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ON THE COVER

MORRIS (STANDING) AND STEWART UDALL C. 1940, ST. JOHNS, ARIZONA

(*Photograph courtesy Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Morris K. Udall Collection, Photographs 1956-1990, box 745, no. 7.*)

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Reconsideration and Reconciliation

ARIZONA'S "BROTHERS UDALL" AND THE
GRAND CANYON DAMS CONTROVERSY, 1961–1968

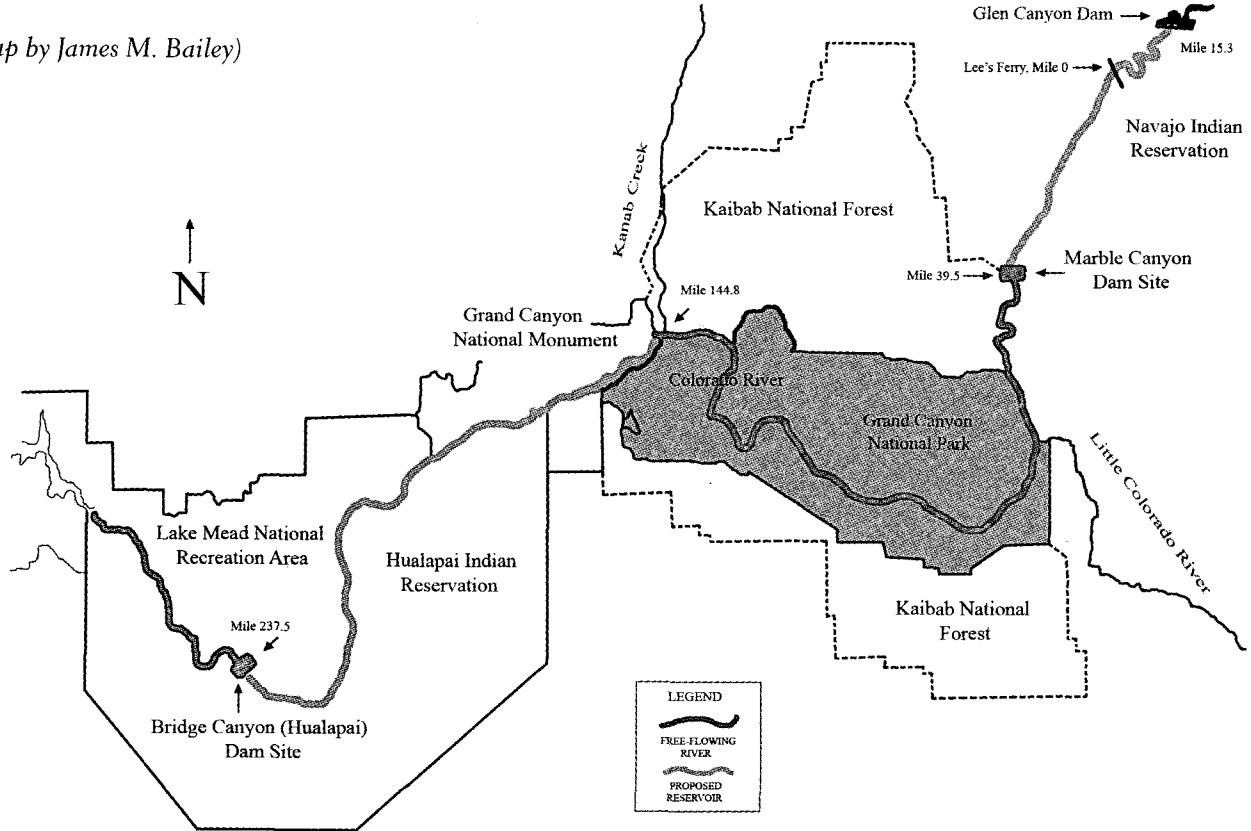
James M. Bailey

In contrast to their numerous efforts to preserve unique and threatened ecosystems as national parklands in 1960s America, Arizona representative Morris Udall and his older brother, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, initially fought with zeal to sandwich Grand Canyon National Park between two hydroelectric dams. Both realized that growing agribusinesses and expanding metropolitan areas in postwar Arizona demanded a dependable water supply to augment rapidly dropping regional groundwater tables.¹ The proposed hydroelectric dams in Bridge and Marble Canyons would supply the enormous amounts of electricity required to pump and deliver Colorado River water south to Phoenix and Tucson. Although the brothers started as staunch supporters of both dams, important events and influences during their eight-year cotenure in Washington, D.C., eventually changed their views.

The issue of hydroelectric dams in the Grand Canyon demonstrated the Udall brothers' adherence to the postwar gospel of efficient water-resource development to meet constituent demands.² Yet the dams controversy became a ferocious ideological battleground between aesthetic and economic

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(Map by James M. Bailey)



interests. It forced the “brothers Udall” to reconsider traditional reclamation ideas, utilitarian beliefs on wise and efficient water use learned as youths on the family’s alfalfa farm in arid eastern Arizona, and reconcile them with preservationist values they advocated in other environmental battles of the 1960s.

Although the Grand Canyon dams controversy has been the subject of extensive inquiry and analysis, historians have devoted attention more to Stewart Udall’s high profile position as a member of the cabinet in the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson administrations than to Morris Udall’s critical role in congressional politics. Only recently has the historiography expanded to examine other key individuals like Morris.³ In addition to giving Morris’s role greater consideration, this article examines the evolving mindsets of the sibling western politicians as they engaged the shifting social and cultural currents that forced them to reconsider entrenched priorities regarding their home state’s water needs during the 1960s.

Stewart Lee and Morris King Udall were born on 31 January 1920 and 15 June 1922, respectively, to Levi and Louise Udall. The brothers grew up in St. Johns, a high-plateau Mormon ranching community in east central Arizona. Nurtured by their schoolteacher mother Louise, both boys grew up with insatiable intellectual curiosities; influenced by their judge father Levi, both excelled at politics, history, and law. Stewart and Morris (and siblings Inez, Eloise, Elma, and Burr) learned at an early age to appreciate the rugged outdoors surrounding their home. As children, the brothers developed contrary personalities. Early on, their mother noticed that Morris was more outgoing, loquacious, and humorous than quiet, reserved, and studious Stewart.⁴

After military stints in World War II, Morris and Stewart earned law degrees from the University of Arizona, and established a private law practice in Tucson. Stewart was elected to the U.S. Congress in 1954, and served three terms as a Democrat representing Arizona’s Second Congressional District until president-elect John F. Kennedy selected him as the thirty-seventh secretary of the interior in December 1960. Stewart became the first Arizonan to hold a cabinet position. Six months later, Morris won Stewart’s vacated Second Congressional District seat by two thousand votes.⁵ Almost immediately upon taking their respective offices, the Udall brothers faced the complicated issue of increasing Arizona’s water supplies.

Before the controversy over dams bracketing the Grand Canyon reached its zenith in the mid-1960s, Rep. Stewart Udall, as a member of the House

Interior Committee in the 1950s, advocated the development of controversial western reclamation projects.⁶ This support included the Colorado River Storage Project (CRSP), which incorporated the defeated Echo Park Dam, the approved Glen Canyon Dam, and the proposed Bridge and Marble Canyon facilities. His unwavering support for these projects was not unusual in the development-oriented postwar West, where a “nay” vote against any water project, especially home state, was tantamount to political suicide.⁷

Another key component of postwar western water development was the ambitious Central Arizona Project (CAP), which, in one version or another, had been on drawing boards since 1919. The CAP called for an elaborate series of dams, canals, pumping stations, and reservoirs that would siphon water from the Colorado River and send it as far south as Tucson. The multimillion-dollar project, however, always stumbled over appropriations in Congress. But as 1961 dawned, CAP proponents had a powerful cabinet-level ally in new Interior Sec. Stewart Udall. By May 1961, they had another ally: Stewart’s brother Morris. CAP director Rich Johnson, expressing his enthusiasm, declared Morris Udall’s new legislative role crucial to the cause, and Morris pledged the CAP Association his unwavering support.⁸

Repeatedly surfacing during CAP discussions was the question regarding what impact the proposed Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon dams’ impoundments might have on Grand Canyon National Park and Grand Canyon National Monument. Marble Canyon Dam would have no direct effect, for the planned dam site was situated north of the park’s boundaries, but Bridge Canyon Dam, located 198 miles downstream, would directly affect Grand Canyon National Park. If the Bureau of Reclamation (BuRec) constructed a dam at Bridge Canyon, the finger-like impoundment would back water through the monument and approximately seventeen miles into the park. Although the Organic Act of 1919 that established Grand Canyon National Park authorized the secretary of the interior to permit reclamation projects within the park proper, it never addressed possible encroachment of reservoir backwater from facilities farther downstream.⁹ As Congress debated the CAP, the threat of the proposed Bridge Canyon impoundment to the national park’s integrity fueled preservationists’ protests against the facility.

Unfortunately for Arizona, no federal water projects could be authorized until the U.S. Supreme Court issued a decree regarding the state’s forty-year-long legal dispute with California over Colorado River appropriations.¹⁰

The Court lifted the moratorium on 3 June 1963, and decided that Arizona was entitled to an annual share of 2.8 million acre-feet of Colorado River water as stipulated by the Colorado River Compact of 1922 (California would receive 4.4 million acre-feet annually).¹¹ Before the Court's decision, a guarded Morris Udall warned constituents that "winning the lawsuit won't add a drop to our supplies. The battle will return to Congress, where your Arizona delegation will face its greatest challenge . . . since statehood."¹²

In the wake of the Court's 1963 ruling, Arizona's congressional delegation—Senators Carl Hayden and Barry Goldwater and Representatives Udall, John Rhodes, and George "Duke" Senner—introduced CAP legislation to divert 1.2 million acre-feet of Colorado River water annually to Maricopa, Pinal, and Pima counties through a complex 340-mile series of pumps, aqueducts, and impoundments. The proposed 740-foot-high Bridge Canyon Dam, the highest in the Western Hemisphere, was the CAP's financial linchpin. It would provide 1.5 million kilowatts of electric power to pump and deliver the water, and any surplus funds from hydroelectric sales would help finance CAP-related construction costs. Even at this early stage in the battle, Morris conceded problematic issues with the dam's reservoir and its possible encroachment into Grand Canyon National Park: "Because of this the C.A.P. has been strongly criticized by Rep. Saylor and leaders of powerful conservation groups. Invasion of water into the Canyon, they contend, would violate a cardinal principle of the National Park System. We will argue that the water, at its maximum depth, will be 90 feet and the entire portion invaded will be in remote, inaccessible areas not visible from any of the rim roads."¹³

Stewart realized that Colorado River flows, subject to random fluctuations, might not produce enough water to cover legal allotments particularly in drought years. To solve this problem, he wanted to develop a cooperative regional water plan, of which the CAP would be an integral component. Stewart envisioned the lower-basin states pooling all their water resources into a basin-wide account, one that would address the "future needs of the people of the Pacific Southwest." Nine days after the 1963 Court decree, he wrote the governors of California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico to plea for some degree of "water statesmanship," and promised to work with BuRec in formulating such a broad concept—eventually known as the Pacific Southwest Water Plan (PSWP)—for formal presentation to Congress in early 1964.¹⁴ The same day, Stewart wrote Senator Hayden to inform him that, instead of a separate CAP plan, the "best hope to get

Arizona the water it needs is through a basin account and the regional approach, similar to the Upper Colorado Project pattern.”¹⁵ Drawing upon his brother’s proposal, Morris explained to his constituents how a basin-wide account like PSWP might insure the CAP’s passage through the perpetually willful U.S. House of Representatives.¹⁶

The *Arizona Republic*, however, dissented. The conservative Phoenix newspaper denounced Stewart Udall’s “empire-building” proposal for a federalized regional project as one that would place control of the entire lower Colorado River in the hands of the Department of the Interior. Yet the newspaper seemed more concerned about his brother’s position, which it opined, fell on both sides of the fence: “Will Morris Udall align himself with the remainder of the Arizona delegation, which unanimously supports the [CAP]? Or will he, in deference to his brother, sit on the sidelines and refuse to help Arizona?”¹⁷ An incensed Morris replied to *Arizona Republic* publisher Eugene Pulliam:

I am in Washington trying my very best to get Colorado River water to Arizona. . . . And in my judgement one of the biggest obstacles in our water fight is the kind of bitter, uninformed, carping criticism contained in this and other editorials. . . . Where did you get the idea that I oppose, or might oppose, the Central Arizona Project? . . . This project has my No. 1 priority. . . . In the meantime, I refuse to be bullied and threatened by spectators, however well-intentioned, who don’t know what they are talking about.¹⁸

The same day, Stewart confided to Senator Hayden that the newspaper’s attempt to bully Morris “into line” was “outrageous and indefensible.”¹⁹

Not all Arizona newspapers denounced Secretary Udall’s plan. Tucson’s moderate *Arizona Daily Star*, upon examining a PSWP draft, announced its approval principally because CAP received top priority. At the head of the PSWP list was the CAP (\$1.24 billion), including the Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon dams, followed by California projects such as aqueduct construction and desalting plants (\$487 million), Utah’s Dixie Project (\$44.8 million), New Mexico’s Hooker Dam (\$28.8 million), and assorted irrigation, wildlife, and water table replenishment programs in all lower-basin states and parts of southern Utah and western New Mexico.²⁰

As promised, the Department of the Interior formally announced the PSWP on 15 February 1964. At nearly \$3.1 billion, it was the most expensive

regional water plan ever proposed in U.S. history. Slightly modified to insure that major southwestern cities would have plenty of water to feed future growth, the PSWP specifically guaranteed California, Nevada, Arizona, and the portions of southern Utah and western New Mexico that lay within the lower basin an annual minimum allotment of 7.5 million acre-feet of Colorado River water. The plan also stipulated that part of this guarantee included 1.2 million acre-feet from northern California's rivers to offset anticipated deficiencies in southern California's growing metropolitan areas.²¹

However, the issue of a high or low Bridge Canyon Dam persisted. The problem was whether a low dam, one that would not encroach on the Grand Canyon National Park, could generate enough hydroelectric revenue to help finance the CAP. Stewart Udall recommended to Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson that BuRec should build the high dam because of the "urgency" of the southwestern water "crisis." Although the dam's reservoir would back water about thirteen miles into the national park, Stewart reiterated that the ninety-four-mile-long reservoir, filling one of the canyon's isolated western stretches, would not impair the park's scenic values. Furthermore, a high dam would generate 20 percent more power revenue through hydroelectric generation than would a low dam. "The requirement for the revenues from the high dam under presently applicable feasibility standards," Stewart stressed, "far outweigh the slight impairment of park values which Congress anticipated might result from the water development proposed in the Plan."²²

Secretary Udall found the controversial PSWP a tough sell, and his frustrations surfaced during his testimony before the Senate Irrigation and Reclamation subcommittee in April 1964. Stewart admitted that he was unable to secure even tentative agreement between all involved states—or even within the Department of the Interior. When ranking senator Thomas Kuchel produced a letter from the Bureau of the Budget stating opposition to both CAP and PSWP, Stewart replied that CAP must be built as part of a regional plan. Kuchel stated that while he generally favored a regional plan, he opposed separate CAP authorization and did not want to see California's water needs compromised to solve Arizona's water problems.²³

In mid-summer 1964, Arizona's delegation received disheartening news. A meeting of CAP parties in Senator Hayden's office revealed no chance for congressional authorization by year's end. According to Hayden, President Johnson refused to back the PSWP for political reasons. Johnson wanted to carry California in the 1964 general election, something Kennedy had failed to do four years earlier. The incumbent president hinted that his

endorsement of the CAP might alienate California's voters.²⁴ Gov. Paul Fannin of Arizona pleaded with Morris for congressional unity in the face of administration opposition. CAP supporters had to "rededicate" themselves "to win passage of the Central Arizona Project just as quickly as possible in spite of all odds against us."²⁵

Formidable opposition to damming the Grand Canyon mounted on another front. By the end of 1964, powerful national preservation groups such as the Sierra Club and the National Parks Association, along with major national newspapers, denounced both dams as unnecessary threats to the Grand Canyon's environment and the park's aesthetic integrity. The Sierra Club's articulate executive director David Brower argued that the canyon was the "Creator's work," which must be left unaffected by water and power interests.²⁶

To spread their antidam creed to the American public, the Sierra Club published the large-format book *Time and the River Flowing: Grand Canyon*. The glossy, full-color volume stressed that another free-flowing section of the Colorado River was threatened by proposed dams. Referring to what it saw as a potential environmental tragedy unfolding one hundred miles upstream, the Club stressed that beautiful Glen Canyon was forever lost under Lake Powell's rising waters. Now was the time for Americans to voice their concerns about the possible inundation of yet another beautiful canyon by government interests. Additionally, the Sierra Club suggested other power facilities, such as a coal-fired steam generating plant, as viable alternatives to the CAP's financing dilemmas.²⁷

In light of their antidam convictions, preservationists failed to consider the Hualapai Indian Tribe, for it held half the land in which the proposed Bridge Canyon Dam and Reservoir would lie. Although the Hualapais had expressed interest in the economic benefits a dam and reservoir would provide, on 5 December 1964 they issued a tribal resolution demanding that the federal government consider the tribe's economic needs in authorizing either CAP or PSWP.²⁸ Later in the struggle, the Hualapais' support for BuRec's proposals complicated the preservationists' efforts to block the dam, which the tribe believed could lift them out of poverty through tourism-based recreation revenues and surplus hydroelectric sales.

Before the government could proceed on both dams, however, competing California and Arizona water interests had to iron out their differences. In early 1965, California showed a willingness to fashion a compromise, possibly ending three decades of water-related political acrimony with its

eastern neighbor. Three days after the eighty-ninth Congress convened, Arizona senators Hayden and Paul Fannin (the replacement for failed presidential candidate Barry Goldwater) introduced S. 75 to authorize CAP. Immediately, California senator Kuchel introduced similar legislation likewise to enable CAP. In a bizarre political twist, the most adamant House CAP critic, Rep. Craig Hosmer of California, introduced a bill identical to Kuchel's legislation on 11 January. All bills, if passed, would authorize the construction of both dams. "The unbelievable had happened," CAP director Rich Johnson reflected. "There were California bills before the Congress which proposed authorization of the Central Arizona Project after more than 20 years of uncompromising opposition." Bill terminology changed in an effort to retain some of the basin-wide cooperative concepts outlined by Secretary Udall's PSWP.²⁹ Although precisely why California compromised is unclear, perhaps America's fastest growing state realized that decades of rancorous political battles jeopardized its chances of seeing some kind of regional water plan materialize.

Less than a month later, Representatives Udall, Rhodes, and Senner introduced their Lower Colorado River Basin Project (LCRP) bill as H.R. 4671. Shortly thereafter, thirty-one of their California colleagues introduced companion bills authorizing the CAP and both dams. "This has been a historic day," an exuberant Morris proclaimed. High points of the compromise included California agreeing to help with CAP construction without insisting on the construction of more lower-basin projects within California. In turn, Arizona guaranteed California an annual minimum of 4.4 million acre-feet of water until an additional 2.5 million acre-feet could be developed for the entire Lower Colorado River Basin through water imports from other regions.³⁰

This momentous turn of events accelerated the Sierra Club's efforts to block construction of the dams. At an Arizona Conservation Council forum in Phoenix, Brower acknowledged the state's water shortage. He harbored no ill feelings about Arizona moving Colorado River water south via CAP, but pledged to oppose authorization of the dams and advocated viable alternatives to hydroelectric power. "You should use steam generated with coal to pump the water," Brower declared. He also cited a mathematical argument that worked in the Sierra Club's defeat of the proposed Echo Park Dam in 1955: surface evaporation from the two reservoirs would result in enormous water loss estimated at 200,000 acre-feet annually. A BuRec

official labeled Brower's numbers exaggerated, claiming that an estimated 95,000 acre-feet would evaporate annually from both reservoirs.³¹

To spread its message to Capitol Hill, the Sierra Club mailed free copies of *Time and the River Flowing* to key members of Congress. Upon receiving his copy, Morris noted to his friend Pete Cowgill, a reporter at the *Arizona Daily Star*, the book's many inaccuracies related to reservoir depth, national park encroachment, and its erroneous claims regarding hydroelectric versus steam power. Morris also admitted his personal misgivings, stressing that he had "supported most conservation principles and programs and . . . approached this problem with mixed feelings." Morris stated, "If all other things were equal, I would prefer not to build these dams."³² The younger Udall was clearly struggling with a personal philosophical dichotomy. While Morris the preservationist preferred not to build the dams, Morris the pragmatist believed that CAP would not pass without them, and his home state's social and economic health and future depended on the project's passage.

In May 1965, the federal Bureau of the Budget issued a report on the Senate's LCRP bills. Although it endorsed the Marble Canyon unit, the Bureau recommended postponement of Bridge Canyon Dam for later consideration. The Bureau also believed that two dams might be unnecessary in the broader CAP framework, and expressed concerns over reservoir encroachment into the national park. Despite these reservations, the report pleased Arizona's congressional delegation. Representatives Udall, Rhodes, and Senner proclaimed, "Never before has the outlook been so good for congressional authorization of the Central Arizona Project." Senator Hayden remarked that the Bureau's conclusions greatly enhanced the passage of a project that he had "worked [on] for over 40 years."³³ Three days later, Secretary Udall informed House Interior Committee chair Wayne Aspinall, a Democrat from Colorado, that the Johnson administration's position concurred with the bureau's deferral of Bridge Canyon Dam.³⁴

By this time, *Time and the River Flowing* had influenced its target audience—America's White middle class. Letters from people across the nation began inundating Morris's office. Most authors expressed reservations or outrage that a preservationist like Morris would side with the Department of the Interior to sponsor legislation that might inundate the Grand Canyon in a pool of brackish water. Arizonan Harriet McIntosh urged Morris to reject the dams in favor of a "more efficient, less destructive means of supplying power." He replied that under no circumstances would Bridge Canyon Dam impair the scenic grandeur of Grand Canyon National Park,

for the reservoir would be situated in a remote western section “almost never seen by the public.” Morris reiterated the Bureau of the Budget’s decision to defer Bridge Canyon Dam and stressed that Marble Canyon Dam’s proximity north of the park’s boundaries “could not possibly impact the beauty of the Grand Canyon.”³⁵

Despite Morris’s geographic rationales, additional national preservation organizations joined the Sierra Club, National Parks Association, and Audubon Society in condemning plans to place dams anywhere within the Grand Canyon. On 22 August 1965, the Indiana Chapter of the Izaak Walton League of America formally castigated the dams as little more than an ill-conceived government scheme “to produce Federal electricity at the cost of two of America’s most venerable national park units” (Grand Canyon National Monument and Park). Izaak Walton League official Thomas Dustin declared that, “if the American people permit this intrusion upon their domain,” no unit in the national park system could be protected “from manipulation or destructive compromise.”³⁶

Both sides soon received opportunities to be heard. In late August 1965, pro- and antidam forces broadcast the positions in the first series of House hearings on the LCRP or H.R. 4671. During eight days of detailed queries and technical testimonies, Morris, a former trial lawyer, aggressively interrogated witnesses on both sides of the issue. One of the most significant lines of questioning came when Morris grilled National Parks Association general counsel Anthony Wayne Smith on the possible environmental advantages of coal-fired steam over hydroelectric power. Udall pointed out the former’s possible negative environmental effects: “I have a clipping here . . . showing a coal mine at Four Corners with an ugly scar in the Earth that is going to be 23 miles long when they dig out coal, plus a huge plant that spews out smog and coal smoke into the atmosphere, some of which eventually ends up in the Grand Canyon. I would simply like to ask the witness which does more violence to his idea of natural beauty, an open-pit coal mine . . . or a lake like Lake Powell?”³⁷

Standing his ground, Smith countered that strip mining is compatible with the preservation of the natural environment because the overburdened areas ultimately can be reclaimed. There is no reason whatsoever, he explained, for any “properly managed” plant to spew excessive smoke and ash. Smith’s ambiguous response failed to satisfy Morris, who resubmitted his question on environmental violence and natural beauty. Smith responded that dam-created reservoirs resulted in far more irreversible damage due to

the permanent inundation of natural canyon ecosystems. After Udall yielded the questioning, further testimony by Smith failed to convince the committee that coal-fired plants would have any less harmful effect on the overall environment than reservoirs.³⁸

Morris then interrogated the Sierra Club's David Brower over inaccuracies that he perceived in *Time and the River Flowing*. When Morris asked why the Club created a "false impression" in the book by showing canyon areas not threatened by the proposed reservoir, Brower reiterated that the "heart" of the canyon would be forever lost. The Club would do everything in its power, he declared, to block any action that might interfere with the free-flowing river. A peeved Morris challenged Brower that it "would be over the dead bodies of many citizens of Arizona and California that you [Brower] stop that river from flowing," while Brower calmly assured his audience that he and the Club would "keep trying."³⁹

And try the Sierra Club did—with a little help. In March 1966, the Club and *Reader's Digest* magazine cosponsored a "workshop" at the historic El Tovar Lodge situated on the Grand Canyon's South Rim. The magazine invited both sides to debate the merits of hydroelectric dams to finance the CAP. It became obvious, however, that the Club did not want prodam interests to voice their views. Although the magazine invited Morris, BuRec officials, and representatives from the offices of Arizona governor Sam Goddard and California governor Edmund Brown, the Club arranged the program to exclude them from formal discussions. Instead, prodam agents were allowed only to mingle with participants after the workshop's conclusion. And although BuRec officials had set up a scale model of the canyon and the proposed dams and reservoirs, radical clubbers deemed it federal propaganda and threatened its destruction.⁴⁰

When an enraged Morris threatened to hold an impromptu press conference, preservationists yielded. Udall accused *Reader's Digest* and the Club of employing scare tactics and emotional appeals in defending their positions, and reiterated his geographic rationale that the dams' impoundments would be in remote canyon sections so isolated as to cause no visible harm, with 104 miles of river flowing freely in between. In an eleventh-hour show of support, an uninvited Barry Goldwater appeared to offer the audience, dominated by preservationist partisans, his perspective gained from years spent exploring the canyon's depths. Although the former Arizona senator admitted his unabashed love for the canyon, he stressed that a dam at Bridge Canyon could only enhance it. "When you look down at that river," he

added, “weigh very carefully the value of that water, measuring the human needs against its value for beauty alone.”⁴¹ His comments moved the crowd. One Club member acknowledged, “It’s pretty tough to beat Barry Goldwater on his own ground.”⁴²

Two months later, the House reclamation subcommittee held a second set of hearings on the LCRP or H.R. 4671. Noteworthy prodam testimony came from Hualapai tribal chairman George Rocha, who outlined to the committee the possible economic benefits of the proposed dam and reservoir to his impoverished people. The Hualapais viewed the development of Bridge Canyon Dam for hydroelectric power sales and recreational purposes as their only real hope to raise their low standard of living. At one point, Rocha asserted, “Bridge Canyon dam is one of the assets we possess which can provide my people a chance to raise themselves out of . . . continued poverty.”⁴³

Rocha’s testimony was not dam advocacy alone. He also requested amendments to change the proposed dam’s name to “Hualapai,” to retain full tribal control over the southern end of the dam site and reservoir, and to instruct BuRec to construct a paved access road from Peach Springs. In addition he asserted the Tribe’s right to purchase surplus electrical power at a preferred rate and requested that the government pay the Tribe \$16.4 million for use of tribal property and reserve all mineral rights and other ancillary benefits for the Hualapais. If the House amended H.R. 4671 to include these changes (which it eventually did), the Tribe would endorse the bill. In conclusion, Rocha offered advice to those who might oppose any development on his people’s land. When it came to choices between “new opportunities for my people and saving the wilderness for a select few,” he noted, “the Hualapai Tribe has only one way to go . . . toward the end of advancing our people.”⁴⁴ The consequence of his testimony was that dam proponents had valuable new allies, whom dam opponents could not discount, in their battle to authorize at least one of the dams. Rocha’s was a powerful message in a United States committing political and economic capital at unprecedented levels to stamp out poverty.

Accordingly, the resolute Rocha assailed the Sierra Club’s vehement antidam stance. After watching Brower in the Washington hearings, listening to his speeches, and reading his magazine and newspaper articles, Rocha offered him the perspective of a people who had lived in the canyon for centuries: the western Grand Canyon and the Colorado River are the ancestral home of the Hualapai people, yet the Tribe does not say “stay out” to

all who wish to visit. He explained, “Thousands of people would come to see [Hualapai Dam] and we would welcome them . . . to honor our Tribe in the eyes of all people.” Rocha warned Brower that the Hualapais were “tired of being primitives in a canyon wilderness so just a few people can play at being brave explorers in the twentieth century. . . . If you want an ‘Indian War’ we are ready.”⁴⁵

Fervent Native pleas notwithstanding, on 9 June 1966 the Sierra Club escalated its offensive by placing a full-page advertisement in major American newspapers. The bold, banner-sized headlines trumpeted, “Now Only You Can Save The Grand Canyon From Being Flooded . . . For Profit.” In addition to highlighting the proposed dams’ liabilities, the advertisement broadcast to the American public the Club’s emphatic antidam position. The advertising campaign, costing a total of fifteen thousand dollars, also contained coupons that the Club instructed citizens to mail to influential government officials—President Johnson, Secretary Udall, Representative Aspinall, and the readers’ congressional representatives.⁴⁶

The same afternoon, an infuriated Morris delivered a fiery speech to the House. “I rise today to express shock and indignation,” he roared, “at the dishonest and inflammatory attacks made . . . this morning against the Colorado River Basin Project.” Calling the Club’s blitz the most flagrant example of a distorted media “hatchet job” that he had witnessed during his public-service career, Morris made a point-by-point rebuttal against every point the advertisement raised. He hoped that the Club “would reconsider before proceeding further with this ill-conceived attack on a sound and constructive solution to the water problems of the Southwest.”⁴⁷ Despite Morris’s impassioned and detailed response, the Club’s nationwide assault had shaken prodam advocates.

The Sierra Club, however, had other problems. The following afternoon, an Internal Revenue Service (IRS) messenger hand delivered to the Club’s San Francisco headquarters an ominous warning: the federal agency could henceforth no longer guarantee the Club’s tax-exempt status. The IRS stated that the Club’s advertisements were in possible violation of section 170(c) of the federal tax code—which prohibited tax-exempt organizations from attempting to influence federal legislation—and that the agency would immediately review the ads to determine whether their textual content violated this standard.⁴⁸ According to journalist Marc Reisner, Brower blamed the tax inquiry on Morris, who publicly denied the accusations.⁴⁹

Former Sierra Club president Edgar Wayburn believed that Morris first saw the advertisement while he was lunching with Undersecretary of the Treasury Joseph Barr on June 9, and that Barr went to the IRS commissioner to demand an investigation. Twenty-four hours later, Wayburn remembered, a “small, faceless man in a dark blue suit” arrived at Sierra Club offices with the ultimatum.⁵⁰ In correspondence to western photographer Ansel Adams, Stewart Udall claimed that a disgruntled Club member working in the IRS initiated the probe. Stewart also wished to distance himself from his brother’s unconditional support for the dams. Referring to his recommendation to defer the Hualapai Dam (Bridge Canyon Dam) pending budgetary reevaluation, Stewart affirmed that Morris was “responsible to a state constituency; contrariwise, my responsibility is to the President and the national interest. I cannot be . . . my brother’s keeper when conflicts occur on specific public issues where we find ourselves in disagreement.”⁵¹

Regardless of who tipped the IRS, the advertisements reaped huge political dividends. In what historian Roderick Nash called “one of the largest outpourings of public sentiment in American conservation history,” massive volumes of mail poured into executive and congressional offices from Americans worried that the canyon might be forever inundated under a pool of silty water. This public groundswell was due to the Grand Canyon’s global reputation as one of America’s scenic treasures. Unlike isolated, obscure Glen Canyon, everyone knew about this “flagship” National Park Service property, and no one wanted to see it flooded, especially to facilitate the sprawl of Phoenix and Tucson.⁵²

The sheer volume of correspondence is evident in Morris Udall’s papers at the University of Arizona. More than 200 antidam letters are held in one folder alone; most are dated after the June 9 Sierra Club advertisements. While many appeals politely expressed the desire to build the CAP without either dam and urged Udall, as a preservationist, to reconsider his position, many others delivered less-polite, sometimes nasty sentiments. Robert Kocka from Parma, Ohio, wished nothing but “hard luck” on Morris, while one of his Tucson constituents, Lee Dunning, tersely warned, “If you vote the dams up, I’ll vote you down.”⁵³

As the controversy simmered, the CAP had cleared a major hurdle by the end of June when the House reclamation subcommittee approved H.R. 4671 as amended, with both dams included. “This is a red-letter day for Arizona,” Morris proclaimed, for he believed the bill stood an excellent

chance for passage by the full House Interior Committee (HIC). California senator Thomas Kuchel called the subcommittee's positive action "a great stride" in fostering new relationships between his state and Arizona on water matters and noted that the committee's passage was the first favorable House action on any formal CAP bill since the project was initially introduced in the mid-1950s.⁵⁴

The elder Udall, however, maintained cautious optimism about both dams being approved by the HIC. The Johnson administration still believed that Hualapai Dam was financially unnecessary in the larger regional water schematic.⁵⁵ Yet the debate raged in the HIC. In a contentious session on July 28, leading antidam proponent and preservationist John Saylor of Pennsylvania accused Morris of "selfish" scheming to advocate the dams. After acrimonious debate, Saylor even tried to delete both dams from Udall's bill, but the amendment failed. The HIC voted 22 to 10 in favor of H.R. 4671, and delivered it to the full House for floor debate.⁵⁶

In the wake of this victory, Morris attempted to set the record straight on his alleged involvement in the Sierra Club/IRS tax debacle. Udall informed his colleagues: "I greatly resent the allegations made by the leadership of the Sierra Club that either I or Secretary Udall caused the Internal Revenue Service to take this action. I flatly deny having played any part in it whatsoever." He mentioned the "courteous inquiry" he wrote on June 10 and mailed to the IRS on June 11 — one full day after the IRS officially delivered the letter. Udall only asked whether contributions made on behalf of legislative lobbying efforts could still be tax-deductible, and nothing else:

At no point has it been my desire to have the Sierra Club unjustly deprived of its tax status. I simply do not want this or any other organization conducting a lobbying effort at taxpayers' expense. . . . As I speak today, I almost despair of my future ability to respect or work with the leadership of the Sierra Club as long as it permits Mr. Brower to continue his intemperate, personal, and false attacks. . . . He seems . . . unable to conduct a discourse without a villain, and want for a better target has placed my name in nomination. I decline the honor.⁵⁷

The Sierra Club should find as no surprise its tax status compromised, Morris admonished, especially when the Club's leadership instructed its membership in 1955 to refrain from any legislative-lobbying activity that would threaten this status.⁵⁸ In private correspondence to Udall, Brower disagreed

with his criticism but did not fault him. Brower assigned blame to inaccurate press reports that quoted his comments out of proper context. Although disagreeing with Brower on the issues, Morris appreciated the Club director's forthrightness and considered the matter closed.⁵⁹

Discontent simmered inside the Sierra Club; not all members approved of Brower's controversial tactics. In a letter to Sierra Club president George Marshall, twenty-six-year member Thomas Jukes applauded Morris Udall's comments before Congress and suggested that Brower and his militant "roughshod" measures were harming the Club. "I deplore the fact that this [IRS] incident represents an all-time low in the public image of the club," Jukes asserted. He demanded that the Club force Brower to resign the executive-director position that he had "obviously outgrown."⁶⁰ Jukes sent the same letter to Udall, who replied that he found it "satisfying to know that you and other people have also encountered these difficult traits in his personality and attitude."⁶¹

Morris's CAP bill (H.R. 4671), however, was running into difficulty on Capitol Hill. In addition to the Club's letter-writing campaign, key congressional support for the project, including the tenuous coalition of the seven Colorado River basin states, crumbled in the face of opposition from the Pacific Northwest political bloc over the second most controversial aspect of the bill—the proposed multibillion-dollar Columbia River intertie. Originally conceived by BuRec and championed by Stewart Udall as part of the PSWP, this massive diversion project would siphon an estimated 100 million acre-feet of unused Columbia River water at the river's delta in Oregon, and then transport it three thousand miles up, down, and over seven mountain ranges into the Colorado River basin through a complex series of aqueducts, canals, pipelines, and pumping stations. Congressional representatives from Oregon and Washington, including the powerful Democratic chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, Henry "Scoop" Jackson, vehemently refused to sanction this idea, let alone endorse feasibility studies.⁶²

This opposition was stiff enough to stall H.R. 4671 in the House Rules Committee and to prompt Stewart to advocate what he termed a "stripped-down" CAP bill for the next congressional session (one eliminating both dams) as a bill "right" for Arizona. In a Phoenix press-club forum, Udall acknowledged that the two powerful blocs of unsupportive Pacific Northwest politicians and preservationists doomed any CAP bill calling for dams and water importations from other regions like the Northwest. Eliminating dams from any bill would not only pacify the preservationists but lower the

CAP's overall cost in excess of \$600 million. Udall also recognized "insurmountable problems" in dealing with any water diversion clause, instead recommending a National Water Commission to study America's water problems.⁶³ Stewart's concessions to the Northwestern delegation sounded like tactical and diplomatic retreat in the western water debates.

In fact, however, these comments demarcate an abrupt reversal in Stewart's water-resource philosophy. By suggesting the elimination of both dams from CAP drawing boards, Udall clearly underwent a dramatic change of heart. This personal transformation solidified on a two-week family rafting trip through the Grand Canyon from Lee's Ferry to Lake Mead in June 1967. Spiritually moved by the experience, Udall admitted that his support of both dams had been a huge error. "Besides adventure," Udall noted, "the Colorado trip gave me a first-hand look at the canyon. . . . It taught me once again that the Secretary of the Interior should never make armchair judgments on national conservation issues."⁶⁴ He warned that, if hydroelectric interests continued to insist on building Hualapai Dam, the "burden of proof . . . rests on the dam builders. If they cannot make a compelling case, the park should be enlarged and given permanent protection."⁶⁵

When the 90th Congress convened in January 1967, Morris Udall, John Rhodes, and Sam Steiger (who replaced George Senner) submitted modified CAP bill H.R. 9 that included Hualapai Dam and the National Water Commission, but without the Marble Canyon facility and the Columbia River intertie.⁶⁶ Morris was influenced not only by his older brother's newfound aesthetic convictions but by political realities. To aid its state's cause, Arizona's entire delegation agreed to introduce bills different in substance to help gain passage. Senators Hayden and Fannin introduced S. 1004, which called for neither dam and the stipulation that the secretary of the interior could obtain CAP pumping power from a coal-fired power plant. Subsequently, Colorado Representative Aspinall introduced his H.R. 3300, which called for the CAP, Hualapai Dam, and five assorted upper-basin projects—all in Colorado.⁶⁷

Shortly thereafter, Senator Jackson introduced the Johnson administration's bill, as agreed upon by Stewart Udall and the Bureau of the Budget. Calling for a CAP and no Marble Canyon facility, S. 1013 allowed Congress to make the final decision on Hualapai Dam and to establish a National Water Commission. Secretary Udall viewed the measure as the least costly and controversial water plan, for it would eradicate the dam

controversy, terminate infighting over regional water importations, and authorize Senator Hayden's CAP on a sound economic basis, thus reducing the project's cost by an estimated \$400 million.⁶⁸ Udall confidently predicted: "The President will win national applause with a no-dam plan. With the controversy eliminated this bill should pass this year."⁶⁹

Two months later, the House reclamation subcommittee held four days of hearings on Aspinall's H.R. 3300 and related bills. As in past CAP hearings, Rep. Morris Udall aggressively defended Hualapai Dam and interrogated its detractors, and remained in the hearings for their duration.⁷⁰ Although most questions and testimony centered on technical details and economic justifications of steam versus hydroelectric power, the dialog between David Brower and Morris showcased the government's perpetual search for a minimum level of compromise. After Brower reiterated the Club's unyielding position of no dams anywhere in the canyon's confines, Morris countered:

One of the things that has troubled many of my colleagues here is what they deem the impossibly adamant noncompromising position of the Sierra Club. . . . We are willing to enlarge [the national park] to take in Marble Gorge and Vermillion Cliffs. . . . What would the Sierra Club accept? If we have a low, low Bridge Canyon Dam, maybe 100 feet high, is that too much? Is there any point at which you will compromise here?⁷¹

Brower clarified his philosophy: "Mr. Udall, you are not giving us anything that God didn't put there in the first place, and I think that is the thing we are all not entitled to compromise."⁷² Moved and probably stung, Morris acknowledged that he now understood "the strength and sincerity" of Brower's convictions and that he respected Brower's passion.⁷³

Although no Hualapai tribal representatives attended the Washington hearings, two months later the Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona (I-TCA) stressed its position on the controversial dam to Morris. The Council pledged to support the "worthwhile" Colorado River Basin Project as long as Hualapai Dam remained in the bill; again, the issue was one of lifting the Tribe from poverty and securing self-determination. "We Indian people not only want to share our many and varied beautiful sites with all people to see and enjoy," I-TCA president Filmore Carlos stated, "but we also want to be builders so we can strengthen our economy and raise our standard of living."⁷⁴

By August 1967, however, it appeared that the entire dam proposal was doomed. Aspinall refused to conduct further committee hearings on the House measures until the full Senate passed its bill. On June 29, the Senate Interior Committee had approved Senator Hayden's S. 1004—a CAP with no dams—and immediately delivered it to the floor for debate. On August 7, the Senate approved Hayden's bill, which included a moratorium on any construction at the Bridge Canyon site, but approved a coal-fired, steam-generated plant near Page, Arizona, to provide electricity for CAP pumping stations. Combined with apprehensions about water entitlements to upper basin states, this move so incensed Aspinall that he threatened to adjourn his reclamation subcommittee for the year.⁷⁵ Even Morris acknowledged that he could see no reason for further debate on any Colorado River dam now that the Senate had passed Hayden's bill.⁷⁶

But Aspinall underestimated Hayden's determination. Once the cagey senator pressured Aspinall to direct his CAP bills out of committee—mostly by threatening to freeze crucial appropriations for pet projects in Aspinall's western Colorado congressional district—the disinclined Aspinall, once described by former Arizona governor Jack Williams as a "curmudgeon," reconvened his subcommittee and resumed debate.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the Hualapais continued pressuring the Johnson administration and Congress for approval to build the dam. Stating the oft-repeated position of Hualapai Dam as their economic savior, new tribal chairman Rupert Parker noted that, if the federal government did not fund construction of the dam, the Tribe might build it privately.⁷⁸

By the end of 1967, only the dimmest of hopes flickered for any dam authorization. Morris still hoped that California representatives, specifically Craig Hosmer, could "move to revive this fight by offering amendments to authorize some form of Hualapai [Dam]."⁷⁹ In a December speech, Udall conceded that no bill including a dam could pass Congress: "I fought them—we fought them together—but the protectionists have won—at least for now."⁸⁰ Although the House held hearings on Aspinall's bill and the approved Hayden bill, no discussions on Hualapai Dam transpired.⁸¹ On 8 February 1968, Aspinall's bill was amended to place a construction moratorium on both dam sites, with the Page coal-fired steam plant as the primary power source for the CAP's electric pumping stations. The measure was then delivered to the full House for debate.⁸²

On May 16, the House passed Aspinall's H.R. 3300 as amended and combined it with Hayden's S. 1004 for a joint conference to agree on minor

particulars.⁸³ “For 20 years our congressional delegation has tried to pass a [CAP] bill, and the House . . . has always been the roadblock. Today that roadblock has been overcome,” a joyous Morris Udall proclaimed.⁸⁴ After prolonged discussion, on July 31 the Joint Conference Committee approved a \$1.3 billion CAP bill with no dams. To insure this prohibition, one stipulation forbade any state, federal, or private agency—the Hualapai tribe included—from obtaining a Federal Power Commission license to construct dams anywhere within the Grand Canyon from Lee’s Ferry to Lake Mead.⁸⁵ Brower, the Sierra Club, and other protectionists had won their battle.

By September, it appeared the CAP had inched closer to reality when the House issued a positive conference report on S. 1004.⁸⁶ Morris claimed that, although Congress decided to eliminate the dams, the “misguided but effective campaign of the preservationists . . . brought this problem to us in a forceful manner.”⁸⁷ Three weeks later, on 30 September 1968, President Johnson signed Hayden’s damless CAP into law. The lame-duck Texan proclaimed, “I know what a plentiful water supply can mean to a barren and parched countryside.”⁸⁸ Morris Udall stated that, with Johnson’s signature, “a major barrier to sound, orderly growth in the State [of Arizona] has been removed.”⁸⁹

To preclude the possibility of any dam being constructed in the canyon’s northern reaches, Stewart Udall fashioned a formal proposal to create the 26,760-acre Marble Canyon National Monument. The new National Park Service unit would encompass an area along the river from the southern boundary of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area to the northern boundary of Grand Canyon National Park. Udall explained, “Placing Marble Canyon within a national monument would preserve it from being despoiled in the future by water control projects.”⁹⁰ After Secretary Udall waged a bitter eleventh-hour struggle with his president, Johnson signed Marble Canyon National Monument into law on 20 January 1969, less than two hours before Richard M. Nixon’s inauguration.⁹¹

It is evident from the Udall brothers’ involvement in the Grand Canyon dams dispute that resolute political positions can change to mirror broader sociocultural trends. Morris and Stewart Udall realized that their inflexible, utilitarian-inclined leanings regarding western water development and dam building could not swim against the powerful currents of heightened, media-fueled, postwar environmental awareness. The dams dispute was so controversial and acrimonious that overwhelming pressure from the American



PRESIDENT JOHNSON SIGNING THE CAP INTO LAW IN 1968
(*Photograph courtesy Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Morris K. Udall Collection, Photographs 1956–1990, box 735, no. 56.*)

public and powerful preservation groups convinced both brothers to reverse their positions in favor of a dam-free Grand Canyon, and to seek alternatives that considered the canyon's aesthetic values.

Two decades after the CAP became law, a reflective Morris suggested that the defeat of Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon dams marked a significant turning point in American environmental history. He stressed that, in addition to increased public scrutiny, engineers and politicians had to consider landscapes and scenic values in any project's cost-benefit analysis. "Stewart was right," stated Morris, referring to his brother's reversal late in the battle. "The burden of proof had shifted. . . . Plants and animals and free-flowing rivers and wilderness areas had *standing*—a value in their own right, and a right to belong."⁹² He admitted that his decision to support the Grand Canyon dams was one of the most "wrenching" in his long congressional career: "Philosophically, I was committed to the preservation of the

environment, but I was equally if not more committed to the orderly development of natural resources in the best interests of my state.”⁹³

In contrast to his loquacious younger brother, Stewart has been reluctant to assess his role in the controversy. Assigning credit elsewhere, he acknowledged David Brower's efforts as the primary catalyst in the dams' defeat. “Although not a philosopher like John Muir,” Udall noted, “Dave was an original thinker who developed penetrating insights from ideas that were blowing in the ecological winds of the 1960's.” He believes that Brower's controversial grassroots political tactics successfully swayed American public opinion on environmental issues. Stewart states, “He pioneered the right-to-know, he taught the rudiments of what became known as ecotactics, and he helped to start the train of thought exemplified by the bumper-sticker slogan, ‘Question Authority.’”⁹⁴

Yet it would be myopic to give Brower exclusive credit; other events and influences running concurrently with the Grand Canyon debate fueled or reflected widespread public support for the environment. The Wilderness Act of 1964 was a milestone in American environmental history and land use policy, while the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968 helped to identify and protect unique river ecosystems across America. Certain legislation like the Clean Air Acts (1963 and 1967) and the Clean Waters Act (1968) reflected shifting attitudes towards environmental pollution. Although President Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) into law in 1970, the Johnson administration devised NEPA's structure and purpose.⁹⁵

In a more populist sense, First Lady Claudia “Lady Bird” Johnson crusaded tirelessly for America's beautification and other environmental issues including the establishment of the Guadalupe Mountains and Redwood National Parks.⁹⁶ Stewart Udall's *The Quiet Crisis* (penned with assistance from famed western writer Wallace Stegner) increased the public's awareness of crucial environmental issues, while Paul Ehrlich's dystopian *The Population Bomb* penetrated the American consciousness with catastrophic predictions of the consequences of overpopulation on Earth including mass famine, death, and economic devastation.⁹⁷

But within the context of rising public awareness of postwar environmental issues and contemporary literature, the most influential work was arguably marine biologist Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, an eloquent treatise on the toxicological hazards of pesticide and herbicide usage for the food chain.⁹⁸ Historian Byron E. Pearson, who has written extensively on the Grand Canyon dams controversy, considers her pleas essential in that

Carson “brought the message home to millions of people that these environmental concerns affected them personally. Individuals who did not care if a slick-rock wilderness in a remote part of Utah became part of the National Park System became quite concerned when contaminated food and water endangered their own health.”⁹⁹

Although not widely discussed, the postwar rise of atomic energy as a viable power source was likely a factor in defeating the dams at the legislative level. Former BuRec commissioner Floyd E. Dominy, who initially supported both dams (but later rescinded his support for the Marble Canyon unit), thought this was the primary force that doomed both facilities. Although the effusive and opinionated Dominy credited the rising grassroots environmental movement as a factor—along with his archnemesis David Brower’s efforts as another—he acknowledged that atomic-energy interests relentlessly “whipped” him over controversial hydroelectric projects during the 1950s and 1960s. “They were telling Congress wild, speculative tales about how great atomic energy was,” he noted. “And then Congress threw it right at me. They said, ‘Well, Floyd, we don’t need any more of your dams. Atomic energy . . . that’s the future.’ That kind of nonsense . . . cost me that [Bridge Canyon] dam.”¹⁰⁰

Whether it was the growth of a populist environmental movement, the pressure of David Brower and the Sierra Club, portentous warnings through contemporary literature, or the influence of atomic energy interests upon Congress, the struggle over dams in the Grand Canyon reconciled rival utilitarian and preservation philosophies in postwar American water and energy politics in favor of preservation. “The wheel of history was turning, and I was in the way,” Morris Udall reminisced.¹⁰¹ Yet the lanky “Mo” did not stand tall and alone in history’s path. His metaphoric wheel also forced brother “Stu” to rethink traditional reclamation ideas that had lingered since the days when both boys helped their father manage water to grow alfalfa in an arid land.

Notes

1. For an insider’s assessment of the Central Arizona Project (CAP), see Rich Johnson, *The Central Arizona Project, 1914–1968* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971). A more generalized historical overview of urban proliferation in the twentieth-century West is Carl Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993). For a history of Phoenix, see Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press,

- 1989). Tucson's history is the subject of C. L. Sonnichsen, *Tucson: The Life and Times of an American City* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).
2. Among the parklands the Udalls helped authorize in the 1960s were Canyonlands, Redwood, North Cascades, and Guadalupe Mountains National Parks, Indiana Dunes and Pictured Rocks National Lakeshores, and Fire Island and Cape Cod National Seashores. For a comparative study on Morris and Stewart Udall and three controversial parklands issues of the 1960s, see James M. Bailey, "The Politics of Dunes, Redwoods, and Dams: Arizona's 'Brothers Udall' and America's National Parklands, 1961–1969" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 1999).
 3. Many extant articles and books pertain to the Grand Canyon dams controversy, postwar western water and environmental history, and the roles of key western politicians in shaping postwar water policy. See Charles Coate, "'The Biggest Water Fight in American History': Stewart Udall and the Central Arizona Project," *Journal of the Southwest* 37 (spring 1995): 79–101; Robert Dean, "'Dam Building Had Some Magic Then': Stewart Udall, the Central Arizona Project, and the Evolution of the Pacific Southwest Water Plan, 1963–1968," *Pacific Historical Review* 66 (February 1997): 81–98; and Byron E. Pearson, "Salvation for the Grand Canyon: Congress, the Sierra Club, and the Dam Controversy of 1966–1968," *Journal of the Southwest* 36 (summer 1994): 159–75. See also Byron E. Pearson, *Still the Wild River Runs: Congress, the Sierra Club, and the Fight to Save the Grand Canyon* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002). Other important monographs examine key political figures in western water, reclamation, and other issues, with emphasis on Colorado representative Wayne Aspinall. See Stephen C. Sturgeon, *The Politics of Western Water: The Congressional Career of Wayne Aspinall* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002); and Stephen C. Schulte, *Wayne Aspinall and the Shaping of the American West* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002). Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive biography of Sen. Carl Trumbull Hayden, one of the biggest players in twentieth-century western water politics.
 4. James M. Bailey, "The Udall Brothers Go to Washington: The Formative Years of Arizona's Sibling Politicians," *Journal of Arizona History* 41 (winter 2000): 428–35; and Louise Udall to her mother, 3 March 1931, folder 6, box 1, Levi Udall Collection, Southwest Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson.
 5. Bailey, "The Udall Brothers Go to Washington," 434–40. In the early 1960s, Arizona's Second Congressional District comprised all of Arizona except Maricopa County. For a good biography of Morris Udall, see Donald W. Carson and James W. Johnson, *Mo: The Life and Times of Morris K. Udall* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001). For an informal and humorous look at his life, see Morris Udall, *Too Funny to Be President* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1988).
 6. For a look at Stewart Udall's early involvement with the CAP, see Johnson, *Central Arizona Project*, 102–3.
 7. On the Echo Park Dam controversy, see Mark W. T. Harvey, *A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

8. Johnson to Morris Udall, 8 May 1961, folder 16, box 5, Central Arizona Project Association Files, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe [hereafter CAPA-ASU]; and Morris Udall to Johnson, 25 May 1961, folder 16, box 5, CAPA-ASU.
9. Memorandum, "Summary of Findings on the Effect of Bridge Canyon Dam and Reservoir on Grand Canyon National Park," 24 January 1962, folder 4, box 166, Stewart L. Udall Collection, Southwest Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson [hereafter SLU-UA].
10. For a detailed discussion of *Arizona v. California* and subsequent litigation struggles, see Norris Hundley, *Water and the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 282–306.
11. "High Court Sides with Arizona in River Water Case," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, 3 June 1963; and "Bright New Vista," *Arizona Republic*, 4 June 1963. On 9 March 1964, the U.S. Supreme Court issued its official decree. "State of Arizona, Plaintiff, v. State of California, et al., Defendants," box 484, Morris K. Udall Collection, Southwest Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson [hereafter MKU-UA].
12. Morris Udall, "Central Arizona Project: Tapping Arizona's Last Water Hole," *Congressman's Report*, 21 May 1963, Printed Materials folder, box 477, MKU-UA.
13. Morris Udall, "Arizona's Water Fight Shifts to Congress," *Congressman's Report*, 21 June 1963, Printed Materials folder, box 477, MKU-UA. Udall was referring to Pennsylvania representative John Saylor, a staunch opponent throughout the dam controversy.
14. Stewart Udall to Governors, 12 June 1963, folder 8, box 166, SLU-UA.
15. Stewart Udall to Hayden, 12 June 1963, folder 8, box 166, SLU-UA.
16. Morris Udall, "Arizona's Water Fight: Which Path Leads to Victory?" *Congressman's Report*, 12 July 1963, folder 1, box 1, John Jacob Rhodes Collection, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe [hereafter JJR-ASU].
17. "Udall, Where Are You?" *Arizona Republic*, 14 August 1963.
18. Morris Udall to Pulliam, 20 August 1963, folder 1, box 167, SLU-UA.
19. Stewart Udall to Hayden, 20 August 1963, folder 1, box 167, SLU-UA. See also "A Design for Dictatorship," *Phoenix Gazette*, 22 August 1963.
20. "The Pacific Southwest Water Plan," *Arizona Daily Star*, 4 October 1963.
21. Ray Hebert, "U.S. Reveals \$3 Billion Southwest Water Plan," *Los Angeles Times*, 16 February 1964.
22. Stewart Udall to Johnson, 14 February 1964, CAP Files folder, box 476, MKU-UA.
23. United Press International, news release, 9 April 1964, folder 7, box 167, SLU-UA.
24. "Mo and the CAP," *Arizona Republic*, 1 July 1964.
25. Fannin to Morris Udall, 3 July 1964, CAPF 1964–1965 folder, box 476, MKU-UA.
26. Brower quoted in John Devlin, "Flooding Opposed in Grand Canyon," *New York Times*, 10 November 1964.
27. Alexander Hildebrand, "Other Sources of Power," in *Time and the River Flowing: Grand Canyon*, ed. David Brower (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1964), 169.

28. Hualapai Indian Tribe, Resolution Nos. 35–64, 5 December 1964, Indian Problems 1963–65 folder, box 466, MKU-UA.
29. Johnson, *The Central Arizona Project*, 149–50.
30. Appendix, 89th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 111 (9 February 1965): A 536.
31. “Sierra Club Officer Opposes Dams,” *Arizona Republic*, 11 February 1965. During the Echo Park Dam controversy of the mid-1950s, BuRec wanted to build a hydroelectric dam in the middle of Dinosaur National Monument; the Sierra Club helped defeat this proposal through extensive information campaigns at the grassroots level. See Harvey, *A Symbol of Wilderness*.
32. Morris Udall to Cowgill, 19 March 1965, folder 7, box 478, MKU-UA. For Udall’s analysis on the Sierra Club’s book, see his “Time and the River Flowing: An Analysis,” folder 7, box 478, MKU-UA.
33. “Budget Reports on Lower Colorado River Project,” *National Reclamation Association Legislative Digest* 15 (13 May 1965): 1–2.
34. Stewart Udall to Aspinall, 17 May 1965, folder 5, box 168, SLU-UA.
35. McIntosh to Morris Udall, 3 August 1965, CAPF 1965 folder, box 476, MKU-UA; and Morris Udall to MacIntosh, 11 August 1965, CAPF 1965 folder, box 476, MKU-UA.
36. Izaak Walton League of America, “Indiana Izaak Waltons Blast Grand Canyon Reclamation Dams; Washington Hearings Start Monday,” news release, 22 August 1965, folder 6, box 9, Thomas Dustin Collection, Calumet Regional Archives, Indiana University Northwest, Gary [hereafter TD-CRA]. Ironically, Dustin was working with both Udalls at the same time to save Indiana’s Lake Michigan dunes.
37. House Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, *To Authorize the Construction, Operation, and Maintenance of the Lower Colorado River Basin Project: Hearings on H.R. 4671 and Related Bills*, 89th Cong., 1st sess., 30 August 1965, 731.
38. *Ibid.*, 731–34.
39. *Ibid.*, 809–10. For another prodam speech by Morris Udall, see “What’s This about Flooding out the Grand Canyon?” 89th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 111 (13 September 1965). Copy in folder 1, box 169, SLU-UA.
40. “Udall Infuriated at Meet,” *Arizona Republic*, 31 March 1966. The forum revolved around an April 1966 *Reader’s Digest* article titled “Ruin for the Grand Canyon?” by Sierra Club member Richard Bradley. Udall, in turn, replied in his “Ruin for the Southwest? An Answer to the *Reader’s Digest*,” folder 8, box 478, MKU-UA.
41. Walter Meek, “Barry, Swinging Late, Hits Hardest at Grand Canyon Forum,” *Arizona Republic*, 1 April 1966.
42. *Ibid.*
43. House Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, *To Authorize the Construction, Operation, and Maintenance of the Lower Colorado River Basin Project: Hearings on H.R. 4671 and Related Bills*, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., 11 May 1966, 1295.
44. *Ibid.*, 1296–99.
45. Rocha to Brower, 6 June 1966, folder 5, box 4, JJR-ASU. In addition, the Havasupais, neighbors to the Hualapais, endorsed the dam. Havasupai Tribe, Resolution 13–66, 21 July 1966, reprinted in Appendix, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 112 (1 August 1966): A 4037.

46. The advertisement ran in the 9 June 1966 issues of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *Los Angeles Times*. The ad is reprinted in David Brower, *For Earth's Sake: The Life and Times of David Brower* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1990), 366.
47. Morris Udall, "In Defense of Colorado River Basin Project," 89th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 112 (9 June 1966): H 12315–17.
48. IRS District Director to Sierra Club, 10 June 1966, folder 17, carton 192, series 62-Siri, Sierra Club Members Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [hereafter SCMP-BL].
49. Marc Reisner, *Cadillac Desert*, rev. ed. (New York: Penguin Press, 1993), 287. The impetus for the IRS probe is still debated. According to Reisner, some people accused Stewart Udall of initiating the IRS's action. Others believed that BuRec commissioner Floyd E. Dominy, a longtime Brower adversary, was responsible.
50. Edgar Wayburn, *Sierra Club Statesman and Leader of the Parks and Wilderness Movement: Gaining Protection for Alaska, the Redwoods, and Golden Gate Parklands* (Berkeley: University of California Regional Oral History Office, 1985), 293.
51. Stewart Udall to Adams, 21 June 1966, folder 1, box 190, SLU-UA.
52. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 230.
53. Kocka to Morris Udall, 21 June 1966, folder 31, box 103, MKU-UA; and Dunning to Morris Udall, 23 June 1966, folder 31, box 103, MKU-UA. The only prodam letter in folder 31 within box 103, from Phoenix's Dan McDermott, urged both Udalls to stand firm against "the blandishments and threats of the Sierra Club and other conservationists. . . . We are Arizonans, and we have a greater stake in this canyon than its self-styled defenders."
54. "C.A.P. over Key Hurdle," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, 28 June 1966.
55. Stewart Udall, remarks at White House Press Conference, Washington, D.C., 30 June 1966, folder 2, box 128, SLU-UA.
56. William Shannon, "The Battle of the Canyon is Joined," *New York Times*, 31 July 1966.
57. Morris Udall, "The Sierra Club and Its Tax Status," 89th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 112 (1 August 1966): H 17778–79.
58. *Ibid.*, 17779–80.
59. Brower to Morris Udall, 11 August 1966; and Morris Udall to Brower, 15 August 1966, folder 5, box 478, MKU-UA.
60. Jukes to Marshall, 2 September 1966, folder 4, box 169, SLU-UA. For a complete account of Brower's political and financial troubles, which led to his resignation from the Sierra Club in 1969, see Michael Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club, 1892–1970* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988), 395–431.
61. Jukes to Morris Udall, 6 September 1966; and Morris Udall to Jukes, 8 September 1966, folder 5, box 478, MKU-UA.
62. "Project without Dams in the Grand Canyon," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 September 1966. For more on the controversial intertie, see Johnson, *Central Arizona Project*, 175–77.

63. "'Stripped Down' CAP Bill Advocated By Sec. Udall," unattributed clipping, 18 October 1966, folder 7, box 132, SLU-UA.
64. Stewart Udall, "Shooting the Wild Colorado," in *Grand Canyon of the Living Colorado*, ed. Roderick Nash (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1970), 86. John D. Lee of Lee's Ferry (and the Mountain Meadows Massacre) was Morris and Stewart Udall's maternal great-grandfather.
65. *Ibid.*, 87.
66. "Comparisons of Central Arizona Project Bills," 18 January 1967, Water-CAP folder, box 420, Governor John R. Williams Collection, Arizona State Archives, Phoenix [hereafter JW-ASA].
67. Johnson, *Central Arizona Project*, 196. To counter all dam bills, Representative Saylor introduced legislation that would permanently expand Grand Canyon National Park's boundaries to include both dam sites. See Charles Callison, "National Outlook," *Audubon*, March–April 1967, 72.
68. "The Elements of the Administration Plan," 28 January 1967, folder 7, box 169, SLU-UA.
69. Stewart Udall, Report to the President, 24 January 1967, folder 8, box 133, SLU-UA. See also "Udall Plan Drops 2 Arizona Dams," *Phoenix Gazette*, 1 February 1967.
70. House Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, Attendance Records, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 13, 14, 16, 17 March 1967, folder 90th/IIa, box 1, Records of the House of Representatives, RG 233, National Archives, Washington, D.C. [hereafter RG 233, NA-DC].
71. House Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, *To Authorize the Construction, Operation, and Maintenance of the Lower Colorado River Basin Project: Hearings on H.R. 3300 and Related Bills*, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 16 March 1967, 458.
72. *Ibid.*, 458–59.
73. *Ibid.*, 459.
74. Carlos to Morris Udall, 1 May 1967, folder 9, box 481, MKU-UA.
75. Johnson, *Central Arizona Project*, 206; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 234; and Aspinall to John McCormack, 18 August 1967, folder 12, box 481, MKU-UA.
76. Morris Udall to Gene Wendt, 16 August 1967, folder 12, box 481, MKU-UA.
77. For extended discussion on Hayden's skillful juggling of appropriations to push Aspinall into action, see Johnson, *Central Arizona Project*, 206–7. Williams's quotation is from an undated *Denver Post* clipping, folder 14, box 481, MKU-UA.
78. Hualapai Tribe, Resolution No. 28–67, 8 September 1967, folder 3, box 4, Carl Hayden Collection, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe [hereafter CH-ASU].
79. Morris Udall to unknown recipient, 13 November 1967, folder 17, box 481, MKU-UA.
80. Morris Udall, "Countdown on the Colorado," 19 December 1967, reprinted in *Congressman's Report*, 15 January 1968, folder 46, box 706, MKU-UA.
81. See House Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, *To Authorize the Construction, Operation, and Maintenance of the Colorado River Basin Project and the Central Arizona Project: Hearings on H.R. 3300 and S. 1004*, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., 30 January and 1–2 February 1968. H. Doc. 2309.

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83. 90th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 114 (16 May 1968): H 3870–3892.
84. Morris Udall, Statement upon House Approval of H.R. 3300, 16 May 1968, folder 1, box 482, MKU-UA.
85. Morris Udall and John Rhodes, Joint Statement, 31 July 1968, folder 4, box 482, MKU-UA; and Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 234.
86. U.S. House of Representatives, *Authorizing Construction, Operation, and Maintenance [sic] of the Central Arizona Project, Arizona-New Mexico*, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., 4 September 1968, H. Rep. 1861, 21–28.
87. Morris Udall, Statement on S. 1004, 5 September 1968, folder 21, box 484, MKU-UA.
88. "President Signs Colorado River Bill for Water Conservation," *New York Times*, 1 October 1968.
89. Morris K. Udall, Statement on Signing of the Central Arizona Project Bill by the President, 30 September 1968, folder 5, box 482, MKU-UA.
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91. For a discussion on Stewart Udall's frustrating efforts to get Johnson to expand the nation's national park acreage at the eleventh hour, see John Crevelli, "The Final Act of the Greatest Conservation President," *Prologue* 12 (winter 1980): 173–91.
92. Udall, *Too Funny to be President*, 61. Emphasis is his.
93. *Ibid.*, 52.
94. Stewart Udall, *The Quiet Crisis and the Next Generation* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1988), 210–11.
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98. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962).
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100. Floyd E. Dominy, *Oral History Interviews*, Transcript of Bureau of Reclamation Oral History interviews conducted by Brit Allan Storey, Senior Historian, Bureau of Reclamation, 6 April 1994 and 8 April 1996, 77. For humorous, entertaining "conversations" between Dominy and Brower as they boated across Lake Powell and rafted down the Grand Canyon, see John McPhee, *Encounters with the Archdruid* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1971), 153–245.
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Forging Identity

MEXICAN FEDERAL FRONTIER SCHOOLS, 1924–1935

Andrae Marak

Plutarco Elías Calles dreamed of forging a single national Mexican identity out of the many cultures that existed at the end of the Mexican Revolution. His main weapon in the battle for a united Mexico was the federal primary school, where children could be taught patriotic values and the proper use of Spanish (especially among the nation's various indigenous groups). Nowhere were federal primary schools more important than along the U.S.-Mexico border.

Taking advantage of the “voluntary” repatriation of an estimated five hundred thousand Mexicans from the United States during the Great Depression, the federal government set up a series of *escuelas fronterizas* (frontier schools) in the larger cities along the border in January 1930.¹ The mission of these schools was to take Mexicans who were considered suspicious because they had just returned from the United States or had spent their lives along the border, and mold them into patriotic citizens who would be willing to devote themselves to the economic and social advancement of their mother country.

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The schools were created to provide an alternative to better funded schools on the U.S. side of the border, where many Mexican parents sent their children. Frontier schools would teach their children Spanish, Mexican songs and hymns, and their nation's history rather than English and the Pledge of Allegiance of the United States. Although most parents were in favor of increasing funds for border schools and teaching Mexican patriotism, they also understood the necessity of learning English to get ahead in the bilingual border economy. Thus, parents pushed the Mexican government to hire native English-speaking teachers and to mimic the course offerings of American schools. By threatening to keep their children in U.S. schools unless these demands were met, Mexican parents partially undermined the original intent of the federal government and reshaped frontier school curriculum.

It is my contention that Mexican officials wanted to encourage U.S. economic involvement in the border economy but discourage its citizens from cultural and social involvement in the burgeoning economy. This article investigates this contradiction by providing an institutional sketch of the frontier schools created by the Mexican federal government. I explore the battle against U.S. cultural and economic imperialism waged by the Mexican government from 1924–1935 in Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora and the resultant struggles over the cultural identity of people living along the border. First, I consider these struggles through a historical outline of the American-Mexican frontier and Calles's adoption of frontier schools as a means of resisting U.S. economic and cultural imperialism. Second, I examine how frontier schools in Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora affected local communities.² The educational bureaucrats responsible for the schools in each state adopted specific approaches as a result of the differing cultural legacies in each region. The personal idiosyncrasies of educational inspectors in charge of overseeing the schools was a significant factor in the role that the schools played in border culture and economy.

The Creation of the Border

Much like the identities of the people who populated it, the U.S.-Mexican frontier is a historical construction. The present-day border between the two countries is the product of over a century and a half of U.S. economic, cultural, and military imperialism and the subsequent contestation and accommodation among Mexicans, Americans, and their governments.³

The Mexican Revolution (1910–1917) did not end the efforts of some prominent U.S. lawmakers to intervene in Mexican territory and sovereignty. Toward the end of Mexican president Victoriano Huerta's (1913–1914) term in office, Pres. Woodrow Wilson's special agent, John Lind, suggested that the United States needed to either militarily intercede in Mexican affairs or back Huerta's opponents financially. The proposed U.S. military intervention was actually supported by several prominent Mexican politicians, the most important of whom was Luis Cabrera.⁴

Wilson decided to place an embargo on Huerta's regime while lifting the embargo against his political enemies, the Constitutionalists. When the United States finally did militarily intervene in the Mexican Revolution by invading Veracruz in April 1914, the vast majority of Mexicans were understandably opposed to the U.S. interference.⁵

Despite the relatively favorable view most Mexican politicians and policymakers had toward the future role of U.S. capital in the Mexican economy, the end of the Revolution did not bring respite from those Americans who still saw Mexico as a land that belonged under the auspices of the United States. For example, American politicians like New Mexico senator Albert B. Fall advocated heavy involvement in Mexico because of his own racism. As chairman of the United States Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Mexican Affairs in 1919, Fall suggested that since Mexicans were by nature physically weak and morally base, the United States should intervene in Mexican affairs—perhaps even waging war if necessary—in order to save Mexicans from their own decrepitude.⁶

Despite the heavy-handed approach that the United States sometimes took in its dealings with Mexico—before, during, and after the Revolution—many Mexicans, including the postrevolutionary leaders from the North, were in favor of continued U.S. investment.⁷ Furthermore, the overall amount of direct U.S. investment rose during the 1920s as Obregón and Calles were in the process of reconstructing their shattered nation.⁸ Although Calles was interested in increasing direct U.S. investment in the Mexican economy, he was determined that incoming capital benefit Mexicans. Calles argued that he was “fighting not to destroy capital, but rather so that it might work according to our laws.”⁹ He and his educational ministers were concerned that the spread of U.S. capitalism would bring with it the spread of U.S. culture. Thus, they paid special attention to the forging of proper Mexican identity among borderland dwellers by inculcating patriotic values through special frontier schools.

In late 1929 the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP) approved a preliminary budget for the “creation of well organized and equipped border schools with the object of impeding Mexican children who might go to the United States to receive their primary education.”¹⁰ Originally the SEP proposed opening five schools: four along the U.S.-Mexico border in Ciudad Juárez, Piedras Negras, Nuevo Leon, and Matamoros, and one along the Mexico-Guatemala border in Motozintla.¹¹ Their top priority was to stem the flow of Mexican children going to the United States, consequently, the frontier school in Motozintla, Chiapas, never actually received funding.¹²

In early 1930 SEP officials acknowledged that they had bungled the job of creating frontier schools by failing to take into account the need to obtain and repair the school buildings within which the new frontier education would be offered. SEP informed educational inspectors in charge of implementing frontier school policies that they would have to obtain both the moral and material support of local and state officials for the new policies in order to be successful.¹³

The failure of SEP to secure funding for construction of the schools did not dampen the ideological importance the ministry placed on the schools. In 1930 SEP officials reiterated that the frontier schools were an important tool in constructing a “true nation” out of the heterogeneous cultural milieu of contemporary Mexico.¹⁴ Primary schools, in general, they argued, were the key to Mexico’s future prosperity:

Schools are also necessary, many schools, but primary schools that study and understand our national life; that instill a love for our country . . . schools whose teaching principally imparts true knowledge of that which is ours and feels proud of it; [schools] in which the knowledge of geography, math, history, etc. serves to awaken a love of nation and promotes an action that benefits the land that saw us born.¹⁵

Despite the clear goals of the new frontier schools and the federal control over policy-making decisions, the actual implementation of frontier school policy would prove to be anything but uniform across the U.S.-Mexico border.

Frontier Education in Coahuila

In January 1930 Ramón Méndez, the head of federal education in Coahuila, responded to federal directives. He officially requested that a frontier school

be established in Piedras Negras on the other side of the border from Eagle Pass, Texas, in order to “give Mexican children the opportunity to receive a better education and thus counteract the practice of these children going to the United States’s schools.”¹⁶ The municipal president of Piedras Negras immediately offered his assistance, promising to give the federal government the city’s best existing school for the new project. Méndez readily accepted and also asked SEP officials in Mexico City for permission to establish a second frontier school in Villa Acuña, across the border from Del Rio, Texas. Méndez believed, however, that for the frontier schools to be successful, “it would be very necessary, for example, that the frontier school have some professors that know and teach English; since [Piedras Negras] is contiguous with Eagle Pass, many parents want their children to learn the language and for this reason they send them to the schools of the other country.”¹⁷ Early on, the original aim of policymakers to create patriotic Mexicans through the frontier schools was undermined by the need to adapt the schools to the conditions and the desires of local inhabitants.

In February, Méndez convinced (or so he thought) the governor of Coahuila, Nazario S. Ortiz, to pay the 150 pesos monthly rent for the school building that had been set aside by the municipal president of Piedras Negras. Méndez reiterated to Ortiz that the school would have to teach English classes. In addition, he argued that the school would need a kindergarten and that it would have to offer preparatory classes to prevent students in the fifth and sixth grades from abandoning “Mexico in search of a high school” in the United States.

Interestingly, Méndez informed the SEP that the school had yet to open because it lacked furniture. He did not want to take the furniture from other nearby schools, thereby crippling already existing schools for the sake of the frontier school. Ortiz had ordered the local construction of the furniture, but, in a twist of irony, Méndez noted that he could acquire the furniture more quickly and cheaply if he purchased it in the United States.¹⁸

It appears, however, that the municipal president of Piedras Negras and the governor of Coahuila were using the promotion of the frontier school to advance their own personal and political agendas. In January the municipal president had offered to cede ownership of the city’s best existing school to the federal government for the establishment of a frontier school. Only a month later, however, the head of federal education in Coahuila was not only looking for someone to pay the rent, presumably to the municipal

president or one of his associates, but was also looking for furniture so that students could begin to attend the school.

Common sense suggests that the actual building never had been a school or, at the very least, was no longer functioning as one; otherwise it would already have had some furniture and supplies. In May, Rafael Castro, the federal inspector of schools in the border region, complained that the frontier school in Piedras Negras was located in a poor, undersized building for which the SEP had to pay the governor a monthly rent. The small size of the school was especially problematic in light of the fact that a large number of federal railroad workers, apparently recently laid off, had settled in Piedras Negras and their children would need to attend the school.¹⁹ In any case, the municipal president and the governor rightly viewed the federal government as a positive investor in the educational advancement of local citizens and as a client to whom they could rent urban property.²⁰

SEP officials agreed to offer kindergarten and English classes at the frontier school and to fund any other programs that might provide a social service to the local community.²¹ In response, local educators in Piedras Negras established a sociocultural center where classes in English, dancing, and singing were offered for both primary school students and adults. Federal teachers organized a “tribu de exploradores,” based on the model of boy scouts practiced in Britain and the United States.²² Teachers were also sent on a campaign of home visits to teach locals how to live healthier lives and to convince them to cooperate with the frontier school.²³

By June 1930 the sociocultural center was officially open.²⁴ The school itself had an enrollment of 113 boys and 98 girls and an actual attendance of 90 boys and 79 girls.²⁵ It appears, however, that the lure of U.S. schools far outweighed initial attempts of the federal government to convince Mexicans to attend Mexican schools. The federal inspector of the border region requested that the head of Piedras Negras’s federal secondary school hand over all the excess school furniture and supplies that he had on hand (as a result of low enrollment and attendance rates) so that they could be used in the underfunded primary schools in the area.²⁶

The next two years of the functioning of the frontier school in Piedras Negras have disappeared from the archival records. The records of educational inspectors dealing with other frontier issues along the U.S.-Coahuila border, however, are rich. Two of the most prominent border issues facing education officials during this period were relations with *colonos* (colonists) and irrigation workers. In 1931, while visiting the various schools under his

charge, Federal Inspector of Schools Castro, began exhorting Mexicans who lived along the border to protect “our nationals that are being deported from the United States.”²⁷ Meanwhile, the *Comisión Nacional de Irrigación* (National Irrigation Commission) was in the midst of a large project called the *Sistema de Riego No. 6* (Irrigation System No. 6) along the Río Bravo.

Local residents, colonos, and irrigation officials would soon be working at cross-purposes with SEP officials. Most campesinos in the region had been granted provisional ejidos. In 1931 most of the ejidatarios were notified that they would be relocated to San Carlos, Coahuila (the previous site of a hacienda), to make room for newly arriving colonos.²⁸ Many of these ejidatarios understandably refused to put forth any further effort to improve the local federal schools that they would soon be forced to abandon.²⁹ Some schools were subsequently shut down as a result.³⁰

Castro tried to get the federal government to change the status of the ejidatarios in La Bandera to that of colonos since they had been living there for their entire lives. When he was successful in doing so, he discovered that since colonos were not legally bound to cooperate with federal schools in the same ways that ejidatarios were, the locals still refused to work with him on educational matters. In response, Castro advocated the adoption of sports and other “honest diversions” and the expansion of the local anti-alcohol campaign to eradicate the prominent level of disorder and frequent orgies that he believed were practiced by both local inhabitants and federal employees working on the irrigation system.³¹

In addition to being at odds with the local colonos and the irrigation system workers, Castro had a difficult time convincing irrigation officials to donate the five hectares of land demanded by law for primary schools. The local manager of the system continually promised Castro the land, but then refused to turn it over, suggesting that he would again discuss the land with his superiors.³² In El Tepeyac, Castro discovered that many ejidatarios who had officially been granted lands were renting them or had outright sold them and were living in nearby Jiménez to take advantage of the cash economy.³³

In early 1932 federal inspectors tried a new approach to mold the identities of frontier Mexicans. They pushed local communities to purchase radios so that they could listen to the official broadcasts of the *Partido Nacional Revolucionario* (PNR) or National Revolutionary Party.³⁴ Castro complained that the salary cut he (and the rest of federal employees) received as a result of the economic depression was hampering his ability to purchase radios for all of the schools under his charge.³⁵

The federal government's attempts to promote patriotism along the border, however, may have been undermined by Coahuila's governor, Nazario S. Ortiz. Governor Ortiz believed that while schools should play a role in shaping people's attitudes, the state did not have enough resources to waste valuable school time on festivals, parades, and concerts. Such events, Ortiz believed, had a "marked character of exhibitionism" and took the place of real learning. Nonetheless, he was in step with the SEP in advocating sports leagues, cooperatives, and community-based *cajas de ahorro* (credit unions) to mitigate the severity of the Depression.³⁶

In April Mexico's president, Pascual Ortiz Rubio, decreed that the sale of liquor within one hundred kilometers of the border would henceforth be illegal. Castro worked to convince the local inhabitants to become part of vigilante groups to enforce strict compliance with the new decree. He also pushed to ensure that every school had a field for baseball so that people would have something constructive to do during their normal drinking hours. The enforcement of the anti-alcohol decree had its greatest impact in Villa Acuña, where a number of cantinas closed.³⁷ As late as 1934, the campaign against alcohol consumption and the move to close all cantinas near the border had still not been successful. Castro noted that there were no drinking establishments located in the vicinity of frontier schools, but that it would be impossible to close down all the local centers of vice because of their widespread prevalence.³⁸ In Mira Villa Castro tried to get the locals to decorate their school and its open air theater so that they would serve as "cultural propaganda for our federal education system." He also tried to convince locals to move closer to the school so that their children would find it easier to attend.³⁹ Another inspector, Abraham Arellano, noted that the poor construction and lack of furniture in the schools located on the shores of the Río Bravo in San Vicente and Boquillas were an embarrassment to Mexico; he asked municipal authorities to lend a helping hand to the federal government's project.⁴⁰

By 1933 the frontier school in Piedras Negras was in deep trouble as a result of federal mismanagement. The new head of federal education in Coahuila, Maurilio P. Nañez, noted that over four days in January there had been a suspicious and sudden influx of students, likely to secure the minimum number of 288 students necessary for keeping six teachers and assistants employed. The director of the school, Carlos Morales Sánchez, was fired because he lacked the "active, social, nationalist, and democratic tendencies" necessary to advance the ideology of the Revolution. Federal

authorities also noted that Sánchez first began offering night classes for adults at the end of January, probably as a last-ditch effort to save his job.⁴¹

When the school first opened in 1930, the head of federal education in Coahuila, Ramón Méndez, boasted that the frontier school would offer night classes for adults focusing on English, dancing, and singing by the end of the first semester of the school's existence. It is possible that these classes only existed on paper at the time, but even if they were implemented, it is clear that they had a very short life span.

The new director of the frontier school, Eliseo Ruiz Vadillo, attempted to overcome the school's past difficulties by promoting its work on the local radio station. He asked the president of the local radio station, XETN, to regularly air educational lectures, programs, and works undertaken in school.⁴² It was not long, however, before he too ran into difficulties. Two months after taking over the frontier school, it was discovered that the teacher who had been put in charge of the local cooperative, Gilberto Ceja Torres, was embezzling cooperative funds.⁴³ By the end of April, Vadillo had been replaced by a new director, Fabian García R.⁴⁴

García was quick to make changes. He immediately moved to have Ceja Torres fired, and then addressed the conditions of the frontier school. He noted that the majority of the adults who had been recruited to attend night classes had already passed the sixth grade. Thus, it would be necessary to hire teachers to give instruction in typewriting, singing, and choir. Finally, García observed that the school had recently received baseball equipment from the PNR, and he promised to put the equipment to good use.⁴⁵

In January 1933 the SEP pushed for the advancement of frontier schooling by arranging for two additional frontier schools, one in Villa Acuña and the other in Piedras Negras. The minister of education, Narciso Bassols (1931–1934), notified Coahuila's governor that he would be turning one of the federal primary schools in Villa Acuña into a frontier school.⁴⁶ The new school would be staffed by 6 federal teachers, 3 municipal assistants, and would be capable of instructing 350 primary students.⁴⁷ The SEP figured that setting up a frontier school in Villa Acuña (after having been unable to find the resources in the past) was especially important because municipal authorities in Del Río, Texas, had established several schools specifically aimed at assimilating Mexican children into U.S. culture.⁴⁸ After making the basic arrangements for the frontier school in Villa Acuña, the SEP turned over its management to the state of Coahuila.⁴⁹ By January 1934, work on the Villa Acuña school stopped due to lack of funds. School officials hoped

to secure additional funds from the state government to add fifth and sixth grade classrooms and the necessary additional teachers to staff them.⁵⁰

At the end of 1934, the new federal inspector in the area, Micaela Zuñiga R., found it necessary to organize a fundraiser for the state-run frontier school in Villa Acuña. Even in late 1934, the school still lacked proper lighting and water, and municipal authorities had almost completely neglected the school.⁵¹ The problem of funding was compounded by the fact that locally supported private schools lured students away from frontier schools that advanced the anti-religious tenets of socialist education promoted by the minister of education, Narciso Bassols.

Local citizens pulled their children from federal schools and placed them in clandestine private schools where they were given religious instruction. Even the closure of seven of these private schools had failed to increase attendance at federal schools. Zuñiga tried to convince the inhabitants of Villa Acuña to send their children back to federal schools (and in the process keep parents out of local cantinas) by offering increased sporting events and classes in sewing and knitting. Despite all their efforts, both the federal school and Villa Acuña itself remained in "terrible conditions."⁵²

Early in 1933, the second frontier school in Piedras Negras opened its doors. The school initially lacked electricity and was thus limited to offering only day classes. The school's first director, Carlos Flores Fortis, had problems getting along with the student body. He asked for a two-month leave of absence, and was subsequently replaced.⁵³ By March the new director, Mario Matus Micelli, had opened a school store to sell products produced during classes. Micelli arranged for electricity at the school and night classes, which focused on sewing and small industries, were held regularly; and enrolled eighty women.⁵⁴

When school officials tried to offer night classes in basic reading and writing in April 1933, only ten people were present. When they expanded the number of classes to include domestic economy, Spanish, math, speech, cultural aesthetics, and singing, an additional 128 people participated (88 of them women).⁵⁵ Night classes on basic reading and writing were the bread and butter of rural primary schools in Mexico during this period.

The fact that reading and writing classes proved highly unsuccessful, and that they were replaced by other classes that found a greater general interest among locals suggests two things: differing needs between rural and urban dwellers, and a willingness on the behalf of SEP officials to adjust to parental pressure and desires in order to make an impact in the local com-

munity. Nonetheless, even urban schools still advanced Calles's belief that agriculture would be the engine of future Mexican prosperity. In accordance with agricultural ideals, educational inspectors were forced to find suitable agricultural lands, often far from the actual location of urban schools, for students to learn modern farming techniques, even if they would never put them to use.⁵⁶

At the behest of Rafael Castro, municipal officials in Piedras Negras implemented a 2 percent custom's fee to pay for the construction of a local high school to provide a Mexican alternative for city residents and as an improvement over the frontier schools. By January of 1934, however, the fee was dropped due to the dismissal of the municipal president, the administrator of customs, and the head of the local post office when President Lázaro Cárdenas assumed office in Mexico City. In place of the custom's fee, the new municipal president offered to donate ten pesos toward the purchase of cultivable land needed by the frontier schools.⁵⁷

By late 1934, the implementation of socialist education practices that purported to counter subversive religious propaganda inhibiting Mexico's economic and social progress were in full swing.⁵⁸ In early 1935 federal teachers were active in the local community and helped local brickmakers form a union that pressed for and received a 1.5 pesos daily wage. Despite these advances, the frontier schools still did not have regular English, music, or typewriting teachers, and attendance was suffering.⁵⁹

When the 1934–1935 school year ended, Castro informed his superiors that if Mexico really wanted to compete against the education being offered in the United States, Mexico would have to take some dramatic steps. Castro estimated that to compete with the United States, five new schools, each staffed with six regular teachers and two additional teachers to give instruction in English and other special courses, must be opened. He anticipated that these schools would cost up to 400,000 pesos to put into place and an additional 1,500 pesos per month to run effectively. Castro argued that the frontier schools located in Piedras Negras and Villa Acuña educated only 10 percent and 20 percent respectively of school-aged children in their local communities. The children not attending the frontier schools either attended private schools (where many of them were being illegally instructed on religious matters) or crossed the border to go to U.S. schools.⁶⁰ Boosting attendance numbers at the frontier schools, Castro realized, would be a difficult task. Teachers in the United States were earning about \$75 per month, more

than Mexico's inspector generals. In addition, the United States was running well-funded schools specifically aimed at assimilating Mexican children into U.S. society. Finally, many of the children that did attend Mexican primary schools were forced to go to the United States if they wanted to attend secondary or high school.

Despite evidence to the contrary, Castro did not believe that rural Mexicans were going to the United States because of better schools; he did not deny, however, that many urban Mexicans were certainly drawn in by U.S. schools. Castro's final solution (in addition to the funding of the additional five border schools that he had proposed) was the "absolute suppression of all non-federal schools" to ensure that all Mexican schools were delivering high quality education that could compete with education on the U.S. side of the border.⁶¹

Frontier Education in Chihuahua

From the point of view of federal educators, by late 1929 the situation along the Chihuahuan section of the U.S.-Mexican border was dire. At the center of the problem was Ciudad Juárez. The border city was the most important link between the United States and Mexico and was the location of Mexico's most important customhouse.⁶²

Ciudad Juárez had a darker side as well; it served as a center for smuggling, gambling, prostitution, and contraband.⁶³ By 1870 the region had already been the center of a "highly organized" cattle rustling business.⁶⁴ During the Mexican Revolution, Ciudad Juárez served as a center for weapons smuggling by the various military factions vying for national power. With the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment (Prohibition) in the United States on 29 January 1919, the city became the center of a newly flourishing bootlegging and contraband business.⁶⁵ By 1929 the main commerce undertaken by Ciudad Juárez's 21,000 inhabitants was distilling alcohol destined to be smuggled north across the border. The city boasted one beer factory and two whiskey distilleries. Residents also engaged in running gambling houses. While state officials gave lip service to fighting the spread of these industries, the reality was that by 1931, gambling provided the state with over 70 percent of its overall tax revenue, and taking concrete action against gambling would be political suicide.⁶⁶ A further problem, according to education officials, was that between 50,000 and 55,000 of El Paso's 108,000

inhabitants were Mexican.⁶⁷ In the eyes of SEP policymakers, this meant that 50,000 to 55,000 people were in the process of losing their culture.

The advancement of frontier schooling in Ciudad Juárez proved to be ironic in that while the federal government used education to stamp out the vices associated with the border for moral and cultural reasons, it simultaneously undermined those very policies by supporting the expansion of gambling and bootlegging for economic and political reasons. Chihuahua governor Rodrigo Quevedo (1932–1936) based his political power on his ruthlessness, his control of large revenue sources based on border gambling and bootlegging, and on support from Plutarco Elías Calles.⁶⁸ Calles used his close political ties with Quevedo to convince the governor to turn control of Chihuahua's state primary school system over to the federal government. In return, Calles did not interfere in Quevedo's illegal border activities. The state's education director, Salvador Varela, and one of the inspectors assigned to the area, Ramón Espinosa Villanueva, realized that they had nowhere to turn for help in combating contraband trade because state and local authorities were actively taking part in the illegal activities.⁶⁹

The illicit activities of some Chihuahuans, however, benefited the frontier schools. Quevedo's chief competitor in the gambling and bootlegging industry in Ciudad Juárez, Enrique Fernández, was donating his monetary and moral support to local federal schools. Fernández was commended on several occasions for donating land, buildings, and supplies to schools located along the border and, in the process, secured the good graces of the local education inspector.⁷⁰ Many of the families (the majority, according to the local inspector) that made use of the schools donated by Fernández were probably employed in the contraband trade. Almost comically, at the same time that Fernández was cultivating his relationship with local educators, the education inspector, J. Reyes Pimentel, was waging an anti-alcohol campaign aimed at reducing the number of people involved in running alcohol across the border.

Pimentel complained to his superiors that the contraband trade made his job of improving education along the border doubly difficult. Many families involved in the business outright refused to cooperate with the schools, and even those families that were inclined to cooperate with school authorities lived scattered about the countryside surrounding Ciudad Juárez. Living outside the city facilitated Chihuahuans slipping across the border unseen at night.⁷¹ Pimentel's hard work paid off, and by 1935 the education

inspector was convinced that the school's social campaigns and advancement of sports, especially baseball, had undermined the propensity of frontier dwellers to work in the alcohol industry.⁷² The repeal of U.S. Prohibition in 1933 and the assassination of Fernández (after one earlier unsuccessful attempt), however, were probably the overriding causes of the industry's diminution.⁷³

While the SEP's response to the contraband liquor business played an important role in inhibiting the advancement of frontier schooling in Ciudad Juárez, general apathy and the enticement of better schools on the U.S. side of the border were also problems. When the head of federal education in Chihuahua, Salvador Varela, first advanced the idea of increased funding for frontier schooling in November 1929, he was confronted with a situation in which about 25 percent (1,000 of an estimated 4,200) of the children of Ciudad Juárez were crossing the border to attend school in El Paso, Texas. Even the children currently attending primary school in Ciudad Juárez were likely to go to El Paso for industrial, vocational, or English classes after they had graduated.

Furthermore, when school inspector Pimentel attempted to involve Mexican parents residing in El Paso in festivities celebrating the anniversary of the Mexican Revolution, they protested vociferously and refused to take part. His attempts to promote increased respect for the Mexican flag and prohibit the use of foreign (i.e., English) words met with a tepid response. Instead, parents told him that they would consider keeping their children in Mexican schools if the Mexican government could guarantee the establishment of fourth and fifth grade classes in Ciudad Juárez.⁷⁴

In response to the local difficulties, Varela suggested that a former convent that had just been taken over by the federal government be set aside as the future site for a frontier school.⁷⁵ In addition, he argued that the teachers hired to staff the new frontier school would have to be from the interior of Mexico because the existing teachers along the border were neither Mexican nor American.⁷⁶ In January 1930, the one existing federal primary school in Ciudad Juárez closed in order to make room for a new and improved frontier school.

Like its counterpart in Piedras Negras, the frontier school in Ciudad Juárez encountered problems. First, when the federal government adopted a socialist pedagogy, parents complained that they were not "in agreement with the new direction" that the school was taking and insisted that a number of radical teachers be dismissed. Parents threatened to pull their chil-

dren out of the frontier school and send them to school in El Paso if radical teachers were not fired.⁷⁷ Second, by 1932 the SEP was in the midst of a court battle with the ex-convent's former owner, Señorita Mariana Ochoa, over ownership of the school building.⁷⁸ Ochoa had designated the building as a school for the poor, but SEP officials were positive that she was actually using it as a clandestine "Catholic convent" for religious teaching. The Constitution of 1917 made religious teaching in schools illegal, and SEP officials began to earnestly enforce the anti-religious measures of the constitution in 1926. In early 1933, the Circuit Court in Monterrey made a finding in favor of Ochoa, forcing the SEP to appeal the decision to Mexico's Supreme Court on the basis that it had already spent twenty thousand pesos to improve the building. The SEP was finally given ownership of the former convent in August 1933.⁷⁹

While the battle for ownership of the school raged, parents raised 5,800 pesos to buy sewing machines, a radio, a film projector, and an industrial department.⁸⁰ Despite the apparent support for the school, parents complained that the school itself was located in Ciudad Juárez's tolerance zone, near the international bridge leading to El Paso. They argued that their children were going to school in the same neighborhood where local authorities promoted prostitution and sadistic public acts—prostitutes performed sex acts with burros and had anal sex in public—in order to attract U.S. tourists.⁸¹

The third problem encountered by the Ciudad Juárez school was parents' complaints that many of the teachers lacked a proper education and spent their spare time getting drunk in local cantinas. Once again, parents insisted that if the SEP did not promptly address these issues, they would pull their children from the frontier school and send them to El Paso. The SEP responded with an investigation that turned up no concrete faults on the part of the teachers assigned to the school.⁸²

A final issue plaguing the frontier school was that of sex education. In early 1934, a number of parents disturbed by the idea of sex education being advanced by the SEP in Ciudad Juárez voiced their concern. To overcome the parental objections, SEP officials distributed copies of the textbooks being used. They focused particular attention on the various feminine leagues that had organized against sex education near the border.⁸³ A number of teachers assigned to the frontier school refused to sign a written statement that acknowledged their support of socialist education. Ramón Espinosa Villanueva thought that it was due to the influence of the high number of

Catholic priests who had crossed the border into El Paso to establish private religious schools. These same priests, he believed, were behind the demonstrations against sexual (or as the priests called it, “sensual”) education. Thus, he asked each of the teachers who had refused to support socialist schooling to renounce their religious beliefs. The teachers refused. The school inspector then initiated a petition campaign with the support of *La Unidad Magisterial* (The Magisterial Unity), the *Bloque Radical de Maestros Socialistas de Ciudad Juárez* (The Radical Block of Socialist Teachers of Ciudad Juárez), and the *Federación de Sociedades de Padres de Family* (The Federation of Parent Societies) to push for the dismissal of the teachers.⁸⁴

In 1935 Espinosa Villanueva asked the SEP for the necessary funding to establish two additional schools in Ciudad Juárez so that Mexican youth would no longer cross the border and be inculcated with “sentiments contrary to the interests of Mexico.”⁸⁵ A previous trip to El Paso by SEP officials had revealed that the special U.S. school established to assimilate Mexican children into American culture stressed that the United States was the greatest country in the world and had the most powerful Navy. The SEP officials noted that the Mexican children attending the school—2,024 in total, one-third of whom were from Ciudad Juárez—were losing their Spanish language skills by speaking and writing mostly English.⁸⁶

By 1935 SEP officials were beginning to realize that the frontier schools were not doing the job that they had been created to do. In May Celso Flores Zamora, the head of the Department of Rural Schools, argued that “the rural frontier and primary schools that are presently functioning, until now have not formed the barrier that could impede the passage of our children to the neighboring country in which they look for a betterment that in their own country they can not find.”⁸⁷ Espinosa Villanueva believed that the solution lay in hiring only male teachers and increasing funding to frontier schools.⁸⁸ Another inspector, Jesús Coello, thought that a pro-Spanish campaign where locals were encouraged to take part in festivals and sing songs about the evils of capitalism and religion was the answer.⁸⁹ But the problem was much deeper than that. The struggle between religious and socialist teachers was a factor that constantly undermined the delivery of education within the frontier school. Numerous unions called for the forced expulsion of all teachers who refused to denounce their religious views; some teachers feared persecution if they did not join their local socialist teacher’s union.⁹⁰ While SEP officials attributed the struggle between religious and socialist education to the proximity of the border, the truth was

that the border gave religious parents the opportunity to send their children to El Paso to receive a private religious education that was much more to their liking.

Perhaps even more damaging to the frontier schools in Chihuahua than the schism between religious and socialist teachers was the discovery that Ramón Espinosa Villanueva and the director of the frontier school in Ciudad Juárez, José Medrano, had been regularly sending false and misleading reports to the SEP. The SEP dispatched its inspector general, Alfonso G. Alanis, to address parental complaints and found that Medrano attended school irregularly, made personal use of school supplies and resources, hired and fired teachers based on his personal whims (even though the majority of them were unionized), was a local politician of Communist affiliation, and did not offer night classes as legally required.⁹¹

Despite such misconduct, Espinosa Villanueva kept his job. He hoped to reverse the practice of hiring only teachers from Mexico's interior, a practice established by his predecessor, Salvador Varela. Espinosa Villanueva argued that teachers who were not from the border region could not adapt to frontier life and, thus, should not be hired. Neatly ignoring the major conflicts created by the advancement of the SEP's socialist and anti-religious pedagogy, he proposed to eliminate fighting among teachers by advocating equal pay for all teachers.⁹² Finally, he encouraged improving Ciudad Juárez's secondary school so that Mexicans would not be forced to send their children to "gringo universities" where they only learned to think about "the land of [George] Washington."⁹³ In 1936 the SEP showed continued support of frontier schooling by opening a second frontier school in Ciudad Juárez and another in Ojinaga.

Frontier Schooling in Sonora

Frontier schooling was much less contentious and confrontational in Sonora than in either Coahuila or Chihuahua. Nogales, the site of Sonora's frontier school located across the border from its sister city of the same name in Arizona, had originally been a small outpost established by railroad workers.⁹⁴ The economic growth of Ambos Nogales (both Nogales) evolved in such a manner that the two cities were actually one economically interdependent town "separated only by a street."⁹⁵ Relations between Mexicans and Americans were enhanced by the fact that many U.S. residents in Nogales learned Spanish while their Mexican counterparts learned English

to enhance their business prospects. By the time of the Mexican Revolution, the inhabitants of Sonora were known as the “Yankees of Mexico” because of their close ties to the United States.⁹⁶

In 1928 a primary school for 200 children was set up in Nogales, Mexico, in a vacant building donated (along with 108 double-sided desks) to the SEP by state authorities.⁹⁷ The school was located on Avenida Alvaro Obregón and was housed in a five-story building that was, according to the school’s director, Rosalío E. Moreno, poorly ventilated and poorly lit.⁹⁸ In addition to the regular curriculum, school officials focused on teaching the children how to safely cross the city’s busy streets.⁹⁹ The school’s success was hampered, however, by poor attendance as a result of parents’ decisions to pull their children from school on both Mexican and U.S. holidays.

Throughout 1929 Moreno concerned himself with the welfare of the children in the school, trying to convince the families of older children to leave their children in school rather than send them across the border in search of work.¹⁰⁰ In February of that year, a child came down with meningitis and the school was subsequently closed. Those who had come into contact with the child were isolated.¹⁰¹ Illness was not the school’s only problem. The Depression forced the federal government to pay teachers only half of their regular salary. In March three border school teachers with newly reduced salaries crossed the border to look for work in Arizona.¹⁰² The school’s director told federal officials that the newly reduced salaries were not “sufficient for [life’s] most necessary expenses. I believe that we will not continue working much longer.”¹⁰³ He then quit.

The school’s new director for the 1929–1930 school year, Alfonso Acosta V., was entrusted with the job of transforming the school from a regular primary into a frontier primary school. He held a meeting in May 1930 with local parents to figure out how they could compete with the “Yankee schools” in Arizona and how best to reach all of the Mexican children who were presently attending school there. Acosta V. figured that 75 percent of all the children in the Nogales, Arizona, school district were Mexican citizens.¹⁰⁴ There is little indication, however, that the change from a regular primary school to a frontier school was anything other than nominal.

The 1931–1932 school year brought with it another new director, Agapito Constantino, who implemented policies that likely pushed additional Mexican parents to send their children to school in Arizona. For example, Constantino believed that it was necessary to shame the students who attended his school into changing their behavior. He did so by scheduling a

public assembly at the beginning of every school day in which children were divided into different groups and forced to stand underneath banners corresponding to their perceived level of punctuality and cleanliness.¹⁰⁵

Another issue that forced Mexican families to send their children to the United States for schooling was the deplorable condition of Nogales's only secondary school. In 1932 the secondary school shared a building with a local primary school. The twenty-six primary school students who graduated in 1931, many of whom would immediately enter the job market, were so few in number that attracting enough students to keep the secondary school functioning properly was nearly impossible.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, the secondary school was moved to a new location near the frontier primary school on Avenida Alvaro Obregón and placed under the authority of a new director, Angel Alfonso Andrade, who, according to SEP officials, "rescued the school from the toilet."¹⁰⁷ By 1933 the secondary school was deemed to be functioning perfectly, and by 1934 school officials noted that it was being actively supported by influential members of Ambos Nogales.¹⁰⁸

The truth is that frontier schooling was not a high priority for Sonoran officials. First, parents in Ambos Nogales seemed inclined to continue supporting the practice of sending the majority of Mexican children across the border to Arizona for their primary and secondary schooling. Second, Plutarco Elías Calles's son and the state's governor, Rodolfo Elías Calles (1931–1934) thought that rather than expanding the school system along the border, the best way to improve the situation of Mexicans repatriated during the Depression was to place them in colonies. The colonies were set up by the state on former lands of the Mayo and Yaqui Indians in southern Sonora.¹⁰⁹ Third, and most importantly, Calles's main preoccupation in the educational field was his role in implementing the government's widespread defanaticization campaign, which began in 1931 and was aimed at removing, once and for all, the influence of the church in Sonora.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

Plutarco Elías Calles and his education ministers wanted somehow to encourage U.S. economic involvement in the U.S.-Mexico border region while at the same time discouraging Mexican citizens from cultural and social involvement in the burgeoning economy. Frontier schools were the means by which they hoped to stem U.S. cultural imperialism. They failed to do so. Mismanagement, better course offerings, better opportunities to learn

English, better facilities on the U.S. side of the border, and access to religious education in the United States each played a role in the failure of the Mexican frontier schools.

This article has provided a preliminary institutional history of Mexican frontier schools, highlighting the ways in which different local, political, and social environments led to very different conceptions of the roles of frontier schools. Despite a long history of hostility between Coahuila and Chihuahua and Texas, SEP officials were unable to stem the flow of Mexican children to primary schools in the United States. The frontier schools in both Mexican states were plagued by mismanagement, political struggles between different factions of teachers, and the drive to eliminate religious teaching from federal schools. Nonetheless, inspectors soon realized that they could increase enrollment by providing English and vocational classes and by lessening the emphasis on festivals, parades, and concerts meant to develop a sense of patriotism. In Sonora, where there was a spirit of cooperation between leading members of Ambos Nogales, federal education officials never officially advocated the creation of a frontier school and local officials (who decided to push the issue anyway) actually worked to gain the support of community members on both sides of the border. Thus, they never tried to stem the flow of Mexican children to U.S. schools. In order to gain a better understanding of the effects that frontier schools had on Mexican citizens living near the border in Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora, future historians will need to move beyond broad comparisons at the state level and delve into the microhistories of each of the locations where frontier schools were founded.

Notes

1. Although 500,000 people of Mexican descent, both U.S. citizens and non-U.S. citizens, would eventually be forced across the border into Mexico, most of the early refugees to return to Mexico did so because they lost their jobs. After the initial wave of returnees slowed to a trickle, a “decentralized but vigorous campaign” forced the rest across the border (almost none were legally deported). Changes in U.S. visa policy meant that almost none of them would be able to legally return to the United States after the end of the Great Depression. See Josiah McC. Heyman, *Life and Labor on the Border: Working People of Northeastern Sonora, Mexico, 1886–1986* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991), 33–35.
2. When discussing frontier I mean that which “describes both a zone and a process, an interaction between two or more different cultures.” See Sarah Deutsch, *No*

Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880–1940 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 10.

3. For example, William Walker and a number of filibusters invaded Baja California in 1853 and declared it an independent country before being overwhelmed by Mexican forces and surrendering. In 1857 Henry Crabb and one hundred men attacked Sonora in hopes that the state would later be annexed by U.S. officials as was Texas. Other lesser-known, and less successful, filibusters continued throughout the Porfiriato (1876–1911). See Oscar J. Martínez, *Troublesome Border* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 38–47.
4. Alan Knight, *Counter-Revolution and Reconstruction*, vol. 2 of *The Mexican Revolution* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 139.
5. For an in-depth account of both U.S. and Mexican responses to the invasion, see Knight, *Counter-Revolution and Reconstruction*, 155–62.
6. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Investigation of Mexican Affairs*, 66th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1920), 3327–81.
7. Miguel Tinker Salas, *In the Shadow of the Eagles: Sonora and the Transformation of the Border during the Porfiriato* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 173.
8. Alan Knight, “The United States and the Mexican Peasantry, circa 1880–1940,” in *Rural Revolt in Mexico: U.S. Intervention and the Domain of Subaltern Politics*, ed. Daniel Nugent (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998), 40.
9. Cited in Engracia Loyo, *Gobiernos revolucionarios y educación popular en México* (Mexico: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1998), 217.
10. *Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública* [hereafter BSEP] (Talleres Gráficos de la Nación) 8, no. 8 (1929): 63.
11. BSEP 8, nos. 9–11 (1929): 49–50.
12. BSEP 9, no. 6 (1930): 9.
13. BSEP 9, nos. 1–3 (1930): 21–22.
14. BSEP 9, nos. 9–10 (1930): 37–38.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Ramón Méndez, Jefe del Departamento, to Rafael Ramírez, Coahuila, 7 January 1930, box 32, exp. IV/161 (IV-12)/132, Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Educación Pública [hereafter AHSEP], Mexico City.
17. Ramón Méndez, Jefe del Departamento, to Rafael Ramírez, Coahuila, 13 January 1930, box 32, exp. IV/161 (IV-12)/132, AHSEP.
18. Ramón Méndez, Jefe del Departamento, to Rafael Ramírez, Coahuila, 10 February 1930, box 32, exp. IV/161 (IV-12)/132, AHSEP.
19. Informe Mensual, May, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, box 20, exp. IV/161 (IV-12)/134, AHSEP.
20. When Nazario S. Ortiz finished his term in office as governor in 1934, he went into business selling foodstuffs to the federal government. See Ortiz Garza, Nazario S., leg. 3/3, exp. 32, inv. 4220, Archivo Fideicomiso Plutarco Elías Calles y Fernando Torreblanca [hereafter AFPEC y FT], Mexico City.
21. Rafael Ramírez to Jefe del Departamento, Coahuila, box 32, exp. IV/161 (IV-12)/132, AHSEP.

22. Informe Mensual, May, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, box 20, exp. IV/161 (IV-12)/134, AHSEP.
23. Informe Mensual, May, Ramón Méndez, Coahuila, box 6037, exp. IV/100, AHSEP.
24. Informe Mensual, June, Inocente M. Hernández, Coahuila, box 6037, exp. IV/100, AHSEP.
25. Inspection Report, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, 24 May 1930, box 20, exp. IV/161 (IV-12)/134, AHSEP.
26. Inspection Report, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, 5 December 1930, box 52, exp. IV/161 (IV-14)/714, AHSEP.
27. Inspection Report, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, 24 March 1931, box 31, exp. IV/161 (IV-14)/511, AHSEP.
28. According to education officials, colonists were those settlers who already had the necessary capital to settle without the support of the government, while ejidatarios were those settlers who lacked the necessary resources. See Informe Mensual, December, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, box 6039, exp. IV/100, AHSEP. On the renegeing on provisional land grants in the interests of greater economic output in post-revolutionary Mexico, see Linda B. Hall, "Alvaro Obregón and the Politics of Mexican Land Reform, 1920–1924," *Hispanic American Historic Review* 60 (May 1980): 213–38.
29. Inspection Report, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, 21 May 1931, box 31, exp. IV/161 (IV-14)/602; and Inspection Report, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, 8 January 1931, box 51, exp. IV/161 (IV-14)/606, AHSEP.
30. Informe, Jefe del Departamento, Coahuila, 4 November 1932, box 31, exp. IV/161 (IV-14)/563, AHSEP.
31. Various reports, Coahuila, 13 November 1931 and 25 November 1932, box 55, exp. IV/161 (IV-14)/632, AHSEP.
32. Informe Mensual, October, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, box 6039, exp. IV/100, AHSEP.
33. Inspection Report, Rafael Castro, Coahuila, 20 June 1933, box 51, exp. IV/161 (IV-14)/697, AHSEP.
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From Clerk to Professional

NEW MEXICO'S SUPERINTENDENCY AND THE
SUPERINTENDENTS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
1891–1916

A. Kenneth Stern and Dan D. Chávez

The Compromise of 1850 officially established the Territory of New Mexico on 9 September 1850, with an effective date of 3 March 1851. Even though section fifteen of the Compromise stipulated that sections sixteen and thirty-two of each township would be “reserved for the purpose of being applied to schools in said territory,” the agreement did not mandate the immediate implementation of a territory-wide public school system. The people of New Mexico Territory waited forty years until 12 February 1891 to form a school system headed by a superintendent of public instruction.¹

Between 1891 and 1916, seven men served as superintendent of public instruction. A close examination of the superintendency and the six territorial superintendents and one state superintendent who worked during this

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formative period reveals both the development of the post and New Mexico's transition from a territory to a state. Reflecting nationwide trends in education, the office of superintendent of public instruction gradually evolved from a political-patronage reward to a professional administrative office.

National Educational Context

The middle of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of the creation and development of public schools in the United States. Initial efforts took root in the northeastern region of the country, and soon after, a few reformers, most notably Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, traveled across the Midwest to promote tax-supported public education. These predominantly White Protestants approached their cause with a missionary zeal. Children should be educated through funding generated by taxes levied against the public. Education should be nonsectarian in purpose but not necessarily devoid of any religious influence. Although reformers prohibited outright proselytizing, Protestant tenets permeated the curriculum and textbooks, and they advocated the Bible as a resource.²

Convincing an essentially rural populace of the advantages of tax-supported public schools posed a significant challenge. Americans did not universally consider education a priority. Although many northerners supported public education by the 1850s, many southerners did not and associated public schools with northern capitalism and abolitionism. Non-Protestants, particularly Catholics, feared the Protestant influence visible in the schools.³

National and local interests often disagreed over how schools should be organized and governed. Rural folks who recognized the advantages of an education desired local control and opposed state-level governance. In contrast, reformers pushed for territorial- or state-level governance to coordinate and supervise the selection of textbooks and the preparation and selection of quality teachers. In that scheme as an advocate for public education, the superintendent would report the needs of the schools to the legislature. Across the country, several governance models emerged to pit a form of democratic localism against a potential centralized bureaucracy that requested data and issued mandates.⁴ New Mexico chose a model shared by all states (except Idaho) admitted to the Union after 1876 by establishing the top-level position of superintendent of public instruction. Similarly, New Mexico, like those states, selected the superintendent through the elective process.⁵

The creation and implementation of an education chief varied according to the development, demographics, religious diversity, and geography of any given state. Although the U.S. Constitution does not mention education, much less prescribe a national system of education, the states developed very similar systems. New Mexico established public education and, in particular, created the office of the territorial superintendent of public instruction in a geographically large western state devoid of many natural resources and with a sparse population, many of whom spoke only Spanish. In addition, Catholicism was the state's predominant religion, making New Mexico unique among the western territories and states.⁶

The Growth of Public School Enrollment in New Mexico

Rapid demographic changes occurred in New Mexico from 1890 to 1910 (see Table 1).⁷ The state's population more than doubled; the school-age population (ages 6–20) doubled as well. Meanwhile, the number of children attending school more than tripled from 20,713 to 64,343. Forty-three percent of eligible students attended in 1890 and 61 percent in 1910. The length of the school year varied from three months in many rural areas to nine months in cities and towns.

Not all children enrolled in school attended public schools (see Table 2). In 1891, 22.4 percent attended nonpublic (parochial and private) schools; by 1911–1912, however, the percentage dropped to 6.5. Nonpublic school enrollment dropped from 6,510 to 4,295 while public school enrollment nearly tripled. Further analysis of nonpublic school enrollment figures shows that Catholic enrollment in terms of numbers of students remained fairly stable throughout the twenty-year period. The nearly 35 percent drop in overall nonpublic enrollment resulted from a sharp decrease in private and Protestant school enrollment, which dropped by 60 percent.

Table 1
New Mexico Population and School Attendance, 1890–1910

Census Year	Population	Increase over Preceding Census		Percent Increase for U.S.	Number School Age (6–20)	Number Attending School	Percent Attending School
		Number	Census Percent				
1910	327,301	131,991	67.6	21.0	105,403	64,343	61.0
1900	195,310	35,028	21.9	20.7	69,712	28,336	40.6
1890	160,282	40,717	34.1	25.5	48,055	20,713	43.1

Table 2
School Age Enrollments in Public and Parochial Schools,
1891 to 1911-12

Type of School	Year		
	1891	1903*	1911-12*
Public	22,599	37,972	61,027
Catholic	2,547	2,047	2,635
Other Private and Church Related	3,963	2,781	1,660
Total Nonpublic Enrollment	6,510	4,828	4,295
Total Enrollment	29,109	42,800	65,322
Catholic Enrollment as Percent of Total Enrollment	8.7	4.78	4.03
Nonpublic Enrollment as Percent of Total Enrollment	22.4	11.28	6.57

*Excludes enrollment in Indian Schools

Within this context, New Mexico, like the other states and territories, chose to have a superintendent of public instruction, a development that raises numerous questions for the history of New Mexico education: What were the qualifications for and the responsibilities of the position? Was the position in New Mexico similar to that in other territories and states? Was the office suited for the development of a school system in a large rural territory or state? What was the educational background and experience of the men who served in the position? What reforms did they propose, and did their recommendations to the legislature result in new laws? What characteristics of the territorial superintendency were carried over to the state superintendency when it was created in 1911? While attempting to answer these and other questions this article will examine in detail the various duties of the New Mexico superintendent's position, the legislative activity affecting the position, and biographies of the seven superintendents who served between 1891-1916.

Duties and Legislative Oversight of the Superintendent Position

The nationwide trend in the mid-1800s to establish public schools and a school governance system reached into New Mexico Territory. In 1863, during the Civil War, the legislative assembly (hereafter referred to as assembly) passed a law to create the office of Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction and a Territorial Board of Education. The superintendent was

appointed by the governor for a two-year term, and served under the direction of the Territorial Board of Education (comprising the governor, secretary, Supreme Court justices, and the Catholic bishop of New Mexico Territory). The superintendent was assigned essentially clerical duties: to visit schools in each county once a year, provide an annual report to the board regarding the status of the schools, disburse available funds, and assume any additional tasks assigned by the board.⁸

A quick review and analysis of the legislation reveals the apparent intent of the assembly. New Mexico chose to establish a public school system with a superintendent whose duties were similar to those of superintendents in other states and territories, but the composition of the governing board was unique. The board included the Catholic bishop, a concession to the Catholic Church, which was the dominant faith and maintained the only educational system in the territory. The 1863 law decreed that all funds for school purposes received from the federal government and territorial appropriations should go exclusively to education. Since New Mexico received no money from either source, the territorial government appointed no superintendent, and the board never met.⁹

In 1862, the U.S. Congress set land aside for public education across the country through the Morrill Act but placed low priority on funding. Federal money appropriated for territories paid the salaries of the governors, secretaries, and judges, and other related administrative costs. During the thirty years following 1861, for example, New Mexico and other territories received on average \$25,000 to \$35,000 annually from the federal government. The amount varied “principally with the rates of salaries and item allowances as fixed in appropriations bills which were always subject to change regardless of the rates mentioned in the organic acts.”¹⁰

New Mexico Territory was generally dependent on federal money for its government operations and infrastructure. In addition to providing funds for the salaries of territorial government officials, the U.S. Congress periodically appropriated funds for special-purpose buildings, namely, capitols and penitentiaries. Receiving no federal assistance costs, New Mexico suspended construction of its Capitol from 1857 to 1884. However, the federal government expected the territories to fund the construction of schools, hospitals, and asylums.¹¹

Still, New Mexico actively sought federal financial assistance for general government expenses during the 1850s and 1860s. The attitude of New Mexicans reflected the prevalent western view. In 1863, summoning “the

encouragement of government,” the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette* declared, “In the end the Government participates in the results of the pioneer’s enterprise[,] and the wild Territory, which he reduces from the wilderness to the abode of civilization, becomes a part of the wealth and power of a nation.”¹²

Despite the lack of federal appropriations for territorial education, New Mexicans formed districts and established schools during the thirty years following 1863. Private schools, primarily Catholic, served a significant number of students, while public schools began to dot the territory. Sporadically and insufficiently funded, however, the latter operated under harsh conditions. Geographic isolation, vast open spaces, and extreme weather conditions made travel and communication difficult. Until the end of the Apache Wars in 1886, school administrators and teachers felt threatened by hostile Native Americans. Spanish-speakers comprised a majority of the population, making effective communication challenging. Both Hispanics and Anglos inherently disliked property taxes and feared that Anglo teachers were going to change the ideas and ideals of their children. Such attitudes deterred public school efforts in New Mexico. Additionally, Congress failed to provide New Mexico’s public schools with additional funding to compensate for the minimal income the territory received from the school land grants.¹³

In the mid-1880s, excitement was building for some kind of public-education governance. A reform-minded Democratic governor, Edmund G. Ross, addressed the need for a superintendent of public instruction in his message to the assembly in December 1886. About the same time, the New Mexico Educational Association (NMEA) held its initial meeting and endorsed his position. Unsuccessful that year, Governor Ross tried again in 1888, but a political struggle between the governor and the assembly prevented the creation of the superintendency.¹⁴

New Mexico legislators finally established the superintendency through H.B. 85, an “Act Establishing Common Schools in the Territory of New Mexico and Creating the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction,” in 1891. Despite the serious need for a territorial superintendent, the assembly limited the official’s responsibilities primarily to collecting data, compiling reports, recommending textbooks, and exhorting the people to support education. At the municipal and county levels, public officials and ordinary citizens saw no need for the territorial government supervision, preferring local control over their schools. Also, the Catholic Church hierarchy feared the loss of federal territorial support for Catholic schools in New Mexico at

the same time that they worried about the imposition of a largely secular educational curriculum on their schools.¹⁵

New Mexico's superintendency paralleled that of other states and other territories. For example, Oklahoma established its superintendency with similar powers and duties just two months earlier than New Mexico did. Although New Mexico exhibited some unique characteristics such as the influence of the Catholic Church, it followed patterns of public school governance already firmly established elsewhere. The Catholic bishop maintained his seat on the Territorial Board of Education under the 1891 Act, which superseded the 1863 Act. The president of St. Michael's College of Santa Fe also sat on the board, and the superintendent's annual reports included nonpublic (e.g., Catholic) schools. With the advice and consent of the territorial council (forerunner of the state senate), the governor appointed the territorial superintendent to serve a two-year term. As an *ex-officio* member of the board, he sat as its secretary and kept the minutes. The membership of the board changed from 1863 to 1891. In 1863 it comprised the governor, the secretary of state, the judges of the Supreme Court, and the bishop of New Mexico. In 1891 the board was made up of the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, and the respective presidents of St. Michael's College of Santa Fe, the University of New Mexico (UNM), and the New Mexico Agriculture and Mechanic College (NMA&M). The mandatory semiannual board meetings were held in the superintendent's office.¹⁶ That arrangement kept the superintendent firmly under the supervision of federal territorial authorities but gave him access to men whose influence could benefit his office and the territorial school system.

The statutory duties of the superintendent were wide ranging and highly demanding. They included (1) annual visits to each county; (2) filing and preserving reports submitted by county superintendents and administrators of other educational institutions (colleges, universities, and asylums); (3) recommendation of textbooks; (4) prescribing, printing, and disseminating official forms in English and Spanish; (5) publishing and distributing school laws; and (6) preparing and submitting an annual report.¹⁷ He conducted his affairs from an office at the capitol in Santa Fe. His annual report, dated 31 December, contained statistical data on the number of private and common schools; number, age, and sex of pupils in attendance; the subjects taught in all schools; and the value of public school property. Two weeks after passage of the initial act, another act—H.B. 190, "An Act in Relation to

School Books” —specified the superintendent’s duties for selecting, purchasing, and selling textbooks and for an accounting of funds.¹⁸

From 1891 to 1907 the assembly assigned the superintendent additional responsibilities. Legislation in 1903 required the superintendent to compile all territorial school laws biennially, print four thousand copies of the laws, half in Spanish and half in English, and distribute them to the county superintendents. The assembly mandated that, by August 15 each year, county superintendents submit reports containing vital statistics and general information concerning the public schools and monies received from the poll tax and fines. The superintendent’s office became a collection point and clearing house for data, law, and general information related to education in New Mexico Territory.¹⁹

In the arena of higher education, the superintendent’s supervision was minimal. Institutional officials sent to the superintendent copies of their annual reports, which he in turn appended to his annual reports to the governor. The superintendent collected and reported data regarding students, status and progress of the institution, facilities, equipment, number of graduates, value of all property, receipts, disbursements, and the institution’s overall financial condition. Although the superintendent and the presidents of UNM and NMA&M served *ex-officio* on the territorial board from 1891 to 1901 and were in regular contact, the superintendent exercised no direct authority over them. Various institutional leaders began serving on the board as a result of its reconstitution in 1901. The Territorial Board of Education was expanded to seven members with five of those to be chosen from the presidents of the territorial education institutions, the president of St. Michael’s College of Santa Fe, and the superintendents of the four largest schools.²⁰

By 1907, a rapidly expanding population and corresponding growth in student numbers created the need for more qualified and certified teachers than were either employed by or available to the New Mexico school system. At the time, the county superintendents examined teachers and issued certificates. This process led to inconsistent procedures and standards. Professional preparation and teacher development proved difficult without territorial-level coordination and supervision. To address this problem, the assembly enlarged the superintendent’s authority to supervise and oversee the teacher certification process and the organization of teacher institutes. Assigning general supervision of teacher training to the superintendent indicated both the territory’s need and the legislature’s desire to expand the

position's responsibilities and to enforce some uniformity on the preparation of New Mexico teachers.²¹

In the 1909 legislative session the assembly mandated that the superintendent give his opinion on any question or controversy arising out of an interpretation of the school law at the request of a county superintendent or other school officer. If necessary, he could forward any question posed to him to the New Mexico territorial attorney general for an official opinion.²² The legislative mandate advanced the centralization of educational authority by forcing county school administrators to turn to the territorial superintendency for legal opinions and by requiring him to deliver them.

The expansion of the territorial superintendent's duties coincided with the general growth of educational institutions between 1889 and 1911, the late territorial period. UNM (1889), NMA&M (1889), the New Mexico School of Mines (1889), the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb (1889), and the New Mexico Military Institute (1893) were established during this period, with the superintendent serving *ex-officio* on each institution's board. Additionally, he worked closely with two teacher-preparation colleges: the New Mexico Normal University at Las Vegas (1893) and the New Mexico Normal School at Silver City (1893). The superintendent also compiled data for both public and private schools. In the early twentieth century, the Catholic Church still played a vital role in elementary and secondary education. Given that many members of the legislative assembly and the Territorial Board of Education were practicing Catholics and had been educated in Catholic schools, they had a vested interest in the existence of Catholic schools and their relationship to public schools.²³

From 1909 to 1916, very few of the superintendent's duties changed statutorily. Constitutionally, the superintendent continued to be an *ex-officio* member of the state board of education, which controlled, managed, and supervised all public schools.²⁴

During the territorial period, there were neither age, gender, residency, nor professional qualifications necessary for serving as the superintendent. That lack of specific qualifications for holding public office typified other government positions in New Mexico and other states and territories. But with statehood in 1912, the status of executive officers, including the superintendent, changed. New Mexicans seeking an office had to be male, a U.S. citizen, at least thirty years of age, and a continuous resident of New Mexico for five years preceding the election to the office.²⁵ The state superintendent of education merited one additional qualification: he had to be a

trained and experienced educator, a requirement that had been recommended by the NMEA as early as 1905. Education became a high priority to state government, involving supervision at the highest levels of the executive branch.²⁶

The influence of the NMEA was also evident by statehood. After the constitution was ratified by the voters of New Mexico in 1911, the association, now twenty-five years old, sent a letter to state convention delegates requesting they nominate to the state education superintendency “trained and experienced educators.” The nominees had to have the following specific qualifications: a thorough education (defined as a college or normal school degree); a broad and general cultural background; knowledge of educational practices; and ability and success as a teacher and administrator in New Mexico. The association also stated that the superintendent should exhibit high moral standing in private and public life and should place the well-being of children’s education over political expediency.²⁷

By statehood, the NMEA had established itself as a powerful advocate for education. The association’s founders included Elliott Whipple, superintendent of the Ramona Indian School at Santa Fe; F. E. Whittemore, principal of the Albuquerque Academy; and C. E. Hodgin, first superintendent of schools in Albuquerque, later a dean and vice president of UNM, and editor of the *New Mexico School Review*. The organization’s mission was to engage in political activity that benefitted teachers and improved education in New Mexico. Within a few years of its inception in 1886, the NMEA was playing an influential role in shaping the educational system of the territory, advocating for enhanced school legislation and free textbooks.²⁸

The new state constitution restricted most executive officers to one four-year term. Only the state superintendent and land commissioner could succeed themselves. Discontent with these provisions soon surfaced, and in 1914 a constitutional amendment reduced the terms for all state executive officers to two years, with a maximum of two consecutive terms.²⁹

Six New Mexico Superintendents of Public Instruction: 1891–1912

Soon after Republican governor L. Bradford Prince signed the 1891 school bill establishing the position of superintendent, his office received letters of application or nomination for the superintendency. Correspondents proposed six candidates; three men applied on their own. The nomination let-

ters expressed the need for an educator with teaching or administrative experience, while one writer, Elmore Chaves, raised a concern about the religious beliefs of the appointee. As president of the recently formed NMEA, Chaves wrote, "I can say that this association has no candidate to present and would not wish to dictate . . . but this much we fell [*sic*] at liberty to say with a great deal of earnestness, that we could not be reconciled to any appointment which would place the Romish Church at the head of the schoolwork of this Territory." The association's position reflected its sincere interest in a genuinely public-education system without favoritism toward any faith. After considering the various candidates, Governor Prince appointed Amado Chaves as the first territorial superintendent of public instruction on 24 February 1891, and he took office on 1 March 1891. Like each of the other five territorial superintendents noted in this study, Chaves was a Republican.³⁰

Amado Chaves (1891–1897, 1904–1905)

Amado Chaves was born on 14 April 1851 in Santa Fe, Territory of New Mexico. He studied at St. Michael's College of Santa Fe and in the Washington, D.C., public schools. He earned a bachelor of laws degree at the National University Law School in Washington, D.C., in 1876. After returning to New Mexico, he engaged in ranching and stock raising, was elected clerk and assessor in Valencia County, and was elected to the Territorial House in 1884, where he was unanimously chosen Speaker at the first session.³¹

Despite Chaves's Republican Party affiliation, Democratic governor William T. Thornton reappointed Chaves twice. Later, in 1904, Republican governor Miguel A. Otero appointed Amado to complete the unexpired term of J. Francisco Chaves, who had been assassinated. At the end of the brief term, in 1905, Otero appointed Amado to the newly created position of assistant superintendent of



AMADO CHAVES, FIRST NEW MEXICO
TERRITORIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION (1891–1897, 1904–1905)
(*Courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe,*
neg. no. 171103)

public instruction. Eighteen months later, he resigned to engage in other work. However, his educational mission was still incomplete. Gov. George Curry appointed Amado as a noneducator citizen to the Territorial Board of Education in 1909. Thus, in the twenty-one years of the territorial superintendency and Territorial Board of Education, Amado served three two-year terms and a four-month interim term as superintendent, one and one-half years as assistant superintendent, and almost three years as a board member.³²

After leaving office, Amado practiced law, ranched, and farmed. At his death, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* described him as “a consistent Republican; a gentleman in the true sense of the word; suave, obliging, courteous and polished and a hard worker; he is a finely educated man. He is a true, tried and trusted friend of the American public school system.” Another equally magnanimous observer wrote, “Don Amado was justly proud of his distinguished descent, but in a quiet and unpretentious way. Exemplary in private life, faithful in public office, he was a cultured Christian gentleman.” And S. Peter Nanninga concluded that, since Amado was Spanish and Catholic, “suspicions were allayed that the public school system might be an American scheme for training children away from their ancestral traditions.” Amado Chaves died on 30 December 1930, in Santa Fe, at age seventy-nine.³³

Amado served his native territory well. His ancestry, religion, education, politics, bilingualism (fluent in Spanish and English), and support for public education provided what the territory needed in the initial stages of developing an educational system. Opinions and ideas for changes and improvements, included in his annual reports, reflected an understanding of the milieu in which the fledgling governance system was developing. He advocated public schools but also found a place for private schools. He wrote eloquently about the need for children to learn, but he preferred excellent schools and school environments rather than compulsory attendance. Amado argued that Spanish-speaking students deserved teachers who could speak Spanish and English, and he urged local school boards to hire only teachers who were fluent in both languages. His final annual report, written shortly before leaving office in March 1897, revealed his conviction that New Mexico’s residents were more than capable of filling all school positions. “It is not only a very short sighted policy, but also a great injustice, that the best positions should be given to strangers, and that our own people should be relegated to the remote, poorly-paid districts [sic] schools.” Amado wanted

all children to be educated in an environment that expanded their horizons and simultaneously passed on the heritage and legacy of their ancestors. He believed New Mexican teachers understood the culture, language, customs, and religion of the region, which compensated for any deficiency in their formal preparation.

Although Amado expressed a cultural perspective popular in New Mexico, particularly among Hispanics, his position did not represent the majority thinking in turn-of-the-century America. Across the nation, conventional wisdom, reflecting the notion of the melting pot, held that all foreigners and minorities should be assimilated into the cultural mainstream—Anglo society specifically. National leaders sought a common value system, and they considered the public school system to be the best way to inculcate national conformity.³⁴ Amado's advocacy of sensitivity to local traditions and of cultural diversity flew against the prevailing winds of national culture and politics.

Emerging during the initial stages of public school system development in New Mexico were issues surrounding teacher preparation and certification. Who would prepare teachers, who would have the authority to issue certificates, and what criteria would be used to determine qualifications? Initially, county institutes, normal institutes, and other means of certifying teachers were nonexistent. County superintendents had been responsible for setting qualifications, examining teachers, and issuing certificates, but educational leaders soon called for a more coordinated system. Reformers wanted to reduce the wide variation in examination content and testing conditions and to avoid the politically-influenced issuance of certificates. The standards and integrity of each county's process depended on the educational level and professionalism of the school superintendent. To coax some order from the chaos, Amado encouraged the legislature to standardize at least the teachers' certificates. More specific suggestions addressing the multiple aspects of the examinations, lengths and kinds of certificates, and the appropriate government level at which they would be issued would come from his successors.³⁵

In many New Mexico communities the dominant spoken language was Spanish. After legislation in 1891 required instruction to be in English, the territory immediately needed bilingual teachers. Amado recommended in his 1896 report that the assembly recruit teachers fluent in Spanish for predominantly Spanish-speaking districts, but the provision did not pass until 1901.³⁶

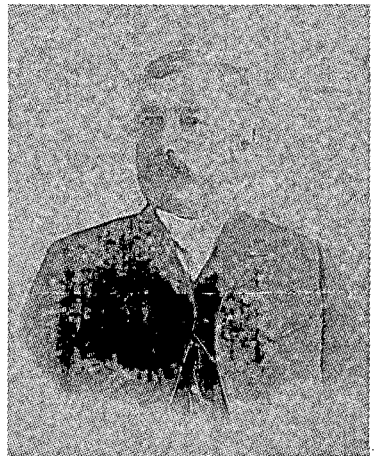
Quickly-formed districts triggered many disputes over new and pre-existing district boundaries. Consistent with his preference for giving more authority to county superintendents to administer county schools, Amado urged the assembly to give them expanded responsibility in conflict resolution. Amado believed that these decisions could be made most efficiently at the local level where county officials understood local needs and desires.³⁷

Because he was the first superintendent of a fledgling system and served for six years, no other single individual had more influence over the public education system in New Mexico during the territorial period than Amado Chaves. His appointment and administration helped alleviate the Catholics' fears that the territorial government would usurp all authority over education. In the larger picture, Amado was an integral agent in Governor Prince's push for New Mexico statehood. The governor wanted to show the outside world that the territory was indeed ready for statehood, and, as a state, New Mexico could root out the corruption of the territorial system. His portrait of New Mexico, which he painted for legislators in Washington, was one of cultural unity. A strategy to achieve statehood, his vision portrayed the Indians as subdued and the Hispanics as Americanized. Prince wanted the nation to believe that the different cultures of New Mexico were living in harmony.³⁸ Amado Chaves, as head of the education system, would bring Catholic Hispanics and Anglo Protestants together to their mutual benefit.

Placido Sandoval (1897–1898)

Succeeding Amado Chaves as superintendent of public instruction was Placido Sandoval. Born in Santa Fe on 6 October 1846, he served in the Civil War. After working as a clerk for a mercantile company, he engaged in farming and dabbled in civic affairs and local politics; in 1884 the citizens of San Miguel County elected him treasurer.

PLACIDO SANDOVAL, NEW MEXICO
TERRITORIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF
PUBLIC INSTRUCTION (1897–1898)
*(Courtesy New Mexico Department
of Education, New Mexico State
Records Center and Archives, Santa
Fe, no. 3168)*



Two years later, he was elected to the Territorial Council representing San Miguel and Guadalupe Counties. Although a Republican, he was nominated by the Democratic acting governor, Lorian Miller, and confirmed as territorial superintendent on 2 March 1897.³⁹

Sandoval served the shortest tenure of all territorial superintendents, from March 1897 to May 1898. His background was business, farming, and politics—not education. His undistinguished term was characterized by a dramatic interpersonal feud. His annual report, filed in 1897, was suspiciously similar to his predecessor's. Soon after Sandoval began his term, a political rival and nemesis, Miguel A. Otero Jr., became territorial governor. Governor Otero wanted Sandoval's resignation the moment he assumed his gubernatorial duties. He and Sandoval were both from San Miguel County and knew each other well. Both had been elected in 1888 to county positions—Otero to clerk and Sandoval to commissioner. In 1896, Sandoval was elected to the Territorial Council. Both men served concurrently as *ex-officio* members of the Territorial Board of Education for the last nine months of Sandoval's fourteen-month-long term. Meanwhile, Felix Martínez, active in the Democratic Party in San Miguel County and owner of a Spanish-language newspaper, used that public forum to attack Otero and the Republican Party, a practice that Otero—a Republican—disliked. By spring 1897, Otero believed Sandoval was selling out to Martínez and the Democrats. In his memoirs, Otero wrote: "I was requesting his resignation as superintendent of public instruction. I added that if it was not delivered to me at once I would find it my duty to remove him. He handed in his resignation [not immediately—he resigned nine months later] but became one of my bitterest enemies in San Miguel County."⁴⁰ In fourteen months, Sandoval accomplished almost nothing except antagonizing Otero and the Republicans.

Manuel C. de Baca (1898–1901)

Governor Otero accepted Sandoval's resignation on 7 May 1898 and quickly appointed Republican Manuel C. de Baca. A resident of Las Vegas, C. de Baca, like Sandoval, was an active politician and not an educator. He was born in Cerrillos on 24 May 1853, attended St. Michael's College of Santa Fe, was tutored privately and admitted to the New Mexico bar to practice law in July 1882. Over the next ten years, he worked as an attorney for the Fourth Judicial District and was elected to several different offices: city

MANUEL C. DE BACA, NEW MEXICO
TERRITORIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF
PUBLIC INSTRUCTION (1898–1901)
(*Courtesy Elba C. de Baca*)



attorney in Las Vegas (1882–1886), New Mexico Congressional representative from San Miguel County (1886–1887), and probate judge of the same county (1888–1892). From 1892 until his appointment to the superintendency in 1898, he served as commissioner of the U.S. District Court of New Mexico. C. de Baca's initial appointment completed Sandoval's unexpired term in March 1899. On March 13, Otero reappointed C. de Baca; by the time this two-year term expired in 1901, C. de Baca had served almost three years.⁴¹

C. de Baca's reputation as an advocate for public education predated his term as superintendent. He used his position as Speaker of the House of the Twenty-seventh Legislative Assembly in 1886–1887 to promote the establishment of a unified public school system throughout the territory. Even though he failed to achieve his goal as a legislator, he continued to promote public schooling as a private citizen until its creation in 1891. As superintendent, C. de Baca recommended legislation to improve the quality of teachers and increase school funding. Consistent with his predecessor, he urged the legislature to give the Territorial Board of Education authority to issue New Mexico teaching certificates. He also expressed support for mandatory teacher attendance at the normal institutes. Both of these suggestions were written into law by 1905.⁴²

While C. de Baca wanted the legislature to boost county superintendents' authority and responsibility, he also expected that higher eligibility qualifications and higher levels of accountability be applied to them. He wanted county superintendents to be able to approve teachers' contracts and to suspend teachers and school directors for just cause, believing that county superintendents should be able to remove teachers whose moral conduct or behavior rendered them incompetent or unfit to teach, and to remove directors who failed to make a complete census of the school population. His successor, J. Francisco Chaves, concurred with C. de Baca on

these positions. The assembly, however, enacted only the last of these recommendations—county superintendents were empowered to remove directors who failed to make a complete census of the school population—but suggested that expanded local control would benefit the rural population. This emphasis conveyed the view among lawmakers that a quality education was a local responsibility.⁴³ The legislature was still unwilling to impose a unified set of educational standards on both teachers and students.

José Francisco Chaves (1901–1904)

After the first decade of operation, Governor Otero placed supervision of the territorial public education system in the hands of the highly educated and long-tenured politician Col. J. Francisco Chaves. Born on 7 June 1833 in Los Padillas, Bernalillo County, Colonel Chaves was a well-known and native-born soldier, rancher, and attorney who rose to great prominence in New Mexico public affairs. He was educated at St. Louis University in Missouri and in New York City at a private academy and the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Fluency in English and Spanish and refined oratory skills made him an effective public and political communicator.⁴⁴

Colonel Chaves was first elected to the territorial house in 1859; six years later he was elected territorial delegate to the U.S. Congress, where he served two terms. He then represented Valencia County on the Territorial Council from 1878 to 1904. Colonel Chaves served as president of the Territorial Council and superintendent of public instruction simultaneously, beginning the latter post in late March 1901. His last two elections to the council

reflected his popularity: He soundly defeated his Democratic opponent 1,971 votes to 48 in 1902 and 2,236 to 391 in 1904. Colonel Chaves's term as superintendent ended dramatically when an assassin fatally shot him at Pinos Wells on 26 November 1904. One theory blames his death on men whom



JOSÉ FRANCISCO CHAVES, NEW MEXICO
TERRITORIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF
PUBLIC INSTRUCTION (1901–1904)
(*Photograph by J. M. Crausbay Studio,
courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Santa
Fe, neg. no. 27132*)

he alienated while gathering evidence for cattle rustling and other crimes in his home county; another theory claims his killing was politically motivated. Colonel Chaves, after all, was prominent for decades in the rough and tumble terrain of New Mexico politics. Some observers speculated that his death involved the pardon and release of a prisoner who was promised immunity from prosecution if he killed Colonel Chaves.⁴⁵

A man of Colonel Chaves's stature and prominence wielded much influence in the territory, and he was determined to leave his mark on the educational system. He used his personal fortune to fund projects that, he thought, would benefit education in the territory. His first annual report reflects in its close attention to detail his determination to change the course of action. He believed his predecessors had presented data in a confusing and inaccessible format, so he scientifically organized the data and appended it to the end of the report.⁴⁶ Colonel Chaves's alteration reflects the belief of early-twentieth-century Progressive Era reformers in the power of science and experts to shape public policy and ultimately to improve the quality of daily life. He brought that attitude to bear on New Mexico educational policy.

Colonel Chaves was surprised at the passion of New Mexicans for the education of their children. That perception was likely shaped by contact with New Mexicans during his annual inspections of county schools and his lack of budgetary resources to deliver quality education to their children. He believed that the inequitable distribution of financial resources short-changed primary education in rural areas, particularly their public schools. He thought a disproportionate amount of money went to higher education. Between 1891 and 1903, for example, the number of state institutions grew from four to seven. In 1903, faculty in the seven institutions numbered 75, student enrollment was 1,058, and the average college professor's salary was \$930, while the average public school teacher's salary was \$272. Additionally, the student-professor ratio was 14.1 to 1 while the student-teacher ratio was 47.9 to 1 (37,972 students to 793 teachers). To correct the problem, Colonel Chaves suggested that lawmakers reduce the number of professors employed in the colleges and universities by one-third. Appropriations to higher education ought to be scaled down, he argued, to make university institutions more nearly self-supporting. The savings should be used to hire qualified teachers in the rural school districts. The legislature, however, did not share his concern and ignored his recommendation.⁴⁷

Colonel Chaves's comments regarding the needs of the superintendency also reflected his personal financial commitment to his office. The meager

legislative appropriations were insufficient for its operations, and he needed clerical assistance as well. He dipped into his own pocket to fulfill statutory requirements. Colonel Chaves chided the assembly for yearly legislating new mandates for the superintendent's office but failing to provide the funds to enact them. In 1901 he wrote, "These matters should be brought forcibly to the attention of the next session of the general assembly." Colonel Chaves, of course, could set the assembly's agenda as president of the Territorial Council.⁴⁸

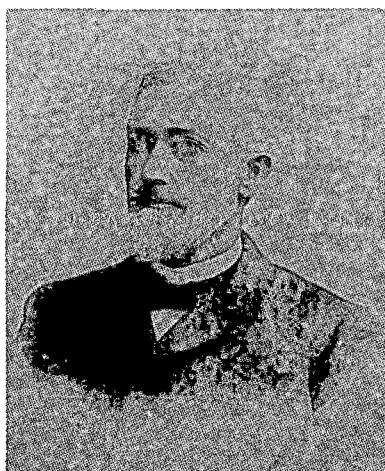
Indeed, he used his power to expand the superintendent's office and increase its budget. Although Colonel Chaves had served in the assembly prior to his appointment to the superintendency, he was dismayed by the condition of public education and the financial needs of the office during his term. In 1905, the assembly created the assistant superintendent of public instruction with the stipulation that the person be "thoroughly conversant with the Spanish and English languages," and began appropriating additional funds to operate the office.⁴⁹ The new staff and increased budget eased the workload and financial pressures on the superintendent, making the office a more effective advocate and administrator of public education.

Hiram Hadley (1905–1907)

For the first fourteen years of the superintendency, seasoned politicians provided the educational leadership in the territory. Although these men were respected, influential, and native to New Mexico, early in 1905 Governor Otero received letters from educators recommending he name one of their own—an educator—to the top position. The president of the Las Vegas Board of Education and the chairman of the NMEA sent official letters to the governor emphasizing that an educator would place the responsibilities of the office above political considerations. Political ramifications would be

HIRAM HADLEY, NEW MEXICO
TERRITORIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION (1905–1907)

*(Photograph by Stevens, courtesy
Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, neg.
no. 9910)*



minimized, they argued, if politics were removed from the decision-making process of the superintendent. In their view, a candidate who understood education and the needs of the schools would communicate better with the education community and the legislature. Governor Otero obliged them by naming an experienced educator and the first non-native New Mexican to the position — Hiram Hadley.⁵⁰

Hadley was born near Wilmington, Ohio, on 17 March 1833. As a young man, Hadley studied at Earlham and Haverford colleges and began teaching in Grassy Run, Ohio, at age seventeen. Hadley made teaching stops in Carthage and Richmond, Indiana, before he moved to Chicago to lead Hadley Brothers, Booksellers. On two separate occasions fire destroyed the business; in the great Chicago fire of 1871 and again in 1874. Seven years later, his wife died from a protracted illness. In 1880, he began Hadley's Classical Academy in Indianapolis; Charles E. Hodgkin, who later became a prominent educator in New Mexico, was one of Hadley's students. Five years later, Hadley, a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers), became principal of the Friend's Academy in Bloomington, Indiana.

In 1887, now remarried, Hadley moved to Las Cruces to help care for his eldest child, Walter, who died soon after he arrived. Within six months, Hadley delivered an address, "The Educational Needs of the Hour," to the second annual convention of the NMEA in Las Vegas. Initially, he was engaged in real estate but quickly gave support and assistance to organizing A&M in Las Cruces, serving as its first president from 1889 to 1894. When the legislature established the Territorial Board of Education in 1891, Hadley, as president of A&M, became an *ex-officio* member and served until 1894. From 1894 to 1897, the UNM Board of Regents put him in charge of running the university with the title of vice-president (while, incongruously, UNM regent Elias S. Stover was the university's "nominal" president). From 1897 to 1905, Hadley was professor of history and philosophy at A&M, and later became a member of the A&M Board of Regents.⁵¹

Hadley expressed his ambitions to become superintendent of public instruction as early as 1897: "It is not the emoluments of the office I am seeking, although it is necessary to have these. My greatest desire is, at or near the close of my educational work, to have the privilege of doing a work that will be particularly congenial to me, and of lasting benefit to New Mexico." He attained his goal a few years later. Hadley's response to the council's confirmation of his appointment on 27 February 1905 reflected his humble Quaker upbringing and his age, seventy-two. He wrote, "Now I pledge you

that if the dear Lord gives me my accustomed health, you shall never have occasion to blush for naming me to this position."⁵²

The fifth of six territorial superintendents, Hadley served from 1 April 1905 to 6 March 1907. After taking office, he wrote a circular informing educators in the territory that the superintendent had little legal authority to direct the educational system. If the office were to be of value and assistance to educators, it would be most effective through advising, inspiring, and collaborating with them in their difficult tasks. The *Santa Fe New Mexican*, unaccustomed to such frankness in public office, commented that Hadley's letter was appropriate because of his significant reputation in educational affairs.⁵³

An educator before moving to the territory and a pioneer in education in the territory, Hadley was proud of the progress already achieved. His initial letter communicated to educators and the public Progressive ideas, prevalent at that time, concerning the improved operations of schools. For example, Hadley considered the professional growth of teachers—especially those teaching at the elementary level—imperative. He wanted to address the problem through summer institutes, but was concerned about their quality and consistency. He urged the legislature, as did C. de Baca a few years earlier, to shift some of the control over the institutes from the county superintendents to the territorial superintendent. The assembly agreed with Hadley and enacted a law to accomplish this transfer of authority.⁵⁴

More circular letters on various topics followed, until Hadley had written about ten in his two-year term. Among the topics addressed were the need for teachers to promote education in their communities and the territory and his advocacy for publishing a journal for teachers. He wrote to school boards of education suggesting that qualified teachers did not necessarily have to be from New Mexico. Regardless of their origin, Hadley believed, the best-qualified persons should be hired and preference should not be given to New Mexico natives if their qualifications were not competitive, although he did not explicitly state what qualifications a teacher should have. With a high proportion of Spanish-speaking students, the territory needed teachers who were fluent in Spanish. Unclear in the historical record is whether Hadley preferred hiring better prepared, out-of-state, non-Spanish-speaking teachers over less-well-prepared, Spanish-speaking New Mexicans.⁵⁵

Hadley began his first annual report with a glowing description of the higher education institutions scattered across the territory and the valuable

work they were doing to advance the territory. Unlike J. Francisco Chaves, who had no experience in higher education, Hadley saw no need for a redistribution of the financial resources from universities to the common schools. Addressing the latter, he articulated the rationale for the transfer of the rural-school governance from school directors to a yet-to-be-established county board of directors, which would in turn appoint the county superintendent. Rural schools, Hadley wrote, were unsatisfactory for many reasons: the districts were too large geographically, the population was too sparse, taxable property generated insufficient revenue, teachers were often incompetent, their salaries were too low, and the school year was too short. In his second report to the assembly, Hadley firmly stressed the necessity and feasibility of streamlining the school governance system. Two years after he left office, provisions for a consolidated system were written into a bill that failed to pass by one vote.⁵⁶

Hiram Hadley constituted the transition in the superintendency from well-known, native-born politicians to Progressive-era career educators. His experience in common schools, higher education, and school-related businesses in Illinois and Indiana, and the influence of Progressive thinking then sweeping across the country gave him a broad perspective on the overall responsibility of the state or territory to educate its citizens, particularly in skills critical to successful agrarian life. He realized that political and budgetary limitations hindered the superintendent's effectiveness. In addition to improving their pedagogic skills, educators view themselves as missionaries and work with righteous zeal. This philosophy fit well with Hadley's efforts as founder of A&M and as superintendent. He served as superintendent for only two years—less than all the other superintendents except Sandoval—but he left his imprint on the educational system. After leaving office, he returned to Mesilla Park where he lived until his death on 3 December 1922.⁵⁷

James Clark (1907–1912)

The sixth and last territorial superintendent, Republican James Elton Clark, rose from the ranks of the territorial superintendent's office. Amado Chaves resigned as assistant superintendent in October 1906; Republican governor Herbert J. Hagerman waited until December of that year to appoint Clark, then superintendent of the Albuquerque Public Schools, to be Chaves's successor. Clark simultaneously accepted the assistant superintendency and resigned from the Territorial Board of Education, a position that he had



JAMES ELTON CLARK, FINAL NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION (1907–1912)
(*Courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, neg. no. 171102*)

held since February 1906, representing the large-city school superintendents. Clark's appointment to this position was understood as a precursor to his appointment as state superintendent.⁵⁸ Clark became superintendent of public instruction and an *ex-officio* member of the Territorial Board of Education the same day Hadley left in March 1907.

He was born on 4 January 1874, in Milan County, Michigan. Clark graduated from the Ypsilanti Normal College (now Eastern Michigan University) in 1894 with a degree in English and Latin and a lifetime teaching certificate. Thus, Clark was the first New Mexico superintendent educated at a normal school influenced by Progressive-era thinking. He then obtained experience working as a superintendent in three Michigan school districts: Shelby (1894–1898), Frankfort (1898–1903), and Holland (1903–1905).⁵⁹ He brought modern ideas and pedagogy and extensive experience to the administration of public schools in New Mexico.

His first New Mexico superintendency occurred in Albuquerque. Within a few months of his arrival in 1905, Clark was appointed to the Territorial Board of Education. Soon, he became assistant state superintendent and shortly thereafter was appointed territorial superintendent by Governor Hagerman on 4 March 1907. Ascendancy to the top educational position came after only two years in the territory, and at the relatively young age of 32. In 1909, he was reappointed by Republican governor George Curry and served until New Mexico attained statehood on 6 January 1912.⁶⁰

Under Clark's leadership, the territorial assembly established the Department of Education in 1905. Soon after, legislators increased the department's appropriations, which enabled the hiring of more staff. The superintendent's duties and responsibilities expanded as well. Clark continued his predecessor's practice of writing circular letters, though less frequently, to communicate

with educators and school directors in New Mexico and teachers from neighboring states who inquired about teaching requirements and conditions in New Mexico. However, these communications lacked the intensity of opinions reflected in Hadley's writings.

Incorporating the techniques of Progressive-era social sciences, Clark provided a statistical analysis that compared the progress of New Mexico to that of other territories and states in the area of education. For example, he showed that New Mexico led Louisiana and equalled Arizona and Texas in the percentage of the population enrolled in school. New Mexico also led Arkansas, Oklahoma, Arizona, and even Texas in the daily attendance for each one hundred children enrolled. School was in session more days of the year in New Mexico than in Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas.⁶¹

Clark recommended several legislative changes that reflected Progressive thinking in education. In addition to rather dramatic increases in Department of Education funding, he urged teaching only English in the elementary schools. Clark wrote that both parents and children supported this increasingly popular trend, even in outlying areas where residents previously demanded instruction in Spanish. Clark provided no evidence supporting this observation, but it echoed the policies evolving in states overwhelmed by massive immigration from southern and eastern Europe: all children, regardless of their native language, should be taught in English. Anglo reformers and policymakers in the East and in New Mexico generally viewed native Spanish-speaking New Mexicans as a resident foreign population and the public education system as a mechanism for Americanizing them. Forcing students, particularly Spanish-speaking pupils, to speak only English in the classroom was a primary tool in the mainstreaming process.⁶²

The assembly implemented few, if any, of Clark's legislative suggestions but fully funded his financial requests: publishing a book of plans and specifications for physical facilities, lighting, and heating; examining teachers for certification; preparing and distributing a "Common School Course of Study"; compiling teachers' institute manuals; and creating several new office positions in the department. Apparently, funding was more politically expedient and palatable than legislative enactments.⁶³ Like Progressive educators in other regions of the United States, Clark sought to standardize the school physical plant, teacher training and credentialing, and educational curriculum throughout New Mexico. His intention was to guarantee the territory's children the same basic—but high level of—education whether they attended urban or rural schools.

Alvan N. White (1912–1916)

New Mexico's two major political parties held the first "state" party conventions in the fall of 1911. The Republican convention took place in September, before the first state election in November 1911, and the Democratic convention was held in early October, three months before New Mexico officially became a state on 6 January 1912. The purpose was to elect their nominees for state office and for the U.S. House of Representatives.⁶⁴

Clark sought the Republican nomination for state superintendent. He was young, educated, experienced, and mobile in the sense that he had a track record of moving to new locales if necessary to secure promotions or professional challenges. During his six years in the territory, he had gained the confidence of educators, and they supported his candidacy to become the first elected state superintendent. But GOP politicians had other plans. At their convention, Republican delegates nominated Andrew Stroup, the Bernalillo County superintendent, in spite of no particular enthusiasm for his candidacy outside that county. The nomination was accepted by acclamation, but an immediate motion to suspend the rules triggered a scattering of hisses and boos, indicating that not all were in favor of Stroup. *The Albuquerque Morning Journal* reported that Clark was unpopular with GOP leaders, who thus decreed his defeat. Upon statehood, Clark had to be satisfied with his appointment as superintendent of the Santa Fe City School District.⁶⁵

Although trained as a lawyer, Stroup devoted his professional career to education. Like Clark, Stroup graduated from normal school and then migrated to New Mexico to work in education. Observers described him as progressive in education and politics, and an eloquent and convincing speaker. However, in the state's first election in November 1911, Stroup lost to the Democratic candidate for state superintendent, Alvan N. White.⁶⁶

White, the first state superintendent, was born on 8 May 1869, in Washington County, Tennessee, and attended public school nearby in Greene County. After completing a clerical course at Carson-Newman College in 1893, he began his career as a public school teacher in Tennessee. After three years of teaching and studying law, he was admitted to the bar in Tennessee and New Mexico. He moved to Silver City, New Mexico Territory, in 1896 and began a law practice. After two years as city attorney in Silver City, he won the election for the Grant County school superintendency in 1900, a position to which he was re-elected twice. He unsuccessfully sought

ALVAN N. WHITE, FIRST NEW MEXICO STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION (1912–1916). From Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. 5 (1911–1917; reprint, Albuquerque: Horn & Wallace, 1963), 134. (Courtesy Horn & Wallace, copyright 1917)



election to the New Mexico Territorial House, Territorial Senate, and constitutional convention in 1898, 1906, and 1910, respectively.⁶⁷

Under the new state system, the superintendent's authority was still limited. At the end of 1912, the New Mexico Department of Education had held teacher institutes in all the counties and printed several publications: rules and regulations, courses of study, a school anniversaries program book, and the school code. Under White's prodding, the legislature also enacted the industrial education program. Four years later White's focus was the two pressing needs of the state Department of Education: He wanted the creation of a Commission on Illiteracy to discuss and address that problem widespread in New Mexico and the enactment of an educational survey to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the state's public education system. Low returns on the survey—only ten of the twenty-six county superintendents responded—the restrictions on the superintendent's power, and the decentralization of the New Mexico school system indicated the weaknesses of the superintendent's office, even in statehood.⁶⁸

In August 1916, White announced his political intentions. In a letter to the Democratic state chairman, he wrote that educators and political friends had asked him to seek renomination and reelection. At the Democratic convention, however, he was defeated by John L. G. Swinney. *The Albuquerque Morning Journal* commented that White's defeat was political necessity. Both White and William B. Walton, the nominee for U.S. Congress, were from Grant County. Also, many party delegates wanted to recognize the northwestern section of the state, especially San Juan County, historically a Democratic stronghold and the home of Swinney. Democratic Party

leaders encouraged delegates to consider geographic representation across the state when casting their votes.

Since White failed to win the nomination, his term concluded at the end of December 1916. He went on to a distinguished career in state politics (as a state representative from 1926 to 1937 and Speaker of the House from 1931 to 1937), in the New Mexico Bar Association, and in other government positions. White died in Silver City on 18 June 1945.⁶⁹

Conclusion

In general, the superintendent of public instruction enjoyed a unique position from which to observe and oversee the operation of the territorial and early statehood education system. Territorial and state law required the superintendent to fulfill specific duties that included collecting data for and filing an annual report. In addition to fulfilling statutory requirements, the superintendent lobbied for programs and standards to advance and enrich public education in New Mexico. The success or effectiveness of the superintendent, however, often depended on his personal influence in the political system of New Mexico.⁷⁰

Similar topics consistently emerge from several of the superintendents' recommendations. The legislature should provide free textbooks to all children regardless of their economic status; a reliable, effective, and efficient source of funding should replace the poll tax; and rural schools should be consolidated to improve students' educational experience. These issues seemed fruitful areas for change, but none were initially passed by the legislature. Most of the recommendations requested money to fund schools adequately or to operate schools more efficiently. However, during this period the general populace opposed tax increases earmarked to fund schools. In addition, rural interests resisted any consolidation.

In the first twenty-five years of organized education (1891–1916), New Mexico chose to model its educational system on that of other states. Similar to other states, New Mexico granted little real authority to the newly-created position of superintendent of public instruction. If school funding derived primarily from local resources, many New Mexicans preferred to retain control over schools at the local level. As town and city school districts grew, their self-sufficiency precluded the need for firm state supervision. Rural schools, on the other hand, constantly struggled to find adequate

financial resources and quality teachers. The territorial or state superintendents were most effective when championing the needs and interests of New Mexico's rural schools in the legislature. The challenges of bringing education to rural New Mexico absorbed much of the attention and resources of the superintendent of public instruction.

The seven superintendents who served during this quarter century brought a diverse range of ages, experiences, religion, and perspective to the office. The first four (A. Chaves, Sandoval, C. de Baca, and J. F. Chaves) used their New Mexican background, heritage, and political influence to fulfill their duties while simultaneously engaging in other activities. All were Catholic and ranged in age from forty to sixty-seven at the time of their appointments. The next two (Hadley and Clark) were professional educators who moved to the territory to further their careers. The seventh, White, relocated to New Mexico to launch his law career and soon after successfully sought election to the Grant County superintendency. Hadley served at the end of his career; Clark, at age thirty-two, assumed the position in the early stages of his career; and White, at age forty-three, was appointed in mid-career. In terms of religious affiliations, Hadley and White were Quaker and Baptist, respectively.

In the U.S. territorial system, governors appointed superintendents of public instruction to two-year terms. Such a system tended to encourage the appointment of political allies, not professional educators, to the superintendency. Fourteen years of this tendency in New Mexico ended when Hadley was made superintendent. At statehood, the New Mexico Constitution mandated that the superintendent be a member of the executive branch and meet the same basic eligibility requirements as other state executive officers. In addition, the state required that the superintendent be a trained and experienced educator. Further, the state superintendency became an elected position until 1958, when the state constitution was amended to make it an appointed position again.⁷¹

In the minds of professional teachers, politics and education did not mix. The educators of the territory wanted an educational system that was insulated from the machinations typically found in Gilded Age political systems. Although they eschewed the politics, they took advantage of the political system to support their candidates for state superintendent. However, in 1911 and 1916, seasoned politicians and party bosses worked against the incumbents (Clark and White, respectively), whom educators preferred, and tapped candidates to fulfill party agendas and promises.

The vastness of the New Mexico Territory, the existence of two languages, the scant income from federal land grants, the sparsity of population, and other difficulties represented challenging obstacles for educators to overcome. Citizens unwilling to support publicly funded schools and concerned about religious domination hindered the establishment and expansion of a public school system. Eventually, however, New Mexico achieved a system similar in many respects to other states.

Notes

1. "An Act proposing to the State of Texas the Establishment of her Northern and Western Boundaries, the Relinquishment by the said State of all Territory claimed by her exterior to said Boundaries, and of all her Claims upon the United States and to establish a territorial Government for New Mexico" (The Compromise of 1850), 9 September 1850, *Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* 9 (1851): 447, sec. 2, 452, sec. 15; and "An Act Establishing Common Schools in the Territory of New Mexico and Creating the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction," *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1891 (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1891), chap. 25, sec. 3.
2. Priscilla F. Clement, *Growing Pains: Children in the Industrial Age, 1850–1890* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), 82–83; and Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 50.
3. Clement, *Growing Pains*, 40.
4. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education*, 32–37, 41–49.
5. John Mathiason Matzen, *State Constitutional Provisions for Education: Fundamental Attitude of the American People Regarding Education as Revealed by State Constitutional Provisions, 1776–1929* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931), 36.
6. C[harles] E. Hodgkin, *Early School Laws of New Mexico*, Educational Series, vol. 1, no. 1, *University of New Mexico Bulletin* 41 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1906), 2.
7. Because the Census Bureau counted Hispanics as Whites, it is not possible to identify the number of Hispanics from census data. For data on population, increase over preceding census, and percentage of increase for the United States for all years, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, vols. 1–13 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1912; reprint, New York: Norman Ross Publishing, 1999), 3:158. The figure cited for population in 1890 includes the population (6,689) on Indian reservations. For the number of school-age persons for 1910, see *Thirteenth Census*, 3:172, and for 1900, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900*, vols. 1–10 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1902; reprint, New York: Norman

- Ross Publishing, 1999), 2: lxvii (includes ages 5-20); and for 1890, see *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (1897; reprint, New York: Norman Ross Publishing, 1999), 2:64 (percent of those ages 6-14 attending school was 72.9). For the number attending school in 1910, see *Thirteenth Census*, 3:172; and for 1900, see *Twelfth Census*, 2:352 (includes ages 5-20); and for 1890, see *Report on Population*, 2:137.
8. Hodgkin, *Early School Laws of New Mexico*, 20; and "To Amend an Act Approved Jan. 27, 1860, Entitled 'An Act Providing Means for the Education of Children,'" *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, 1863* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1863), secs. 1, 7.
 9. *Ibid.*, sec. 5; and Robert A. Moyers, "A History of Education in New Mexico" (PhD diss., George Peabody College, 1941), 160.
 10. Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories of the United States, 1861-1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947), 35.
 11. *Ibid.*, 41-42; Acting Superintendent Public Buildings, New Mexico, and Secretary of the Territory, New Mexico, William F. M. Army to Secretary of the Interior Orville H. Browning, 15 May 1867, in U.S. Congress, House, 40th Cong., 2nd sess., 1867-1868, HED 33, "Public Buildings in New Mexico," ser. no. 1330, 9-14; and Secretary of the Territory, New Mexico, Samuel A. Losch to U.S. Secretary of the Interior Lucius Q. P. Lamar, 28 March 1885, Interior Miscellaneous Files 274, in Pomeroy, *The Territories of the United States, 1861-1890*, 42.
 12. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, 21 February 1863, 1.
 13. Tom Wiley, *Public School Education in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research, University of New Mexico, 1965), 25; "Memorial of the Legislature of New Mexico asking for Further Provisions by Congress for the Education of the People of Said Territory," 34th Cong., 3rd sess., 1857, H. Misc. Doc. 40, ser. no. 911; "Memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of New Mexico asking That an Appropriation of Money for School Purposes be Made of the Sixteenth and Thirty-Sixth Sections of Land," 39th Cong., 2nd sess., 1867, H. Misc. Doc. 66, ser. no. 1302; and "Memorial of the Legislature of New Mexico asking for An Appropriation for the Benefit of Schools in that Territory," 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., S. Misc. Doc. 56, ser. no. 1481.
 14. "Our School System," *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 24 December 1886, 2; "Governor's Message," *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 27 December 1886, 3; and Paul A. F. Walter, "First Meeting of the New Mexico Educational Association," *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 (January 1927): 76-77.
 15. "An Act Establishing Common Schools in the Territory of New Mexico and Creating the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction," H.B. 85, 12 February 1891, *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, 1891*, chap. 25, sec. 3; Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 163; and Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1846-1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 159.

16. "An Act Establishing Common Schools in the Territory of New Mexico and Creating the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction," H.B. 85, 12 February 1891, *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1891, chap. 25, secs. 1, 3; *Journal of the First Session of the Legislative Assembly of Oklahoma Territory, Beginning August 17, 1890* (Guthrie: Oklahoma New Publishing Co., 1890), 697; and *Laws of the Territory of Kansas* (Lecompton, Kansas Territory: S. W. Driggs & Co., 1858), chap. 8, secs. 4-7.
17. The legislation, enacted in 1891, was in effect until 1907 when it was revised. This revised legislation was carried forward into the state statutes in 1912. Only twice did the legislature change the content required in the annual reports. In the first operationalization of the law in 1891, specific statistical data were requested and the territorial superintendent was required to submit an annual report, dated December 31, to the governor. Sixteen years later, in 1907, the annual report's submission deadline was set at August 15 and a slight modification was made to the statistical data required. See "An Act to Revise and to Systematize the School Laws of the Territory of New Mexico, 1907," *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1907 (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1907), chap. 97, secs. 14, 24; and *Laws of the State of New Mexico*, 1915 (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1915), secs. 4825, 4838. From 1891 to 1916, the period under study, all superintendents' reports were submitted to the governor.
18. "An Act Establishing Common Schools in the Territory of New Mexico and Creating the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction," H.B. 85, 12 February 1891, *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1891, chap. 25, secs. 6-10; and "An Act in Relation to School Books," *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1891, chap. 64, secs. 1-2.
19. "An Act Authorizing the Compilation, Printing and Distribution of the School Laws," *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1903 (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1903), chap. 28, secs. 1-3; and "An Act to Harmonize and Strengthen the Existing School Laws, and for Other Purposes," *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1903, chap. 119, sec. 14.
20. "An Act to Harmonize and Strengthen the Existing School Laws, and for Other Purposes," chap. 119, sec. 18.
21. "An Act to Revise and to Systematize the School Laws of the Territory of New Mexico and for Other Purposes," *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1907, chap. 97, secs. 10-17.
22. "An Act Entitled 'An Act to Revise and Systematize the School Laws of the Territory of New Mexico and for Other Purposes,'" *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1909 (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1909), chap. 121, sec. 6.
23. The territorial superintendents' expanded duties can be found in the *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico* for the years 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, and 1909. The growth of the higher education institutions can be reviewed in the territorial superintendents' annual and biennial reports (e.g., 1890, 14-15;

- 1898, 15–40; and 1911–1912, 74–82). Private and parochial school data were included in the annual reports from 1891–1912 (e.g., 1890, 16–23; 1898, 63–70; 1911–1912, 107–108).
24. New Mexico Constitution, art. 5, sec. 1 and art. 7II, sec. 6. One exception in the statutes was the creation of the position of the state director of industrial education, who was appointed by and reported to the state superintendent of public instruction. *Laws of the State of New Mexico, 1912* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1912), chap. 52, sec. 2.
 25. New Mexico Constitution, art. 5, sec. 3 and art. 7, sec. 2. Although article 5 (Executive Department), section 3 (Eligibility), of the constitution did not refer to gender as an eligibility consideration, article 7 (Elective Franchise), section 2 (Qualifications for Public Office), specifically designated males who were U.S. citizens, legal residents of the state, and electors as qualified to hold any public office. However, women with the same qualifications were eligible to run for school-related positions, namely, county superintendent, school director, and member of boards of education.
 26. The office of attorney general and superintendent of public instruction required additional qualifications. The former was required to be a licensed attorney of the Supreme Court in New Mexico in good standing, while the latter was to be a trained and experienced educator. New Mexico Constitution, art. 5, sec. 3; and James G. McNary, “A School Man Wanted,” *New Mexico Journal of Education* 1, no. 1 (January 1905): 11.
 27. Charles L. Burt, et al., “A Memorial,” *New Mexico Journal of Education* 8, no. 2 (October 1911): 8–9.
 28. *Ibid.*; Walter, “First Meeting of the New Mexico Educational Association,” 76; and *Illustrated History of New Mexico . . . from the Earliest Period of Its Discovery to the Present Time, Together with . . . Biographical Mention of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Citizens of Today* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1895), 121–22.
 29. New Mexico Constitution, art. 5, sec. 1; and New Mexico Constitution, amendment to art. 5, sec. 1, 3 November 1914.
 30. For examples of nomination letters, see John D. W. Veeder to Hon. L. Bradford Prince, 13 February 1891 (nomination for Edward Henry), Governors Papers, L. Bradford Prince, January to April 1891, r. 108, microfilm, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico [hereafter TANM/NMSRCA]; Bro. Botulph to L. B. Prince, 14 February 1891 (nomination for Larkin G. Reed), r. 108, TANM/NMSRCA; F. W. Chatfield to Governor Prince, 9 February 1891 (nomination for Edward Henry), r. 108, TANM/NMSRCA; Hiram Hadley to Governor Prince (nomination for John P. Owen), r. 108, TANM/NMSRCA; Elmore Chaves to Governor Prince, 14 February 1891, r. 108, TANM/NMSRCA; and “The First Superintendent of Education,” *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 24 February 1891, 2.
 31. “The First Superintendent,” *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*; and “Colonel [sic] Amado Chaves Dies,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 31 December 1930.

32. "Vacancy is Filled," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 1 December 1904, 1; "Appointment of Assistant Superintendent," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 18 March 1905, 8; Amado Chaves to Hon. Herbert J. Hagerman, 15 October 1906, Records of the Territorial Governors, 1846–1912, series 11.22, Herbert J. Hagerman, 1906–1907, r. 162, TANM/NMSRCA; and Executive Order of George Curry, 26 March 1909, Records of the Secretary of the Territory, 1851–1911, series 1.2, Executive Record Books 1851–January 15, 1912, r. 24, TANM/NMSRCA. "An Act Entitled 'An Act to Revise and Systematize the School Laws of the Territory of New Mexico and for Other Purposes,'" *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1909, chap. 121, sec. 4 provided for two additional members of the territorial board of education "to be citizens interested in public education who are not professional teachers."
33. "Colonel [sic] Amado Chaves Dies," *Santa Fe New Mexican*; Lansing B. Bloom, "Necrology, Amado Chaves," *New Mexico Historical Review* 6 (January 1931): 100–104; and S[imon] P. Nanninga, comp., *Problems of Education in New Mexico: Education 107* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1938), 18.
34. New Mexico, Superintendent of Public Instruction (Amado Chaves), *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1891–1896* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1891–1896). Hereafter, all annual or biennial reports of the superintendent of public instruction will be cited as NMSPI (superintendent's name), *Report*, year. Annabelle M. Oczon, "Bilingual and Spanish Language Newspapers in Territorial New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 54 (January 1979): 51; NMSPI (Amado Chaves), *Report*, 1896, 6; and Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School of Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957* (New York: Random House, 1961), 9–10.
35. NMSPI (Amado Chaves), *Report*, 1896, 8.
36. *Ibid.*, 9; and "An Act to Amend Certain Provisions of the Law Relating to Public Schools," *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1901 (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1901), chap. 27, sec. 2.
37. NMSPI (Amado Chaves), *Report*, 1894, 7.
38. Maria E. Montoya, "L. Bradford Prince: The Education of a Gilded Age Politician," *New Mexico Historical Review* 66 (April 1991): 190.
39. Milton W. Callon, *Las Vegas, New Mexico, The Town That Wouldn't Gamble* (Las Vegas, N.M.: The Las Vegas Publishing Co., 1962), 149; *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 5 March 1897, 4; and "Governor's Appointments Confirmed," *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 2 March 1897, 1.
40. NMSPI (Placido Sandoval), *Report*, 1897, 8; Territorial Board of Education Minutes, 30 August 1897, Territorial Board of Education Minute Book, March 5, 1891–December 30, 1910, Records of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1892–1911, p. 33, r. 72, TANM/NMSRCA; and Miguel A. Otero, *My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897–1906* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 17, 223–25, 229, 262–64. Otero was appointed governor on 2 June 1897 and inaugurated on 14 July 1897.
41. "Executive Order of Miguel Otero," 7 May 1898, Executive Record Books, 1882–1898, p. 518, r. 22, TANM/NMSRCA.

42. New Mexico, Secretary of the Territory, *Report of the Secretary of the Territory 1909–1910, and Legislative Manual, 1911* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Co., 1911), 205; Miguel Antonio Otero Personal Notebooks, vol. 1 (1897–1901), p. 16, box 5, Miguel Antonio Otero Papers [1809?]-1938, Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque; “M. C. de Baca, Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction,” *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 7 May 1898, 2; NMSPI (Manuel C. de Baca), *Report*, 1898, 6–10; and “An Act to Authorize the Territorial Board of Education to Issue Certificates to Normal Institute Conductors, to Harmonize the School Law and for Other Purposes,” *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, 1905* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1905), chap. 73, sec. 1.
43. NMSPI (J. Francisco Chaves), *Report*, 1901, 18; “An Act to Harmonize and Strengthen the Existing School Laws, and for Other Purposes,” *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, 1903*, chap. 119, sec. 13.
44. “Escorted to His Final Resting Place,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 30 November 1904, 1; and “Colonel Chavez for Superintendent of Public Instruction,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 23 March 1901, 1.
45. “Escorted to His Final Resting Place,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*; New Mexico, Secretary of the Territory, *Report of the Secretary of the Territory of New Mexico, 1903–04* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Printing Co., 1904), 13–14, 157–69. Hereafter, biennial reports filed by the New Mexico territorial secretary will be cited as NMST, *Report*, years. NMST, *Report*, 1901–1902, 22; NMST, *Report*, 1903–1904, 49; “By the Bullet of a Dastardly Assassin,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 28 November 1904, 1; Richard Melzer, “Still a Mystery,” *Valencia County News-Bulletin*, 13–14 November 1999, 1; and William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846–1868* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1952), 481.
46. NMSPI (J. Francisco Chaves), *Report*, 1901, 7.
47. *Ibid.*, 8–10; NMSPI (J. Francisco Chaves), *Report*, 1903, 21, 26. The seven institutions in existence in 1903 were: University of New Mexico; New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (New Mexico State University); New Mexico Normal University at Las Vegas (New Mexico Highlands University); New Mexico Normal School at Silver City (Western New Mexico University); New Mexico School of Mines at Socorro (New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology); New Mexico Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb (New Mexico School for the Deaf); and New Mexico Military Institute at Roswell.
48. NMSPI (J. Francisco Chaves), *Report*, 1901, 19.
49. “An Act Providing Funds and Making Appropriations for the Fifty-Seventh and Fifty-Eighth Fiscal Years and for Other Purposes” *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, 1905*, chap. 112, sec. 5.
50. Cecilio Rosenwald to Miguel Otero, 8 February 1905, and R. R. Larkin to Hon. Miguel A. Otero, 4 February 1905, Governor’s papers, Otero, January to April 1905, r. 136, TANM/NMSRCA; and C[harles] S. Peterson, *Representative New Mexicans: The National Newspaper Reference Book of the New State Containing Photo-*

- graphs and Biographies of over Four Hundred Men Residents of New Mexico*, vol. 1 (Denver: Peterson Co., 1912), 124.
51. Peterson, *Representative New Mexicans*, vol. 1, 124; *Historical Encyclopedia of New Mexico*, ed. Ellis Arthur Davis (Albuquerque: New Mexico Historical Association, 1945), 16; Anna R. Hadley, Caroline H. Allen, and C. Frank Allen, *Hiram Hadley: March 17, 1833–December 3, 1922* (Boston: 1924), 11, 30, 31, 48, 49, 50.
 52. The authors of *Hiram Hadley* attribute this quotation (pp. 48–49) to Robert Underwood Johnson, *Remembered Yesterdays* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1923), but we were unable to locate the quotation in this book. Hadley to Gov. Miguel A. Otero, 27 February 1905, Governor's papers, Otero, January to April 1905, r. 136, TANM/NMSRCA.
 53. Hiram Hadley, Circular Letter No. 1, To County Superintendents of Schools and Other Active Educators in New Mexico, 1 April 1905, Record Books, March 24–December 1905, Records of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1892–1911, r. 72, TANM/NMSRCA; and “A Circular Letter to Educators,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 4 April 1905, 2.
 54. NMSPI (Hiram Hadley), Circular Letter, *Report*, 1905, 10; NMSPI (Manuel C. de Baca), *Report*, 1898, 10; and “An Act to Revise and to Systematize the School Laws of the Territory of New Mexico and for Other Purposes,” *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1907, chap. 97, sec. 6.
 55. Hadley to Teachers in New Mexico, 15 May 1905, Record Books, March 24–December 1905, Records of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1892–1911, r. 72, TANM/NMSRCA.
 56. NMSPI (Hiram Hadley), *Report*, 1905, 9, 46; NMSPI (Hiram Hadley), *Report*, 1906, 12; and NMSPI (James Clark), *Report*, 1909–1910, 28.
 57. “Memorial Service for Hiram Hadley,” *New Mexico School Review* 2, no. 4 (December 1922): 7.
 58. Hagerman, Executive Order, 22 December 1906; Clark to Hagerman, 22 December 1906; and Hagerman, Executive Order, 19 February 1906, Governor's papers, Hagerman, Appointments, Reports, r. 162, TANM/NMSRCA; and “Educational News,” *New Mexico Journal of Education* 3, no. 3 (February 1907): 2.
 59. “House Tables Big Tax Bill,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 6 March 1907, 1; and Peterson, *Representative New Mexicans*, vol. 1, 54.
 60. Hagerman, Executive Order, 22 December 1906; “House Tables Big Tax Bill,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*; and [George] Curry, “Executive Order,” 13 March 1909, Executive Record Books, 1907–1912, p. 188, r. 24, TANM/NMSRCA.
 61. NMSPI (James Clark), *Reports*, 1907–1908, 18–20; NMSPI (James Clark), *Reports*, 1909–1910, 32–34.
 62. NMSPI (James Clark), *Reports*, 1907–1908, 18–20.
 63. *Ibid.*
 64. George Curry, *George Curry, 1861–1947, An Autobiography*, ed. H. B. Hening (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958), 256, 258, 260, 262.
 65. Prior to the Republican State Convention in September 1911, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* supported Clark for the Republican nomination. “On Eve of Republican

- State Convention,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 27 September 1911, 3. Three days later the newspaper expressed surprise that Clark did not win. In the nomination process, Bernalillo County’s delegate offered Andrew Stroup. The other counties’ delegates, including Santa Fe’s, passed on any nominations, and Stroup was nominated by acclamation. “Republican Convention Adjourns After Naming Strong Ticket,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 30 September 1911, 1; “Candidates on the Republican Ticket,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 16 October 1911, 3; and “Republicans After All Night Session Complete State Ticket Nominations,” *The Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 30 September 1911, 1.
66. “J. E. Clark for Superintendent,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 16 May 1912. No candidate received a majority, and White’s plurality was only 111. The New Mexico Constitution, art. 7, sec. 5, states that, in all elections, the person who received the highest number of votes for any office was elected to that office. The constitution also mandated that the first state officers would hold office until 1 January 1917. The five-year term resulted from the uncertainty surrounding the date of the first state election—November 1911 or November 1912. Charles Coan, *A History of New Mexico* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1925), 496.
67. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 7 March 1912, 2; “Necrology: Alvan Newton White,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 20, no. 3 (July 1945): 269–70; and Antonio Lucero, *The New Mexico Bluebook*, 1917 (Santa Fe: Santa Fe Printing Co., 1917), 224.
68. NMSPI (Alvan White), *Biennial Report*, 1910–1911 and 1911–1912, 24; and Alvan White, *Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Biennial Period Ending November 30, 1916*, 1–6.
69. “Alvan N. White Announces Candidacy for Re-Election,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 15 August 1916, 3; “Democrats are Now Wondering Just How Good the Ticket Is,” *The Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 3 September 1916, 1; and “Necrology: Alvan Newton White,” 270.
70. Beginning in 1891 and continuing throughout this quarter century, legislation gave the superintendents latitude to add what they desired to information required by law. Annual reports were prepared and submitted by territorial superintendents from 1891 to 1906. Thereafter, from 1907 to 1911, annual reports were combined into biennial publications and published in 1909 and 1911. The 1900 and 1902 annual reports are not extant. During statehood reports were also submitted biennially.
71. New Mexico Constitution, art. 12, sec. 6A.

Book Reviews

Gardens of New Spain: How Mediterranean Plants and Foods Changed America. By William W. Dunmire. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004. xviii + 375 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth, ISBN 0-292-70271-X, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 0-292-70564-6.)

In this gem, William W. Dunmire engagingly synthesizes the historical background, routes, timing, and profound effects of the Columbian Exchange as explorers and colonists intentionally intermixed useful plants of the Old World with those of the New World. He dedicates the book to Gail D. Tierney, who started this project and collaborated with him through its development.

The heart of the book is a balanced and deeply researched history of the entry and spread of Mediterranean cultivated plants into the American Southwest during Spanish colonial times. Much of this knowledge derives from historical documents such as daily diaries. The story begins in Medieval Spain, where diverse groups were already sharing domesticated plants, animals, and technologies among themselves.

To introduce the receptive New World audience, Dunmire sketches pre-Columbian farming in Mexico, where crops included corn, beans, squash, chili, and maguey (agave). Here, all agricultural work was done by hand, with simple tools like digging sticks. When the Spanish brought metal, plows, and draft animals (natural producers of fertilizer), the face of New World agriculture changed. Farmers such as the Rarámuri (Tarahumara) could now grow crops in fields naturally lacking nutrients and use the steel-tipped plow pulled by horses to open up larger corn and bean fields.

For over 3,000 years, people in the American Southwest and northern Mexico have grown corn. Agricultural sophistication is revealed by many examples, including early evidence of canal irrigation, rock-bordered gardens, and rain-fed farming. Even today, Hopi farmer Eric Polingyouma harvests corn ears up to sixteen inches long using traditional methods (p. 225 74). Groups have long gathered many “weeds” such as goosefoot, amaranth,

and purslane—plants often considered a great bother—for both their leafy greens and edible seeds.

Remaining chapters cover the transfer of plants, technology, and livestock to the New World, as well as the spread of these new materials and practices throughout northern Mexico, the American Southwest, and into Texas, Florida, and California. Each chapter is well illustrated with maps, photos, and drawings, and ends with brief but thorough discussions of the botany, known domestication history, travels, uses, and nutrition of numerous individual plants. Dunmire provides primary references in a sources section, a ten-page “Master Plant List” with critical condensed data, a glossary, and a selected bibliography. His interviews with traditional, rural Hispanics still using these plants form a fitting epilogue.

Carl O. Sauer, an extraordinary cultural geographer and one of Dunmire’s professors, would be pleased to know his legacy continues. This scholarly document will be as enduring as the plants upon which it focuses and will reach a wide public audience because of its writing style. When people travel to a new home, they bring with them their treasured goods and the desire to retain access to favored and familiar foods and flavors. This human habit fostered the integration of Old World foods into a New World cuisine, resulting in the incredible range of food choices we have today. Dunmire has given us the tools to sit down to a meal and know something about the integration of cultures, continents, and historical adventures of all the plant ingredients on our plate. Armed with this knowledge, dinner conversations may take on a whole new dimension and never be quite the same again.

Karen R. Adams
Cortez, Colorado

Old Las Vegas: Hispanic Memories from the New Mexico Meadowlands. Collected and translated by Nasario García. (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2005. xiv + 302 pp. Halftones, glossary, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 0-89672-1.)

Old Las Vegas is a veritable buffet of reminiscences of the viejitos and viejitas of the countryside around Las Vegas, New Mexico. Nasario García set out to collect and “share the fast-disappearing old-timers’ reminiscences” (p. 1), and he has succeeded admirably. A folklorist, García knows the value of oral history and how to conduct interviews to gain the most from his informants.

The result is a collection of memories from the Hispanic community that enriches our understanding of the culture of northern New Mexico.

García and his editor made several significant decisions, the most valuable being to publish all the memories in both Spanish and English. Most of the interviews were conducted in Spanish; transcribing and translating was a laborious process but one of love. Thus, the reader can enjoy the old Spanish dialect from the Las Vegas meadowlands, and the English version helps those whose Spanish is weak.

A historical introduction traces the history of Las Vegas and its hinterlands from the Spanish explorers to twenty-first century visitors. This sketch lays the groundwork for understanding the role the Spanish played and continue to play in the area. Each section also has an introduction to the subject and to some of the *old-timers*. Subjects range from “Life in the Countryside” to education, folk healing, witchcraft, religious ceremonies and customs, and politics. Particularly intriguing is the section on religious ceremonies and customs. In the past, Catholic religious practices were part of the daily routine for the Hispanic villagers, and the *old-timers* now miss that part of their lives. In one village, weddings could be held only at 6:00 a.m. mass on Mondays! For those villagers, weddings began on Friday and ended on Wednesday. The final chapter is a compilation of *dichos* (sayings) and *adivanzas* (riddles), which gives the book a special charm. A glossary, brief biographies of the interviewees, a short reading list, and an index complete the work.

Old Las Vegas is another outstanding contribution to the folklore and history of Hispanic New Mexico and to the fine list of publications by Nasario García.

Jo Tice Bloom

Las Cruces, New Mexico

Juan Bautista de Anza: Basque Explorer in the New World. By Donald T. Garate. The Basque Series. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003. xxi + 323 pp. Halftones, maps, charts, appendix, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 0-87417-505-4.)

Had Apaches not killed him at age forty-six, Juan Bautista de Anza (1693–1740) would likely have been the ranking statesman of Sonora, in

his mid-seventies, when José de Gálvez began shaking things up on New Spain's far northwestern frontier. How the elder Anza, alive, might have affected the career of his son and namesake (1736–1788) is anyone's guess. Here, Donald T. Garate offers not guesses but the “the story, plain and simple” (p. xix) of the father.

Since 1990, Garate has served as historian at Tumacacori National Historical Park in southern Arizona, where both Anzas left their marks. A born storyteller and keen researcher, the author also shares the Basque heritage of his subjects. He knows their difficult tongue, making the point repeatedly that both Anzas had to learn Spanish as a second language. The book's glossary includes Indian, Spanish, and Basque words. Garate has traveled and stood where the Anzas did and excels at setting the scene. Garate transports the reader to the bustling crossroads town of Hernani, birthplace of Juan the elder, in the Basque country of northeastern Spain. We witness the intricate, spit-and-polish inspection at Janos years later in April 1723, and then, from the elevated site of Anza's post at Fronteras, the reader wonders at the endlessness of the Sonoran Desert.

The author makes fitting use of educated conjecture and occasional historical reconstruction. He knows the day of the week and the phases of the moon. Garate knows Basques intimately, assuring us in a note that “this information comes from personal experience gained by the author over many years of association with his own and other Basque families in both the New World and the Old” (p. 241). He dares impart feelings to his subject. “Anza could not have helped but gloat a little as each man rode up to pass in review” (p. 100). While the conversation between Agustín de Campos and Anza may never have occurred, every word uttered by Campos is from the old priest's letters. If you doubt it, check the endnotes. Each of Garate's six chapters averages 139 notes, citing mostly primary sources, giving credit to others, and critiquing the works of fellow scholars (including me). Not long ago, when I told Garate I was writing a short piece on the Anzas, he generously sent me in electronic form the entire manuscript of this book.

Sonora's near civil war of the 1720s, which pit the tight alliance of Jesuits and other Basques against outsiders, will remind readers of nineteenth-century New Mexico's Santa Fe Ring and Lincoln County War. Here, Garate tests his evenhandedness, characterizing the combatants as “Anza and his belligerent Basque contingent” and “Don Gregorio's licensed hooligans” (p. 78). Elsewhere, unscripted dramas like the 1736 Planchas de Plata silver

strike and the epiphany of false prophet Agustín Aschuhuli come alive as never before. Been in touch with Robert Redford yet, Don?

John L. Kessell

University of New Mexico

Navajo Blessingway Singer: The Autobiography of Frank Mitchell, 1881–1967. Edited by Charlotte J. Frisbie and David P. McAllester. (1978; reprint; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. xxvi + 446 pp. Half-tones, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 paper, ISBN 0-8263-3181-5.)

Born thirteen years after the Diné returned to Navajo land in 1868, Frank Mitchell relates his life story in *Navajo Blessingway Singer*. While Mitchell's story delineates the many hardships that Navajos endured upon their return from the Bosque Redondo prison camp, it is also inspirational. Mitchell carved out a life of prosperity and wealth, becoming a Blessingway singer, serving in leadership roles within his community, and raising a family. In recounting his life story, Mitchell emphasizes the importance of Navajo traditional teachings in his endeavors to follow Hozhojii (the path to well-being and happiness).

Mitchell skips over much of his childhood, terming it “an ugly story,” and goes on to recall his experiences in boarding school, employment on the railroad, and involvement in Navajo political affairs. In his marriage to Tall Woman (Rose Mitchell), he worked hard to support his family. His efforts illuminate the struggle of young Navajo men to create a place for themselves in a changed Navajo society. Under the guidance of other men, including his father-in-law, Mitchell realized that, to live well, he had to follow the ancient teachings that his ancestors had relied on for survival and continuity. He also discovered that traditional narratives were the foundation for political, economic, and social institutions. Perhaps in an effort to convey the value of oral tradition to future Navajo generations, Mitchell dictated his stories to anthropologist Charlotte J. Frisbie and ethnomusicologist David P. McAllester.

Mitchell's narrative provides insights into Navajos' relationship to federal Indian policies and illuminates their responses to the impositions that have altered their lives, including the introduction of a wage economy after

livestock reduction, the implementation of mandated education for children, and the appearance of Christianity, particularly through the Catholic priests. Navajos sought to keep control over their lives and were not unwilling to challenge federal officials or the Franciscans when it was necessary. For example, his story about the struggle between Black Horse and agent Shipley over forced education for Navajo children portrays Navajo opposition vividly, demonstrating that leaders were willing to go to jail, if not worse. His story also gives insight into how decisions were made among Navajos; for example, the decision to oppose the Indian agent was a communal one. Black Horse was noted for being outspoken, so he was selected to voice Navajo opposition. In another story, Mitchell notes that the Navajos accepted and allowed the Franciscans at St. Michael's Mission near present-day Window Rock, Arizona, to proselytize as long as they provided other services and were respectful. Narratives like Mitchell's demonstrate the range of Navajo responses to colonialism, from incorporation to outright resistance.

Editors Frisbie and McAllester provide a comprehensive annotation of Mitchell's autobiography, which by itself, is a valuable resource that incorporates oral history, anthropology, and history. In its second printing, Frank Mitchell's life story remains a valuable contribution to Navajo studies. Frisbie also worked with Frank's wife and published *Tall Woman: The Life Story of Rose Mitchell, A Navajo Woman, c. 1874–1977* in 2001. *Tall Woman* provides a parallel to Frank's account, with insight on Navajo women's lives in the twentieth century.

Jennifer Denetdale
University of New Mexico

The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke, Vol. 1: November 20, 1872 to July 28, 1876. Edited and annotated by Charles M. Robinson III. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2003. ix + 518 pp. Halftones, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, ISBN 1-57441-161-6.)

The subject of the U.S. government's relations with Native Americans remains one of the most widely researched in the study of the American West. In part, this interest is promoted by the existence of numerous diaries, journals, and memoirs of soldiers who participated in conflicts with Native Americans. Of all such contemporary writings, the most extensive set of

diaries—those of John Gregory Bourke—have remained unpublished. This omission is now being rectified. Charles M. Robinson III, an instructor in history at South Texas Community College, McAllen, presents the first installment of the projected six volumes of Bourke's diaries. Robinson's works concerning the American West are well known, including *A Good Year to Die: The Story of the Great Sioux War* (1995); *The Men Who Wear the Star: The Story of the Texas Rangers* (2000); and *General Crook and the Western Frontier* (2001).

Bourke was born in 1846 to well-educated Irish immigrants in Philadelphia. His parents saw to his training in both Roman Catholicism and the classics. After serving in the Union Army, Bourke attended the U.S. Military Academy, graduated in 1869, and was posted to the Southwest. About this time, he began a diary which he kept faithfully until a few days before his death in 1896. For much of his professional career, Bourke served as aide-de-camp to Brig. Gen. George Crook, perhaps the U.S. Army's most able Indian fighter. While several of the earliest notebooks have been lost, volume one consists of Bourke's observations of Crook's campaigns against the Apaches in Arizona (1872–1875) and, after Crook became commander of the Department of the Platte, against the Sioux (1875–1876). Even in the midst of a campaign, Bourke made detailed scientific observations of all that he saw—especially in the field of ethnography. Bourke was a firm believer in “the manifest destiny of the [white] race,” and he had little patience with the stubborn resistance of Native Americans (p. 330). However, he cultivated an interest in Native American culture, and eventually arrived at a more moderate view. Bourke was a dedicated observer and fervent recorder. “If he ran out of space in one notebook, he immediately would start another,” writes Robinson, “sometimes in mid-sentence” (p. 7). Indeed, Bourke's zeal to write down everything he saw led him to record facts that may appear very tiring and ephemeral to the modern reader.

In order to include all of Bourke's written matter within the allotted six volumes, Robinson has omitted most maps, terrain sketches, official documents, and newspaper clippings, unless of “particular value to the text” (p. 11). He has included select official documents in an appendix. In order to make the text more readable, he has also spelled out abbreviations, inserted appropriate punctuation, provided annotations, and deleted underlining from Bourke's original journal. The editor has also added a useful introduction to each major part of this volume.

While the demands of space are understandable, the omission of so much of the diary's content is regrettable. Some researchers will still have to consult the originals at the U.S. Military Academy or seek out the microfilmed (and photostatic) copies at the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico. Nonetheless, the publication of John Gregory Bourke's diary constitutes an important contribution to the study of the American West. Charles Robinson III and the University of North Texas Press are to be congratulated for undertaking such a large project.

Larry D. Ball

Arkansas State University

Hermanitos, Comanchitos: Indo-Hispano Rituals of Captivity and Redemption. By Enrique R. Lamadrid, photographs by Miguel A. Gandert. Pasó por Aquí Series. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. xv + 264 pp. 78 halftones, maps, CD-Rom, appendixes, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2877-6, \$27.95 paper, ISBN 0-8263-2878-4.)

Eighteenth-century New Mexico was shaped in large part by interactions among Pueblo people, Hispanic settlers and soldiers, and the Comanche bands who resided on the eastern and northeastern borders of the Rio Grande settlements. Comanches seem to have made their first appearance in New Mexico at the 1706 Taos Trade Fair. From then until Gov. Juan Bautista de Anza signed a peace treaty with many of the Comanche bands in 1786, the century was wrought with alternating trading and raiding between New Mexican and Comanche peoples. To this day, Comanches occupy a powerful place in New Mexico folklore, dramatic narratives, and folk songs.

Enrique Lamadrid and Miguel Gandert have long collaborated on documenting the folk plays and musical traditions of northern New Mexico. In this latest publication, they present the history, music, and narratives of Comanche folk tradition that are part of the ritual cycle and folk plays centered primarily in the Taos and Española Valley villages. Gandert's photographs do not merely illustrate the text; they provide a powerful visual record of the folkloric complex and performatory culture of the Comanche traditions. The compact disc included with the book contains twenty-six tracks recorded by Lamadrid in the villages where he and Gandert worked. Lamadrid also transcribes and translates the text of Comanche folk narratives.

For many visitors and residents of New Mexico, the Comanche dances performed in Hispanic villages are a confusing set of visual and cultural images. The dancers do not “look like Indians,” at least not like the familiar Pueblo dancers. The plazas of Talpa, Ranchos de Taos, Alcalde, Chimayó, and Bernalillo—well-known to many—seem like strange terrain when dancers in Plains Indian costumes dance and orate long stories to simple drum beats. Lamadrid relates his own initial confusion about the meaning of the Comanche narrative he was given by a family member in 1973.

The Comanche dances and narratives are not a case of mistaken identity, nor of Hispano villagers “playing Indian.” They are evidence of cultural fusion and permeable social boundaries that anthropologists and social historians refer to as “cultural hybridity.” Lamadrid and Gandert have boldly explored one of the sustaining cultural myths of New Mexico history. New Mexico was not “Spain on the Rio Grande.” New Mexico, like Mexico, was a mestizo culture, born of the fusion of Spanish, Mexican, and indigenous traditions. This mix was furthered by the arrival of the multicultural *Americanos*.

Hermanitos, Comanchitos is an important book for understanding the sometimes contentious history of New Mexico. The analysis of songs and narratives explores themes of permeable social boundaries, the construction of social memory, and the redemption of social identity. I only wish the volume was larger in format to handle more expressively the reproduction of Gandert’s dynamic photographs of the dance. Perhaps a film could be the next venture for Lamadrid’s outstanding linguistic and social scholarship and Gandert’s sensitive portraiture.

Frances Levine

Palace of the Governors

Santa Fe, New Mexico

El Cerrito, New Mexico: Eight Generations in a Spanish Village. By Richard L. Nostrand. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. xviii + 267 pp. 56 halftones, line drawings, 27 maps, tables, appendix, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8061-3546-8.)

El Cerrito is one of New Mexico’s most studied villages. Scholarly interest stems from it being an isolated micro-village situated on the San Miguel

del Vado Land Grant and its late, but limited, Anglo influence. Historical geographer Richard L. Nostrand lists sixteen prior studies, including the seminal work of Olen Leonard and Charles Loomis and the poignant photographic essay by Irving Rusinow done in the 1940s. Nostrand's thoroughness is illustrated by the inclusion of far more information in *El Cerrito, New Mexico* than these previous works.

Many of New Mexico's historical villages ceased to exist due to adverse economic conditions. Later, some villages were repopulated as jobs became available closer to home. While El Cerrito has continued to survive, its population has dwindled. It reached its peak in 1900 when the population numbered 136 individuals representing thirty families. By 2000 the population numbered twenty-two persons in eleven households, with very few of these individuals representing the original settlers. El Cerrito, then, serves as a prototype for the study of the villages of New Mexico.

Nostrand explores themes of the geography of area; the construction of the settlement (1825); the subsistence farming essential to survival (1850); the entrance of a few of the families in the more profitable business of livestock raising (1875); the irony of the grantees homesteading their own land grant after they had lost their commons (1900); and by 1925 the necessity of having to learn English in order to get jobs outside the village. Unemployment led to an exodus during the 1950s of most of the inhabitants who settled permanently in more urban areas where employment was available. The author uses an individual to represent a separate generation within each chapter. However, I am not sure that this technique works. Before long many other members from one generation enter the picture and one has to constantly refer to the family tables to avoid confusion.

The twenty-seven maps and thirty-six tables provided are extremely helpful in giving the reader a clear understanding of the setting and development of the village. The appendix, which includes every census ever taken of El Cerrito, is a genealogist's dream.

The value of the book lies in its comprehensive chronicling of the village's history and cultural change. It complements the author's earlier book, *The Hispano Homeland*, which dealt with the broader subject of Hispanos in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

In the final chapter the author offers some valuable suggestions on how El Cerrito can serve as "a window on the past" (p. 171). However, given the politics involved in historic preservation efforts, particularly when the

site has multiple ownerships, it may not be possible to implement true historic preservation. If so, let this excellent book serve as a testimonial to El Cerrito's past.

Adrián Bustamante

Santa Fe, New Mexico

Las Tejanas: 300 Years of History. By Teresa Palomo Acosta and Ruthe Winegarten, foreword by Cynthia E. Orozco. Jack and Doris Smothers Series in Texas History, Life, and Culture, no. 10. (Austin: University of Texas Press, xvii + 436 pp. 143 halftones, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-292-74710-1, \$22.95 paper, ISBN 0-292-70527-1.)

Las Tejanas is the first book-length study examining the historical and contemporary experiences of women of Mexican descent in Texas. The book's purpose is to recover and celebrate the lives of women who have been overlooked, forgotten, and more often ignored in textbooks in particular and in the public consciousness in general. The authors' goal is to highlight Texas Mexican women's achievements in the face of gender, racial, ethnic, and class struggle and oppression from the 1700s to the present day.

Las Tejanas is largely an interpretive history that draws from the most recent literature and resources on Tejana/o history, most notably the *New Handbook of Texas History*, published in 1996 by the Texas State Historical Association. As the authors admit, *Las Tejanas* lacks "a theoretical analysis" (p. xv), yet it has a clearly defined purpose: to give agency to Texas Mexican women, a significant sector of the Texas and Texas Mexican population. The book is arranged chronologically and thematically, exploring the varying experiences of Native, mestiza, and Hispanic women under Spanish, Mexican, and then American rule. The first three chapters focus on the pre-twentieth century period, examining women's social, legal, and economic status in the often violent and turbulent Spanish Colonial (1700–1821), Mexican (1821–1848), and early American (1848–1900) eras. The remainder of the book—chapters four through twelve—explores Tejanas' participation in key arenas of Tejana/o life. Chapters four through six describe women's experiences in the Mexican Revolution of 1910, self-help organizations (*mutualistas*), and the workforce, both in rural and urban settings. Chapters seven through twelve pay attention to women's achievements

in education, business and professional life, religious and community organizations, the Chicano movement, politics and public office, and in the arts and culture.

The publication of *Las Tejanas* represents a significant milestone in the fields of Chicana/o history, the American West, and Spanish Borderlands, for no monograph or interpretive study on Texas Mexican women has been published to date, despite the growing body of literature on women of Mexican descent in New Mexico, California, and other former Spanish/Mexican territories in the present-day Southwest. Perhaps the book's greatest contribution is that it is a significant step in the writing of Tejana history, which takes into account Tejanas' important and multiple roles at the local, state, and national levels.

This book serves best as a resource for scholars, students, and readers interested in a general and up-to-date survey on Tejana (and Tejano) history, and not for those interested in a comparative or broader study on women of Mexican descent in the Southwest. Some readers may find that, at times, the book lapses into the tradition of "women worthies," particularly the final two chapters, and neglects to give fuller attention to women's particular issues and to comparative experiences. In fairness, as the authors state, their intent was not to write a complete history of Tejanas—a task nearly impossible to do in three-hundred pages, but rather to inspire scholars, young and old alike, to explore in greater detail the lives of women that they covered in a general manner.

Miroslava Chávez-García
University of California, Davis

Felix Longoria's Wake: Bereavement, Racism, and the Rise of Mexican American Activism. By Patrick J. Carroll. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003. 270 pp. 22 halftones, map, line drawing, tables. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-292-71246-4, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0-292-71249-9.)

Only a small portion of this study deals with the story of Felix Longoria, a young Mexican American soldier killed in action on 16 June 1945 at Luzon. His remains were initially buried in the Philippines but eventually the U.S. Army returned them in January of 1949 to the United States, where they were interred one month later at Arlington National Cemetery. The book serves as more an assessment of how this one-month episode upset tradi-

tional Mexican-Anglo relations in Texas. Just as important, Patrick J. Carroll shows how the “Mexican American” era of civil rights benefited from this episode. The term is applied to the period from the 1930s to the 1950s, when ethnic Mexican leaders in the United States demanded constitutional rights and acceptance as citizens.

Late in 1948, the U.S. Army informed Felix Longoria’s widow that her husband’s remains would be returned to Texas. While the family knew Felix’s fate, as the military immediately sent them the medals earned by the soldier including the Bronze Star, the news came as a surprise. The widow, Beatrice Moreno de Longoria, hurriedly arranged for funeral services in Three Rivers, Longoria’s hometown. Thomas Kennedy, a veteran and newcomer to Texas who had recently purchased the town’s only funeral home, agreed to bury the soldier in the Mexican cemetery. He denied, however, the use of his chapel for the wake, assessing correctly that local Whites would be offended. Instead he offered to conduct a private wake at a family member’s home.

Beatrice Moreno de Longoria, hurt and confused, turned to other family members who in turn contacted Dr. Hector García, a former army medical officer who also served in the war. The doctor had recently helped found the American G.I. Forum in Corpus Christi, precisely to deal with the many humiliating incidents that returning Mexican American veterans faced in Texas. After energetically publicizing the incident, García obtained support from Lyndon Baines Johnson, then newly elected to the Senate from Texas. With much fanfare, the senator arranged to have Longoria’s remains buried at Arlington on 16 February 1949.

In the meantime, public opinion at the international level and even in Texas turned against Three Rivers because of the degrading treatment suffered by the family of a decorated veteran. Kennedy then claimed his actions stemmed from the possibility of violence at the wake; Beatrice and her deceased husband’s family were estranged. Eventually, Kennedy and political leaders in Three Rivers relented and offered to provide full services. By then, García and Senator Johnson were intent on going through with the plans for the Arlington burial. Ironically greater political gains could be made by both Johnson and the cause of Mexican American civil rights if the original rejection stood.

Carroll analytically attacks the phenomenon by employing an arsenal of possible theoretical paradigms—psychological, Marxist, postmodern, to name but a few. In the process, Carroll places Texas history and the main actors—Beatrice Longoria, Hector García, Thomas Kennedy, and Lyndon

Baines Johnson— under a microscopic lens. But while the myriad of theories offered by the author certainly help us to understand the wider construct of Mexican-Anglo relations in Texas, they are not always cogently connected to the single Longoria episode. Nonetheless, the work goes a long way in explaining how and why the occurrence became such a cause célèbre and a battering ram for Mexican American civil rights. Generally, Mexican American leaders used participation in the war as crucial leverage to obtain their goals.

F. Arturo Rosales

Arizona State University

The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics. Edited by Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson. The Latin American Reader Series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003. xiv + 792 pp. 91 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3042-3.)

Gil Joseph and Tim Henderson must be commended for tackling the onerous task of compiling a reader entirely devoted to Mexico. In the vein of previous readers in the series, *The Mexico Reader* presents a diverse, original, and rare collection of primary and secondary texts. Weighing in at just under three pounds, the reader is a large and impressive volume of documents providing ample discussion material for anyone interested in specific chapters of Mexico's history.

The Mexico Reader is divided into nine parts and covers the colonial period through the very recent modern period. The first section is perhaps the most original for a reader of this kind, addressing not a specific historical period, but rather the theme of "Lo Mexicano." The section thankfully does not attempt to define what makes Mexicans Mexican, but presents a few key texts that reflect on the cultural, intellectual, and psychological nature of Mexico's people.

The second section, "Ancient Civilizations," is a quick overview of the pre-Columbian period. Two secondary texts and three excerpts from codices are presented as a backdrop to the glory of civilizations past to which some of the texts in the "Lo Mexicano" section refer. The reader addresses the conquest and colonial period in the third section, using excerpts from primary sources such as Bernal Diaz's accounts and Sor Juana's poetry, as well as J. H. Eliot and Enrique Florescano's secondary texts, which put the

primary sources in context. The fourth section on the independent period provides more documentary evidence than the previous sections, and will make a useful addition to any class on Mexico's nineteenth century. Texts such as José María Morelos' "Sentiment of a Nation," Fanny Calderón de la Barca's epistolary thoughts on Mexican women, a desperate letter from Empress Carlotta to her sister, and an excerpt from B. Traven's historical fiction novels, serve as eclectic documentary sources for an eclectic century.

Nestled between the nineteenth-century texts and the revolutionary texts is an awkward photography section. The section reproduces classic photographs such as Zapatistas breakfasting at Sanborn's in 1914 and a very interesting wider shot of the well-known picture of a soldadera riding a revolutionary train. It also includes pictures from the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s and an impressive photograph of the Tlatelolco plaza after the 1985 earthquake. This section induces readers to interpret this newer medium, but unfortunately, the layout of the pictures and the print quality of the paper does not do justice to this intention. The layout is organized in no specific thematic or chronological order, and the small scale of the pictures and matt paper on which they are reprinted will make it difficult for students to use or analyze in any depth.

The last four sections of the reader more than make up for the drawbacks of the photography section. These sections address the modern period of Mexico's history, starting with the Mexican Revolution. The texts chosen exemplify not only the revolutionary ideals, but the focus of the historical interest in the period. Texts from Ricardo Flores Magón, excerpts of articles 27 and 123 of the 1917 constitution, and a speech by Plutarco Elías Calles overlap with a unique version of a revolutionary song and a poem in honor of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. The reflection of both the political and the cultural context of Mexico's history is further illustrated in the reader's approach to an oft forgotten part of the Mexican historical record: the conflict between state and church is elegantly rendered with a folk song in honor of a victim of the Cristero Rebellion.

The last sections address thematic contexts related to the postrevolutionary state and society. Entitled "The Perils of Modernity," "From the Ruins," and "The Border and Beyond," respectively, these provide rich texts with which to assess the last fifty years of Mexico's history. The sources provide a review of the institutionalization of the PRI, land reform, the growth of cities, student and urban social protest movements, and immigration through such varied

sources as lyrics to a song by a popular Mexican rock band, transcriptions of declarations made by Subcomandante Marcos, and a journalist's account of the effect of the drug trade on the Tarahumara community.

The texts in *The Mexico Reader* follow a historical logic, but the uninitiated will have to scour the introductory notes to find out the year in which each text was written. Sloppy editing throughout the volume has left a significant number of typos in the introductory essays as well as the documentary sources. While these editorial oversights lend some confusion to the reader, they do not detract from its contributions. *The Mexico Reader* is poised to become a highly prized collection of texts that any instructor will want to use and any student of Mexico will enjoy reading.

Juliette Levy

University of California, Riverside

Work, Protest, and Identity in Twentieth-Century Latin America. Edited by Vincent C. Peloso. Jaguar Books on Latin America, no. 26 (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2003. xx + 348 pp. Map, tables, notes, bibliography. \$23.95 paper, ISBN 0-8420-2927-3.)

Not much is original in this volume. Eleven of its fifteen chapters have been previously published as journal articles. The chapters therefore are stand-alone pieces that do not dialogue with each other—a shortcoming accentuated by the lack of a thematic index. The editor, nonetheless, has provided a valuable service by compiling these pieces in a single volume and highlighting recurrent themes in the introduction and chapter abstracts.

In its geographical scope, the collection transcends the usual concentration on the “big three.” It does include chapters on Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, but also on Chile, Cuba, Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, two on Colombia, and two on a continental scale. Thematically, the range is equally broad. The various chapters deal with the primary sector of the economy (banana and sugar plantations, peasant proprietors, copper mines, oil fields), the secondary (textile mills, tobacco factories), and tertiary (tram drivers, white-collar employees). Some of the contributors question these neat divisions and show the overlap between rural and urban labor and between different modes of production. The collection tackles the traditional themes of labor history: union organization, management control, legislation, resistance, and strikes. It also reflects the broader concerns of the historiography of

the last three decades or so with processes taking place outside of the workshop (family life, neighborhood, transportation, religion, public health, education, nationalism, citizenship) and with components of social identities other than class, namely race and gender. The last two terms (or “women”) appear in the titles of a third of the articles and as leitmotifs in the volume in general. Ubiquity, of course, is no substitute for sophistication and the use of the race-class-gender trilogy ranges, sometimes within the same chapter, from genuinely integrative applications of these analytical categories to bland reiterations of constructionist truisms.

Some of the chapters suffer from a common ailment in labor history old and new: the tendency to frame discussion in the restrictive, and at times Manichean, dichotomies of repression/resistance and elites/workers. This ignores adaptive strategies other than protest, strategies that were less visible but surely more common than militancy and strikes. It collapses workers into an undifferentiated mass, at least in terms of status, that ignores significant gaps in income, skills, authority, consumption, and self-definition within the “working-class.” It also overlooks the fastest growing sector of the population during the century the volume deals with: those who considered themselves neither elite nor working-class. Sympathy with the latter at times leads to interpretive inconsistencies in which authors read elite discourses “against the grain,” but accept workers’ pronouncements at face value. Given the emphasis of the volume on protest—an activity that necessarily stresses negative conditions—this unquestioned acceptance of workers’ complaints can produce partial, and excessively lachrymose, depictions of working-class life. But even the weaker chapters in this compilation provide some valuable information and the best form part of some of the most innovative recent studies of labor in Latin America.

Jose C. Moya

University of California, Los Angeles

Blanket Weaving in the Southwest. By Joe Ben Wheat, edited by Ann Lane Hedlund. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xxvii + 444 pp. 191 color plates, 115 halftones, maps, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$75.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-2304-5.)

This magnum opus of a publication is a fitting tribute to the late Joe Ben Wheat (1916–1997). Without the high esteem accorded to him by three

women—protégée Ann Lane Hedlund, widow Barbara K. Wheat, and colleague Linda Cordell—Wheat’s incomplete and voluminous manuscript might never have seen the light of day. That occurrence would have left a void as devastating to southwestern weaving aficionados as Dr. Wheat’s passing did to numerous students and friends who loved and respected this Anglo scholar from Van Horn, Texas.

Wheat was a curator of anthropology at the University of Colorado Museum in Boulder, the place where he also worked as an archaeologist, textile authority, and professor and where he chose to donate his collection of textiles. He began his southwestern textile research during a sabbatical in 1972 and, a year later, Hedlund joined him as an undergraduate student. Their relationship spanned many years of collaboration and exchange, which ultimately resulted in the student editing and completing her mentor’s work.

Wheat set out to photograph and analyze nineteenth-century southwestern textiles in museum collections across the United States. He planned to augment this information with archival and historic research. Wheat’s goal was to establish a systematic guide that would make it possible to identify, classify, interpret—and make comparisons—between the Pueblo, Navajo, and Spanish American weavings produced in the Southwest. By 1973, he had visited fifty museums and studied 3,500 textiles. Wheat continued to research southwestern textiles, especially Navajo weavings, throughout his life. The longevity of this project allowed Wheat to return repeatedly to his findings over decades and to enlarge, refute, and refine his conclusions.

Blanket Weaving in the Southwest is divided into many sections. Following the front matter where the three women pay homage to Wheat, six brief but dense chapters comprise the core of Wheat’s research. They are, consecutively, “Historical Background,” “Fibers and Yarns,” “Colors,” “Bayeta and Other Such,” “Weaving Systems,” “Weaves,” and “Design.” All but the final chapter was near completion upon Wheat’s death; Hedlund assembled it from Wheat’s notes, papers, writings, and interviews. The chapters are replete with maps, photographs, charts, diagrams, and tables. There was no matter so small that Wheat did not investigate in minute detail. His scholarship was impeccable. The chapter on Bayeta, for example, often has as many as three citations per sentence.

The “Catalogue of Selected Textiles” section is remarkably lavish and beautiful. There are 182 large color plates with descriptions of each textile arranged in a systematic manner so that the reader can not only learn about

the textile's provenance, but can also compare the yarn's function, fiber, type, ply, spin, twist, color, and dye with that of other textiles.

The textile illustrations and design layout are superb. The "Color Plates" section is divided into three categories. Each section is further divided into type. For example, the largest section illustrating the Navajo textiles (Wheat's particular interest) is divided into Navajo manta, dress, chief blanket, woman's shoulder blanket, poncho, sarape, and diyugi. This section ends with a few cross-cultural textiles that show visible proof of how one culture influenced another. Here are illustrated the Navajo/Spanish American "slave blankets" as well as three Spanish American/Navajo "slave blankets"—testaments to trafficking in Native and Hispanic slaves in the Southwest during the nineteenth century.

The reader is sometimes treated to Wheat's personal notes written at the time he analyzed a particular textile. For example, one Navajo chief blanket analyzed on 16 February 1973, Plate 50, states "Fuzzy surface, like new today." The provenance of specific textiles shows that "although an article might have been collected in a certain pueblo, it was not necessarily woven there but might have been traded or sold instead." Such is the case with several textiles that Wheat determined to be Navajo rather than Pueblo. The short notations—together with reproductions of Wheat's handwritten notes, graphs, and drawings—personalize this publication in a wonderful manner.

Unfortunately, the title is misleading. Linda Cordell's foreword states: "This book is about Native American textiles." By calling it *Blanket Weaving in the Southwest*, the book buyer is led to believe that all three groups—Pueblo, Navajo, and Spanish American—are represented equally. Such is not the case. Out of 182 textile color illustrations, there are only 17 Spanish American blankets. This small number does a disservice to a vast weaving enterprise that, in 1840 alone, exported 20,000 textiles to Mexico. Additionally, there is less than a page devoted to explicating the Spanish American blanket designs. Granted Wheat did not live to complete the Design chapter, but he did publish on this subject during his lifetime. This material could have been culled for additional information and would have provided for a more even analysis of southwestern blanket designs.

The reference material is thorough and replete with facts. Included is a wonderful chapter on collectors. The dye analysis and dye test results prepared by Dr. David Wenger, professor at the University of Colorado School of Medicine, show the scientific rigor applied to 350 samples analyzed

through spectrographic analyses. It is particularly interesting to see how the introduction into the Southwest of aniline dyes and Merino sheep in the 1870s resulted in both new and old materials being used in blanket production. Three small mistakes were noted in the "Chronology, 1100–1997" (p. 351). The most obvious is the missing date, 1693, designating the year in which "General Diego de Vargas reoccupies Santa Fe."

Blanket Weaving of the Southwest is a remarkable book that should be of particular interest to weaving and history scholars. Without a doubt, it is an indispensable reference for readers wanting to make comparisons between the weaving history, materials, and techniques of three distinct cultures that coexisted in the Southwest during the nineteenth century.

Helen R. Lucero

Albuquerque, New Mexico

The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest. Edited by Hal K. Rothman. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, published in cooperation with the Clements Center for Southwest Studies at Southern Methodist University, 2003. xi + 250 pp. Halftones, tables, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2928-4.)

Before Coronado traveled through New Mexico and the Panhandles in 1540–1541, trade, warfare and raiding, and cultural exchange had been regular among southwestern Amerindians. Spanish and American conquest incorporated the region into the arteries of transatlantic mercantilism and industrial capitalism. Expeditions led by the Bureau of American Ethnology in the late nineteenth century chronicled the resources, landscape, Indian ruins, and indigenous peoples of the Southwest for a nation racing to the Pacific slope. After 1865, European romanticism influenced the worldview of a Victorian America caught in the grip of industrialism. Romanticism offered a bourgeois culture rich in nostalgia for the past, intense sentimentality, and authentic experience. The nationalist generation of the era, with anxiety and doubt, wondered whether the United States had traditions as old and worthy as Europe. Travel writers like Helen Hunt Jackson, Charles Lummis, and George Wharton James believed the indigenous cultures and ruins of the Southwest embodied an American antiquity richer than Europe's. In the promotion of southwestern lands and cities, Spanish and Amerindian culture highlighted the special historical qualities of the

region, ranging from worthiness to commercialism. Modern tourism represents just another phase of cultural encounter and exchange to transform the Southwest. And the stream continues.

In *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture*, Hal K. Rothman and ten contributors address the tourism experience in the American Southwest from 1880 to the present. Rothman notes that historically the “serving of outsiders at the expense of locals had gone from sacrifice to custom to way of life” (p. 8). The diverse peoples of the Southwest always resent the negative impact of tourism, “but they recognize it as essential to their existence” (p. 8). The essayists consider how the alliance of tourism and cultural history help market and repackage experiences, social environments, and material culture for our society of consumer capitalism and spectacle. Covering southern California to south Texas, essays by Chris Wilson, Sylvia Rodríguez, and Phoebe Kropp probe the underlying ethnic and racial politics of romance, nostalgia, and southwestern triculturalism. Marguerite Shaffer, Leah Dilworth, and Erica Bsumek examine how scrapbooks, souvenirs, and Indian artifacts assume individual meaning for tourists and fashion modern identity. William Bryan Jr., Susan Guyette, and David White explore adventure tourism, and governmental and community cooperation to plan responsible cultural tourism and economic development for southwestern Indian villages. The essays by Char Miller and Rina Swentzell stand alone, respectively, in considering how tourism was another promotional tool in San Antonio and how the tourist and the Indian art market in New Mexico has undermined Pueblo community and identity. Rothman contributes a wide-ranging introduction and epilogue on tourism in the Southwest, focused on Las Vegas.

At its best, the volume offers some deeply researched and sophisticated interpretations of the impact tourism has made on ethnic relations and identities in the region. Chris Wilson explores how cultural tourism for Indian arts, crafts, and imagery has maintained the racial hierarchy of New Mexico by creating ethnic and sexual personas. There is here a sensitive treatment of Julian and María Martínez’s relationship with the Museum of New Mexico, which incited culture change in Pueblo villages but brought steady income for Indian artisans. Rina Swentzell suggests that tourism has undermined Pueblo culture and identity through assimilation of Anglo racial stereotypes about Indians found in paintings, photographs, and White fascination with Indians arts and crafts. She laments the impact of tourism on Pueblo cosmology with its emphasis on multiple realms of experience.

William Bryan Jr., Susan Guyette, and David White investigate the corporate consolidation of adventure tourism in the Southwest, which limits ethical cultural tourism, and how municipal and state government can assist Indian communities to plan cultural tourism to benefit both tourists and locals.

There are also welcome newcomers in the collection. The essays by Phoebe Kropp and Erica Bsumek on California's El Camino Real and women's mail order connoisseurship of southwestern arts and crafts show the vicarious consumption and conquest of the romantic Spanish past and Indian artifacts by Anglos in search of authentic experience. Marguerite Shaffer, Leah Dilworth, and Sylvia Rodríguez argue that commercialized tourism and curio collecting fashions modern identity, shapes individual memory of the region by commodity fetishism, and perpetuates racial inequality. Char Miller criticizes municipal subsidy of tourism enterprises in San Antonio as an extractive industry offering only low-wage service work and continuing structural inequality compounded by race and ethnicity. In conclusion, the volume strongly contributes to the study of tourism in the Southwest.

The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture also raises numerous important questions about politics, social equality, and historic preservation, either directly or through overt omission. In the reciprocal interests and needs of Indian communities, cultural institutions, and regional business promoters, the influence of local, state, and congressional politics plays a key role. Only the professional tourism consultants directly address this phenomenon. It is remarkable that preservation of the California missions, Mesa Verde, or places like Chaco Canyon and Acoma even happened in the early twentieth century. Antimodernist fascination on the part of Anglo entrepreneurs merged with the corporate liberalism of the Progressive Era and the federalism of the New Deal to give Americans a lasting southwestern patrimony. Changing social and political trends (as only Chris Wilson noted), especially by Mexican American and Indian activists, made special claims for minority participation and interpretation of the southwestern past so central to the tourist economy. Western tourism studies generally fail to make these connections, which are central to the more northeastern fields of cultural history. Viewing southwestern tourism in small pieces, most of the authors fail to grasp its longer historical development. When analyzing such concepts as memory, authenticity, and individual and collective consciousness in the region, the authors could pay closer attention to continen-

tal models in anthropology and sociology that stress both discourse and praxis. A case in point: in Char Miller's fine essay on San Antonio, public tax credits and low-wage service work in San Antonio may not be a bad thing, of course, if the Service Employees International Union can organize the hotel and restaurant industry to raise wages and income in this key sector of the local economy.

The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture is the best recent volume on tourism in the American West and a vital contribution to American cultural history generally. The volume itself is produced well with appropriately placed photographs that highlight the significance of the visual and material in history. The authors' prose inches ever closer toward greater public communication, where the work of the academy needs to be. Hopefully, this volume and others to come will convince the wider fields of American history that study of the Southwest is not a parochial concern.

Matthew Bokovoy
Oklahoma State University

Surviving the Conquest: A History of the Yavapai Peoples. By Timothy Braatz. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xi + 310 pp. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8032-1331-x.)

Too much of American Indian history has been written from an assimilation perspective that characterizes Indian people as passive victims, denying them agency. In addition to the implication that a "traditional" culture existed—characterized by its static, inflexible nature—this perspective assumes that change is mere capitulation rather than a sophisticated response. *Surviving the Conquest: A History of the Yavapai Peoples* portrays the Yavapais of central Arizona as active participants in their history. With the goal of remaining in their homeland, they used various strategies to maintain their individual and group identities. Relying greatly on Yavapai sources, such as the Mike Burns manuscript held in the archives of the Sharlot Hall Museum in Prescott, Timothy Braatz shows how the concept of their homeland was central to their sense of who they were as a people. This central goal was behind their request for reservations. While administrators in the U.S. Indian Office intended the reservation system as a vehicle for the assimilation of Indians into mainstream society—a place where missionaries and educators could instill values such as private ownership of land—the

Yavapais requested reservations as “places to preserve Yavapai identities, not to become something else” (p. 24).

Braatz begins his book with an excellent review of the available literature on the Yavapai. The accounts of Yavapais Mike Burns, John Williams, Viola Jimulla, along with Edward Gifford’s ethnographies, present the most extensive story of the Yavapai past. Peter Iverson’s biography of Carlos Montezuma and Sigrid Khera’s transcripts of Yavapai oral history add to the Yavapai perspective. However, historians of Arizona territorial history, 1863–1888, have tended to rely uncritically on U.S. Army and Indian Office records while dismissing Yavapai and ethnographic evidence. This is exemplified in the portrayal of General George Crook as an “able general who approaches sainthood” even though he “masterminded and directed two bloody winter campaigns of conquest against starving Yavapai and Western Apache families” (pp. 15–16).

In addition to replacing the perspective of the Yavapais as victims of U.S. expansion and endowing them with agency, another goal of the book is to correct the persistent misidentification of the four Yavapai peoples. This error is a legacy of U.S. Army accounts that first labeled the Yavapai peoples as “Apaches” and later called them by such misnomers as “Apache-Mojaves,” “Mojave-Apaches,” and “Apache-Yumas.” Braatz corrects the misperception, distinguishing among the four Yavapai peoples—the Tolkepayas, Yavapes, Wipukepas, and Kwevkepayas. He compares and contrasts their various means of subsistence, stressing how much more challenging western Yavapai (Tolkepayaya) territory was than its eastern regions. The first chapter is an excellent ethnography of the Yavapai world before the invasion of White settlers and the U.S. military. Two chapters focus on this invasion and the resulting chaos for the Yavapai peoples. The final two chapters describe how the Yavapais created a new existence for themselves, never losing sight of the goal of keeping their homelands.

With its highly readable style, thorough documentation, and use of Yavapai sources, this book fills an important gap in the ethnographic and historical literature of the Southwest. By adding the voices of the Yavapai peoples, this exceptional narrative contributes greatly to our understanding of history from the Yavapai perspective, something that has long been missing in accounts of the history of the Southwest.

Trudy Griffin-Pierce
University of Arizona

A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains. By Clyde Ellis. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003. vii + 232 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 cloth, ISBN 0-7006-1274-2.)

In his latest work, Clyde Ellis provides a comprehensive study of the development of the powwow by Southern Plains Indians. Spanning more than a century of history, the author synthesizes previous scholarship on the powwow and enhances this material with numerous interviews and his own personal insights. He traces the roots of powwows from early tribal practices, through the struggles on the reservations to preserve these dancing traditions, to growing public interest in Wild West Shows, down through twentieth-century development of the intertribal exposition. Throughout his narrative, Ellis connects changing dance practices to Indian efforts to negotiate between identity preservation and assimilation attempts by the American government.

Using a mostly chronological approach, Ellis begins his discussion with Indian dance practices on the reservations in the late nineteenth century and efforts by federal agents to stop these activities. Southern Plains Indians saw their dances as both celebrations of identity and as sources of spiritual power. Federal officials saw the dances as lingering resistance to assimilation and a potentially dangerous call to rebellion. While some Indians who converted to “the Jesus Road” also came to view tribal dances as negative, many more continued to use dancing—and eventually Powwows—as avenues of adaptation to a changing reality. Ellis admits toward the end of his work that the number of Indians actually participating regularly in powwow culture amount to perhaps less than ten percent, yet he sees the effects of this culture as much broader, providing continuity to Indian identity.

Although Ellis writes with an engaging style, his frequent use of quotes is distracting and tends to disguise his own voice. At times, it is unclear who he is quoting, forcing the reader to jump a few sentences ahead to look for a footnote. However, his sources are sound, including a significant number of personal interviews along with important ethnographies and tribal records. His thorough examination of secondary scholarship is also important, making his work probably the most complete synthesis on the powwow to date. Because of this factor alone, the book is an important addition to the field.

The most fascinating aspect of the work, however, is what Ellis describes as a struggle among Indian peoples for control of their separate traditions while simultaneously emphasizing a collective identity. While intertribal

powwows helped resurrect forgotten dances and traditions such as those honoring war veterans, they also brought about frequent conflict over tribal ownership of dances and songs. Indians continue to debate the value of the powwow, the effects of White participation, and the commercialization that some believe has diluted the spiritual power of dances. Ellis describes this tension remarkably well without providing his own judgments. The result is a rare glimpse into the world of the powwow invisible to the average observer.

April R. Summitt
Andrews University

Telling Stories the Kiowa Way. By Gus Palmer Jr. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xxx + 145 pp. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.95 paper, ISBN 0-8165-2278-2.)

Gus Palmer Jr., an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Oklahoma who is Kiowa and one of the few fluent speakers of the language, sees several differences between telling stories the Kiowa way and the way non-Indians tell them. A couple of caveats apply here. By stories, Palmer does not mean run-of-the-mill gossiping about people in the community nor does he necessarily mean well-known traditional stories. Rather, they are stories with an inherent Kiowaness, but which might crop up at any time in the course of any conversation. Unfortunately, the only people who are going to tell these stories are aged Kiowa speakers and they usually tell only to close friends and relatives.

First off, listeners have to be on their toes as the story can come at any time and in the middle of any conversation. A listener might not even know a story has started and then have no idea when it has ended. And it can take a long time for a Kiowa to tell a story, not just minutes or hours, but possibly weeks, maybe months. The teller might start and stop, loop back, leave off for days, and then return to the story when the listener least expects it.

Kiowa stories are filled with mystical entities, talking animals, and magical people. Now, non-Indians would be comfortable with these as they normally expect these elements in Indian stories. But where non-Indians usually chalk up talking animals to myths or tales, Kiowas might actually believe that a deer sang to them. It can be confusing. When an informant told him

a story about being instructed to go find a tree that looked like a hand, Palmer had the devil of a time trying to figure out if this story was actually true or whether it was all a dream.

Finally, Kiowa stories are not monologues; rather, listeners are invited to participate. “There are stories that open and remain open so the listener is able to interact with the storyteller by adding comments, asides, stories, interpretations, or other responses or remarks that make the story grow” (p. 109). At the very least the listener is expected to say “*hàu*” — Kiowa for “yes” — at times to keep the story going or to start their own.

For Palmer, Kiowa oral storytelling is some of the first authentic American literature. Unfortunately, there is little chance for non-Kiowas to hear the stories, as they are best told in Kiowa, a language that is on the decline to the point where even most Kiowas do not speak it. Hopefully, Palmer can save some stories for us.

David La Vere

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Ghost Towns Alive: Trips to New Mexico's Past. By Linda G. Harris, photographs by Pamela Porter. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. xiii + 242 pp. 147 halftones, 14 maps, index. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0-8263-2908-x.)

One of the pleasures of wandering around New Mexico is discovering its wealth of old towns in various states of liveliness or decay. They are history made manifest, a record on the landscape of economic change. Linda Harris aptly titled this book in accordance with her finding that many of these “ghost towns” across the state survive, even thrive, and beckon to explorers like her. Her stated goal in writing the book was “to take readers along without having them leave home” (p. ix).

Of course the romantic ghost towns of New Mexico have been the subject of a number of books for armchair or actual travelers over the years. Harris’s book reminds this reader of Ralph Looney’s venerable *Haunted Highways*, first published by the University of New Mexico Press in 1968. Looney’s book has been enjoyed for more than three decades, but because these historic towns do not stagnate but continue to change—descending further into rubble or rising anew—his book is badly out of date. *Ghost Towns Alive* remedies that with fresh information and new photographs.

Ghost Towns Alive offers brief descriptions of seventy towns located in a diagonal band from the northeast corner of the state to the bootheel. Each description includes directions for getting there, some general historical background, and the town's current status. The ample accompanying photographs are both archival and new. Pamela Porter's photographs have appeared in several well-known magazines, usually in color, but these black and white prints demonstrate her ability to capture the textures of grass and weathered wood and the architectural beauty of old churches and cemeteries.

Linda Harris has received several book awards, and her approach and writing style are appropriate for her intended audience: conversational, the voice of a personal guide with a knack for description. I found no historical revelations here, and occasionally the author repeats a story about a town or a building that may be more story than history, but this is a book intended to provide a sense of the lives and current times of these towns. It succeeds very well. As a reader who has investigated a number of the "ghost towns," I enjoyed finding out from a skilled writer and photographer how some of my favorite places are faring today.

The problems I found were few and minor. The only place I specifically missed from the coverage was the old mining town of Bland in the Jemez Mountains; otherwise, the book seems thorough in its inclusiveness. The only writing glitches I noticed were obvious editing errors (such as the repeated misspelling of the name of an important historic figure) that the publisher should have corrected. *Ghost Towns Alive* is a welcome addition to the travel literature on historic towns, dead or alive, of New Mexico.

Sandra D. Lynn

New Mexico State University at Carlsbad

Voices of the Buffalo Soldier: Records, Reports, and Recollections of Military Life and Service in the West. By Frank N. Schubert. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. xi + 281 pp. Halftones, illustrations, line drawings, maps, notes, index. \$24.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2309-x.)

No one has contributed more to knowledge of the buffalo soldier and his role in the frontier army than Frank Schubert. Gathering nearly one hundred telling documents in this volume, the author offers readers a peek into the daily lives and careers of these ordinary individuals who performed ex-

traordinary service for their country. Although little known until recently, soldiers of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry played major roles in post-Civil War Native conflicts, exploration and reconnaissance, defense of the Mexican border against bandits and revolutionaries, garrisoning of stage stations and frontier posts, and establishment of law and order. Despite the oppressive atmosphere of their times, buffalo soldiers served with distinction and devotion to duty, rarely deserting.

Drawing upon a lifetime of research, Schubert skillfully transports the reader into the world of contrasts in which buffalo soldiers lived: one filled with abuse and comfort, discrimination and respectability, and public ingratitude mixed with military honors. They scoured the Southwest for Apache and Comanche raiders, fought the Cheyennes at Beecher Island, scouted the threatening Llano Estacado, chased bandits, assisted law enforcement authorities in the Southwest and in the Johnson County War, fought the Spanish in Cuba, and defended one another. For their outstanding service, eighteen buffalo soldiers received Congressional Medals of Honor, but only rarely could they relax in town without experiencing the prejudice, discrimination, ingratitude, and even abuse of local residents. Schubert documents their sterling service with hand-me-down equipment and mounts as well as their occasional defense of their civil rights, as in the famous incidents in San Angelo, Texas, and Crawford, Nebraska. Demonstrating personal contrasts, the author returns more than once to the controversial life of Medal of Honor recipient Sgt. Emanuel Stance, who faced accusations of abusing his men and was ultimately murdered on the road to Crawford.

Of greatest interest to scholars and students alike are the glimpses into the daily life and interpersonal relations of the men. From recruits' reminiscences, personal letters, court-martial transcripts, officers' letters, pension applications, and "public announcements," readers see buffalo soldiers struggle to adapt to western life; clash with their sergeants; suffer horribly from heat, cold, and thirst; court ladies; develop camaraderie in their barracks; display great patriotism in old age; and be continually denied social acceptance and promotion to officers' ranks. Lending greater realism to the documents, Schubert further brings these men to life by incorporating many photographs and illustrations. His well constructed maps greatly enhance the reader's understanding of the enormous range and specific locales in which the men served. Any student of the buffalo soldiers from

scholar to underclassman to layman will benefit from this fine collection documenting their personal experiences as they served with distinction in the Old Army.

Michèle Butts

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Soldier, Surgeon, Scholar: The Memoirs of William Henry Corbusier, 1844–1930. Edited by Robert Wooster. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. xx + 234 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8061-3549-2.)

Fanny Dunbar Corbusier: Recollections of Her Army Life, 1869–1908. Edited by Patricia Y. Stallard. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. xix + 348 pp. Halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8061-3531-x.)

Scholars researching military families in the post-Civil War West have used some of the writings of William Henry Corbusier and his wife, Fanny Dunbar Corbusier, in research. *Verde to San Carlos: Recollections of a Famous Army Surgeon and His Observant Family on the Western Frontier, 1869–1886* appeared in 1969, printed by Dale Stuart King. I recall especially the rich details Fanny Corbusier provided about life at Fort Grant in the 1880s when her husband was assigned to the Tenth Cavalry. Nonetheless, *Verde to San Carlos* remains confusing in organization and presentation of material. Having limited appeal, it was generally found only in rare book collections.

The descendants of William and Fanny Corbusier had complete copies of their ancestors' recollections and the University of Oklahoma Press is to be commended for publishing the Corbusier's memoirs as two separate volumes. Robert Wooster and Patricia Stallard, as editors, are both acknowledged authorities on military families and post life. Consequently, the volumes, although they cover in general many of the same events, are both riveting. Each provides rare details that give students and scholars researching the Indian Wars and the U.S. occupation of the Philippines early in the twentieth century a rich vein of primary source material that comes only from firsthand observations.

William Corbusier's memoirs begin with his New York City boyhood in a chapter that deserves inclusion in social history readers. A gem, it is extraordinarily rich with recollections of food, lighting fixtures, clothing, furniture, and various medical remedies of the time, along with recreational activities, popular celebrations, and customs. Successive chapters cover a youth spent in the California gold fields before William entered the Union Army in 1864 as a contract surgeon serving under Gen. Benjamin Grierson in the western theater of the war.

After the war, William made his career in the regular army where he practiced medicine on frontier posts and often served a civilian population as well. Throughout his career in the West, the Native peoples he met fascinated him, and he learned the languages of the Yavapai, the Sioux, and the Shoshoni and later became a published ethnologist. By 1900, he was acting medical purveyor of the expedition to the Philippines and faced the immense difficulty of obtaining supplies for almost 60,000 men when he had enough on-hand for only 2,500. After becoming an adviser to Red Cross chapters, he devised an identification system for soldiers that those in the military refer to as the "dog tag." After a second tour of duty in the Philippines, William returned home and after one more assignment, including an inspecting tour in Alaska, retired in 1908 at the age of sixty-four. In 1921, three years after the death of his wife Fanny, he revisited the San Carlos Indian Agency where he met the descendents of the Apaches that he and others had removed from the Rio Verde Agency in 1875.

Fanny's recollections cover many of the same events, but her perspective is that of a wife who faced the common problems women endured on frontier posts. With five sons, she confronted the issue of providing her children with an education. At times she had to leave William at various posts to accompany a son back east so that he could attend school. Later, after the Corbusier sons were in professions of their own or at college, she faced a long separation from her husband during his tour of duty in the Philippines. More emotionally expressive, her account often depicts her loneliness away from her husband. Like William, however, she shared an interest in the Native peoples of the West and, in one chapter, gives the reader a riveting account of a Sioux Sun Dance. William Corbusier may have called Fanny "little mother," but there was nothing frail or diminutive about her. She was instead level-headed, resilient, and pragmatic. Stallard suggests that Fanny had probably developed these qualities as a young southern woman experiencing the privations of the Civil War. In her marriage, Fanny was an

unfailingly loyal wife and proud mother who rejoiced in her husband's achievements and her sons' accomplishments and marriages.

Both Wooster and Stallard have included exemplary bibliographies and useful and excellent annotations. These two volumes are highly recommended for historians of the American West and family life in that region. Both works deserve an honored place on the book shelf of every historian who specializes in the post-Civil War military and the military as it made its transition from the "Old Army" to the "New Army" at the turn of the twentieth century.

Shirley A. Leckie

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Scenes from the High Desert: Julian Steward's Life and Theory. By Virginia Kerns. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003. xiv + 414 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-252-02790-6.)

Virginia Kerns has produced a remarkable piece of scholarship on Julian Steward's career and his impact on the development of anthropological theory. Through detailed examination of archives, unpublished papers, publications, oral histories, interviews, and her own fieldwork, Kerns has produced a fascinating and complex analysis of Steward the scholar, Steward the husband and family man, and Steward as product of his times and places.

Kerns divides her presentation into twelve chapters. The first eight address in great detail events during the first half (1902–1936) of Steward's life. She makes a convincing case that these years are of "greater importance . . . to his theoretical work" (p. xi) on patrilineal bands in particular and cultural ecology in general. The last four chapters cover the majority (1936–1972) of Steward's professional career, which Kerns considers of lesser importance. As a result, the volume emphasizes Steward's cultural ecology and de-emphasizes his work on cultural evolution. Kerns succeeds in demonstrating her thesis that "[Steward's] concept of the patrilineal band [is] central to his intellectual work, [is] emotionally meaningful, and [is] unquestionably grounded in his own social experience and memories of place" (p. ix).

This volume is more than an examination of the development of one aspect of Steward's anthropological theory during a long and productive career. It is at least two books wrapped into one, for woven within the multilayered

analysis of Steward's scholarship are numerous complex threads dealing with gender relations in Steward's personal life, gender and other socio-politics of the academy, and the effect of these situations and contexts on Steward's development as a scholar and academic professional. These alternate threads, though compelling and important, are subject to some debate and often prove distracting to the central thesis. The historical reality is that Steward's formative and early professional years were spent in environments and contexts in which few women worked. It does not follow logically that Steward therefore chose, for example, to take anthropology courses only offered by men while at Berkeley (p. 66), or that he devalued women's labor because his mother could not support herself financially (p. 74), or that he "avoided women as informants" (p. 97). He may have had little choice in the matter, and these potentially serious implications would be more compelling if supported by data rather than circumstantial evidence. Women have been discriminated against in the academy, but Steward cannot be held responsible for that situation in as many contexts as Kerns seems to suggest.

For readers interested in the sociopolitical contexts of academic life, Kerns' thought-provoking analysis generates questions and suggests avenues for future research. The current volume is a pleasure to read precisely because some of the points prove to be controversial and debatable.

Stephen E. Nash
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Disease in the History of Modern Latin America: From Malaria to AIDS. Edited by Diego Armus. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003. viii + 326 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$64.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8223-3057-1, \$21.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3069-5.)

A Pest in the Land: New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective. By Suzanne Austin Alchon. Dialogos Series. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. ix + 214 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95 paper, ISBN 0-8263-2871-7.)

These two new contributions to the field of the history of disease demonstrate how social, political, and economic forces have shaped the epidemiology, pathology, and human interpretation of disease in Latin America.

The authors also offer insight into how historical interpretations of disease shift over time in response to political and economic conditions.

Suzanne Austin Alchon's *A Pest in the Land* provides a critical overview of recent historical scholarship on the epidemiological dimension of Europe's conquest of the Americas. The author, who has published widely on disease in colonial Ecuador, argues that in the past twenty years demographic historians of the conquest have tended to ignore or underestimate the role of human agency in the decimation of Amerindian populations by infectious disease. She seeks to correct this by placing the impact of disease into a broader analytical context that considers warfare, Indian slavery, immigration, and internal migration as factors that compounded the impact of "virgin soil epidemics," a term that denotes the arrival of a disease to a previously unexposed population.

Alchon also dismantles the notion of American exceptionalism—the idea that the Americas were free of strife and disease before Europeans and that Amerindian mortality rates were purely a result of the population's biological isolation from the Old World—by placing this epidemiological nightmare into a global historical perspective. Throughout the Old and New Worlds, economic-driven migrations, as well as military conquests, carried deadly disease to previously unexposed populations. Although virgin soil epidemics occurred with great frequency in the Old World, the intervals between outbreaks were usually spaced out over long periods of time, thus affording populations time to recuperate, and in some cases, to build immunities. By contrast, American post-1492 epidemics arrived in rapid succession, due to the increasing pace of overseas commerce and migration, thereby compounding the effects of conquest and cultural dislocation. Drawing on a diverse array of cultural sources, Alchon also argues that Amerindian psychological and ritualistic responses to the calamity were similar to those of Asians, Africans, and Europeans.

Estimating the pre-Columbian population in the Americas and charting the ensuing demographic decline has been fraught with methodological challenges but also political significance. Historical actors and scholars alike have massaged the figures to achieve a wide range of political and intellectual objectives. The book's Appendix, "The Demographic Debate," provides a critical historiography of demography in the Americas, and suggests some provocative questions about the politics of history.

The great strength of this book lies less in its original research than in Alchon's skill at synthesizing a vast body of scholarship. Moreover, Alchon's

analysis offers insightful comparisons into the colonization experiences of all of the major European powers. The book's major weakness is that its simplistic maps do little to illustrate Alchon's geographically far-ranging analysis.

Diego Armus's edited collection on disease in modern Latin America shares Alchon's interest in the interactions between disease and human behavior. The contributing essayists "take medicine to be an uncertain and contested terrain where the biomedical is shaped as much by human subjectivity as by objective facts" (p. 6). The authors therefore examine the political and social dimensions of disease from local, national, and international perspectives. The authors also consider how cultural or social representations of illnesses shape the behaviors of patients and doctors. The historical interpretations of Latin American medicine, disease, and public health have shifted over the years, from the celebratory histories written by medical professionals, to social control and social construction models. Armus's collection, by contrast, strikes a delicate balance by appreciating the complex and often contradictory actions of both the sufferers of disease and those attempting to cure them.

Although the authors tend to divide into those more interested in health policy and popular response and those more interested in social or cultural representations of illness and the ill, all the essays emphasize how the interaction between biological and social factors creates and sustains disease. Marilia Couthino on Chagas disease and Nancy Leys Stepan on malaria demonstrate how poverty in Brazil fostered certain illnesses, but prejudice against the sick hampered public health campaigns and impeded scientific research. Doctors who argued against such social prejudice existed, but were a minority. The social or racial prejudice of scientists may also lead them to ignore evidence in solving a medical dilemma, as Ann Blum demonstrates in her essay on infant mortality in Mexican children's hospitals. Such attitudes by the medical establishment may engender resistance from the targets of public health campaigns, as Katherine Bliss and Diana Obregón demonstrate in their examinations of campaigns against syphilis in post-revolutionary Mexico and leprosy in Colombia, respectively. Interest in a given disease may ebb and flow depending on its links to political and economic interests. The Brazilian state's concern with eradicating malaria in the Amazon, for example, was directly tied to the rise and fall of international investment in the region. Similarly Anne-Emanuelle Birn argues that the Rockefeller Foundation took on Mexican hookworm less because it was

imperiling the populace than because its eradication was feasible and would bring prestige to the international organization and to the Mexican state. Solutions to given outbreaks are sometimes shaped by the political economy of the state; revolutionary Mexico in the 1930s took a social approach to syphilis (albeit coercive at the same time), while neo-liberal Peru in the 1990s avoided increased state expenditure when confronted with cholera. But politics does not necessarily always penetrate the medical profession as Ann Zulawski shows in her study of psychiatric care in post-Chaco War Bolivia.

These two books reflect the continuing evolution of historical scholarship on disease in Latin America. And all of the authors do an admirable job of respecting the state of medical knowledge while also offering insightful critiques into the interactions between microbes, individuals, societies, and states that shape the epidemiology and pathology of disease. Their conclusions offer insight that may be of use and interest not only to students of history, but also to medical and public health practitioners.

Jonathan D. Ablard

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Book Notes

A Settling of Accounts: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1700–1704. Vol. 6. Edited by John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, and Larry D. Miller. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. xvi + 446 pp. Halftones, notes, documents list, index. \$49.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2867-9.)

The Not So Wild, Wild West: Property Rights on the Frontier. By Terry L. Anderson and Peter J. Hill. (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004. xii + 263 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8047-4854-3.)

Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border. By Elliott Young. American Encounters/Global Interactions Series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. xv + 407 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$84.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8223-3308-2, \$23.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3320-1.)

The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836–1981. By Carlos Kevin Blanton. Fronteras Series, no. 2. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004. ix + 204 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 1-58544-310-7.)

Forgotten Tribes: Unrecognized Indians and the Federal Acknowledgment Process. By Mark Edwin Miller. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. xii + 355 pp. Map, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8032-3226-8.)

Native North American Armor, Shields, and Fortifications. By David E. Jones. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004. xvi + 188 pp. Halftones, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, ISBN 0-292-70209-4, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 0-292-70170-5.)

The Modern Cowboy, 2d ed. By John R. Erickson, photographs by Kristine C. Erickson. Western Life Series, no. 7. (Denton: University of North Texas 261

Press, 2004. xvii + 211 pp. 58 halftones, bibliography, index. \$18.95 paper, ISBN 1-57441-177-2.)

Contested Policy: The Rise and Fall of Federal Bilingual Education in the United States, 1960–2001. By Guadalupe San Miguel Jr. *Al Filo: Mexican American Studies Series*, no. 1. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2004. vii + 168 pp. Tables, appendixes, notes, index. \$21.95 cloth, ISBN 1-57441-171-3.)

Reconciling Modernity: Urban State Formation in 1940s León, Mexico. By Daniel Newcomer. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. xi + 288 pp. Halftones, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8032-3349-3.)

Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil. By Bryan McCann. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. 312 pp. 16 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$79.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8223-3284-1, \$22.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3273-6.)

20 *Good Reasons to Study the Civil War.* By John C. Waugh, foreword by Jim Lehrer. (Abilene, Tex.: McWhiney Foundation Press, 2004. 96 pp. \$12.95 paper, ISBN 1-893114-46-5.)

Digital Imaging: A Practical Approach. By Jill Marie Koelling. *American Association for State and Local History Book Series*. (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2004. viii + 85 pp. Halftones, notes, index. \$69.00 cloth, ISBN 0-7591-0445-X, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 0-7591-0446-8.)

News Notes

Grants, Fellowships, and Awards

The William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies at Southern Methodist University offers the William P. Clements Prize for the Best Non-Fiction Book on Southwestern America to promote and recognize fine writing and original research on the American Southwest. The competition is open to any non-fiction book, including biography, on any aspect of southwestern life, past or present, with a 2005 copyright. Submissions must be post-marked by 17 January 2006. For further information, contact: David Weber, Director, William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX 75275-0176, (214) 768-3684, e-mail: dweber@smu.edu, or visit the website: www.smu.edu/swcenter/prize.htm.

Western Writers of America announces its 2006 Spur Awards Competition. To be eligible, works submitted must be set in or relate to the American West or the frontier experience. Works submitted must have been published during the 2005 calendar year. Deadline for submissions is 31 December 2005. For more information, contact: Tracy L. Hutton, 5009 Justin Drive NW, Albuquerque, NM 87114, (505) 897-3813, email: TracyHutton@comcast.net, or visit the website: www.westernwriters.org/spur_awards.htm.

Archives, Exhibits, and Historic (Web) Sites

The Albuquerque Museum announces "Picasso to Plensa: A Century of Art from Spain." The exhibit features early twenty-first-century Spanish art and includes examples of cubism, surrealism, constructivism, and geometric abstraction. The exhibit opens 18 December 2005 and runs through 16 April 2006. The museum is located at 2000 Mountain Road NW, Albuquerque. For more information, visit the museum website: www.cabq.gov/museum/.

The Museum of International Folk Art, Museum of New Mexico, announces "Taking the High Road: Art, Family and Legacy in Córdoba, New Mexico."

The exhibit celebrates the artists and the masterpieces of the Cordovan tradition and runs through 30 September 2006. The Museum of International Folk Art is located on Camino Lejo, Santa Fe, NM 87505. For more information, call (505) 476-1200, or visit the museum website: www.internationalfolkart.org/.

Calendar of Events

30 November–4 December 2005: The American Anthropological Association announces its 104th annual meeting, “Bringing the Past into the Present: A Forum on the Ancient One and the Future of Anthropology.” The meeting will be held at the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel in Washington, D.C. For more information, visit the website: www.aaanet.org/mtgs/mtgs.htm.

1 January 2006: Deadline for submissions to the Filson Institute Second Academic Conference, “Comparative and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on North American Borderlands.” The conference will be held 20–21 October 2006 in Louisville, Kentucky. For more information, visit the website: www.filsonhistorical.org/callforpapers.html.

1 February 2006: Deadline for submissions to the “Spare No Pains’ Zebulon Pike and His 1806–1807 Expedition: A Bicentennial Symposium.” The symposium will be held 3 June 2006 in Colorado Springs, Colorado. For more information, contact Chris Nicholl, Pikes Peak Library District, P.O. Box 1579, Colorado Springs, CO 80901, or email: cnicholl@ppld.org.

8–10 February 2006: The Southwest / Texas Popular Culture Association and American Culture Association will hold its 27th annual conference at the Hyatt Regency in Albuquerque. For more information, visit the website: www.h-net.org/~swpca/index.html.

1 April 2006: The Clements Center for Southwest Studies announces its 2006 Annual Public Symposium, “Consumer Capitalism and Culture on the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands.” The Symposium will be held at the Hughes-Trigg Forum on the campus of Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. For more information, visit the website: www.smu.edu/swcenter/ConsumerCulture.htm.