and Governor John Dempsey appointed Hudspeth to fill out Mabry’s term.¹³

While he sat on the supreme court in the 1930s, Hudspeth lived in Santa Fe. Once a month or so he would drive back to Carrizozo to attend to business there. He always drove the entire roundtrip in his Buick coupe in a very deliberate second gear.¹⁴ For about five years he also drove on to White Oaks to visit Lillian Lane, the widow of Allen Lane, and her two little daughters.

According to Larue Lane Wetzel, one of the daughters, every time Hudspeth returned to White Oaks, he would fill a grocery sack with candy for the two girls, matching the kinds of candy exactly so that each girl would have an equal amount, appropriate behavior for the Chief Justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court.¹⁵

Once a month from Santa Fe, Hudspeth mailed one dollar for Larue and her sister in the form of a two-dollar check. He alternated the check’s payee every month in order to teach the girls how to endorse and cash checks correctly and insisted that they had to be endorsed in the proper way.

Back Home to Lincoln County

For years after his stint on the New Mexico Supreme Court, Hudspeth continued to conduct legal business from his Carrizozo office, driving slowly around town on errands, always in second gear. Ina Dow remembers Judge Hudspeth in his later years in Carrizozo as a distinguished gentleman with white hair and mustache, courtly of



Judge Andrew H. Hudspeth. Taken somewhere between 1930 and 1939, when he was serving on the New Mexico State Supreme Court. Collection of Larue Lane Wetzel. Photographer: De Castro, Santa Fe, New Mexico

manner.¹⁶ The judge often visited his old friends, Ina's grandparents, Charles and Ina Mayer, who had also moved from White Oaks to Carrizozo.

The judge never married. He had family far away. A sister, Mrs. J. O. Simpson, lived in Texas. Brother Oscar lived in Dallas, Texas. George, another brother, lived in Los Angeles, California.

The End of His Days

Hudspeth remained faithful to the dreams of the mentor of his youth, Judge John Y. Hewitt. After Hewitt's death, Hudspeth continued to do assessment work on many White Oak mining claims, paid taxes on all the Hewitt property, and carried on—always hoping (in vain) that White Oaks would stage a comeback.¹⁷

For the last decade of his life, Hudspeth battled cancer of the esophagus.¹⁸ He endured treatment and operations at the Mayo Clinic, at a hospital in Virginia, and at several other well-known medical facilities. He enjoyed brief respites from the cancer for a time, but ill health finally forced him to leave his beloved Lincoln County and travel to California to enter Huntington Memorial Hospital at Pasadena. Until the very day before he left for California, he continued to work in his law office in Carrizozo.

When it became obvious that he would not recover and could not return to Carrizozo as he had wished, Hudspeth's friends traveled to California for a final visit.¹⁹ Andrew H. Hudspeth died 9 March 1848 at the age of seventy-three. His body was cremated, and his ashes were

scattered over the White Oaks mines, most of which he owned at the time of his death.²⁰

Endnotes

- ¹ John A. Haley, editor and publisher, *1913 Year Book, Lincoln County, New Mexico* (Carrizozo, N. Mex.: John Haley).
- ² “Cree Ranch Still in the News Today,” *Ruidoso News*, 16 May 1947.
- ³ Arthur Kudner to Andrew H. Hudspeth, 27 Feb. 1931.
- ⁴ Biographical Note, Andrew H. Hudspeth, Lincoln County, NM Collection, 1885-1976, http://elibrary.unm.edu/oanm/NmSm/nmsm1#ac134?nmsm1#ac1_34_m4.html.
- ⁵ “Judge Andrew H. Hudspeth Succumbs Tuesday in California,” *Albuquerque Journal*, 9 Mar. 1948.
- ⁶ Biographical Note, Andrew H. Hudspeth.
- ⁷ George Curry, *George Curry, 1861-1947* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1955), 255.
- ⁸ William C. McDonald to Andrew H. Hudspeth, 18 Feb. 1913.
- ⁹ Warren Gard to Andrew H. Hudspeth, 26 Sept. 1916.
- ¹⁰ William A. Keleher. *The Fabulous Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 291-92.
- ¹¹ J. R. Galusha to Andrew H. Hudspeth, 10 Nov. 1916.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ John Wall to E. Roberta Haldane, 22 July 2001.
- ¹⁴ Johnson Stearns to E. Roberta Haldane, 1 May 2004.
- ¹⁵ E. Roberta Haldane, Interviews with Larue Lane Wetzel, White Oaks, N. Mex., 8 May 2001 and 29 May 2001.
- ¹⁶ Ina Hunter Dow to E. Roberta Haldane, 23 Oct. 2000.
- ¹⁷ William A. Keleher, *Violence in Lincoln County, 1869-1881* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957), 370.
- ¹⁸ Ina Wauchope Mayer to Ina Dow, 14 Mar. 1948.
- ¹⁹ “Judge Andrew H. Hudspeth Succumbs,” *Albuquerque Journal*, 9 Mar. 1948.
- ²⁰ Keleher, *Violence in Lincoln County*, 370

BRAINS, INTEGRITY, and AMBITION: RECRUITING FACULTY IN NEW MEXICO, 1890

Martha Shipman Andrews

One of the earliest photographs held in the Hobson-Huntsinger University Archives of the New Mexico State University library shows three young men on a deer-hunting expedition in the Organ Mountains in December 1891. The subjects of the photograph are two of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts' earliest faculty: C. H. Tyler Townsend, professor of entomology and physiology, and Augustus J. Wiechardt, the college's first professor of mechanical engineering. (The school's first librarian and registrar, Francis E. Lester, accompanies them.) Townsend, most recently from Washington, D. C., and Wiechardt, a recent graduate of Cornell University, may have been eastern "dudes," but this photograph suggests they immediately and heartily embraced the romantic bravura of the rugged West. They were only two of several promising young scholars lured to New Mexico Territory to populate the faculty of the New Mexico Territory's first institution of higher learning.

How did Hiram Hadley, the college's first president, find men with both excellent academic preparation and the requisite sense of adventure to found and nurture a college where not even public primary and secondary education had taken root? What inducements did he use to recruit scholars from the established universities of a green and fruitful Middle West to come to its antithesis in the New Mexico desert. Hadley spoke forcefully of wanting to populate his faculty only with teachers of "brains, integrity, and ambition." The Wild West of Billy the Kid and marauding Apaches lived vividly in the imaginations of most easterners. It was never a foregone conclusion that Hadley would find teachers of this caliber able and willing to leave civilized comforts behind and take the leap of faith.

Fortunately, the documentary records of the early school provide answers such a question. The proverbial mists of time sadly tend to shroud attitudes and feelings while leaving accounting records stolidly, even stubbornly, with all their objectivity intact. It is hard to construct a compelling history of an institution from a stack of sales receipts and deposit slips. Fortunately for New Mexico State University, its founding president, Hiram Hadley, wrote prolifically on his philosophy of education. He frequently articulated exactly the kind of person he wanted to share and develop his idealistic vision of the educational potential of the new college. His letterbooks, now preserved in the Hobson-Huntsinger University Archives, bear witness to the way in which he sold his vision to what was a remarkably well-qualified group of pioneer teachers.



New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts professors C.H. Tyler Townsend (left) and A.J. Wiechardt (right), with Francis E. Lester, college registrar and librarian, game hunting east of the Organ Mountains, December 1891. Photograph by J. C. Burge, Las Cruces, N. Mex. Hobson-Huntsinger University Archives, New Mexico State University Library.

Hadley, himself, did not heed the call of his fellow Indianan, John Babson Lane Soule, and come west as a young man. Born in 1833 in a rural community near Wilmington, Ohio, Hadley's family moved to Indiana when he was very young. He came from what his daughter, Anna, writes was a "long line of earnest, active and conscientious Friends [Quakers], of a family from which he had a heritage, not only of a high sense of honor, but also of force of character, which among other ways, found expression in readiness to push out into frontiers when occasion demanded."

Hadley's father had been agent to the Sac and Fox nations in the Indian Territory. Brought up on a farm, Hadley developed the initiative and self-reliance that served him in all his later endeavors. He attended typical country schools and, later, a local Friends school. Like many of the best students at these country schools, Hadley became a teacher at a nearby Friends school directly after finishing his own studies. After a year of teaching, he attended the Friends Boarding School (later known as Earlham College) in Richmond, Indiana. He earned his expense money by working on the college farm.

Hadley later attended the prestigious, Quaker-affiliated Haverford College outside Philadelphia. Hadley's daughter indicates that "it disturbed him not a little that he alone of a good-sized family was selected for a course in college at some sacrifice to all of the family." Hadley left Haverford in 1854 with no degree but still managed to progress quickly from teacher to administrator in a series of positions in Friends schools throughout Indiana. Anna again notes that these years of teaching were among the most satisfying of his life; he felt through

teaching that he could exert a powerful influence for good.

Indiana's Quaker communities were hotbeds of abolitionist activity throughout the 1850s and 1860s. As a Friend, Hadley, of course, did not participate in the military actions of the Civil War. Instead, he supported the activities of his brethren involved in the Underground Railroad as he continued to educate their children. After more than seven years of teaching, Hadley joined the New York publishing firm of Scribner, Armstrong, and Company, "traveling in the interest of their educational publications." Anna Hadley relates that her father viewed himself as far more than simply a traveling salesman. She describes this period of Hadley's life as an "opportunity for enlarging his acquaintance among educators" providing for a "foundation for the exercise of the widespread influence which he appears to have exerted over a considerable part of the State of Indiana." Two years later Hadley had acquired the resources to purchase land and open an academy jointly financed by the Hicksite Friends of Richmond, Indiana. He said of this venture, "My ideal from the start was to make the best school then in Indiana." To that end, he recruited graduates of Normal Schools [teachers' colleges] as far away as Massachusetts and New York, creating the first faculty of trained teachers in the State of Indiana. The school quickly achieved national renown for its excellence and innovations, especially in the area of English pedagogy. Its founder entered the rarified ranks of recognized and important educational reformers. One of Hadley's seminal accomplishments was the inauguration of Teachers Institutes – in Indiana and beyond – to "build up and foster an educational spirit" amongst the people. Always thinking ahead, he fanned this "educational movement by creating a statewide education publication that disseminated innovative ideas in teaching. He led the establishment of an Indiana Normal School to ensure a homegrown supply of uniformly excellent teaching.

After what must have been two frenetic years of running Hadley's Academy, he rejoined Scribner's as its Western representative. (He and Charles Scribner had become warm friends.) Simultaneously, Hadley and his brother, Seth, themselves entered the publishing business and established a successful book and stationery store in Chicago. Unfortunately, the Great Chicago Fire of 9 October 1871 completely destroyed his business and forced him to renew his teaching career. Through all these activities, Hadley's acquaintance and reputation grew and flourished. Hadley always took a strong personal interest in those people he employed. He was a natural mentor and implicitly trusted his own judgment about his employees. Then, as later, it was a matter of special concern that he do everything in his power to help his faculty succeed. In later years, countless testimonials attested to the positive influence

he had exerted on the careers and lives of his employees.

In 1885 Earlham College conferred on Hadley an honorary master's degree for his pioneering work in making Indiana's public instruction system unsurpassed by any state in the Union. Hadley's career had culminated in well-deserved distinction, and by all rights, he could have rested on those laurels. Instead, in 1887, Hiram Hadley left Indiana for the New Mexico Territory. A very successful man in late middle age could not realistically be suspected of wanting either "reinvention" or the Wild West experience. In fact, Hadley came to be closer to his son Walter, who, like many others, had moved to the Mesilla Valley in 1880 because of his health. As other newcomers might nowadays join an affinity group such as a book club, Hadley met regularly with a group of gentlemen passionately interested in the subject of education and the notable lack of educational opportunity in Las Cruces. At the time no other schools existed in the southern part of the territory besides the girls' Academy of the Sisters of Loretto and one room ad hoc schools in remote rural areas. As Hadley says himself, "The result of these discussions was the incorporation of 'Las Cruces College,' the incorporators being S. B. Newcomb, John R. McFie, George R. Bowman, Hiram Hadley, and James R. Waddill." In today's vernacular, these were the "movers and shakers" of early Las Cruces. The title, "college," is misleading as the proposed institution began as a preparatory school to ready local children for the higher education not yet available in the territory. As yet, there were not even public elementary schools.

In an early photograph, Hiram Hadley stands in front of an unpromising looking, two-roomed adobe structure that was to accommodate the Las Cruces College. Shares of stock in the Las Cruces College Company were sold to finance repairs and rudimentary furnishings for the building. Setting tuition at \$40 a year, Hadley enlisted himself; his daughter, Anna; and a Miss Matilda Koehler as teachers. These three served as faculty for this new enterprise and, in that first year, taught close to forty students.

In the course of 1888-1889, the citizens of Las Cruces and what Hadley called a "band of trained politicians" lobbied relentlessly for the establishment of a land-grant college in southern New Mexico, using the organization of Las Cruces College as evidence of an educational institution on which they could build. The procedure was tortuous with many conflicting pressures casting doubt on a successful outcome for the proposed agricultural college. Eventually, an omnibus bill passed that established the University of New Mexico, the Hospital for the Insane, and the School of Mines, as well as the New Mexico Agricultural College in Las Cruces.

By the winter of 1889 the Federal Government allotted about \$18,000 for the Board of Regents to contract for the construction of the Agricultural College's main building, later to be known as McFie Hall. The

college officially opened on 21 January 1890. The territorial governor, L. Bradford Prince, had appointed the first board of regents in September 1889. The regents, in turn, named Hiram Hadley as “president of the faculty,” empowering him to “employ the teachers necessary to aid him in his work.” They also authorized the creation of the following departments: mathematics, embracing land surveying and leveling; natural history, embracing minerals, plants and animals; chemistry and physics; language and literature; history, political economy, and civics; and military science and tactics.

Among his first duties, he undertook an inspection tour of several land- grant colleges and experiment stations, returning first to his native Indiana to visit Purdue University. He expanded his understanding of industrial education by visiting schools for the laboring classes being educated not only through books but also in the use of industrial tools. Despite Hadley’s wealth of experience educating students in the liberal arts and his personal experiences with farming and practical science, he understandably felt some insecurity embarking on this new mission. Nonetheless, he was learning quickly and honing in his mind the qualities he desired in those who were going to share it.

Hadley appointed himself the first professor of mathematics. Simon Kropp, in his history of New Mexico State University, describes Hadley’s next appointment, John P. Owen, as a former school administrator retained for Las Cruces College. Of all the early faculty appointments, the least information exists on Owen. He came to the school at the same time as Samuel P. McCrea, who graduated from Hadley’s Indiana State Normal School. McCrea succeeded Hadley as president of the College, albeit briefly. When the Agricultural College opened, John Owen became principal of the academic and preparatory departments that the new entity held over from the Las Cruces College. As entrance requirements evolved, and the curriculum developed, Owen functioned as a sort of liberal arts dean while serving as professor of history and political science.

Two of the earliest faculty appointments surprisingly went to women. Miss Koehler had proved popular with the preparatory students who lobbied for her retention but without explanation, Hadley dispensed with her services. Hadley engaged Miss Phoebe A. Haines to teach drawing and assist in the preparatory department. One of several daughters of a renowned pioneering family in the Flint Hills of Kansas, Miss Haines had received her master’s degree in botany and drawing from Kansas State University. Despite Phoebe’s excellent credentials, she was paid less than one-half the salary of the other faculty members because she was enlisted as a teacher rather than professor. Cosette Rynerson, instructor of instrumental music, received the other teaching appointment. According to Hadley’s letters and the minutes of the board of regents, the board nominated her to an appointment as music

teacher, and the nomination was unanimously confirmed without discussion. No mention is made of her qualifications or experience nor are there formal letters of application or appointment. One of the sitting members of the board of regents, however, was William L. Rynerson, a fact that gives mute testimony to the circumstances of Miss Rynerson's appointment.

Clearly, Hadley had to take the professional staff easily at hand to man the opening days of the college. He did, however, recognize full well that the judicious selection of faculty was a question of vital import that could make or break the enterprise. Hadley's first significant recommendations to the board, made on 15 April 1890, were the appointments of Ainsworth E. Blount from Colorado State Agricultural College to be professor in the Department of Horticulture and Agriculture and Elmer O. Wooton, to be professor of the Department of Natural History. Wooton's salary was set at \$1,500 while Hadley was ordered to negotiate Blount's salary at no more than \$2,500, preferably \$2,000 and a moving allowance of \$250. At the same time, John Owen's salary was increased to \$1,500, and the teachers of drawing and music were to be paid \$650 each. These salaries were roughly comparable to those paid in state institutions throughout the country.

These salary figures do pose some other questions. The recruitment correspondence of Elmer Wooton or Ainsworth Blount with Hadley is unavailable and would have predated the formal administrative organization of the college. That is, no one had purchased the office supplies for the president to record his correspondence. Wooton, however, remained at the university for more than a decade and left large tracks. Over time he proved himself to be an energetic and prolific scholar, bringing much national recognition to the department he developed at New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Blount appeared and disappeared in a matter of two years. For Blount to command a salary nearly the equal of Hadley himself poses the question of why he was apparently such a "catch."

Descended from Jonathan Edwards and Oliver Ellsworth, first Chief Justice of the United States, Ainsworth Emory Blount was born in Brainard, Tennessee, the son of a fervent missionary family who had come south from Connecticut expressly to combat southern prejudice against the Cherokees. The missionary colony built schools for the Cherokees, who were farmers and tradesmen and otherwise successful participants in the local economy. The Cherokees were, however, understandably intent on retaining their own language and culture. The missionaries naively hoped greater literacy in English would make the Cherokees more acceptable to their neighbors. Despite the missionaries' good-hearted efforts, the Cherokees were eventually and tragically evicted from their lands. Ironically, young Ainsworth became fluent in Cherokee and, in later years, became known for his impromptu songs and orations in that language.

As befitting his patrician heritage, Blount graduated from Dartmouth College in 1859 but, thereafter, returned to Cleveland, Tennessee, to become principal of the Masonic Female Institution. During the Civil War he enlisted in the Union Army's East Tennessee Cavalry as a private, rising swiftly to the rank of captain. After the war, Blount returned to teaching while intermittently holding some political appointments under President Grant. He also became interested in agricultural experiments relating to the small grains, particularly corn and wheat. His research, published widely in the country's leading agricultural journals, gained him recognition by the U. S. Department of Agriculture. His appointment to the faculty of Colorado State Agricultural College in 1878 confirmed his reputation as a significant pioneer of scientific agricultural research. As director of the Colorado College's agricultural farm, he developed wheat varieties called Defiance and Blount's Number 10. They were pronounced the best milling wheat in the world and were a major factor in the growth of Colorado's economy. Blount's scholarly reputation earned him a brief stint as interim president of the college.

Apparently, Blount was an able and farsighted research scientist, but his personality and methods of operation sometimes generated antagonism. As the Colorado faculty grew larger and more specialized, he resented the intrusions onto his turf. Furthermore, he seemed to have favored research over teaching, as evidenced by an 1880 student petition demanding his dismissal. In 1889 what is described as "outrage" at his research procedures prompted the Colorado board to issue a resolution of censure. Fed up, Blount accepted a post at the new agricultural college taking shape in Las Cruces. Hadley would have gained an experienced man of scholarly repute and, for his part, the temperamental Blount would have a more or less free hand in establishing the agricultural experiment station in New Mexico, funded under the newly enacted Hatch Act of 1887.

The Hatch Act was a signal event in the development of land-grant institutions. Not only did it provide substantive encouragement to agricultural research, but it also represented the federal government's recognition of the value of land-grant colleges. With the Hatch Act the government and the colleges became involved in a unique and highly productive collaborative effort. In New Mexico, Blount ran the show. During his short tenure, Blount published a considerable body of research in the new *Bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station*. He also participated enthusiastically in the landscaping of the college. He was commended in the student newspaper, *The New Mexico Collegian*, for sewing the campus with Bermuda grass to make a "fine football ground." On Arbor Day, 1892 Blount initiated a program of tree-planting destined to transform the desolate campus into a veritable oasis. Kropp reported that by June 1892, 2,500 trees and vines had been planted.

Blount also assembled and installed the New Mexico Territory's exhibit for the Chicago World's Fair Agricultural Hall, for its time an expensive and elaborate public relations venture for the territory.

Elmer Ottis Wooton became the first faculty "star." Son of a Quaker minister and, unlike Hiram Hadley, a bona fide graduate of Earlham College in Indiana, Wooton must have come with what to Hadley would be impeccable qualifications of character and personality.

In October 1890, Hadley had written to Henry Alvord, professor of agriculture at the Maryland Agricultural College, requesting his assistance in finding candidates for positions. He wrote:

As soon as we get our new building ready, we want to begin to fill up our faculty with *able* men... a young man comparatively, a fine scholar in his line, a man of good moral character and habits... I should have said I want him in sympathy with our agricultural and mechanical work.

In another letter checking a reference on an applicant, he writes:

We want a good man and a good teacher and companion. This is a delightful country and we have every reason to believe that we are going to build up a good college... We hope to get those who are superior in their respective fields. Our college is one of specialists.

In the beginnings of the school, this may have been the ideal, but the reality was quite different. Hadley's first faculty fortunately all exhibited the same liberality of mind that enabled them to jump with ease from their specialties to other loosely related disciplines. Engaged as professor of chemistry and botany, Wooton at one time or another taught bacteriology, biology, general and economic botany, chemistry, geology, human and plant physiology, mineralogy, physics, and zoology. When he came to New Mexico, he held only an undergraduate degree. By 1896, Wooton had earned his master's degree from Purdue during his summers and a brief, involuntary hiatus. Kelly W. Allred, in a profile of Wooton's career in *New Mexico Resources Magazine*, notes that virtually every student of the early school had taken a course from Wooton. He was a born teacher with "an extraordinary talent for lucid instruction that held the interest of a student."

Hadley wrote in the school newspaper:

Colleges are never satisfied. They always need more than they have. This characteristic is not to be deplored. It is an index of the craving, the hungering, the thirsting after knowledge which pervades mankind. The real educator finds his life in his efforts to stimulate and satisfy those desires. Wooton's omnivorous approach to teaching and to life in general made him the embodiment of Hadley's ideal

teacher. Wooton's influence on the culture of the community was in almost daily evidence. He and his beautiful, vivacious wife participated in concerts, soirees, literary gatherings, and dramas. Allred notes that "on one occasion he entertained a fireside audience with his harmonica before giving a lecture on Emersonian philosophy."

Hadley apparently never had to sell the attractions of New Mexico to Wooton, who quickly perceived the country to be a limitless laboratory of specimens for endless study. In the time he spent at the agricultural college, he established a national reputation for his work in plant science, naming 231 plant species new to science, some bearing the epithet, *Wootonii*. A man of boundless curiosity and enthusiasm, Wooton embraced his life in New Mexico.

For the benefit of the less sure, Hadley wrote the following, rather lyrical description of the region that appeared in the school's first catalogue:

The attractions of Las Cruces and Vicinity are such as to highly recommend it to those seeking a place for residence or for educating a family. In addition to the bountiful agricultural products, the orchards and vineyards laden with choicest fruits, the broad expanse of alfalfa fields luxuriant in their verdure and their bloom, the Organ Mountains constantly in view, grand and beautiful, a source of varying and never-ceasing enjoyment, the climate is not excelled by that of any other region. An elevation of 3800 feet, a atmosphere whose normal condition is dryness; a region where fogs are unknown, and where almost perpetual sunshine abounds; where summers are mild and free from the prostrating effects of regions farther north, where humid atmosphere almost constantly saturated, prevails; with perfect winters, with just about enough moisture to keep the dust settled; where the invalid, without extra protection, may always have dry feet; where days are bright and sunshiny, inviting to outdoor exercise, and the nights are cool all the year round, insuring restful sleep – these constitute an assemblage of conditions which makes it the paradise of those who would escape the rigors of Northern winters, and the resort of those who from any cause are threatened with pulmonary troubles.

This is not theory alone. In our midst we can point out numerous examples of the life-renewing powers of this climate – hale, ruddy-faced boys and girls, rugged men and

women, who came here fleeing from that fell destroyer, consumption, but now enjoy life with a reasonable expectancy of many years to come.

Having filled two important positions with highly satisfactory candidates, Hadley went about filling the mathematics chair that had begun to tax his energies. Without apparent direction from the board of regents, he decided to recruit a “Good Catholic” and asked the above mentioned Professor Alvord in Maryland for his recommendations: “I thought it not impossible that you might be able to aid us. We want to keep it very quiet for if known we should be overwhelmed with applicants.”

Clarence T. Hagerty, a graduate of several courses at Indiana Normal Schools and holder of both bachelor’s and master’s degrees in science from Notre Dame, answered the call. Hadley rushed to enlist him, sending him a rather breathless letter in December 1890:

The Board of Regents of our College at its meeting yesterday elected you to a position in our Faculty of Instruction but in the rush of a great amount of business to transact, the exact title and limitations of your position were not definitely prescribed... We shall assign you first as helper to myself and probably let the experience of the remaining half-year determine or guide you and us in finding your exact work.

In a new institution as ours is it is often found necessary to call on teachers to do some teaching not exactly in their special line. As the organization becomes more complete, the field that each Professor covers becomes smaller. I trust you will – if you choose to accept a place with us, be willing to do for a while whatever seems necessary that we may equitably distribute the work to be done.

We desire to secure professors whose devotion to our work and whose ability will make them permanent [fixtures.] Our Board is a liberal one and I am confident that they will pay their professors well. But, they take this position: that young men who have not yet demonstrated what they can do practically should be willing to test this work on a small salary. We have one such with us now who is proving very satisfactory [referring to Wootton]. He offered to accept \$900 for the first year but our Board said, “We will give him \$1000.” As your case is similar to his, they could not consistently do better than offer you for the remainder of the school year the same rate. Our school year closes May 29 but by the way our Board has adopted it, it nominally closes

June 30 although there is no teaching done in June...If we are mutually pleased with that experience, there is scarcely a doubt that you will be re-elected at a much larger salary.

Regarding the matter of Catholicism, Hadley goes on to say:

Our Institution (being publicly funded) must be non-sectarian. We want to prove

to all that we mean what we say. The Catholic Church is so largely represented in our Territory that we desire it represented in our faculty. In no other instance than this one has any question been asked as the religion or the politics of any officer or professor. But no one of your church having applied for a position, we were compelled to do some hunting.

Our Board and our faculty and many of your church in New Mexico are strong and devoted friends and advocates of the American system of free schools. We want our faculty loyal to this cause.

Whilst I have mentioned these things, we also want thorough scholarship and good teaching.

Kropp reports that Hadley greeted each of his new arrivals at the railroad station, perhaps hoping to mitigate the shock of the new. Reportedly, the ruts in the roads of Las Cruces were so bad, they could shake apart wagons and carts – hardly the kind of welcome Hadley wanted to extend to his recruits. At any rate, the newly arrived Professor Hagarty recalled being immediately impressed by Hadley's vigor, enthusiasm, and optimism about the college's future. For his part, Hadley reports to Judge McFie of the board of regents, "Our Mr. Hagerty is here. He is a very modest little man. I do not think he is a profound scholar but I like him very much and he takes hold of his classes to suit me."

Having secured the mathematics chair, Hadley set about filling the position of entomology professor. Hadley's correspondence shows that he was incrementally refining his criteria. One senses that he was trying to build a harmonious community as well as a highly competent faculty and worrying about the high ratio of men to women. To one applicant for the position from Fayetteville, Arkansas, he wrote:

We desire a good and thorough man... The spring will soon be here and we desire to have a man on hand to study and

circumvent the insect pests of our region. (I have been driven beyond my ability)... Are you married or single? What other work of the Station can you do well if we find it necessary for the time being to help in some other line? What salary would you expect or what would be an inducement to you to join us? I ask this question because salaries have not been fixed fully and so far as I have influence, I want the Board to pay for talent and not for *avoirdupois*.

Sometimes people make light of the idea of sending a photograph but I confess I like to have one.

We do not want a medium man at any price and unless we are deceived, we will not take such a one. A good one is a treasure at any price. A 'stick' is dear at any price.

Hadley cautiously queried a candidate from the Agriculture Department in Washington, D. C.

your letter suggests some serious considerations. If you are in the exact line of work that enlists your interest and energies, is it likely that even increased salary would satisfy you? If it would not, of course, it is not to our interest to take you out of your line and bring you into one that would probably leave.

As to the work required, we should give you your time, expect that you knew what one occupying your place ought to do and expect you to work out the problem. I can conceive of a scientist's using the apparatus and the pay of a Station to enable him to pursue some of his own schemes, but I do not think any good man would do that except so far as the interests of the Stations and this line might coincide.

As to equipment, if we have house room enough, I think we shall be able to fit out liberally. In regard to that, I should like to know what you would want in this direction. Our building fund is rather limited, but we are just going into our first new building. Besides what the enclosed cut shows, it has a good light and airy basement, which will be worth as much for many kinds of work as any part of the building. We are just starting in our course, but I do not see why we have not a fair field for a bright course. Of course, some things are very queer and odd down here, but it is, by all

odds, the most pleasant country, naturally, to live in that I have ever seen.

It is not the recipient of this letter but a young colleague of his at the Agriculture Department who chooses to pursue the position of professor of entomology and entomologist to the experiment station. This was C. H. Tyler Townsend, one of the trio of deer hunters in the accompanying photograph. Upon his arrival, Townsend set about developing experiments with insecticides and new spraying techniques to allay Hadley's concerns about the insect population. Although Townsend's professorial tenure, like Blount's, lasted only two years, he was instrumental in organizing the New Mexico Society for the Advancement of Science to which he was elected president. He was a frequent contributor to the agricultural experiment station's bulletin and had identified over twenty-five new varieties of flies from Las Cruces in the short time he spent at the college. The new scholarly community Hadley was assembling in the New Mexico desert had wasted no time in making a name for itself.

On the very same day Hadley was securing Townsend's services, his letterbook indicates he was also focused on the establishment of the engineering curriculum promised by the college's new name adopted in 1891: the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Hadley approached Cornell University to recruit applicants for the mechanical engineering post. His first letter to August J. Wiechardt (another of the trio of deer-hunters) adopted an apologetic tone:

Although I have been connected with our work here from its very inception and have come to think that it is one of the most delightful places in the world to begin and work out an educational career, I realize the fact that not every one who has not become accustomed to the inconveniences and strangeness of Western beginnings will think as I do. Therefore, it is a matter of doubt with me whether you will be happy in the best place we can possibly give you. We began two years ago with absolutely nothing. Our first efforts were purely private. On Monday of this week we occupied for the first a building that we own, if entirely paid for, which is not the case, quite. This building is not entirely finished but soon will be. I send you a cut of it. This does not do us justice, for the reason that our building has a fine basement with nice windows and a nine-foot story in the clear containing four rooms about 20 feet square each and one about 26 x 42 feet.

We have no place for our mechanical shops as yet but this basement. The next story above the basement contains the same number of rooms and of the same size. Height of story, 15 feet. The next story above contains three good rooms and a large auditorium or chapel. The whole is well built and finished and supplied throughout with electrical signals of several kinds.

The location is beautiful. We have an excellent farm and already have a good nucleus [*sic*] of a school. We are two miles from the town of Las Cruces and one mile from Mesilla and there are no boarding facilities any nearer than at these two points. Undoubtedly these will be supplied as soon as it can reasonably be expected.

Now we want a man for the head of the Mechanical who knows what he wants and what we need. We want him to have whatever he needs if we can possibly supply it without robbing other departments to make ours the model mechanical department of the U.S. We want him willing to take things as he finds them and patiently endure them and assist us in making them what they ought to be and do this without complaining. He will be master of his department and will not be interfered with, farther than is necessary to make our institution one harmonious and symmetrical whole....We are particularly desirous of obtaining men who have persistency as a part of their character – men who will deliberately and carefully formulate a career for their respective departments and then stay by them until they are worked out and not be looking for some other place that may seem to offer some special attraction that our place does not... May I ask the question, Are you married?

Although not married, Wiechardt apparently was impressed enough to request an extended contract to which Hadley demurred:

I know that *I* have no assurance that I shall be retained next year... I have had some experience in tying myself up to business for a term of years and I shall never repeat it if I keep my right mind... "I think I discover from your letter that you do not fully appreciate the nascent or embryonic condition in which you will find us. We have a small class of good pupils who will be pretty good Juniors next year and then we have a goodly number of fine young people coming on to fill up the ranks... I hope you will not compare our institution with the older ones. We must grow into what they are. We are short on building money but we have one good building and plenty of money for current expenses and equipment.

I think it will be politic and perhaps necessary to do some things in the Mechanical Department next year that our judgment may not exactly approve as a permanent part of our work. We may find it wise to admit some pupils to that department in a practical way who we know have not the necessary scholarly foundation to pursue the course as we intend it shall ultimately be done."

In the face of such a frank assessment, Wiechardt nevertheless took the plunge. Born in England, Wiechardt emigrated to Philadelphia and attended Lehigh University, transferring to Cornell in 1889 where he received his master's degree in mechanical engineering in 1891. The professorship in New Mexico was his first position. *The New Mexico Collegian* indicates that Professor Wiechardt took particular interest in organizing the college's first athletic association, a step critical to the formation of a school culture.

In the spring of 1892, Hadley recommended and received approval for the division of the departments of botany and chemistry. Wooton was placed solely in charge of the botany department both as a teacher and botanist for the experiment station. Hadley went in search of a chemist "of high order of experience and ability, who can make accurate and rapid analyses of the soils, waters vegetable and other products of the territory." Hadley wrote for recommendations to a fellow Friend and professor at Purdue University:

I think we need here a man who is both a good chemist and also one in love with that science as applied to agriculture. Of all the branches related to agriculture I think that chemistry is the fundamental one...If possible I want a man who will let the people down here know by his work that he is connected with this institution – one whose eyes are open so that he can see for himself what are the important problems for us to attempt to solve, who will lead out and go ahead for himself and not depend upon having work laid out for him to do but will devise his own career right along with the wants of the Territory.

Arthur Goss's application arrived from Purdue University in the summer of 1891. Hadley took his time filling this post, concerned principally with the proper housing of this important but materially demanding department. In the spring of 1892, however, he wrote to Goss, who had been working three jobs as assistant to the Indian state chemist, assistant chemist in the Indiana Experiment Station, and well as director of the Indiana Weather Service:

I have received a great many letters very complimentary to you and some of them come from my own personal friends and acquaintances so that I feel quite happy in the prospect of having you at the head of this department... That postscript of yours in regard to entering into a contract to be a married man within three months was a clincher, perhaps, in this matter. We believe in married men and would discriminate in favor of them all the time in preference to these young fellows who cannot behave themselves with the young ladies.

Goss was the first of Hadley's appointees to arrive as a bridegroom. Possibly as a result of his new status, Goss's correspondence, unlike the others, includes a barrage of questions regarding the cost of living in the territories, which he understood to be one-half again as much as in Indiana.

Hadley replied:

I think that that is quite an exaggeration, gathered from my own experiences. Of course, it depends very much upon how one lives. I think I can truthfully say that I have never lived so cheaply anywhere else in my life as I am living in New Mexico. I live in the suburbs of our great city on a little ranch. We keep our own cow, have our own chickens and eggs and fruit, vegetables, etc., pay no rent because we own our own little shanty and I am certain that I pay out less every month for household expenses than I ever did anywhere else in my life.” Photographs in the university archives of Mrs. Hadley feeding her chickens suggest that the relative economy he refers to is the result of the hard work and dedication of the housekeeper. Further, Hadley chiseled somewhat on Goss’s proposed salary in anticipation of the extra expense of equipping a chemistry laboratory. He promised Goss that if he would put up with “poor quarters” for one year, he would have a well-equipped laboratory within a year, along with all the apparatus, chemicals, and books that Goss had recommended.

Just as Hadley had succeeded in painstakingly stitching together his faculty, the unraveling began. With the 1893-1894 catalog, Hadley had incorporated photographs of the college and its facilities, creating a viewbook of a reassuringly well-equipped installation. His professors were engaged in research that was making a name for the college throughout the region and the country. Inevitably, however, not everyone was happy. The ambitions of Phoebe Haines for her drawing students resulted in an over-reaching proposal for the enlargement of her department, including the purchase of models and casts. She lamented that examples of good architecture and industrial art were so rare...in a “Wild West country.” Hadley firmly slapped down her hopes, noting that “This is not an art school... The purpose of this institution is to fit students for the various pursuits and industries of life.” Subsequently, drawing and the pesky Miss Haines disappeared from the 1892-93 catalog.

Byzantine territorial politics and their brutal effect on the nascent college posed a far more serious threat, one that is treated at some length in Kropp’s history. Suffice it to say, rivalries from the earliest point of conception of the college profoundly affected the administration of the school. The school’s founding fathers were Republicans and had used their connections with the territorial government to bring about its creation. Closely allied with them, Hadley nonetheless seemed to rise above the fray and was granted power to shape the faculty as he wished. The tide turned, however, and by 1893, the Republican members of the board of regents with whom Hadley was so clearly identified either died off or were replaced by the Democratic appointees of the new territorial governor, William T. Thornton. An undignified brawl broke out within the college. Hadley was labeled incompetent by incoming members of the board of regents and was replaced by his Indiana protégé,

Samuel P. McCrea, who had been busy cultivating favor with the rising Democrats. Depending on whom one might have asked, Professor Wiechardt either resigned or was forced out in favor of a son-in-law of the editor of the local newspaper. According to Cornell University alumni records, Wiechardt disappeared only to resurface after World War I as professor of engineering at the University of Arizona where he remained well into the 1920s. His alumni records do not mention that he was ever in New Mexico.

After unsuccessfully applying for the post of president of the college, Blount resigned but retained his residence in Las Cruces, probably hoping for the winds of change to blow in his direction. By 1898 ill health forced his return east to Wellesley, Massachusetts, where he died in 1911. Meanwhile, Professor Townsend, the noted entomologist, ran afoul of the fiercely Republican board member, W. L. Rynerson. Returning from what he believed to have been paid compassionate leave to attend to his dying father, Townsend found that Rynerson, alone of all the board, had refused to endorse his paycheck. The board had, in the meantime, also approved the appointment of a new entomologist, Theodore D. A. Cockerell – British and untainted by any political affiliation. Cockerell, member of a distinguished and titled family of scientific scholars, came to New Mexico full of enthusiasm for establishing the discipline of New Mexican entomology. In a neatly arranged trade, Townsend filled Cockerell's vacated position as Curator of the Museum of the Institute of Jamaica in Kingston. Townsend had been a great favorite of the students, however. The September 1893 issue of the *New Mexico Collegian* featured a long article in which Townsend vividly described the fellow travelers sharing his voyage to Jamaica. In another whiplash political move, the positions of Wooton and the newly appointed Cockerell were consolidated in an "economy move," and both men were replaced by another well-connected appointee without a degree. On collective second thought, the loss of such prominent scientists was generally considered a great embarrassment to the school's reputation, and both were later rehired. So too was Hiram Hadley himself, first as acting president while all the political mess was sorted out and, later, in 1898, as professor of history and philosophy. Wooton took advantage of his brief hiatus to obtain his master's degree from Purdue. Wooton subsequently remained in New Mexico until 1911 after which he repaired to Washington, D. C. In 1915 the Smithsonian Institution published his *Flora of New Mexico* as a culmination of twenty years of distinguished and unique work in botany. Reportedly, Wooton remembered his years in New Mexico with all its stern beauty and romantic history as the happiest time of his life.

Goss survived this purge because the activities of the chemistry department quickly became the lifeblood of the college. The chemistry department proved in very material ways the college's importance to the

citizens of the territory by providing consultation on critically important questions such as irrigation, fertilization, diamond mining prospects, geological concerns, and soil quality. While attending to his many duties in New Mexico, Goss was also finishing his master's degree at Purdue during summer vacations. Goss and his wife lived in Mesilla and were popular members of the faculty, hosting entertainment and chaperoning student field trips into the mountains. Likewise, the modest, stolid, but indispensable Professor Hagerty also survived this purge. Not only did Hagerty direct the Department of Mathematics and Astronomy but, eventually, the Department of Civil Engineering as well. He retired in 1924 after thirty-two years of devoted and non-controversial service to the college.

Each of the young scientists Hadley recruited found the natural world of New Mexico to be a laboratory in which life-long careers were created and sustained. Even those who left New Mexico found themselves forever identified with the state and the institution they helped define. His natural talent for judging human nature aside, Hadley was extraordinarily lucky to find men of such intellect and adventurous spirit to help him bring higher education to the Wild West of southern New Mexico.

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A Lion Among The Lawyers: W.H.H. Llewellyn Of Las Cruces

By Mark Thompson

Llewellyn: Welsh; like a lion, or perhaps lightning sword.¹

In his 1992 biography of John Wesley Powell, Pulitzer Prize winner Wallace Stegner expressed no doubt that the promoters of a canal across Fort Selden and W.H.H. Llewellyn were the “local interests against the public interest,” the latter represented by John Wesley Powell and Anson Mills.² It was almost as if Stegner expected his reader to know who Llewellyn was, identifying him only as a “representative” of the canal company. The name sounded familiar, but who was W.H.H. Llewellyn?

Before New Mexico: Mining, Marriage and Murder?

William Henry Harrison Llewellyn was born in Monroe, Green County, Wisconsin,³ probably on 9 September 1851,⁴ to Joseph and Louisa Llewellyn; he of Virginia, she of New York.⁵ Joseph Llewellyn served as a private with the Kansas volunteers of the Union army from 30 November 1861 to 10 January 1865⁶ and by June 1870 had relocated to Iowa.⁷ Joseph was engaged in farming, but was apparently without the help of then eighteen-year-old William.

The *Denver Republican* in early 1897, probably as a result of an interview with W.H.H., reported he claimed to have left home in 1866 for Montana and in 1873 went to Omaha.⁸ These seven years, as well as the next seven, remain mostly a mystery. Ralph Twitchell says he left home in 1866 for gold mining in Trinity Gulch, Montana.⁹ Trinity Gulch did not make it into the Montana place names I consulted but I did find a nineteen-year-old miner, William Llewellyn, in Deer Lodge County in 1870 who gave his birthplace as Wales.¹⁰ That could be the story of a young man who left home at age fifteen and certainly would add to the romance!

Omaha, Nebraska makes a good connection to his family, only about 40 miles away in Fremont County, Iowa. One historian says he spent some time in Omaha as a “collector” for the McCormick Reaper Company,¹¹ and the *Denver Republican* article in 1897 indicates that he was appointed a special agent of the Department of Justice by Attorney General Charles Devens in 1876. We do know that he married Ida M. (Little) Smith in Omaha on 8 June 1877¹² and that they were living in Omaha with their sons Clinton and Morgan in 1880.¹³

The Justice Department detective years ended in dramatic fashion with the killing of a captured outlaw resulting in a charge of murder against Llewellyn and his partner in South Dakota.¹⁴ Although acquitted of the charges by the jury,¹⁵ the killing was viewed with deep suspicion by the locals.¹⁶ Seth

Bullock, the well-known sheriff of Deadwood, South Dakota, later told Theodore Roosevelt that he would not have killed “that man” and that getting an acquittal from the jury was difficult.¹⁷ Roosevelt was of the opinion that “for all his geniality” Llewellyn had “a ruthless streak.”¹⁸

From Amargo to South Fork: Trail of (Bitter) Tears?

If he knew of the South Dakota incident, it apparently did not worry President Garfield who appointed Llewellyn his agent to the Mescaleros in South Fork, now Mescalero, in June 1881.¹⁹ At the outset, Llewellyn was only the agent to the Mescaleros,²⁰ but in 1882 his job was expanded to include the Jicarillas.²¹ The next year he conducted the transfer of the Jicarillas from Amargo²² to South Fork, a major event for both him and his “charges.”²³ As might be expected for a time when complete “conquest” by the Europeans was still a decade in the future, Llewellyn built his reputation on being tough with the Indians.²⁴ He apparently attempted to resign in 1884²⁵ but stayed until his successor finally showed up in November, 1885.²⁶

Have you ever considered practicing law?

Even by nineteenth-century standards, W.H.H. Llewellyn seemed to emerge Minerva-like from the federal bureaucracy into a significant law practice. Although we have no evidence that he had any specific preparation for law practice,²⁷ in December 1885 he became a partner of two prominent Las Cruces lawyers,²⁸ William L. Rynerson and Edward Clements Wade.²⁹ On the frontier, lawyers were often the products “of self-study (or no study at all)” and “everyone who chose to could follow the profession of law” if he “could convince any judge that he knew some law.”³⁰ Llewellyn dated his admission to practice before the New Mexico Supreme Court as 30 January 1886, which is most likely the date when the judge in Las Cruces granted his admission.³¹

It is also true that lawyers in that era often had to find ways to supplement their income from the “pure” practice of law.³² Llewellyn’s choice was to represent the Atcheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad as a livestock agent. This work was significant, because, as Ira Clark has aptly described it, “[r]ailroads had a profound and immediate effect on another typical frontier activity—cattle raising.”³³ A sample of the work of Llewellyn as livestock agent in 1886-1887 has fortunately been preserved in correspondence with the Chase Ranch in northern New Mexico.³⁴ This position with the railroad undoubtedly gave Llewellyn a chance to use his political skills because, as the railroad history describes the job, agents had to keep constantly informed of general trends and daily contacts with live stock producers, marketers, and packers.³⁵

Water Warrior!

What interested Wallace Stegner was what Governor Otero called “saving the waters of the Rio Grande for New Mexico”³⁶ and Anson Mills saw as the “equitable distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande.”³⁷ Mills, sometime El Paso resident and Union Army General, convinced the Secretary of War in 1889 to cancel the easement across Fort Selden,³⁸ but it could be said that the Mesilla Valley farmers eventually won the war when the federal government decided to build the Leasburg diversion dam.³⁹ Although in the totality of the lengthy Rio Grande controversy Llewellyn’s role seems minor, Mills did credit both Llewellyn and Dr. Nathan Boyd of Las Cruces⁴⁰ with preventing the building of a dam near El Paso.⁴¹

Llewellyn’s interest in water matters did not end with his fight with Anson Mills. In September of 1889 he was the lead-off witness at a United States Senate hearing in Santa Fe which coincided with the Constitutional Convention of that year.⁴² When the fight in Congress over the building of a dam at Elephant Butte heated up in 1900,⁴³ Governor Otero appointed him as one of the twelve delegates to go to Washington and lobby Congress.⁴⁴ During his last term in the New Mexico House of Representatives, in 1919, he successfully sponsored a bill governing management of irrigation districts.⁴⁵ What appears surprising is that he gave up his *ex officio* (as the then Speaker of the House) position on a commission created by the legislature in 1897 to study New Mexico water rights and irrigation laws. Governor Otero, in August 1897, then appointed Joseph E. Saint, who was not serving in the legislature.⁴⁶



Rough Rider

Rough Rider and More!

The splendid little four-month campaign against Spain in Cuba during the summer of 1898 was certainly a defining moment for many New Mexicans.⁴⁷ Llewellyn’s part as a captain of Troop G at the cavalry charge up “Kettle Hill,” along with his hospitalization in New York City in September, apparently with yellow fever, has been extensively covered. One historian noted that Llewellyn’s exceptional service in Cuba resulted in a “brevet” promotion to the rank of major although that is not indicated in Twitchell’s

muster-out list.⁴⁸ The *El Paso Times*, on the other hand, asserted that in fact Llewellyn “could not stand the strenuous pace” in Cuba “and had to take to his bed.”⁴⁹ Llewellyn filed for a disability pension in 1899,⁵⁰ and his medical condition, and perhaps much more on his military career, might be revealed in the pension files which at this time have still not been transferred to the National Archives.⁵¹

One of the mysteries about Llewellyn is why he claimed a military rank early in his career in New Mexico.⁵² Of course, he was given the rank of colonel upon his appointment as judge advocate general of the Territorial Militia in 1893,⁵³ and there is no question that he held the rank of captain as a result of his commission from Governor Otero in 1898. There are suggestions that he may have been an “Indian Scout” in the pre-New Mexico days,⁵⁴ and as such would have been commissioned in the army. In any event, the “major” title prevailed notwithstanding his New Mexico commissions, as if his name were Major W.H.H., although his political enemies were not above showing doubts about his entitlement to the rank.⁵⁵

The Sacking of the United States Attorney: Appearance of Impropriety, Peter Principle or Just Plain Politics?

Llewellyn had served as the local district attorney for approximately six years⁵⁶ before President Roosevelt appointed him to a four-year term as United States Attorney for New Mexico in 1905.⁵⁷ Although a local district attorney in those days was a part-time job, allowing for private practice,⁵⁸ the statement of one historian that Llewellyn was appointed United States attorney “despite his lack of qualifications for the job,”⁵⁹ seems somewhat harsh. Perhaps that view, in hindsight after Llewellyn was “forced” out of the job in 1907, has some authenticity.

What brought him down, on the surface anyway, was some role that he might or might not have had in a land grab scandal that was played out in the midst of a great push by New Mexico for statehood. In fact it was two scandals, one involving territorial public lands on which timber could be harvested and the other involving federal lands on which coal could be extracted. Both, however, involved the “consolidation” of land, unlawfully, in the hands of corporations when the populist laws of entry and acquisition contemplated small landowners or, in the case of the coal, miners. The Department of Justice sent special counsel and investigators to New Mexico to look into both matters, but did not, as intimated by Governor Curry,⁶⁰ suspend the United States attorney who continued to prosecute other federal crimes.⁶¹

The scandals were brought to a head when the special prosecutors filed a civil action to set aside the sales of timber lands on 8 October 1907⁶² and followed later that same month with criminal indictments in the coal lease cases.⁶³ By the first week of November, Governor Curry let it be known

that he and Llewellyn would be leaving for Washington.⁶⁴ The *Journal* was happy to report the rumors that Llewellyn might be “deprived of his job,” admitted that the purpose of the visit to Washington was not known, but obliquely raised the land scandals by indicating that Morgan Llewellyn, then serving as surveyor general, was also rumored to be in line for retirement. And, in an ambiguous statement that could have been planted by either his friends or his enemies, the newspaper said that “Major Llewellyn has another government position in sight, in which it is understood his official duties may not be so strenuous and that he will step from the United States attorneyship into this new berth.”⁶⁵

There were constant references to “charges” against Llewellyn, but the worst that was ever said was that “he won’t even speak to the special attorneys.”⁶⁶ Nevertheless, by 24 November 1907, both W.H.H. and his son Morgan had resigned, with the younger Llewellyn’s resignation delayed until the first of the year.⁶⁷ Within days, Llewellyn’s assistant, David J. Leahy, had assumed the United States Attorney position, and Llewellyn was appointed a special assistant attorney in the Justice Department.⁶⁸ If this was truly punishment, it seemed fairly mild. In any event, the two land scandals never came to trial, although it is possible that the political damage regarding statehood had been done.⁶⁹ It is probably true that, if he did not interfere with the special prosecutors or had not “risen to his level of incompetence,” that Llewellyn had become a political liability. What is not clear is why, to whom, and for what reason.⁷⁰

A case study in Historiography?



Speaker 1917

The problems of 1907 did not appear to have any lasting impact on Llewellyn’s political career. On 18 March 1909, Governor Curry appointed him to again serve as the local district attorney,⁷¹ a position he held through the end of the territorial period.⁷² He was elected to the House of Representatives for the first, third and fourth state legislatures,⁷³ replicating his three terms in the House in the territorial period.⁷⁴ As in 1897,⁷⁵ he was elected by his peers to serve as speaker in 1917.⁷⁶ With a record like Llewellyn’s some errors are bound to occur in the reporting. He was not a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1910.⁷⁷ In addition, I found no evidence that he ever served

as a district judge.⁷⁸

There is certainly no question that Llewellyn was a vigorous promoter of New Mexico⁷⁹ and the Republican Party.⁸⁰ Historian Marion Dargan has

speculated that Theodore Roosevelt must have found it difficult, given his lifelong friendship with Llewellyn and other New Mexicans, to “acquiesce in the denial of the fullest rights of American citizenship to men who had shown themselves so brave and loyal.”⁸¹ One can speculate that Llewellyn may have felt some disappointment at Roosevelt’s unwillingness to “bleed and die” politically for New Mexico statehood. The failure to accomplish that goal while he still had maximum influence in Washington could be why Llewellyn is treated by historians as a “best supporting actor,” but never a “leading man.”

Mark B. Thompson III is working on the index for the 1885 territorial census as a volunteer with the Albuquerque Genealogical Society. He is a descendant of Nicholas and Harriet (Stocker) Galles through their daughter Edith Georgia and her second husband, Mark B. Thompson. See Southern New Mexico Historical Review, volumes I and IX.

Endnotes

- 1 Henry Barber, *British Family Names: Their Origin and Meaning* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1997 reprint of 2d ed., 1903), 187. *But see*, Henry Harrison, *Surnames of the United Kingdom: A Concise Etymological Dictionary* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1992; reprint of 1912 edition), 280. Harrison says the Celtic etymology points to “ruler or leader.”
- 2 Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and The Second Opening of The West* (New York: Penguin Books, 1992; reprint of 1954 edition), 311.
- 3 Not in Minnesota, as reported in one obituary. “Major W.H.H. Llewellyn. Famous Rough Rider and Pioneer, Dead,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 13 June 1927.
- 4 Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Grand Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1912), 2:541.
- 5 *See* Joseph Llewellyn household, 1850 United States Census, Green County, Wisconsin, population schedule, Monroe township and post office, page 215, dwelling 20, family 21; National Archives micropublication M432, roll 999 and J. Llewellyn household, 1860 United States Census, Green County, Wisconsin, population schedule, Monroe township and post office, page 334, dwelling 220, family 199; National Archives micropublication M653, roll 1411.
- 6 Joseph Llewellyn, *Military Records of Individual Civil War Soldiers*, Ancestry. Com, 1999.
- 7 Joseph Llewellyn household, 1870 United States Census, Freemont County, Iowa, population schedule, Ross Township, Tabor post office, page 503, dwelling 13, family 13; National Archives micropublication M593, roll 392.

- ⁸ “Speaker Llewellyn,” *The Las Vegas Daily Optic*, 1 Feb. 1897.
- ⁹ Note 4, *supra*.
- ¹⁰ William Llewellyn “household,” 1870 United States Census, Deer Lodge County, Montana, population schedule, Pioneer and Pikes Peak township and post office, page 93, dwelling 118, “family” 17; National Archives micropublication M593, roll 827.
- ¹¹ Paxton P. Price, *Pioneers of the Mesilla Valley* (Las Cruces: Yucca Tree Press, 1995), 295.
- ¹² Greater Omaha Genealogical Society, *Douglas County, Nebraska Marriages 1854-1881* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2002), 93. It was her second marriage, her first, at age sixteen, on 20 July 1875. *Douglas County Marriages* at 144. She was born in Davenport, Iowa, November, 20 1858, the daughter of Isaac and Jane (Cummings) Little. See, Isaac Little household, 1870 United States Census, Scott County, Iowa, population schedule, Davenport township and post office, page 90, dwelling 5, family 5; National Archives micropublication M593, roll 418 and Ida M. Llewellyn death certificate no. 2163 (1951), New Mexico Department of Public Health, Santa Fe.
- ¹³ W.H. Llewellyn household, 1880 United States Census, Douglas County, Nebraska, population schedule, Omaha, enumeration district 17, supervisor’s district 2, sheet 185, dwelling 122, family 128; National Archives micropublication T9, roll 747. See also, Morgan O.B. Llewellyn, Death Certificate (unnumbered), (15 November 1929), New Mexico Bureau of Public Health.
- ¹⁴ “Warrants issued for May and Llewellyn,” *Black Hills Daily Times*, 13 Feb. 1880. The Deadwood, Dakota Public Library has put an index to the newspaper online, dwdlb.sdln.net, but not the full text.
- ¹⁵ “Detective acquitted on charge of murder,” *Black Hills Daily Times*, 4 Sept. 1880.
- ¹⁶ I have only found one narrative of this event, a posting on the genealogical website of the descendants of the owners of the land where the killing occurred. See, “James and Mary Mansfield McFarland: The Sydney Stage Road Years” at geocities.com.
- ¹⁷ Roosevelt’s letter to John Hay, 9 August 1903, reprinted in *Cowboys and Kings: Three Great Letters by Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 13-14.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ “Local News,” *Rio Grande Republican*, 23 July 1881. From the outset, Llewellyn apparently knew that part of his job was to cultivate a good relationship with the press.
- ²⁰ *New Mexico Blue Book*, 1882 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, facsimile ed., 1968), 122-24.
- ²¹ “Mescalero Matters,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 30 July 1882.
- ²² The Spanish word for “bitter.” See, Robert Julyan, *The Place Names of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2d. ed., 1998), 14.
- ²³ Llewellyn’s own account of the move is published in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1884. *Annual Report of*

the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1884, 48th Congress, 2d Session, HR Executive Document 1, Part 5 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1884), 174-77.

²⁴ See e.g., “Llewellyn’s Wards,” *Rio Grande Republican*, 30 Aug. 1884 and “Llewellyn’s Lads and Lasses,” *Rio Grand Republican*, 20 Sept. 1884.

²⁵ “Major Llewellyn’s Resignation,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 2 May 1884. This supposed resignation may have had something to do with the fact that President Chester A. Arthur, who had assumed the job upon the death of Garfield in September 1881, was in political trouble and would be denied the nomination for another term. Another surprising statement in the 1927 *New Mexican* obituary was that Arthur had appointed Llewellyn as “district attorney.” See note 3, *supra*. Llewellyn was not practicing law during the time Arthur was in office and there is no evidence that he took a “break” from his job as Indian Agent.

²⁶ See “Local News,” *Rio Grande Republican*, 7 Nov. 1885.

²⁷ Even our two lawyer/historians did not reveal anything about his preparation for the practice of law. See Twichell, *supra* note 4 and William A. Keleher, *The Fabulous Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, Rev. ed., 1962), 47.

²⁸ See Price, note 11 *supra* at pages 160-64 and 250-51.

²⁹ “Local News,” *Rio Grande Republican*, 12 Dec. 1885 and front page advertisement for “Rynerson, Wade & Llewellyn, Attorneys at Law,” *Rio Grande Republican*, December

26, 1885. Llewellyn apparently had moved his family to Doña Ana County before June 1885. See, W.H.H. Llewellyn household, New Mexico Territory Census of 1885, Doña Ana County, New Mexico population schedule, Precinct 10, enumeration district 9, page 9, dwelling 121, family 121; National Archives micropublication M846, roll 2.

³⁰ Anton-Hermann Chroust, *The Rise of the Legal Profession in America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 2:105-106. New Mexico’s first comprehensive effort to regulate the profession, requiring graduation from law school or study in a law office in New Mexico for two years, plus limiting the district judge to temporary admissions, did not occur until 1909. New Mexico Laws 1909, chapter 53, sections 15 and 25.

³¹ The Supreme Court clerk’s list of lawyers practicing between 1846 and 1889, 4 New Mexico Law Reports, vii (1896), does not include Llewellyn. In the *Roll of Attorneys and Counselors at Law Practicing in the Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico*, the book signed by the lawyers, Llewellyn dated his admission as 30 January 1886. The entries on the first five pages of the roll book are clearly not in chronological order and the chronological dates begin in January 1900. I have concluded that the initial signing of the roll book probably took place sometime between 1896 and 1900.

³² See, e.g., S. D. Myers, ed., *Pioneer Surveyor-Frontier Lawyer: The Personal Narrative of O.W. Williams, 1877-1902* (El Paso: Texas Western College

Press, 1966). Williams, who spent part of his career in mining near Silver City, was probably unique in that he had completed the two year study of law at Harvard College.

³³ Ira G. Clark, *Then Came the Railroads: The Century from Steam to Diesel in the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 102.³⁴

³⁴ Chase Ranch Records, 1838- 1960: Box 16, Volume 53. Archives and Special Collections Department, New Mexico State University Library, Ms 108.

³⁵ Merle Armitage, *Operations Santa Fe* (New York: Buell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948), 196. Llewellyn was apparently active in these matters as late as 1890. See e.g., United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Animal Industry, *Proceedings of an Interstate Convention of Cattlemen held in Fort Worth, Texas, 11-13 Mar. 1890*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), 9 and 11.

³⁶ Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1906* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 28.

³⁷ Anson Mills, *My Story* (Washington, D.C.: Byron S. Adams Press, 1918), 263.

³⁸ *Ibid*, at 275.

³⁹ George Wharton James, *Reclaiming the Arid West* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1917), 257.

⁴⁰ Price, note 11 *supra* at 258-63.

⁴¹ Mills, note 34 *supra* at 278. See also, Ira G. Clark, *Water in New Mexico: A History of Its Management and Use* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 90-99.

⁴² *Report of the Special Committee of the United States Senate on the Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, Vol. III, Rocky Mountain Region and Great Plains*, 51st Congress, Senate Rep. no. 928 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), 59-63. Llewellyn was not a delegate to the 1889 Constitutional Convention. See, "Roster of Delegates to the Constitutional Convention held in Santa Fe, 3-21 September 1889, and the Counties Which They Represented," New Mexico Territorial Archives, (Microfilm ed., 1974), Roll 38, Frame 73.

⁴³ See e.g., "The Convention," *The Albuquerque Daily Citizen*, 15 May 1900 and "Stephens Bill," *The Albuquerque Daily Citizen*, 16 May 1900.

⁴⁴ Gov. Otero appointments, May 16, 1900, Territorial Archives, (Microfilm ed., 1974) Roll 147, frames 3-249. The Otero appointments are in chronological order.

⁴⁵ *New Mexico Blue Book* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Secretary of State, 1919), 53. (Hereafter, *New Mexico Blue Book*, year and page).

⁴⁶ *New Mexico Laws 1897*, ch. 65. Governor Otero appointments, 24 August 1897, note 41, *supra*. Neither the *New Mexican* nor the *Albuquerque Daily Citizen* gave this story any prominence in August, 1897, and Professor Clark does not mention Llewellyn in his discussion on the work of the Commission. See Clark, note 38 *supra* at 115 and 717.

⁴⁷ See e.g., H.B. Henning, ed., "George Curry, 1861-1947: An Autobiography" (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958), 120-130 and

- Governor Otero, note 33 *supra* at 35-66.
- 48 Compare Price, note 11 *supra* at 296 with Twitchell, note 11 *supra* at 530.
- 49 See “A Pleasing Tribute to the Major,” *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 13 Jan. 1908, p. 5.
- 50 *Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934 Record*, National Archives Micropublication T288, “reprinted” online at Ancestry.Com.
- 51 The Veterans Administration has resisted depositing records with the National Archives if the file contains activity from about 1929 or later and Ida Mae Llewellyn filed for a pension that year. At the suggestion of the National Archives, I have filed a Freedom of Information Act request with the Veterans Administration, which has not yet born fruit.
- 52 He did not use a military title in his official reports to the Department of The Interior. See note 23 *supra*. Although the first newspaper reference, 23 July 1881 in the *Rio Grande Republican*, referred to him as “Mr. Wm. H.H. Llewellyn,” by 30 July 1882 he had become “Captain W.H.H. Llewellyn,” in the *Santa Fe New Mexican*. At least by May 1884, the *New Mexican* had referred to him as “Major.” See note 25 *supra*.
- 53 Oath of Commissioned Officer, 30 March 1893, Territorial Archives (Microfilm ed., 1974), Roll 86. He was reappointed judge advocate general on 20 January 1906, this time in the National Guard.⁵⁴ “Famous Scout and Fighter Revisits His Old Nebraska Home,” *The Albuquerque Daily Citizen*, 29 May 1900, p. 3 (quoting the Omaha Herald).
- 55 “Why the ‘Major’ Journeyed to Washington,” *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 18 Nov. 1907, p. 7.
- 56 *Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1899* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), 7 and *New Mexico Blue Book* (1905), Official Register of Territorial Officers (unnumbered page).
- 57 See, *New Mexico Blue Book* (1907), 32.
- 58 The legislature did not begin the process of making the D.A. a full time job until 1969, and then only in Bernalillo County. *New Mexico Laws, 1969*, chapter 85.
- 59 Robert W. Larson, “Ballinger vs. Rough Rider Curry,” 43 *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (1968), 273-74.
- 60 Curry autobiography, note 47, *supra*, at 208.
- 61 See e.g., “Talmadge Cases on Trial before Judge Pope,” *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 27 Oct. 1907.
- 62 “Government Sues to Cancel Land Sales to Pennsylvania Development Company,” *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 6 Oct. 1907 and “United States Files Suit,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 7 Oct. 1907. It is clear that you had a different view of this matter if you were only reading one of the two papers!
- 63 “Phelps-Dodge company Indicted on Charges of Coal Land Frauds,” *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 22 Oct. 1907 and “Indictment Found for Land Frauds,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 22 Oct. 1907. The *New Mexican* article included the complaint by the newspaper that the special prosecutors had leaked information to the Albuquerque paper.

64 “Governor in City to Attend Law
Revision Meet,” *Albuquerque Morning
Journal*, 7 Nov. 1907.

65 “Say Llewellyn is on Verge of a
Change,” *Albuquerque Morning Journal*,
9 Nov. 1907.

66 See note 55, *supra*.

67 “Llewellyn is Separated From His
Job,” *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 24
Nov. 1907.

68 “Leahy Qualifies As United States
Attorney—Hoyt Takes Charge of
Land Cases for the Government,”
Albuquerque Morning Journal, 30 Nov.
1907.

69 See generally, Robert W. Larson, *New
Mexico’s Quest for Statehood 1846-1912*
(Albuquerque: University of New
Mexico Press, 1968), 254-61.

70 For example, in January of 1908,
he was chosen as a representative
of Doña Ana County for the
delegation going to Washington to
appear before the Senate committee
considering statehood, not exactly
banishment to political purgatory.
“Hearings on Statehood Measure,”
Albuquerque Morning Journal, 17 Jan.
1908.

71 Curry appointments, 18 March 1909,
New Mexico Territorial Archives,
(Microfilm ed., 1974) Roll 177, frame
2.

72 *New Mexico Blue Book* (1911), 102.

73 *New Mexico Blue Book* (1927), 42-45.

74 *New Mexico Blue Book* (1915), 50-54.

75 *Ibid.*

76 House Journal, New Mexico Third
State Legislature, 9 Jan. 1917, p. 8.

77 *New Mexico Blue Book* (1919),
46. I will concede that the two
“unofficial” sources I consulted

have conflicting information about
the Doña Ana County delegation,
but neither include Llewellyn. See
Twitchell, note 4 *supra* at 583 and
*New Mexico Constitutional Convention
Book*, (Denver: C.S. Peterson, 1911),
index.

78 The list of all judges serving the
Territory of New Mexico can be
found in 16 *New Mexico Law Reports*
(1912), 17-21 and in the *New Mexico
Blue Book* (1917), 21-22. I checked
every issue of the *New Mexico Law
Reports* and the *Blue Book* from 1912
through 1929 and found no record
of Llewellyn serving as a district
judge.

79 For example, he was a member of
the “management” team for the
World’s Columbian Exposition,
1893 (see G.L. Dybwad and Joy V.
Bliss, www.bookstopshere.com and
Governor Otero appointed him as
a delegate to the Trans-Mississippi
Exposition for 1898. He resigned
as a Trans-Mississippi delegate in
April 1898 (because of the war?)
but Governor Otero immediately
appointed him to the Bureau
of Immigration. See, Governor
Otero appointments, 2 Dec. 1897
and 15 Apr. 1898, note 44, *supra*.
The Bureau of Immigration was
charged with promoting the same
plus investment in New Mexico.
See, New Mexico Laws, 1880, ch.
23.

80 Including challenging voters at the
polls. See e.g., “Llewellyn in Indiana,”
Rio Grande Republican, 8 Nov. 1884.

81 Marion Dargan, “New Mexico’s
Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912,”
New Mexico Historical Review 14
(1939): 13.

Clarence Fielder and the Public Schools:

An Oral History

Eloise S. Evans

Clarence Fielder is one of the most involved and valuable members of the Las Cruces community. He has contributed over the course of many years to almost every public service, including Branigan Library, The Doña County Arts Society, and the Las Cruces Association of Retired Educators

In 1998, as part of an oral history project, I interviewed Clarence about his experiences in the public schools, both as student and teacher. The tape and transcript of this interview are available at the Archives and Special Collections Department at New Mexico State University Library. This interview and a recent conversation with Clarence form the basis of this article. Much of the material comes in Clarence's recorded words and is verbatim.

As a first grader, Clarence attended school in a tarpaper shack. Later he learned that, although the schools had been integrated until 1924, in that year a sudden decision was made to segregate the Black students. With no prior warning or discussion, the students were met at the door of the original school and told they would no longer be part of that campus. As no other facility was available, a church was used until two shacks could be moved to the corner of Jupiter and Tornillo, one for the Black students in grades one through four, and the other for grades five through eight.

Subsequently, when Clarence reached school age, he was sent to the "temporary facility." Ten years later Washington School opened its doors as a segregated school, and Clarence completed his public education there.

When asked to describe the Las Cruces school system in the 1930s, Clarence had this to say:

We had South Ward School and Central School, and they had Lucero School. Lucero School was mostly Spanish American, and then Washington School was all Black, and then there was Alameda Elementary. The number of students at Washington ranged from maybe 100 to 120. They had two teachers in the elementary school. One teacher taught grades one through four. One teacher taught five through eight, and then they had a high school with one teacher.

But then about 1949 or 1950 there was opposition about the segregated schools, and they went before the legislature and, because they didn't teach chemistry and advanced math and other subjects at the school, they increased the high school faculty to four or six teachers, and they did teach chemistry, but they didn't have a lab. They had just the basics for chemistry and for the sciences. They taught Spanish, geometry, algebra, typing 1 and 2, and then the basics like the languages. And they taught general science. You got enough of the basics to qualify to enter New Mexico State without any conditions.

You felt frustrated because you talked to the students in your community or your neighborhood that were going to Las Cruces High School, and they had so many other subjects than you had. Of course you got the basics, but there were certain things you didn't get. You got to New Mexico State and you had to take trigonometry and other subjects that you had lost because you hadn't had advanced math. You just had the basics.

Asked about the teachers and the drop-out rate, Clarence said: I think they were excellent teachers, and, yes, they were all Black. They were all dedicated, and I think they had good backgrounds, and they gave us good backgrounds. They were very strict, and you had to do your work. There was a lot of homework. Most of the students that graduated went to college. Some of them at first didn't go to New Mexico State, but they went off to school to Tuskegee, Wiley, Prairie View, and other schools like Lincoln University in Missouri, and they did pretty well.

I guess the favorite teacher was Mrs. Williams, who was the elementary teacher. She taught grades one through four, but she also taught Home Economics, and the boys took about six weeks of Home Ec., and she also taught Saturday classes, where you could learn knitting and canning and various subjects like that, so she really benefited the community, because, you know, she had a lot of knowledge. She was kind of like an extension worker. The schools were open on Saturday

Most of them (the students) stayed. Very few dropped out. Some of them would have to stay out and work on the farm, because their parents were farmers, and they would work on the farms during the cotton picking season. But then they would come back. Most of them would finish eighth grade. A lot of them went all the way through twelfth grade.

While discussing the high school curriculum, Clarence remembered: Well, the classes had to be carefully scheduled. You didn't have every class every day. You would have certain classes Monday, Wednesday, Friday, some classes Tuesday and Thursday, and then, like if you had a literature class, that could be a combined grade class. I took geometry in the ninth grade because that was the time they were teaching geometry. The next year they taught algebra, so my sophomore year I took algebra. They did it that way. They didn't teach every class every year.

Before 1954, were there any efforts to integrate the schools? One of the first changes that took place was integration of athletics. In 1949 a coach by the name of Alton "Bull" Durham attempted to bring the Black players or Black students from Washington High to play on the football team. He was fired shortly after school started, and the students at Cruces High went on strike, and they dropped leaflets from airplanes, and they had parades and everything. They were trying to get him rehired, but he was not rehired. I think that was kind of the beginning of the protest movements in this area of students.

Clarence returned to Washington School as a teacher in August 1949 on a temporary certificate. He finished all the requirements for a secondary certificate in the summer of 1950. Two weeks after the start of the new school year, he was called from the reserves to active duty in the early stages of the Korean War.

So I came back to active teaching again in August or September 1952. They (Washington School) had added additional faculty. They had a faculty then of eight teachers—four were in the high school and four were in the elementary school. It was kind of departmentalized then. They had a science teacher and a math teacher.

We lacked in supplies. Many supplies we didn't have, or,

if we had them, the students donated the money. We would have an enchilada supper or some kind of activity to raise money to buy the supplies. Like for basketballs. We weren't given basketballs. We had to raise the money to buy basketballs.

We didn't have a gym. We had a cement slab outside on which we played. It was the same way for the girls for homemaking equipment. They would hold dinners and activities to raise money for their supplies. I found out later, when I took school finance, that there were such things as school budgets, but for some reason—I don't know whether we shared in it, but we got very little out of it. Little was budgeted for our school.

In 1954 Clarence's teaching life changed drastically. The United States Supreme Court decision in the case of Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka came out in May. Las Cruces acted fairly quickly to comply with the new law of the land.

The decision came out in May, and I believe in September of '55 the students had an option. They could attend Washington School or they could go to their neighborhood school. And some of the students went to their neighborhood schools, and some of their parents chose to keep them in Washington School. About a year later they integrated the whole system. It wasn't, you know, by choice. And Washington School became a neighborhood school—an elementary school, grades one through six.

Four teachers were kept; four teachers were dismissed. One teacher stayed at Washington. One teacher went to Lucero School. And then one teacher that had been the high school teacher, Mrs. Swisher, was dismissed. She filed suit against the school system, and she was finally rehired and made a roving teacher at Las Cruces High School. I went to Court Junior High School.

That was '55-'56, and I stayed there for one year. My principal was Mr. Smith. When I went for an interview, he told me, "I don't want you here, but there's nothing I can do about it. You've been assigned by the superintendent. He blamed my classes for excessive noise and everything,

and the kids—it was difficult for them to understand because he would come on the intercom and he'd say, "Stop that noise in Room 10," and the kids weren't making noise.

Clarence described his relationships with other principals, faculty, and students as warm and cordial for the most part.

When they built a new Las Cruces High School, they made the old Las Cruces High School a junior high, and called it Alameda Junior High. I was transferred there, and I taught social studies and I coached seventh-grade sports. Mr. Anderson was the principal, and he and I got along real well. The majority of the teachers were very nice and very helpful. There were just a few that weren't nice.

As a co-teacher with Clarence at Alameda, I was keenly aware of his success and popularity with the students. One politically prominent father tried to have his daughter transferred to another teacher, and the daughter simply wouldn't accept the transfer.

The first time they gave me a class of low achievers, I thought, I don't know what to do with them. But I enjoyed that more, I think, that I've enjoyed other classes because you can just see—it's like a rosebud opening—you can just see the child all of a sudden learning something, and especially if they feel that you are interested in them, that you're trying to help them, they'll try. And a lot of them, before, had just been troublemakers because they figured they just couldn't do anything, so they would get attention by causing trouble, but if they see that you're interested in them, and you grade them not competitively against another student, but in their own progress, grade them against themselves, then they will try.

Probably in math classes you can't mainstream them, because of their ability differences, but in social studies, the teacher can assign them projects and things that they that they can do and achieve success. They can't do the projects like accelerated students, but there are things they can do and be successful in.

After 1954, as the Black teachers sought new jobs or fought to keep their positions in Las Cruces Public Schools, the Black students also dealt with change. Asked if he thought Black students have suffered since the change, Clarence said:

No, I don't think so. With some teachers they did, but I think overall most teachers are interested in the

student, and they don't think about color. Now, we did have some teachers that made it obvious and did certain things that made it obvious that they didn't want the Black students in their class, but they had to accept them, and they were sorry they had to accept them. They had cases of students—the teacher would deliberately grade the Black student low. I know one case when two students, to prove to the principal what the teacher was doing, turned in exactly duplicate papers. The teacher gave one student an A, the other student a D or a failing grade, and they took the papers to the principal and showed the papers to the principal, "Now this is what we've been trying to tell you that happens in that class."

Starting in 1970, Clarence combined his junior high teaching with teaching at New Mexico State University in the evenings. He retired from LCPS in 1983 but continues his Black History class at the university. Asked about the difference in the two groups of students in junior high and college, he responded:

Probably teaching a junior high student is more difficult—to maintain the interest level, because the attention span isn't there. Usually students in a university are paying for it, and they have an objective to get a degree. They can see the end of the tunnel, whereas junior high kids can't see the end of the tunnel. They don't see the importance of talking about history and things in the past. Those people are all dead. Why should we talk about them? With university students it's different. They have an objective, or they have a special reason for taking that particular class, and most of them show an interest in accomplishing the work.

At the end of our conversation, I asked Clarence to talk about his general feelings about teaching and the schools.

I became a teacher by accident. I didn't intend to be a teacher. I majored in business. I always thought I would be a businessman and open a restaurant or night club or something like that. Then, when I was going to college, I worked as a clerk-typist for the schools, and they asked me, about my junior year, if they offered me a job would I take a job as a teacher. So at the end of my senior year, I had to go back and take education courses. I did say I would just teach a little while and get out and into

business or something else. And I got in, and I enjoyed it so much I just stayed. I had been offered other jobs, but I turned them down and stayed with teaching.

I think it's just the feeling of elation you get when you see your students open up and see them learning. You can see it taking place every day. You can see the students when they come to you like a raw product, and then they become more and more refined each day.

The teacher has to tell them that it's a three-way obligation. The student has an obligation; the teacher has an obligation, and the parent has an obligation. The student's obligation is to come to school every day and put forth his best effort. The teacher's obligation is to be there and to be as well prepared as possible to impart the knowledge that they have to the student, and the parent has an obligation to provide a nice home environment, shelter, and everything for the child, and support the child in his work.

Eloise S. Evans previously published oral history interviews with Doña Ana County educators in the *Southern New Mexico Historical Review* "Recollections of a County School Teacher (1997), "Blackboards and Ditches" (1999), and "Betty Carter, School Nurse" (2006).

In Memoriam

Elizabeth Melhop McNew

Elizabeth Melhop McNew was born on 12 May 1910 in Dexter, Chaves County, New Mexico Territory. She died on 12 June 2006 in her home at University Terrace Good Samaritan Village in Las Cruces, New Mexico. She lived ninety-six years, and, as her brother Donald says, she made the most of every minute.

Elizabeth was fond of remarking that when she was born, Halley's Comet was visible, and her mother was allowed to venture outside with the infant Elizabeth to see it. She was a spirited and amiable girl and a fiercely loyal friend. She was active in 4-H and won several medals and a trip to the 4-H encampment in Washington, D.C. She attended New Mexico A & M College (now New Mexico State University), majoring in Home Economics. She was elected to Phi Mu Tau honorary fraternity in general sciences and in her senior year served as its president.

In 1932 she received her BS degree and on 28 May of that year married George Lee McNew in Mesilla Park. Dr. McNew was from a prominent New Mexico ranching family. Their daughter, Freda Louise, was born in 1945. Freda died in Seattle in 1984 from an accidental fall.

The McNews lived in New York when George was with the Boyce Thompson Institute. Elizabeth was a hostess, often to scientists and families visiting from abroad. She loved New York, especially its museums. Elizabeth's intellect, her generosity, and her insatiable curiosity and sharp and observant sense of humor made her a friend to be cherished.

After Dr. McNew retired he and Elizabeth moved back to Las Cruces in 1978. They were both active in university functions. Although she had macular degeneration, it never stopped her from traveling and remaining curious about her surroundings. In July 2005 Elizabeth rode in the Dexter Centennial parade as one of the oldest living graduates of that high school.

George preceded her in death, as did her brother, John Melhop. Elizabeth is survived by her brother, Donald, as well as five nieces, three nephews, and their families.

Elizabeth was a member of many organizations, including the Doña Ana County Historical Society, the Beloved Vagabonds and the Academy for Learning in Retirement.

George Helfrich

J. Henry Gustafson

Henry Gustafson was born 17 September 1919 to Swedish immigrants John August Gustafson and Sigrid Elizabeth Gustafson. Henry's parents moved to their forty-acre farm on El Paseo and Farney Road in Las Cruces. He graduated from Las Cruces High School at age fifteen and enrolled in college in 1936. Henry graduated in 1940 from New Mexico A & M (present-day New Mexico State University) with a bachelor's degree in chemistry. While at college, Henry was a member of a male quartet and spent a great deal of time in the Music Building, cutting records. He once recalled that "The Music Building was an integral part of my college experience."



Upon graduation at age twenty, Henry reported for duty in the United States Marine Corps. On 21 June 1942, he married Caroline Kiser in her hometown of Clayton, New Mexico. During World War II, Henry served in the Pacific Theater. Henry served aboard the carrier *USS Lexington* until it was sunk in the Coral Sea in 1942. He served as a battalion commander and was awarded the Silver Star for service in Peleliu in 1944 and the Purple Heart for injuries suffered in Okinawa in 1945. In 1959 Henry retired as a full colonel.

Following the war, Henry returned to Las Cruces where he became director of the student union at the university and subsequently became the first director of alumni relations. He opened an office supply and furniture business in Las Cruces in 1953 and had stores in several other New Mexico communities. In the 1970s he established Gustafson Reality, which enabled him to fulfill a lifetime dream of developing the family farm as a subdivision called Heritage Farms.

Henry was an outstanding member of the community and very giving of his time. He was president of such organizations as the Community Concert Association, the New Mexico State University Alumni Association, the Rotary Club, and the United Way. In 1977 he received the James F. Cole Award for service to the university. In 1990 he received the Papen Award from the Doña Ana Arts Council. In 1994 the Rotary Club of Las Cruces bestowed upon Henry the Paul Harris Fellow award. He directed the Las Cruces Symphony, the local chapter of the American Red Cross, and the St. Paul's United Methodist Church finance committee for almost a decade. Beginning in 1995, he served one term on the Las Cruces City Council.

Henry Gustafson died on 19 May 2006 at Mountain View Regional Hospital in Las Cruces.

Leonard Richard Sugerman

New Mexico, Doña Ana County, Las Cruces, White Sands Missile Range (WSMR), New Mexico State University (NMSU), aviation, space exploration and the Doña Ana County Historical Society (DACHS) are but a few of the entities that have lost one of their greatest supporters with the passing of Leonard Sugerman on 7 July 2006. Born in New York City, Leonard served his country during World War II in the Army Air Corps at Tinian, Saipan, Guam, Kwajalein Island, and Okinawa.

After the war, a military career with the Air Force took him to the Pentagon, Andrews, Holloman and Kirtland Air Force bases, and WSMR. After retirement from the Air Force as a full colonel, he and Mrs. Sugerman relocated to Las Cruces, where he served as assistant to the director of the Physical Science Laboratory (PSL) at NMSU. During his tenure there, his work assignments involved the launching of sounding rockets, missiles, and high altitude balloons.

In public service, he was active in the New Mexico Academy of Science, the Mesilla Valley Economic Development Alliance, the United Nations Association, the High Tech Consortium of Southern New Mexico, the Las Cruces Chamber of Commerce, the WSMR Historical Foundation, the NMSU Reserve Officers Training Corp, the New Mexico Space Consortium, and DACHS.

As a DACHS member, he lent his support as a “booster” for the creation of the *Southern New Mexico Historical Review*. His honors include the New Mexico Distinguished Public Service Award, the Branding Iron Award (NMSU), and the PSL Distinguished Alumni Award (NMSU).

Donna Eichstaedt

Marjorie “Marge” Florence Sieplein Day

Marge Day, a long-time member of the Doña Ana County Historical Society, board secretary in 1991-93, and board member in 2003, passed away 8 July 2006 in Las Cruces. Born in Lakewood, Ohio, Marge was a graduate of Purdue University and served in the Women’s Army Corps in World War II. She was stationed at Fort Oglethorpe and Fort Knox, leaving the service as a captain. Marge and her husband moved to White Sands Proving Ground, New Mexico (WSMR) in 1950 allowing her to return to school and earn degrees in elementary education and library science. Marge taught and was a librarian for the Las Cruces Public Schools for many years, and upon retirement became a volunteer for Branigan Library.

She gained prominence in the community for projects such as transcribing old church records from Spanish to English, organizing the Masonic cemetery records, locating old and forgotten cemeteries in southern New Mexico, and becoming an accomplished genealogist. She traced her family genealogy to the Daughters of the American Revolution, Colonial Dames, the Mayflower Society, and the Magna Carta Dames.

Donna Eichstaedt

Mary Theresa Veitch Alexander

Mary Alexander was born in Mesilla in 1923, a daughter of Ray James Veitch and Erminda Fountain Veitch, and a granddaughter of renowned Mesilla personality, Albert Jennings Fountain. From 1966 until her death on 12 August 2006, she operated the Gadsden Museum in Mesilla, sharing her knowledge of southern New Mexico history and Fountain family artifacts with the public. She and her husband, A.D. Alexander, operated the United Department Store in Las Cruces for many years, eventually opening Andre's Ladies Apparel on Main Street. She was active in the Republican Party, the Community Concert Association, and the San Albino Choir. In 2005 the Doña Ana County Historical Society honored her and the museum with "The Old Timers" Award. She was also the recipient of the State of New Mexico Historic Preservation Award.

Donna Eichstaedt

Santiago P. Brito

Jimmy Brito was born to Frank Brito and Concha Padilla on 28 October 1912. His father had been one of Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders, and his mother was related to Colonel Eugene Van Patten. Jimmy was educated in the Las Cruces Public Schools. He joined the United States Army in 1940 at Fort Bliss, Texas. During World War II he served in the 82nd Field Artillery, seeing action in North Africa and Sicily. He participated in the Normandy landing on Omaha Beach and went on to serve in Northern France and in Germany. He returned to England on the eve of the Battle of the Bulge, having become severely ill.

He left the military in 1955 having attained the rank of sergeant. Jimmy went to work at White Sands Missile Proving Grounds in 1956 and worked until his retirement in 1970.

Frequently seen in attendance at Doña Ana County Historical

Society meetings, usually sitting in the back of the room, Jimmy had an abiding interest in local history. In 1987 the society bestowed upon him the Living Treasure Award.

Jimmy died on 5 October 2006 at his home in Las Cruces.

Rick Hendricks

A Reflection on the Enigmatic Hermit

Daniel Aranda

The story of the Hermit of the Organ Mountains sounds like another legend of the Old West. Many garbled and exaggerated versions render it unbelievable. The fact remains: the man did exist. Giovanni Maria Deagostini was born in 1801 in the city of Novara in the province of Lombardia in northern Italy to Giuseppe Deagostini and Francesca Comera. Information is lacking, but it is accepted that the family was of means and nobility and therefore able to provide well for their offspring. Giovanni may have attended schools of higher learning and studied theology. His mother died at age forty in 1819 when Giovanni was around eighteen-years-old. This dispels the story that she died shortly after giving birth to him. His father died in 1833 at around age sixty.

Young Giovanni may have started on his odyssey shortly after his mother's death by first traveling in Italy, France, Spain, and South and Central America. Accounts hint at a failed love affair, a murder, or other heinous act that forced him to leave Italy. Perhaps he was immersed in religious dogma and sought solitude to ponder. In 1838 he was reported to be in Caracas, Venezuela where he sought isolation in caves. He spent time in Brazil, Columbia, Ecuador and was reportedly in Paraguay in 1846. He also spent time in Peru and was in Argentina in 1853.

The year 1854 found him in Chile. Then, in Bolivia, Giovanni, the hermit, ran afoul of the law. Most Latin Americans are devout Catholics, and the hermit's religious views were not in concert with theirs. Jealousy of his charisma may have been at the root. Fearing problems, the government evicted him. The establishment would not tolerate conflicting mysticism. Giovanni must have had a Catholic upbringing, but he harbored strong opinions of his own interpretations, which he defended eloquently. He did not believe in all the sacraments and although not a Penitente, he believed in penance. There are questionable stories of his wearing a shirt invested with tacks with the points facing the inside to partially perform this duty, but a belt with small spikes, facing the inside, was

reportedly recovered upon his death.

Giovanni traveled to Mexico, and his reputation must have preceded him because the government soon deported him to Cuba. Apparently neither Cuba nor its climate were to his liking. One account says that he preferred the cooler and dryer climate and isolation of tall rugged mountains.

The hermit was not a total recluse. He could speak several languages and occasionally went to populated areas to barter for supplies. He traded rosaries and crucifixes made from flour or fragrant plant materials for a few items of sustenance. He lived on a Spartan diet of corn meal mush, flour and rice, and perhaps some salt and sugar. Accounts agree that he ate *atole*, a popular dish among many Latin Americans and Indians. This nourishing gruel can be prepared from cornmeal or flour in several ways and is similar to Cream of Wheat. Some accounts say that the man was a vegetarian while others say that he ate rabbits and other small game. He no doubt partook of the various edible plants, roots, nuts, herbs, and spices that the surrounding areas had to offer.

The hermit's knowledge and use of herbs may have bolstered the beliefs of the poor and downtrodden that he was a saint. After all, he could cure the sick and readily quote from the Bible and had the look of a holy man. Giovanni was of average height and sported a mustache and long-flowing beard. He wore a black or brown cape with cowl over his gray pants and shirt. Boots or sandals and a walking stick, with a bell on the end to announce his arrival, completed his attire.

When he was visiting settlements, the hermit sometimes held Mass. Occasionally, peasants would approach and request that he perform a miracle with prayer and herbs for an ailing soul. He was generally held in high esteem. Giovanni did not seek their attentions and would inevitably move on when he felt crowded. Perhaps he sought seclusion for reflection and deep study or was running away from something. He was reported to appear paranoid at times. This was mentioned in several accounts.

Giovanni, "*El Solitario*," (the Solitary One) left Cuba for Canada. Garbed as he was, he did not fit in well in his new home. The people were not as accepting or superstitious as in the south. His next move was to New York, around 1859. He had a photograph taken and perhaps had many copies made to use in trade. This had worked well for him in Havana, Cuba and probably other places. There may be many photographs of him still floating about.

It is uncertain where the errant hermit went next. He may have



The "Hermit". Undated Photograph.
Mary D. Taylor Collection.

spent some time in Nebraska. In 1863 he was in Council Grove, Kansas where he was best known as Mateo Boccalini. Other names that he assumed throughout his life were: Giovanni Maria Augustine, Juan Bautista Augustine, Juan Maria Agostini, Ana Augustiniani, Father Franceso, The Solitary One (in Spanish, *El Solitario*), The Holy One, The Hermit (in Spanish, *El Hermitano*), and Justiniani because he supposedly told some that he was related to Justinian I, known as Justinian the Great. In Council Grove the Hermit took

up residence in a cavern on the western edge of town on the eastern side of Belfry Hill. Rocks lined the entrance as a protective measure. Inside he engraved a cross and the words, *Gesu Maria* and the word *Capri*. He was frequently called Jesus Maria, and it was accepted that he came from Capri. Among his belongings were some books and a mandolin. It was recalled that he would sit in front of his abode studying his books. Sometimes, in the late evening, he would play his mandolin and sing. Council Grove was on the Santa Fe Trail and the coming and going of so many people unsettled him and before long the Solitary One left for the west.

In the spring of 1863, the Hermit hitched a ride with a wagon train belonging to don Miguel Romero y Baca. Although the offer to ride in one of the wagons was made, the now aging hermit refused and walked the entire distance to his next destination. He graciously refused to dine when invited. Perhaps the hermit owned a horse or mule to carry his belongings, but it has never been mentioned. Surely he would need some conveyance to transport his few belongings. Several pounds of food, books, mandolin, and other items would have taxed the strongest of men. Maybe the offer of transporting these items for the holy man was one he could not refuse.

The ox-drawn wagons plodded slowly westward. It was said that early every morning the "Holy One" would raise his staff in greeting the mounted outgoing scouts. A few months later, the caravan arrived in Las Vegas, New Mexico Territory. Here, don Miguel's wife, Josefa Delgado de Romero, offered the man lodging and food. The invitation for lodging was kindly refused, and what food he took was eaten apart from others. The Hermit, more likely referred to as "*El Solitario*" at this time, took up residence in a cave several miles southeast of the village.

Before long the neighborhood heard of this saintly man. Some even made pilgrimages seeking his ministrations. They came from Rociada, Gallinas, San Geronimo, and Las Vegas. Prayers, salves, potions, and perhaps just being in this man's presence were enough to cure the believers. Some believed that he could read minds and predict the future.

The popularity was too much for the hermit and it was time to move on. *El Solitario* chose a more remote site. He found a cave high up on Cerro del Tecolote (Owl Mountain) northwest of Las Vegas. This remote site did not keep seekers away. Again he prayed and administered his concoctions and became more endearing when he helped out during a smallpox outbreak. The grateful formed a party to construct a comfortable cabin for the pious man. At the hermit's direction, it was windowless with a small opening for a door. At some point, sharp spikes were installed around it so, as some believed, to scratch him every time that he entered as a penance. Some old-timers, who knew about this, scoffed at the idea when interviewed. The spikes were to prevent large animals from entering.

After a few years the restless hermit continued his journey. He supposedly accompanied another wagon train to La Mesilla. He did not stay long and went to Texas. An account has him in San Antonio. This must have been San Antonio de Senecú, a few miles south of El Paso. He was also reported in the Hueco Mountains, east of El Paso and might have spent some time in Mexico, just south of El Paso del Norte (present-day Ciudad Juárez). Eventually, he ended up in southern New Mexico in the Organ Mountains where he first resided in a cave in Soledad Canyon then moved to a cave known as La Cueva.

Rocks were laid at the entrance for added protection. Edible plants and herbs grew nearby, and water ran below the cave within easy walking distance. Within a good day's walk were the towns of Las Cruces and La Mesilla as well as a number of smaller farming settlements. The hermit occasionally visited these places when his supplies ran low. He traded his rosaries and crucifixes for the few essentials. Stories of these visits can still be heard from those that knew or were related to some of the hermit's contemporaries. "El Hermitano" befriended members of the extended Albert Jennings Fountain family, and some of his personal belongings are today housed in the Fountain descendants' Gadsden Museum.

El Hermitano showed his paranoia when relating to some friends in La Mesilla that stalkers wanted to kill him. Perhaps this is when he made arrangements to build a large fire every Friday night to let everyone below know that he was still safe. There are accounts that the hermit had made similar signal arrangements with Samuel Watrous

when he was living near Las Vegas. Apparently this was a premonition that came to pass because one Friday night in April 1869 a fire was not seen. A party, including Mariano Barela, Antonio Garcia, Pedro Onopa, and Rodrigo Ruelas went to investigate. They checked the cavern and found the hermit's few possessions including his garments undisturbed, but the man was nowhere to be found. They returned to La Mesilla. The following day a shepherd came to town and reported his find. El Hermitano was indeed dead.



El Indio Chacón
 Courtesy of Pat Beckett

There are many versions of how the hermit died. Some say that he was found pierced by Apache arrows or with an Apache lance in his heart. Others believe that robbers killed him. An account has him with a dagger in his back, but according to contemporary newspapers, he was found in his underclothing a short distance from the cave, bludgeoned to death. The culprit remains unknown. An unpublished account that has not been published is that an Indian, known as “El Indio Chacón,” killed the hermit. According to Santiago Brito, a lifetime Las Cruces resident, “many years ago it was common knowledge to many that Chacón did it.” Chacón was not a very bright or

stable man. It is also little known that Father Manuel Chávez of St. Genevieve’s Church in Las Cruces was arrested for complicity. The *cura* spent a day in jail, but amidst an uproar was released. He might have put El Indio Chacón up to the deed. The truth may never be known. The hermit had seriously clashed with Catholic priests in the past, and it is believed that Father Chávez was the last. No one was ever indicted for the murder.

Father Chávez continued to preside over his flock, and Chacón lived on well into the twentieth century, fathering a daughter and at least one son. “Old Chacón lived in Las Cruces in a dugout in a large arroyo, just east of the current Munson Center” mused Mr. Brito. “Félix Talamantes told me that he and, brothers, Abram and José Martínez would have a heck of a time when trying to oust the old man when the arroyo threatened to run after heavy rains.” As for the hermit, Giovanni Maria Deagostini lies buried in the Mesilla Cemetery. The original inscription on the headstone read: “*Juan Maria Justiniano, Hermitano del Viejo y Nuevo Mundo. El murio día del 17 de abril, ano de 1869 a los 69 anos de edad y los 49 de Hermitano*” (Juan Maria Justiniani, Hermit of the Old

and New World. He died the 17th of April, 1869 at age 69 years and 49 years a hermit.) The original grave also had a picket fence around it, but it has long since rotted away. Today a marker bears fewer words that are fast weathering away.

La Cueva, is “the cave” in Spanish. It is located in the Organ Mountains in southern New Mexico approximately ten miles east of Las Cruces. The Hermit was not the first and probably not the last person to have resided there. About seven thousand years ago, or 5000 BC, Archaic Indians lived there. Much later, members of the Jornada Mogollon culture moved in. Later yet, Manso Indians probably resided there on occasion. Still later, Apaches came and, although not cave dwellers, may have spent time in there during inclement weather. Of course, wandering Spanish, Mexican and American soldiers, miners, shepherders, cowboys, explorers, and hikers have come across it and sought its shelter.

Two Archaeological digs have been performed there. Dr. Donald Lehmer of the University of Arizona conducted the first in the 1940s. The excavation turned up items such as animal bones, yucca-fiber sandals, and baskets. The excavation by the Centennial Museum of the University of Texas at El Paso in the 1970s yielded approximately one hundred thousand artifacts. Most were animal bones, indicating that the earliest inhabitants subsisted on rabbits, deer, antelope, and bighorn sheep. Grinding holes can also be found below the cavern.

La Cueva is administered by the Bureau of Land Management and is open to the public seven days a week. It is located east of the Las Cruces city limits, near the picnic ground at the A.B. Cox Visitor Center at Dripping Springs. Hikers, bird watchers, picnickers or those who just want to marvel at the majestic view are welcome. There is a small fee.

Dan Aranda is a retired life-long resident and retired firefighter from Las Cruces with and intense interest in history. This article is dedicated to the memory of Santiago P. Brito

Book Reviews

Inventing Los Alamos: The Growth of an Atomic Community by Jon Hunner, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. ISBN: 0-8061-3634-0, hardcover, 320 pages, 34 illus., 3 maps. \$29.95.

World War II undoubtedly transformed New Mexico like no modern event. In economic and cultural terms, many geographical areas underwent significant changes in a rapid fashion. Most representative of the change brought by the war was the establishment of the community of Los Alamos, where the first atomic bomb was developed in near-secret conditions. New Mexico State University professor Jon Hunner chronicles the early history of Los Alamos, which transformed from a hastily constructed laboratory in the remote high desert to a prosperous, newly-minted suburban community in about fifteen years, during the early years of the Cold War.

Hunner has done a great deal of research on the topic of Los Alamos and the Atomic West in his career. In *Inventing Los Alamos* he has constructed a well-grounded social history, tracing the military and political history of the community that informed its attempt to evolve into a community with a more “ordinary” existence. Los Alamos’s history defied convention. It was unusual because of the brilliant scientists who formed a work group in its early days, rather than being an area founded because of common interests or some particular industry. World War II necessitated its existence, and the end of the war brought forth an era of prosperity hitherto unknown in New Mexico. Moreover, the operation of the Los Alamos district by the United States government into the 1950s insulated its occupants from much of the rest of world at lower elevations. The incorporation of the scientists’ families after the war set in motion the establishment of a pocket of prosperity whose standard of living far exceeded other locales in New Mexico. Los Alamos was like no other city in the state, or for that matter, the Southwest region of the United States. The area’s school system and other social networks were exceptional and unique. Much of the rest of the nation learned about this area through the course of the Cold War.

As an archivist working with military records and organized manuscript collections, I realize the importance of having a variety of primary source materials to support the writing of a full-length book. The quality of this material contributes mightily to the finished product of *Inventing Los Alamos*. It strikes an even balance between the social and military-based histories central to the relatively new timeline of events in Los Alamos, and the resultant narrative is an interesting read. There is a substantial presence of the regional history included as well, a factor

often overlooked in early accounts of the area.

The only criticism I would offer is Hunner's frequent use of what he calls "code-switching" throughout the book to characterize the incorporation of other cultural elements into the early years of Los Alamos' community experience. Conflicting events take place in any historic setting, and the use of this term seems contrived in this context because of it belongs more properly to the field of linguistics. Although the term as a linguistic phenomenon is understood to signal conflicting messages such as those that occurred in the developmental period of the community of Los Alamos, the author relies upon that term too heavily.

Readers will gain an excellent perspective of New Mexico Cold War history after reading Hunner's work. Strongly recommend to those interested in the topic, even the social history alone, *Inventing Los Alamos*.

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N*ampeyo and Her Pottery* by Barbara Kramer; maps and drawings by James Kramer. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2003. ISBN: 0- 8165-2321-5, paperbound, xiii, 224 pages, ill., maps, bibliographical references and index. \$24.95.

The year 1881 was a busy one in the Territories: Sheriff Pat Garrett dispatched Billy the Kid; the Atcheson, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad forged a trans-continental link with the Southern Pacific building eastward from California; and the influential Hopi artisan, Nampeyo, began selling her pots at the trading post at Keams Canyon, Arizona.

Barbara Kramer's groundbreaking study of this highly influential potter was first published in 1996 by the University of New Mexico Press. Until then, no one had constructed a biography of this self-effacing woman whose work was ubiquitous yet most of which was unsigned. Kramer provided the first detailed stylistic analysis of her process and inspiration. Since the publication of her work, however, Mary Ellen and Laurence R. Blair have authored an exhaustive study of Nampeyo against which the re-issue of the Kramer book will inevitably be measured.

A Hopi-Tewa from First Mesa, Arizona, Nampeyo had learned her grandmother's traditional pottery techniques as a small child.

Hopi pottery enjoyed a long tradition of distinction in the aboriginal world of the North American West. Monochromatic, with predominantly geometric design like all Pueblo pottery until the fourteenth century, Hopi design suddenly shifted toward polychromatic designs in idiosyncratic curvilinear patterns that incorporated references to natural forms. Graceful and appealing, Hopi pottery had been universally admired among all their traditional trading partners.

A Smithsonian-sponsored dig in 1895 at the prehistoric site of Sikyatki has often been credited with Nampeyo's seeming revival of prehistoric idioms in Hopi pottery. As Kramer first noted, the Hopi had long lived among the pots and sherds of their past. The "discoveries" of Sikyatki were essentially old news to the Hopi potters who had been borrowing the designs for centuries. Nampeyo's inspiration stemmed more from an innate sense of form and design than from sudden exposure to relics she had, in fact, known her whole life.

At the time of Nampeyo's birth around 1860, the Hopi were an isolated and self-contained people more or less oblivious to the political changes seething outside their communities. Because of their relative lack of mineral wealth, outsiders little coveted Hopi lands. Their principal antagonists remained Navajo and Apache marauders and Mexican slave traders. Stubbornly resistant to change but never militant, the Hopi attracted the interest and sympathy of those eager to portray them as unspoiled remnants of a lost civilization, poised on the abyss of eradication.

Simultaneously, the wave of anti-industrialism that fostered the Arts and Crafts Movement, helped create a lively and lucrative market for dealers in handmade Indian goods. Thus, the distinctive, prolific output of Nampeyo, with its references to prehistoric design put the Hopi on the collecting world's radar screen.

It is a sad irony that romantic nostalgia for a vanishing way of life followed so quickly upon the military conquest of the Plains Indians. Whereas the indigenous peoples were themselves denigrated and forced to modernize, their artifacts found new life as highly prized objects of beauty. Archaeologists funded by museums and collectors raked the ancient and mysterious ruins of the Southwest to fill the halls of Harvard's Peabody Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, as well as the drawing rooms of wealthy patrons. The railroads actively publicized the Southwest as a tourist destination; purveyors such as Thomas Keam and Lorenzo Hubbell saw this as a great opportunity to market crafts at their trading posts. Nampeyo's talent for mimicking pre-historic idioms rescued an integral part of Hopi culture and created a model for other Pueblo artisans.

Nampeyo's ascendancy shows the happy convergence of artistic inspiration, burgeoning demand, and traders honing their marketing skills.

Nampeyo's image, captured by photographers William Henry Jackson and Edward S. Curtis appeared in promotional brochures. For a time, the compliant Nampeyo and members of her family formed a sort of living tableau for the edification of tourists at Grand Canyon National Park's Hopi House.

For all the wealth of secondary information about Nampeyo, both Kramer and the Blairs faced an insurmountable hurdle in setting out to write a biography of this artist. It is almost impossible to give dimension to the tiny, elderly woman depicted in so many well-known images. She left no diaries, letters, or interviews; from all reports she was quiet and unassuming, a highly valued cultural trait among the Hopi. At best, the authors can create a context for her life by illuminating the history and culture of the Hopi-Tewa, from which her genius sprang. As the pioneering biographer, Kramer gives special attention to dispelling the many myths and inaccuracies surrounding Nampeyo's sources of inspiration. Both books draw solidly on essentially the same primary sources, most of which reside in the archives of the institutions that supported scientific expeditions or marketed her pots. Many interviews exist with family members who carried on Nampeyo's traditions long after her own faculties had failed. Both the Blairs and Kramer quote extensively from them while admitting the very great difficulty of etching history from such subjective source material. A careful reading of each bibliography, however, shows enough variation in secondary sources that a researcher would be well-advised to consult both. As suggested by their title, the Blairs more thoroughly examine the continuation and amplification of Nampeyo's processes and designs among her many progeny. Although both books necessarily draw on the same visual images, Kramer's plates document better known examples from major collections. The Blairs seems to have cultivated more access to private collections. Most noticeably, the paperback edition of Kramer's work is handicapped by the lack of color plates – a frustrating omission for the would-be connoisseur. On the other hand, attractively drawn and detailed schematic diagrams of pot shapes and graphic designs are helpful inclusions. Written to be accessible to non-scholarly audiences interested generally in the culture and history of the Hopi-Tewa, the scholar and the connoisseur nonetheless will find the stylistic analysis in both works indispensable. In the end, however, the grace and beauty of the pottery itself remains the most eloquent biographer.

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The Legacy of a Master Potter: Nampeyo and her descendants. By Mary Ellen Blair and Laurence R. Blair. (Tucson: Treasure Chest Books, 1999. xvii, 305 p., 32 p. of col. Plates: ill.; 23 cm. Includes bibliographic references and index. \$29.95.)

B*ataan: A Survivor's Story* by Lt. Gene Boyt with David L. Burch. Foreword by Gregory J. W. Urwin. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2004. ISBN: 08061-3582-4, hardback, xxix, 237 pages, ills., maps, sources and index. \$24.95.

Gene Boyt was a native of Missouri. During the Great Depression, he worked for the Civilian Conservation Corps. While attending the Missouri School of Mines, he was enrolled in the ROTC program. After he received his degree in mechanical engineering in 1941, Boyt and another member of his ROTC class were assigned to the Philippines with the United States Corps of Engineers. Boyt set to work constructing airstrips and other elements of much needed infrastructure. When the United States surrendered the Philippines to Imperial Japan in April 1942, Boyt and his unit became prisoners of war.

Many New Mexicans are familiar with the sacrifice of the members of the 200th and 51st Coast Artillery who served so heroically in the Philippines. Boyt mentions the 200th Coast Artillery on several occasions, although he calls the unit the 200th Antiaircraft Unit. Like many of the New Mexicans, Boyt survived the siege of Bataan and the Death March. He also endured forty-two months in the Japanese prison camps of Tanagawa, Zentsuji, and Roku Roshu.

Boyt's account of his ordeal in the Philippines and Japan is a compelling narrative. In seeking to understand the inhuman mistreatment of Americans by the Japanese, Boyt offers six factors that he considered important: widespread acceptance of physical abuse in the Imperial Army, strict regimentation of Japanese military life, youth of the Japanese guards, the refusal of the United States to surrender Corregidor, the rapid timetable of the Bataan march, and the desire for retribution for having been delayed on the battlefield. Whether or not these factors explain Japanese behavior, they are insightful considerations of a participant in the events with sixty years of remove. This account of the Bataan ordeal is an important addition to the considerable literature already in print and deserves a place on the shelf of anyone interested in the subject.

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