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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME 71

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COVER: Franz Huning, German immigrant, and prominent Albuquerque businessman, in a studio photo circa 1875. Photo courtesy of the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, negative no. 000-194-0001.2.

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## CONTENTS

The Unpolitical German in New Mexico, 1848–1914 TOMAS JAEHN	1
General Dynamics of Drought, Ranching and Politics in New Mexico, 1953–1961 AL REGENSBURG	25
Politics, Religion, and the Blue Book, The John Birch Society in eastern New Mexico and west Texas, 1960–1965 TERRY ISSACS	51
BOOK REVIEWS	75
BOOK NOTES	101
NEWS NOTES	103

## BOOK REVIEWS

- Moorman, Donald R., and Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* by Larry Durwood Ball 75
- Furman, Necah Stewart, *Caroline Lockhart: Her Life and Legacy*, by Stefanie Beninato 76
- Etulain, Richard W., ed., *Contemporary New Mexico, 1940–1990*, by Peter J. Blodgett 77
- Cervantes, Fernando, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain*, by Edward T. Brett 78
- Yeager, Gertrude M., *Confronting Change, Challenging Tradition: Women in Latin American History*, by Elaine Carey 80
- Lewis, David Rich, *Neither Wolf Nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change*, by D.C. Cole 80
- Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, *They Called It Prarie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*, by Margaret Connell Szasz 81
- Robinson III, Charles M., *The Court Martial of Lieutenant Henry Flipper*, by Captain Thomas F. Cornell 82
- Santiago, Mark, *The Red Captain: The Life of Hugo O'Conor, Commandant Inspector of New Spain*, by Donald C. Cutter 83
- Tijerina, Andrés, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag, 1821–1836*, by Jesús F. de la Teja 84
- Parman, Donald L., *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century*, by Vine Deloria, Jr. 85
- Robbins, William, *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West*, by Gene M. Gressley 86
- García, Nasario, ed., *Tata: A Voice from the Río Puerco*, by Robert F. Gish 87
- Robinson III, Charles M., *Bad Hand: A Biography of General Ranald S. Mackenzie*, by Paul L. Hedren 88
- Gil, Fernando, *Primeras [Doctrinas] del Nuevo Mundo: Estudio histórico-telógico de las obras de fray Juan de Zumárraga (1548)*, by Ricardo León-García 89

Weatherby, James B., and Stephanie L. Witt, <i>The Urban West: Managing Growth and Decline</i> , by Bradford Luckingham	90
Brown, John Gary, <i>Soul in the Stone: Cemetery Art From America's Heartland</i> , by Lynn Musslewhite	91
Hickerson, Nancy Parrott, <i>The Jumanos: Hunters and Traders of the South Plains</i> , by Hana Samek Norton	92
Noble, David Grant, <i>Pueblos, Villages, Forts &amp; Trails: A Guide to New Mexico's Past</i> , by Dorothy Parker	93
León García, Ricardo, <i>Misiones Jesuitas en la Tarahumara: (Siglo XVIII)</i> , by Charles W. Polzer, S.J.	94
Luckingham, Bradford, <i>Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860–1992</i> , by Howard N. Rabinowitz	94
Wallis, Michael, and Craig Varjabedian, <i>En Divina Luz: The Penitente Moradas of New Mexico</i> , by Orlando Romero	96
Hafen, LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, <i>Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fé to Los Angeles: With Extracts from Contemporary Records and Including Diaries of Antonio Armijo and Orville Pratt</i> , by Joseph P. Sánchez	97
Schaafsma, Polly, <i>Rock Art in New Mexico</i> , by Evelyn A. Schlatter	98
Smith, Toby, <i>Coal Town: The Life and Times of Dawson, New Mexico</i> , by Liping Zhu	99

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**(505)277-2642**

**akirk@unm.edu**

# The Unpolitical German in New Mexico, 1848–1914

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TOMAS JAEHN

Historians have long tried to determine the influence of ethnic groups on American national and state politics including New Mexico. Yet available studies of the state are unique because political interactions and conflicts there were almost exclusively seen in racial rather than in ethnic perspectives. Unfortunately, considering all Europeans in New Mexico as Anglo Americans results in a misleading political picture of the state. It exaggerates the cohesiveness of European groups and American Hispanics and implies a nonexistent political unity within each group. Clearly, for Germans, geography and religion rather than a shared ethnicity played a greater role in determining political alliances.<sup>1</sup>

It is not surprising that no political study exists of ethnic Germans, as they were almost always considered synonymous with Anglos in New Mexico. In addition, unlike German experiences in midwestern states or territories or in precincts in major cities like Chicago or Milwaukee, Germans in New Mexico did not congregate in specific counties or precincts. When they did gravitate toward urban centers like Santa Fe, Albuquerque, or Las Vegas, they tended not to concentrate in neighborhoods.

A quick survey of sources indicates that research on the German political impact in New Mexico is scarce. While general studies on the West indicate that Germans tended to support the Republican Party and westward expansion policies, more specialized research of ethnic political behavior in several other western states and territories reveals that political preferences cannot be easily generalized.<sup>2</sup> Together, these ear-

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Tomas Jaehn, who holds a doctorate from the University of New Mexico, is presently an archivist at the Idaho State Historical Society in Boise.



lier studies of the more densely populated and thus politically more consequential midwestern states provide a picture of shifting voting patterns and party operations during the second half of the nineteenth century. As one scholar has pointed out, "their composite picture is one of an intensely partisan and highly mobilized electorate." The same scholar shows that party voters neither split their tickets nor defected to the major opposition.<sup>3</sup> Generally, these studies also demonstrate that political issues, region of birth, religion, geography, or occupation all weighed more than ethnic background.<sup>4</sup> For example, the detailed study by Stanley B. Parsons of heavily populated German counties in Nebraska during the Populist Era shows that economic issues, religion, and the liquor question were more important than ethnicity as indicators of party alliances.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, New Mexico does not offer a heavily German-populated county or town to determine Germans' and American Germans' political behavior and party alliances. In New Mexico between 1850 and 1920, the German population was widely dispersed.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the study of German political behavior, influence, and attitudes in New Mexico has to rely heavily on political patterns in Germany, on German ethnic groups elsewhere in the United States, and on newspapers, diaries, and other personal accounts. This task is complicated in New Mexico by a tendency to lump together all central and northern Ethno-European groups into "Anglos," meaning Germans, Gentile and Jewish alike, were not distinguished. And one must note that Jewish Germans considered themselves, at least until World War I, part of the larger German contingent who settled and developed New Mexico.<sup>7</sup> During the height of German immigration to the United States, Jewish German immigrants were not singled out as a separate ethnic group.<sup>8</sup>

In short, the small and widely dispersed group of Germans in New Mexico and the lack of ways to determine ethnic voting turnouts provide few clues as to the political convictions of ordinary German miners, farmers, launderers, and artisans. Rather, the more vocal, successful, or infamous Germans garner notice. They received public attention, often voiced political preferences, and occasionally attempted to gain political offices. Noticeable among this group are German merchants, a few ranchers, and an occasional lawyer or artisan.

To understand Germans' roles in New Mexico politics, a look into the cultural and political history of the German states during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries helps explain the apolitical behavior of German emigrants. Generally, German history is not characterized by the political participation of its citizens. Indeed, most Germans were excluded from the political process, and only the upper classes and nobilities were in position to influence politics. One of Germany's literary greats, Thomas Mann, stressed that participation

in politics would not benefit the German people. Its tradition is one of intellect—epitomized in culture, soul, freedom, and art—not of politics.<sup>9</sup> Minor changes in German political constitutions between the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the unification of the German states in 1871 allowed a modest increase in bourgeois participation in state parliaments, however. Not until the rise of socialism in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century was the working class able to wield influence in German politics.

These trends in German politics are not surprising, since other European countries were in similar situations. It is remarkable, though, that Germany produced a wealth of influential political thinkers and philosophers. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), Karl Marx (1818–1883), and Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844–1900), to mention but a few, were highly influential in the development of world political theory. In spite of these famous and influential theoreticians, mainstream Germans did not participate in the political process.

The roots of the German political indifference, and even disgust for politics, can be traced to nineteenth-century Germany. As Fritz Stern pointed out in an intriguing essay, Germans used their greatest achievement, their *Kultur*, to excuse their greatest failure, their *Politik*.<sup>10</sup> Despite a good educational system, Germany did not fully understand the ideas of Kant, Hegel, or Goethe. As a leading German sociologist and philosopher points out in the preface to Victor Farias's book *Heidegger et le Nazisme*, the “hidden curriculum” behind the teachings of the philosophers in German *Gymnasiums* was to promote “elitist self-understanding of academics, a fetishizing of *Geist*, [and] idolatry for the mother tongue....” The goal of higher education was personal, social, and economic advancement, not necessarily a politically aware citizen.<sup>11</sup> Mann reflected on this attitude during World War I when he detected that “intellect and power seem to miss each other consistently in Germany, [and] blossoming of the state and blossoming of culture seem to exclude each other....”<sup>12</sup> This trend surfaced in the 1848 uprising when many liberals demanded reforms without a revolution that would have endangered education and property.<sup>13</sup> Rather than use politics to achieve the goal of political freedom, Stern maintained Germany's upper class “has often disdained the grubbiness of politics.”<sup>14</sup> Instead, they thought about legal freedom, freedom from authoritarian powers, and liberation from economic and societal restrictions. Consequently, in pursuing cultural and individual freedom, the German middle class lost sight of the importance of political expression and participation in politics. After all, the freedoms Germans sought did not require participation in the politics of the West or New Mexico.

A typical German *Freidenker* (freethinker), who illustrates Stern's apolitical German, was Franz Huning of Albuquerque. Well educated in German public and private schools, he rebelled early on against his parents' religious beliefs, their sense of law and order, and their wish for him to become a farmer. Rather than paying attention in school, Huning claims in his memoirs, he was more interested in reading his own choice of books.<sup>15</sup> He aborted a mercantile apprenticeship in Bremen and refused to serve in his home state's (Hannover) army. In letters to Franz in Bremen, the elder Huning often urged Franz to return to God and not to let his *Freigeist* (free spirit) dominate his ideas.<sup>16</sup> More than once his father demanded that Franz must quit reading "trashy" novels and stay away from other *Freidenkern*.<sup>17</sup> His parents wrote in vain, as Franz maintained friendships with artists, theater people, and other "rebellious" women and men, and he remained atheistic.<sup>18</sup> In fact, his final will maintains his disrespect for religious beliefs: "I direct that my remains be cremated, the ashes put into an urn and deposited alongside my children, Lina and Elly. And I strictly forbid any and all religious nonsense. If any Old Timer should be handy, he may make a speech, but not mix up any cant with it."<sup>19</sup>

A list of the books Huning owned in Albuquerque indicates that he never abandoned an interest in the kind of books about which his parents warned him. Among others, Huning read Goethe, Schiller, Adalbert Stifter, and Charles Darwin. He also read Gotthold Lessing, one of the great critics of the time, who questioned the authority of dogmatism and instead advocated reason. In his most noted work, *Nathan der Weise*, Lessing encouraged tolerance and the teaching of humanitarian goals. Yet, as Stern noted, Germans, despite their excellent education, did not quite understand the ideas of Kant, Hegel, or Goethe. Instead of following the activism these thinkers promoted, Huning, similar to many other Germans, pursued a vague but important *Lebensgefühl* (life style). Clearly, Huning's book list underscores Stern's point: *Kultur* was often a substitute for *Politik*.<sup>20</sup> Or, as Mann interpreted the German character at the turn of the century, men and women raised in the German tradition sought to expand their intellect rather than to realize ideas politically.<sup>21</sup> In Albuquerque, even though Huning attended weekly performances of Goethe, Krug, and Kleist and concerts of Wagner, Beethoven, and Verdi, and in spite of his social and economic status in New Mexico, he remained essentially apolitical.<sup>22</sup> Rather than using his status for political advancement of New Mexico and its peoples, he invested his spare time in educational and social activities.

Huning's apolitical style is characteristic of many other Germans and American Germans who settled in New Mexico. Charles Ilfeld, Jacob Korber, and Flora Spiegelberg, to name a few, were well educated and socially and economically successful but did not transform their suc-

cess into political ventures. Consider, for example, Korber, educated in German public schools and briefly in a Lutheran seminary, who abandoned organized religion, evaded the Prussian military, and chose immigration to the American West, drifting from Colorado to New Mexico.<sup>23</sup> Making Albuquerque his new home, Korber set up a blacksmith shop that developed into a major venture. Yet despite his success, Korber also limited his spare time activities to ward politics, immigrant activities, and the local Lutheran church.<sup>24</sup>

Jewish Germans appear to have taken similar paths. Usually well educated in German or eastern schools, they achieved social and economic success in New Mexico but generally stayed out of politics. When involved politically, they usually did so in local and civic issues. Many, like Albert Grunsfeld and Lehman Spiegelberg, accepted appointments to school boards, and a few such as Spiegelberg and Abraham Staab were elected to county offices.<sup>25</sup>

In general, with only a small group of Germans scattered across New Mexico, German participation was negligible and political influence difficult to obtain. Unlike its neighbor Texas, no town in New Mexico was founded by Germans.<sup>26</sup> In addition, New Mexico's Germans lacked leaders like Texas had in Prince Carl von Solms-Braunfels and later Baron von Meusebach, or Butte, Montana had in the ambitious Irishman Thomas Francis Meagher.<sup>27</sup> In both these instances, settlements were new, and, as one writer has noted, social, economic, and political institutions developed with the respective ethnic group—Butte belonged to the Irish in almost the same way New Braunfels belonged to the Germans.<sup>28</sup>

New Mexico, on the other hand, consisted of some of the oldest population centers in North America.<sup>29</sup> Communal and political functions had been in place for centuries. Unlike those in most frontier areas, the institutions of New Mexico at the American takeover in the 1840s were feudal in character, with *ricos* running the towns. The political situation in New Mexico was not unlike that in small German towns headed by a secular or religious nobility. Despite recent studies that try to attribute the *patron* system to American occupation and capitalistic activities, the system was already in place, and Germans and other ambitious immigrants, rather than fighting the system, used, even improved, the Spanish system.<sup>30</sup>

Obviously, then, Germans who arrived in New Mexico found a place different from any other in the United States. The early German immigrants immediately realized that Hispanics shared political power. If they were to succeed in the newly adopted home, Germans had to accommodate their behavior to Anglo American and Hispanic patterns.<sup>31</sup> They did not establish ethnic organizations such as immigrant societies to

safeguard their political and economic success.<sup>32</sup> In fact, the small number of German newcomers discouraged ethnic isolation and favored good relations with the local populations and with the other immigrants in New Mexico.

When Germans did participate in politics, they usually did so on a small scale, and even then they rarely concerned themselves with ethnic German issues. Several reasons account for this absence of ethnic concern. For one, as has been pointed out, unlike in midwestern states, where political issues were highly partisan, in western states ticket splitting was common. For the most part this ticket splitting exemplified a more pronounced tendency toward short-term forces and issues.<sup>33</sup> Second, although voting and political behavior elsewhere in the West was often tied to religious issues, Catholics were so dominant in New Mexico that it was often wiser to avoid religious issues in elections. Clearly, anybody who ran for any office needed Hispanic votes to succeed. Therefore, political clashes over religion were less significant compared to land grant issues, questions about statehood, or Spanish-English language controversies. Third, with very few exceptions, elections and political matters in New Mexico included few ethnic debates that would have mobilized Germans.<sup>34</sup>

Since political-religious tensions were lacking and ethnically relevant issues absent, Germans usually voted their economic desires and personal convictions. Even in locations of German concentration, as in Albuquerque and Santa Fe, their numerical strength was too small to achieve any political control through ethnic power. Instead, they supported Hispanic or other American political agendas or candidates.

Still, the political situation in New Mexico was far from orderly. The factional and constitutional chaos during the first two decades following the United States takeover was a roadblock for any ethnic group to succeed politically. To Germans and other ethnic newcomers the political environment in New Mexico must have appeared confusing: New Mexico's well-established Hispanic political structure was challenged by the American political system, making it difficult for persons unfamiliar with either system to participate in the process.<sup>35</sup> For instance, as historian Howard Lamar has noted, the territory "fitted none of the assumptions of the Ordinance of 1787." A large white population was already present, little public land available, and no land suitable for an American farming population.<sup>36</sup> Because Hispanic political traditions and American political modernism created a vacuum, people with different political, social, and economic outlooks wanted to fill this gap. Obviously, political intentions ranged from one extreme to the other: from Hispanics who endeavored to preserve their culture and influence on one side to American Anglos on the other who wanted the territory Americanized as quickly as possible. In short, the situation was one of

discord, fractionalization, and confusion. Political leaders, slogans, and institutions that Germans may have learned about on their way to the United States did not mean much once they arrived in New Mexico. As Lamar points out, "American party names were used, and each faction had its defenders in Congress, but Republican and Democrat, pro slave and abolitionist, conservative and liberal, were phrases which had no real meaning here [in the Southwest]".<sup>37</sup>

Even though political confusion in New Mexico was sufficient reason for many Germans to remain politically uninvolved and to attend instead to their occupations and economic aspirations, it still allowed for opportunity. That is, weak party regimentation provided easier access for newcomers, even though few Germans accepted the challenge.<sup>38</sup>

Regardless of political agendas, Hispanics held nearly all elective offices. Their ethnic bonds were particularly strong at the county and precinct level and offered only a minute chance for politically ambitious newcomers to get involved. Few Americans appeared on the territorial legislative roster, with the first elected German not listed until 1880—Bernhard Seligman of Santa Fe County. More than thirty years elapsed before the first German was elected to the legislature.

On the territorial level, however, politically ambitious Anglo Americans like Thomas Catron and Stephen Elkins found opportunities for political leadership, with political positions for such persons coming via federal government appointment. Among the few Germans who accepted territorial appointments in the early years of the territory were Charles Blumner, Charles Clever, and William Osterton. But their positions were minor, more civic oriented. All of these men held positions as treasurer (but there was no money in the territory!), sheriff, and auditor. The only two Germans prior to 1880 to appear on the territorial assembly roster in nonelective positions were Louis Felsenthal and Clever. Both were listed as clerks of the House (1859) and the Council (1847) respectively.

Only when one considers Germans' political associates and acquaintances can one establish their political position. A case in point is Charles Blumner. Blumner arrived in 1846 in Santa Fe, just in time to witness the 1847 revolt.<sup>39</sup> In fact, Blumner may have been the first German to reside in the New Mexico Territory. Unlike many other early arrivals, Blumner did not consider the mercantile business his only opportunity. Although having had ample economic opportunities in the mercantile business, he gravitated toward politically influential men. For instance, during the Mexican period, he worked for Manuel Alvarez collecting debts. Beyond that, as Thomas Chávez notes in a recent study of Alvarez, "Blumner essentially handled all of Alvarez's business affairs."<sup>40</sup> His association with Alvarez, the United States Consul in Santa Fe, indicated his desire to have the United States annex and quickly "Americanize" the Hispanic territory. Blumner also accepted Colonel Stephen W. Kearny's appoint-

ment as treasurer of the territory and was reappointed in 1851, when Alvarez and Ceran St. Vrain posted a security bond of \$20,000.<sup>41</sup> In 1858 Levi Spiegelberg and John Mecure secured Blumner's bond as treasurer. The support of German and other well-to-do citizens in Santa Fe suggests that other Germans like Levi Spiegelberg's brothers and Louis Felsenthal may have shared his views of quick Americanization of New Mexico. Blumner's association with these men illustrates a general pattern that American business interests often served as the driving force behind political maneuvering in New Mexico.

Another German immigrant who atypically chose a political career was Charles Clever. Like Blumner, Clever gravitated toward the political scene. His studies in law, pursued in Santa Fe, benefitted his political ambitions. In 1857 he appeared as the clerk of the territorial council, and from 1862 on he was appointed and reappointed as attorney general. In many respects, Clever was a true politician and an exception to Stern's apolitical Germans. He was interested in the political system and aimed at using it. Through newspaper editorials and in speeches he clearly expressed his political views. Clever, one of the few identifiable ethnic German Democrats (Zodac Staab and Jacob Korber were others), vehemently favored Americanization and exploitation of New Mexico as quickly as possible.<sup>42</sup> For instance, Clever supported the 1867 proclamation prohibiting peonage, an announcement that touched a sore spot with Hispanics and reflected on the broader issue of American-versus-Hispanic ways of life. Views clashed and eventually accelerated to a dispute between Clever and J. Francisco Chaves that is well documented in the Santa Fe newspapers.<sup>43</sup>

Clever's drive for quick "Americanization" was particularly evident in his speech before the national Congress; he painted a clear picture of New Mexico's "American" future. He argued that big business, like the railroad, had to come to New Mexico to benefit American and Hispanic business elites. Clever outlined a bright, rich future for New Mexico. To give his speech an authoritative touch he frequently quoted from the *Santa Fe Gazette*, which he controlled. Clever's apocalyptic vision of "waiting for the day when the rich man with his money will come to be a partner with the poor man with his mine" was undoubtedly an ethnocentric and economically limited perspective. His viewpoint was based on an abundance of available Hispanic and Pueblo labor and the perception that "by mingling our own labor [among the native work force] under proper direction, a healthy industry will be developed, and native artisans [will be] instructed, Christianized and prepared for useful citizenship."<sup>44</sup> Clearly, Clever's exploitative vision was based on a wage labor system that depended on racial stratification of labor.<sup>45</sup>

By 1869 Clever had enough political backing to believe that he could become New Mexico's delegate to Congress. Although he won the election, the powerful American Hispanic faction with its Republican candidate J. Francisco Chaves contested the election successfully, claiming vote fraud. Unfortunately, contesting elections during the 1860s was part of a growing distrust between Anglo Americans and Hispanics.<sup>46</sup> Thus, longstanding conflict over Hispanic values led to Chaves accusing Clever and his supporters of developing the territory for American economic interests. Although the election dispute highlighted the conflicting political factions of New Mexico, that Clever was accused of election fraud is not surprising. Buying votes was not limited to New Mexico or Hispanics, nor was it uncommon practice among Germans or American Germans. For instance, Lincoln Steffens, in a well-known study, uncovered political corruption in cities like predominantly German St. Louis.<sup>47</sup>

Even though Blumner and Clever chose political careers with mercantile interests as a sideline, most other Germans who got involved in politics opted for indirect political participation. For instance, many Germans met their civic duty financially. In 1852 Solomon Jacob Spiegelberg advanced the chronically underfunded legislature \$4,000 to pay its members.<sup>48</sup> Other financially secure Germans often provided bond monies for Anglos, Germans, or Hispanics who aspired to political office. Informal politicking was also common. Possibly a casual poker game with Thomas Catron and Jesús Luna or a generous donation to Archbishop Jean Lamy's church fund proved beneficial to the person's political well-being.<sup>49</sup>

On the whole, however, most Germans stayed away from active territorial politics. If they were interested in politics, they discussed matters concerning their businesses. If they were ranchers in northern New Mexico, they may have voted as did Frederick Gerhardt, a German rancher, who arrived in the country in 1852. His daughter Lillie Anderson noted, "politically, father was a staunch Republican, as were most of the early day ranchers, who realized the necessity of a firm tariff on wool, pelts, and hides."<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, Germans in southeastern New Mexico were more likely to be Democratic because of immigration from Texas and proximity to that state. Over the decades, though, southeastern counties moved from a highly Democratic region to a two-party system, Hispanic counties from Republican strongholds to Democratic affiliation and mining regions and railroad hubs toward strong trade unions and Democratic ties.<sup>51</sup>

In the 1880s the political picture changed slightly. Early settlers had established their businesses and, because of railroad activities in the territory, towns grew more rapidly. Increasingly, immigrants from other parts of the country arrived in New Mexico. By this time, settled Ger-



mans were better acquainted with the American political system. Although most of the Germans' political activities were on the local and county level, some were elected or appointed to positions of territorial significance. For instance, John A. Miller, a German merchant living in Fort Bayard, representing Doña Ana, Grant, and Lincoln counties, was elected to the Territorial Council in 1882, joining Bernhard Seligman as the second German in the New Mexico legislature. Among the influential committees in which Miller participated were Territorial Affairs, Indian Affairs, Finance, and Mines and Public Lands.<sup>52</sup>

Bernhard Seligman, the first German elected to the territorial legislature, was financially established and considered a superb public speaker who steadily gained political power. Beginning in 1880 he served successfully in both state houses, chaired the Santa Fe County Commission, and was appointed territorial treasurer.<sup>53</sup> In his first year in the legislative assembly, Seligman was a member of the judiciary and educational committees.<sup>54</sup> Not all his elections were as easy as his first one, however. In 1888, for example, Thomas Catron contested Seligman's election to the Council Assembly, alleging that illegal votes were cast for Seligman, among others by Robert Helbig, a German alien, and that the polls in one of the Santa Fe precincts were illegally closed for an hour. The accusations were not substantiated, and Catron's attempt to block Seligman's return to the council was unsuccessful.<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps the only political institution during the territorial period that appealed to Germans was the Bureau of Immigration. Established in 1880 by territorial act, the bureau's mission was twofold: "to prepare and disseminate accurate information" and to present opportunities for "desirable immigration and for the investment of capital." It turned out to be, however, more of a propaganda instrument to speed up Americanization in New Mexico.<sup>56</sup> Although a few Hispanics joined the bureau, its membership list reads like an "Anglo Who's Who" in New Mexico. Many of the members such as Governor L. Bradford Prince, rancher J.C. Lea, *Las Vegas Optic* publisher J.H. Koogler, and New Mexico Cattle Association counsel Albert J. Fountain had vested interests in business coming to New Mexico. The organization's German members consisted exclusively of merchants. Lehman and Louis Spiegelberg, William Kroenig, Samuel Eldodt, and Alex Gusdorf, who joined the board a couple of years later, promoted the bureau's agenda and tried to attract more Germans to New Mexico.<sup>57</sup> Obviously, the bureau fulfilled its mission to promote New Mexico's resources. The promotional literature the bureau published emphasized—and not always accurately—fertile soil, salubrious climate, abundant water, and valuable mineral resources. In its quest to "disseminate accurate information" the bureau did little to reduce cultural misconceptions about New Mexico. In none of its many promotional publications did bureau members try to rectify misconceptions

about Hispanics and Native Americans.<sup>58</sup> The failure to discuss Hispanic and Native American populations suggests a hidden political agenda of the bureau. Perhaps by attracting Anglo immigrants to New Mexico, the bureau could offset the predominantly Hispanic image of New Mexico that many saw as an obstacle to progressive territorial politics and, most importantly, to statehood.

On the local level, Germans in towns like Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Roswell took active roles in their town's growth. Although their positions may have been ostensibly political, their real intent was economic. In Roswell, for example, Sydney and Will Prager, who had moved to Roswell and opened a mercantile store with Nathan Jaffa in the early 1880s, became involved in city politics to help protect their real estate and other economic interests.<sup>59</sup> In subsequent decades the Pragers and Jaffa invested money and held municipal offices to further their and the town's future.<sup>60</sup>

Germans also appeared to shy away from controversial, yet powerful, political organizations and issues. For instance, few Germans were involved in New Mexico's violent Lincoln County War of 1877–78.<sup>61</sup> In fact, none of the influential Germans in New Mexico seemed to have been directly implicated in the dispute, even though Frank W. Angel, a special investigator for the United States Justice Department sent to New Mexico to investigate disturbances in Lincoln County as well as in Colfax County, made biased assessments (he favored the Murphy faction). His investigation hinted at some indirect involvement of Germans in the political events in the two counties.

Angel indicated that Jerrie Hockraddle, a second-generation German, Charles Probst, born in Prussia, and most likely the German trader Emil Fritz were involved locally in the Lincoln County dispute. Another participant, Robert A. Widenmann, born to German parents in this country, was perhaps a small exception in that he was a close friend of John Tunstall and therefore closer to the events. A. A. McSween confirmed this friendship in a letter to J. F. Tunstall, John's father: "Now, so far as my knowledge goes, W[idenmann] was a strong friend of your son's and your son was a very strong friend of W[idenmann]'s."<sup>62</sup> But in a war of "manipulation" to achieve essentially corrupt ends, as Joel K. Jacobsen found most recently, these Germans were only minor figures.<sup>63</sup> On a larger scale, Angel also warned Governor Lew Wallace that the Spiegelbergs and Staabs were unreliable. That Angel mentioned the merchants indicates that the German mercantile dealers of Santa Fe had economic interests in the outcome of the dispute. Angel's warnings also demonstrated, not surprisingly, that politics and economics were often hard to separate. In this case, Angel concluded that the mercantile busi-

nesses of the Staab Brothers and Spiegelberg Brothers were bidding for Mescalero contracts.<sup>64</sup> Incidentally, Widenmann, in a letter to fellow German and Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz also implicated the two merchants "of defrauding both the Government and the Indians."<sup>65</sup>

Later, in the 1880s and 1890s, Germans remained absent from major political disputes occurring in New Mexico. That no German was directly involved in the Santa Fe Ring is in some ways surprising. As so many historians have pointed out, the ring "reflected the corporative, monopolistic, and multiple enterprise tendencies of all American business" fields of endeavor in which many of the wealthy Germans were intensively involved.<sup>66</sup> Two men, Charles Spiess and Abraham Staab, are occasionally referred to in discussions of the ring. The former was a well-established American with possible Germanic ties, and the latter, a German, was best known for an occasional poker game with ring members.<sup>67</sup>

The absence of German ring members is less surprising if one considers again Stern's assessment that Germans lacked political ambitions. Undoubtedly, wealthier Germans of Santa Fe were informed of what was going on in the ring, but their primary concerns were personal and cultural freedom and the economic success that many lacked in the East or in Germany. In New Mexico they achieved these goals without political commitment.

Still, economic demands led to some political involvement and in a few instances fostered civic-minded action. Political involvement was more visible in towns and cities than in rural New Mexico. Like the Pragers of Roswell, W.F. Kuchenbecker, a hardware merchant, who became mayor of Gallup, or perhaps Mr. Timmer of Silver City, who seems to have known and hosted the elite of that town, people with economic interests accepted political posts or nominations to political and civic boards.<sup>68</sup> For example, Huning, who invested heavily in the future of new Albuquerque, chaired or sat on various political committees. In 1878, he was a member of the Board of County Commissioners, when relocation of the county seat from Albuquerque to Bernalillo was under consideration. Realizing that this change would mean the loss of jobs, money, and trade, Huning allowed his store to be used for a petition drive to oppose the move of the county seat.<sup>69</sup> During the 1890s, despite a recession, railroad activities and business in new Albuquerque prospered, and Huning became a member of the Board of Trade that was influential in municipal politics of the new town, as did Henry N. Jaffa and Melchior Werner.<sup>70</sup>

These Germans became politically active in new town Albuquerque. A political refugee from the aborted German revolution in 1848, Werner came to New Mexico with the U.S. Army prior to 1850. He was civic oriented and became an executive member of the Republican Party in new Albuquerque but switched in 1882 to the People's Party to run for



Sidney Prager Roswell N.M. 1887  
H. S. Prager Nathan Jaffa Pat Garret  
Geo. M. Hassley Horace Clarkson F. P. Gayle  
J. S. Theobald

Photo 1: Like Nathan Jaffa and Sidney Prager, shown here in front of their mercantile store, many German immigrants to New Mexico primarily sought economic prosperity. Photo courtesy of the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, negative no. 990-026.

Probate Clerk.<sup>71</sup> In 1885 Jaffa, who eventually became Albuquerque's first mayor, was president of the Board of Trade and also a major member of the People's Party.<sup>72</sup> Even though Korber was twice elected alderman for the second ward in Albuquerque (1893–1895), once with Herman Brockmeyer, a second-generation German plumber, on the Democratic ticket, Korber's activities largely centered around German immigrants and their children.<sup>73</sup>

Although much of this political involvement was economically motivated, civic reasoning cannot be discounted. Huning, for example, combined economic and urban political interests. Described as having "a predominating interest in matters of personal business, a dislike of controversy, particularly in a political nature," he offered free land in new Albuquerque to build hotels, churches, and other enterprises to develop the town.<sup>74</sup> Visionary in promoting greater Albuquerque and the coexistence of American Hispanics and other American ethnic groups, he worked toward the judicial and political unity of the two towns through economic and political projects. He also encouraged the construction of bridges and tramway lines between the two towns and suggested the county court be built in Old Town to unify the Hispanic town and the new area. Probably he purposefully situated his famed "Huning Castle" half in Old Town and half in New Town of Albuquerque.<sup>75</sup>

A few Germans were concerned with more than just local issues in New Mexico. Statehood, for instance, was a matter that dominated territorial and even national politics for more than half a century. Although delays over statehood had many causes, a focus on the German view of statehood sheds further light on their and American Germans' political activities in New Mexico. Here again Germans with strong economic interests loudly voiced their opinions and tried to influence the outcome of statehood. The controversy over statehood began instantly in 1850 after New Mexico became a United States territory and throughout the decades became a multifaceted controversy. The most popular arguments against statehood were twofold: that the territory had a small population and that the majority of its residents were Spanish speaking. These arguments surfaced within and outside New Mexico.<sup>76</sup> Like many others in New Mexico, Germans were divided on the issues surrounding statehood.

Early German opinions on the issue are rare, with Blumner the first German indicating his stand on the issue. As seen, he closely associated himself with Alvarez, the American Consul in Santa Fe, who favored statehood immediately after New Mexico became a part of the United States. In the 1860s Clever's speeches also suggest that he favored statehood, a rare political issue on which he agreed with the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, an ardent supporter of statehood.

German opinions are more readily available after 1880. Generally, Republicans pushed for statehood based on the assumption that statehood would bring more immigrants and capital from the East to the territory. Werner, for instance, represented these ideas in the county Republican party in Albuquerque.<sup>77</sup> Democrats, on the other side, feared that the legislation for statehood would benefit the special interest groups such as large land owners and mine owners with patents.<sup>78</sup> In Albuquerque, younger German and American German artisans and merchants met at Democratic party meetings. Jacob Schwarz, L.P. Krawinkle, Jacob Toepfer, Ernest Kreigelsteiner, H. Hahn, Otto Mann, and Sam Neustadt joined the Young Democrats.<sup>79</sup> Although some Germans and American Germans voted according to party line, the available opinions of Germans suggest that they were divided by personal interest rather than by party affiliation, religion, or ethnicity.

Ethnic Germans of new Albuquerque seemed more reluctant than their fellow Germans in Santa Fe to favor statehood. In a petition to the U.S. Congress in 1890, Ernest Meyers, Simon Neustadt, Jacob Weinmann, Solomon Weiler, F. Lowenthal, and members of the Mandell family, all German and American German merchants and artisans, gave reasons for their indignation. They resisted higher taxes and were angry about the power Santa Fe continued to exert over new commercial centers like Albuquerque. The emphasis on "Americanization" and "English Language Only" in the petition to Congress revealed the signators' vision of the future New Mexico. Obviously they were fearful that a small group of politicians in Santa Fe could dominate a differently educated Hispanic population and take over the new state government.<sup>80</sup> Although one must be careful about suggesting that many of the signers were Germans of *Jewish* faith and that their opposition might have signaled a fear of higher taxes, as an older 1939 study suggested, it is noteworthy that all those German and other signators were residing in New Town, a community with few Hispanics and Catholics.<sup>81</sup>

Over the years a hostility developed between Santa Fe and Albuquerque. Part of this competition arose from demographic changes altering economic and political activities in New Mexico. On the one side, the railroad passed by Santa Fe to go directly to Albuquerque. This action brought more new immigrants from European and Asian countries and eastern regions, Germans and American Germans among them, to Albuquerque and lured German merchants like Benjamin Schuster, Edward Spitz, and Charles Ilfeld from Santa Fe and Las Vegas to Albuquerque. On the other hand, a conservative establishment of the pre-railroad days still controlled Santa Fe. The growing rivalry between the two towns sparked disputes over political power, the location of the territorial government, and several other issues. As a part of these changes, the German merchants in Santa Fe, considered part of the older immigration,

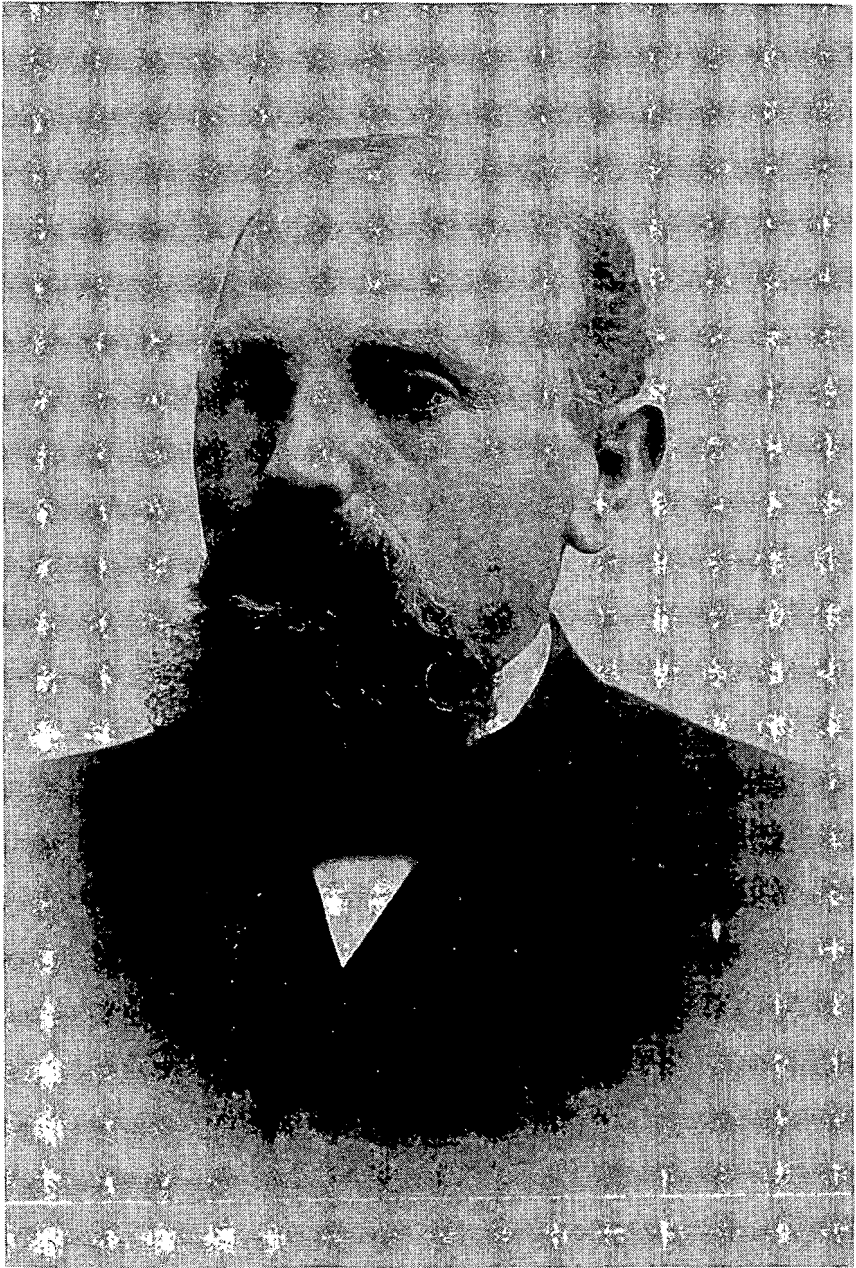


Photo 2: Nathan Jaffa, businessman and merchant, showed little interest in holding public office. In 1910 he declined the Republican nomination for governor of New Mexico. Photo courtesy of the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, negative no. 990-026-0002.

lost economic leadership to business interests in Albuquerque, Belen, Las Cruces, and other booming towns. At the same time, the Santa Fe Trail lost its transportation dominance to the railroad, and Santa Feans noticed an increasing challenge for the capital seat. Santa Fe's citizens had to be reminded "that carrying Santa Fe is not carrying the Territory."<sup>82</sup> Huning's perception on the statehood issue seems to confirm that perception, when he scribbled down on a handwritten, undated note that a statehood movement was once again under way, but a majority of New Mexicans was against it.<sup>83</sup>

Not surprisingly the statehood issue not only divided Anglo Americans from Hispanics but Germans from one another as well. By the end of the century, when the statehood issue polarized Republicans Miguel A. Otero and Catron, established German Santa Feans like Staab and Frederick Muller sided with Catron.<sup>84</sup> Staab even travelled as far as Socorro to solicit funds for Catron's statehood agenda.<sup>85</sup> Catron and his ring members still represented special interest groups. Besides mining and land interests, Catron, Mariano S. Otero (cousin of Miguel A. Otero), Staab, and others held military warrants that, it was alleged, would be paid once New Mexico gained statehood.<sup>86</sup>

Miguel A. Otero, Hispanic on his father's side and Anglo American from his mother's family, tried to combine American and Hispanic business interests with Hispanic traditional values; but his authoritarian leadership and the persistent rumors about graft, made many strong enemies. Those who did not want to be associated with the infamous Santa Fe Ring thought of Otero as the one who could bridge the American-Hispanic gap and help to achieve statehood. Among the Otero proponents were Jaffa, a supporter of former Governor Edmund Ross, Max Frost, with his influential *Santa Fe New Mexican*, and many others. The Spiegelbergs, often in conflict with Catron over banking ventures, and other German merchants in Santa Fe and Albuquerque, also championed Otero.<sup>87</sup>

The struggle for statehood finally paid off, and in 1910 an assembly convened and adopted a conservative constitution devoid of progressive ideas such as initiative and referendum.<sup>88</sup> Not surprisingly, few Germans were present at the convention. Of the one hundred members present, only four Germans, no second-generation Germans, and no prominent third-generation Germans participated in the convention. Moses L. Stern for Bernalillo, Charles E. Miller for Doña Ana, Charles H. Kohn for Quay, and John Becker for Valencia, more or less political novices, voted for the constitution. Conversely, Jaffa, who as secretary of the territory organized the ceremony, was experienced in public service and was even considered by some Republicans as their nominee for governor for the state. Typically for many Germans, however, Nathan A.



Jaffa, who managed the mercantile store of the Jaffa Brothers in Las Vegas and later founded the mercantile business of Jaffa-Prager Company in Roswell, was not interested in the demanding position of governor and declined to have his name go before the convention.<sup>89</sup>

The history of the state of New Mexico did not see a change in Germans' political activism, even though Arthur Seligman, son of Bernhard, emerged in the 1920s and 1930s as a capable leader in state politics and eventually became governor. German men and increasingly more women continued to accept appointments to civic-political positions. In 1914 Governor William McDonald, for instance, appointed several German women from across the state to the Woman's Auxiliary Exposition Commission.<sup>90</sup> Shortly after New Mexico's statehood, however, came the clouds of war in Europe, and the outbreak of World War I diminished German participation in politics.

Except for World War I, which posed a dilemma for many ethnic Germans, New Mexico in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was rather devoid of issues that affected Germans as an ethnic group. Even with its xenophobic and anti-Semitic strains, Populism had little impact on Germans and American Germans in New Mexico. Robert Larson, who conducted an extensive study of Populism in New Mexico, could not detect any anti-German or anti-Jewish remarks directed toward Germans and American Germans.<sup>91</sup> To be sure, occasional anti-Semitic statements occurred like those aimed at Solomon and Simon Bibo and Bernhard Seligman, but they were rare and unrelated to a Populist philosophy.<sup>92</sup> Even a few Germans participated in the Populist movement, including Sigmund Lindauer, a Jewish German from Grant County, and Ben Meyer from Albuquerque. Neither the movement itself nor any German Populists in New Mexico, however, gained political prominence.<sup>93</sup>

While Germanophobic expressions occurred rarely until World War I, Germanophile emotions were equally scarce. Rarely were feelings friendlier toward Germans in New Mexico than during the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 when New Mexicans and other Americans cheered the defeat of France. The *Santa Fe New Mexican* even printed special bulletins on the course of the war, with other Santa Fe newspapers and territorial politicians being outspokenly pro-German.<sup>94</sup> At the end of the war, Clever headed a group of grateful Germans who thanked the *New Mexican* and Governor William A. Pile for their strong support. The support Germans received during the Franco-Prussian War was not repeated. Instead, when World War I threatened, pro-German opinions turned quickly to animosity against Germans and American Germans in New Mexico.

Overall, then, Germans and American Germans in New Mexico, like their fellow Germans in other states and territories, did not act as a political bloc. For one, the prerequisites for an ethnic political behavior were not present. Too few Germans and American Germans lived in New Mexico to impact New Mexico politics, and none of the major issues from 1850 to 1920, except for World War I, heavily concerned Germans as an ethnic group. If they voted at all, they cast their votes for an agenda or a candidate that safeguarded their individual interests.

In the end, not many politicians emerged from among the ethnic German population in New Mexico. In the early stages of territorial New Mexico some Germans received federal appointments, and after 1880, some ethnic Germans were elected to territorial offices. Two of the few who stood out were Charles Clever and Bernhard Seligman. Clever's intentions were to exploit and Americanize New Mexico as quickly as possible, and Seligman's perspective was—within limits—to find common ground among Anglo American, Native American, and Hispanic ideas. In either case, they were not concerned with ethnic German issues.

German and American German New Mexicans, then, generally resembled Fritz Stern's description of the apolitical German. They concerned themselves with businesses to achieve the goal for which they left Germany—the betterment of their lives. Most of all, they promoted *Kultur* as they perceived it. If they moved into politics they did so most often as covert backers for economic gain. That politics for Germans in New Mexico was not essential to protect or promote their lifestyle is best exemplified in Nathan Jaffa who turned down a Republican nomination for governor of New Mexico and instead enhanced his position in the social and business life of New Mexico. Thomas Mann's deeply felt conviction, then, that Germans dislike "Politik" is reflected in those German immigrants to New Mexico.<sup>95</sup> The political influence they wielded in New Mexico was only minimal compared to their social and financial status there.

## NOTES

1. A large problem in studying Germans as an ethnic group is to determine who is a German and who is not. Frederick C. Luebke discusses the difficulty of defining Germans in several of his books and essays. See, for example, Frederick C. Luebke's *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), xiii-xiv. In this article, the German ethnic group will include only persons born in and to parents of Otto Bismarck's Germany as it existed in 1871.

2. Joseph S. Rouck and Bernhard Eisenberg, eds., *America's Ethnic Politics* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982), 7; Nathaniel Weyl, *The Jew in American Politics* (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington, 1968), 63. Among historians of German immigration, Luebke is the leading authority. His books include *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), and his recent work *Germans in the New World*. His edited book *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971) mentions the studies on Germans in Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, and other midwestern states. Dozens of studies are available on the Germans in Texas.

3. Paul Kleppner, "Voters and Parties in the Western States, 1876-1900," *Western Historical Quarterly* 14 (January 1983), 53.

4. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics*, 6; *Germans in the New World*, 85. In *Ethnic Voters*, Luebke, ed., Charles Wilson Emery, Joseph Schafer, Andreas Dorpalen, Hildegard Binder Johnson, Paul J. Kleppner, and others reach the same conclusions in studies of Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860.

5. Stanley B. Parsons, *The Populist Context: Rural Versus Urban Power on a Great Plains Frontier* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973), 101-19.

6. Between 1850 and 1920 the German population represented generally a little less than 1 percent of the total New Mexican population and never more than 10 percent of New Mexico's foreign-born population. For more details about the German population in New Mexico, see Richard R. Greer, "Origins of the Foreign-Born Population of New Mexico During the Territorial Period," *New Mexico Historical Review* 17 (October 1942), 282; and Tomas Jaehn, "The German Experience in New Mexico From Its Territorial Beginnings To World War I," (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1994), 50-52.

7. Henry J. Tobias, *A History of the Jews in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 44, 88. Of course, the Jewish tendency to integrate into the culture and politics of the host society was not unique to New Mexico, where Jews were among the first German arrivals prior to and during the territorial period. As Carey McWilliams pointed out in a pioneering essay on social discrimination, "where Jews were present on the scene before the community started to grow—before the status lines were sharply drawn—they were often taken into membership with a naive unawareness of their Jewishness or a marked indifference to the fact." Carey McWilliams, "Does Social Discrimination Really Matter?" in *Sociological Analysis*, ed. Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), 503.

8. Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), 156; Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 28.

9. Thomas Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Berlin, Germany: S. Fischer Verlag, 1918), xxxiii.

10. Fritz Stern, "The Political Consequences of the Unpolitical German" (1960), in *The Failure of Illiberalism: Essays on the Political Culture of Modern Germany* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 6.

11. Jürgen Habermas, "Vorwort," in Victor Faría, *Heidegger und der Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt, Germany: S. Fischer, 1989), 16-17.
12. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, 238.
13. Theodore Schieder, *Vom Deutschen Bund zum Deutschen Reich, 1815-1871* (Stuttgart, Germany: Klett Verlag, 1970), 75.
14. Stern, "Political Consequences," 10.
15. Franz Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail: Memoirs of Franz Huning* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of Albuquerque Press in collaboration with Calvin Horn Publisher, 1973), 2-3.
16. Johann Friedrich Huning [father] to Franz Huning, 12. Dezember 1846, Erna Fergusson Papers, mss 45, box 3, folder 12 (hereafter Fergusson Papers), Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico (hereafter cited as CSWR).
17. Johann Friedrich Huning to Franz Huning, undated, Fergusson Papers, box 3, folder 12, CSWR.
18. Letters from Hugo Düllens, who occasionally helped Franz financially, indicate this attitude. Fergusson Papers, box 3, folder 12, CSWR.
19. Franz Huning Testament, Huning-Fergusson Papers, mss 194, box 2, folder 20, CSWR.
20. Stern, "Political Consequences," 6.
21. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, xxxvi, xl.
22. Booklists are dated 1882, 1883-1884, and "Germany." The theater and concert list is from 1880-1881, Huning-Fergusson Papers, box 2, folder 17. The list reveals that Huning had also read books by Balduin Möllhausen, one of the foremost German writers on the Southwest.
23. Royce Jane Balch, "Jacob Korber, Early Businessman of Albuquerque, New Mexico 1881-1921" (M.B.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1955), 6-7.
24. *Ibid.*, 27-29.
25. W.G. Ritch, comp., *The Legislative Blue-Book of the Territory of New Mexico* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Charles W. Greene, Public Printers, 1882), appendix, 39, 45. Also see, Henry J. Tobias and Charles E. Woodhouse, "New York Investment Bankers and New Mexico Merchants: Group Formation and Elite Status Among German Jewish Businessmen," *New Mexico Historical Review* 65 (January 1990), 38-39.
26. In the 1890s a small Swiss colony obtained 4,000 acres of land near Vaud in the Pecos Valley. The colony may have had plans for a town, but it was not successful. *Albuquerque Morning Democrat*, 17 February 1892.
27. Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 43; David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 61.
28. Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 63.
29. F. Chris Garcia and Paul L. Hain, eds., *New Mexico Government* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), 7.
30. Ernest B. Fincher, "Spanish-Americans as a Political Factor in New Mexico, 1912-1950" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1950), 131. A recent study is Thomas D. Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989), 159. His findings that eastern newcomers changed the economic and political situation in New Mexico, although correct, are not new. At the turn of the century, writer Mary Austin had complained about capitalism altering the New Mexico setting. These charges do not, however, prove that the patron system did not exist prior to the American arrival.
31. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics*, 34.
32. The role of immigrant societies in a comparative study of Irish and Germans is described in Reinhard R. Doerries, *Iren und Deutsche in der Neuen Welt: Akkulturationsprozesse in der Amerikanischen Gesellschaft im Späten Neunzehnten*

*Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Germany: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1986), 153–55. Also see, Kathleen Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 154–91.

33. Kleppner, "Voters and Parties," 53, 55.

34. Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting," *American Political Science Review* 59 (December 1965), 896.

35. Recent findings of two sociologists suggest that immigrants generally needed some time to become accustomed to the American political system before they participated in the political process. See Peter Tuckel and Richard Maisel, "Voter Turnout among European Immigrants to the United States," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (Winter 1994), 407–30.

36. Howard R. Lamar, "Political Patterns in New Mexico and Utah Territories 1850–1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (October 1960), 364.

37. *Ibid.*, 367.

38. Terry J. Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque 1870–1900: Contrast and Conflict in the Development of Two Southwestern Towns" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1974), 33.

39. Charles Blumner's life in New Mexico is revealed in his letters to his relatives in Germany. Copies of the letters are in the Hiltrud von-Brandt Collection, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe. Blumner is treated in Thomas Jaehn, "Charles Blumner: Pioneer, Civil Servant, and Merchant," *New Mexico Historical Review* 61 (October 1986), 319–27.

40. Thomas E. Chávez, *Manuel Alvarez 1794–1856: A Southwestern Biography* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 60.

41. Through the decades, Blumner served also as marshal, sheriff, and tax collector.

42. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, 25 June 1853. Initially, Charles Clever owned the *Santa Fe New Mexican* but sold it in 1863; later he acquired the *Santa Fe Gazette* to promulgate his ideas of capitalism, statehood, and Americanization.

43. *Santa Fe Gazette*, 2 February 1867; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 26 May 1868.

44. Charles P. Clever, *New Mexico: Her Resources, Her Necessities for Railroad Communication with the Atlantic and Pacific States; Her Great Future* (Washington, D.C.: McGill and Witherow, 1868), 36, 40.

45. Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," *American Quarterly* 38 (Bibliography 1986), 397.

46. Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1846–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 92.

47. Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904; New York: Hill and Wang, 1957), chapters 2 and 4.

48. Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 46–47.

49. Floyd S. Fierman, "The Triangle and the Tetragrammaton: A Note on the Cathedral at Santa Fe," *New Mexico Historical Review* 37 (October 1962), 312–13; Jacqueline D. Meketa, *Louis Felsenthal: Citizen-Soldier of Territorial New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 81.

50. Lillie Gerhardt Anderson, "A New Mexico Pioneer of the 1880's," *New Mexico Historical Review* 29 (October 1954), 252.

51. Jack E. Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), 266.

52. Ritch, *Legislative Blue-Book*, 60–62.

53. Paul A. F. Walter, "Necrology: Arthur Seligman," *New Mexico Historical Review* 8 (October 1933), 306.

54. House Journal, 24th Legislative Assembly, 1880, Territorial Archives of New Mexico (hereafter TANM), 5:689.

55. Council Journal, 28th Legislative Assembly, 1888–1889, TANM, 7:10, 7:633–34; *Report of the Secretary of the Territory, 1903–1904, and Legislative Manual, 1905* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1905), 162.

56. *Resources of New Mexico* (1881; reprint, Santa Fe, New Mexico: William Gannon, 1973), 53. Marion Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895–1912," *New Mexico Historical Review* 18 (January 1943), 71.

57. Ritch, *Legislative Blue-Book*, 126; Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 118.

58. For example, see the Bureau of Immigration, *Report of San Miguel County* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1882); *Report as to Socorro County* (Socorro, New Mexico: Socorro Daily News Office, 1881); *New Mexico*, Winter edition (Las Vegas, New Mexico: J.A. Carruth, 1889); and *Resources of New Mexico*.

59. Interview with Louis Prager, Sr., by an unidentified interviewer in 1978. The interview tape and additional information about the Pragers, second-generation Germans from Pennsylvania, was furnished by Louis Prager, Jr., in an interview with the author, Roswell, 29 September 1990.

60. *Ibid.*; Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 126–27.

61. None of the available sources indicates any major German involvement in the Lincoln County dispute. See Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1966), 155–62; Robert M. Utley, *High Noon in Lincoln: Violence on the Western Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

62. A. A. McSween to J.F. Tunstall, 23 February 1878, folder, John H. Tunstall, Correspondence 1876–78, Robert N. Mullin Collection, Nita Stewart Haley Memorial Library, Midland, Texas (hereafter Mullin Collection).

63. Joel K. Jacobsen, "An Excess of Law in Lincoln County: Thomas Catron, Samuel Axtell, and the Lincoln County War," *New Mexico Historical Review* 68 (April 1993), 151.

64. Lee Scott Theisen, ed., "Frank Warner Angel's Notes on New Mexico Territory, 1878," *Arizona and the West* 18 (Winter 1976), 355, 361, 365–66, 368.

65. Robert A. Widenmann to Carl Schurz, 11 March 1878, folder, John H. Tunstall, Correspondence 1876–78, Mullin Collection. Robert A. Widenmann certainly was biased in his accounts of the events; nonetheless, he understood the larger scope involved. At a later date, Widenmann thought about reopening matters. Carl Schurz, with whom he spent a week discussing the events, advised him not to do so. Robert A. Widenmann to Mrs. [R. H.] Kempf, 3 February 1927, folder, John H. Tunstall, Correspondence, [no date], Mullin Collection.

66. Howard R. Lamar, "The Santa Fe Ring," in *New Mexico, Past and Present: A Historical Reader*, ed. Richard N. Ellis (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 156. Also see, Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 147; Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico*, 49; Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico Populism: A Study of Radical Protest in a Western Territory* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1974), 30.

67. Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 84; Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 45.

68. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 12 February 1892; Ida Burgess, interview by Lou Blachly, [1952–53], Tape 111, transcript, Pioneer Foundation, CSWR. Burgess indicates that Timmer was German or of German descent and belonged to the economic and social elite, yet no indication of his political life was given. No first name was mentioned, and Timmer does not appear in the New Mexico censuses.

69. *Albuquerque Republican Review*, 1 November 1875.

70. Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 125.

71. *Albuquerque Democrat*, 26 October 1882, cited in Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 160, 163.

72. Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 176.

73. Balch, "Jacob Korber," 28–29.

74. Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 149.

75. Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 122; Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 181.

76. Dorothy E. Thomas, "The Final Years of New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood, 1907-1912 (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1939), 37; Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood*, 119, 124-25.

77. Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 160.

78. Frank D. Reeve, *History of New Mexico*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1961), 2: 325.

79. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 24 February 1892.

80. *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 50th Congress, 2nd sess., 1889, vol.2, doc. 52.

81. Archie Mitchell McDowell, "The Opposition to Statehood within the Albuquerque Territory of New Mexico," (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1940), 28.

82. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 15 March 1870.

83. Undated note, Huning-Fergusson Papers, box 2, folder 17. The note, written in German, must have been composed after 1883, since he mentions the death of his daughter Elli (1881) and the completion of the "Huning Castle" (1883).

84. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood*, 195-98. Frederick Muller played an obscure and yet significant role in Santa Fe politics. Arriving in New Mexico prior to 1850 with the United States Army, he set up residence in Santa Fe after his service and became one of Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders. Muller did not hold any office, but his name appears often in Santa Fe newspapers in conjunction with powerful politicians. He received special attention in a dispute over the New Mexico Rough Riders flag, when he claimed that the flag was given to him, but others argued that it was property of the people of New Mexico.

85. McDowell, "The Opposition to Statehood," 47-48.

86. Reeve, *History of New Mexico*, 2:326; McDowell, "The Opposition to Statehood," 68.

87. Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico*, 151; Larry Schweikart, "Early Banking in New Mexico from the Civil War to the Roaring Twenties," *New Mexico Historical Review* 63 (January 1988), 5.

88. Dorothy I. Cline, "Constitutional Politics in New Mexico: 1910-1976," in *New Mexico Government*, 221.

89. *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of New Mexico Held At Santa Fe, New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Press of the Morning Journal, 1910), 4-8, 252; Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5 vols., (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1912), 2:567.

90. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 12 January 1914.

91. Larson, *New Mexico Populism*, 108.

92. In 1886 S.M. Ashenfelter of Las Cruces remarked to Governor Edmund Ross about his appointment of Bernhard Seligman as treasurer that too many Jews were involved in Santa Fe politics; Edmund G. Ross, 1885-1889, Letters Received, 22 December 1886, TANM, roll 101, folder 518. In a letter to Willi Spiegelberg, Simon and Solomon Bibo of Cebolleta referred to a protest note over a land claim against "un Ricco israelito" and felt that this hatred was directed toward the Jewish race. Simon Bibo to Willi Spiegelberg, 31 July 1896, Jewish Families and Congregations in New Mexico and Southern Colorado, microfilm 15, CSWR. Also see, Floyd S. Fierman, "The Impact of the Frontier on a Jewish Family: The Bibos," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 59 (June 1970), 496-97.

93. Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 120; Larson, *New Mexico Populism*, 87.

94. Oliver La Farge, *Santa Fe: The Autobiography of a Southwestern Town* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 69.

95. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, xxxii.

# General Dynamics of Drought, Ranching and Politics in New Mexico, 1953–1961

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AL REGENSBERG

As a boy growing in Hispanic New Mexico during the 1950s, I enlisted in the Boy Scouts of America. I immediately undertook the process of learning the skills needed to earn merit badges. During this learning process, a major drought descended upon New Mexico. As a result of these circumstances, I came to fully appreciate the importance of the Boy Scout motto, "Be Prepared!"

My uncles were all farmers and ranchers from Mora County, and they often gathered to discuss the problems caused by the drought. As I listened intently, I tried to understand the cause-and-effect relationships they were describing. For example, lack of water caused lack of forage that caused low animal weights and death, which in turn meant my uncles lost money. My father was an officer in the New Mexico National Guard at the time and directed the emergency transport of food and water to communities within his jurisdiction. From time to time, the conversation turned to the more "technical" elements of drought, government policy, and economics. A sense of powerlessness and frustration occurred. I realized that to be prepared for the next drought a farmer or stockman had to understand much more than agriculture. He had to understand meteorology, politics, and economics.

Droughts occurred frequently in the Southwest. Because aridity was more the rule than the exception, sustained periods of "precipitation deficit" quickly led to crises.<sup>1</sup> Man-made problems played against the agriculturist. The rising population in the semiarid Sunbelt is placing a greater demand upon water resources and food supplies.<sup>2</sup> The adjudica-

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Al Regensberg is a senior archivist at the New Mexico Records Center and Archives in Santa Fe. He graduated from New Mexico Highlands University in 1983 and taught political science at Santa Fe Community College until 1990.



tion of water rights between the federal government, Indian nations, and state and local governments will guide future resource apportionment. The fact that New Mexico has had problems sending compacted water to Texas will oblige farmers and ranchers to accomplish more with less water, especially in the Rio Grande and Pecos watersheds, where supplies have been "overappropriated."<sup>3</sup> A great deal of evidence favors the global warming theory, but the extent of climactic change is still being debated.<sup>4</sup>

What can be learned from studying recent droughts is how to prevent or respond to the myriad of resulting problems. This article provides a case study of the impact of New Mexico's thirteen year-long drought that climaxed in 1956.<sup>5</sup> It defines drought, presents a brief history of United States agricultural policy, and discusses the political and economic situations just prior to this mid-century calamity. The problems of farmers and ranchers are juxtaposed due to contrasting political and economic circumstances. The final portion of the study reviews federal and state efforts to cushion the impact of the drought upon New Mexico's cattle industry. Other problems examined include: the task of effectively managing surface and groundwater management,<sup>6</sup> insect infestations,<sup>7</sup> dust storms,<sup>8</sup> forest fires,<sup>9</sup> and, ironically, flooding.<sup>10</sup>

Drought causes a "gradual paralysis," whereby the effects are not immediate, but get progressively worse.<sup>11</sup> It is generally defined as a period of time when the precipitation received is less than average, and the plant and animal life are adversely impacted in their normal habitats.<sup>12</sup> Another term is "precipitation deficit," defined as the receipt of lower than expected precipitation over time.<sup>13</sup>

Scientists measure drought and its effects in terms that describe duration and severity or magnitude.<sup>14</sup> Drought frequency is studied by using precipitation records that began in 1850.<sup>15</sup> To assess frequency, duration, and severity before 1850, scientists rely on indirect information, such as the growth rate of tree rings. Other proxy sources include: ice cores, pollen profiles, and stratified sediments that accumulate in lakes and swamps.<sup>16</sup>

Accurate measurements were taken of the Dust Bowl drought (1933-37) and the mid-century drought. By comparison, the mid-century drought included more area than the Dust Bowl, and it had a higher average precipitation deficit. Curiously, in both events, the highest precipitation deficiency occurred in exactly the same area that included the panhandles of Texas and Oklahoma, western Kansas, southwestern Colorado, and northeastern New Mexico.<sup>17</sup>

TABLE 1: TOTAL ANNUAL PRECIPITATION RECEIVED (IN INCHES) AT ALBUQUERQUE, 1900-80

Annual Average = 8.3 inches

Annual Mean = 10.15 inches

1900—5.90	1927—7.67	1954—4.51
1901—10.19	1928—8.41	1955—6.51
1902—4.82	1929—12.58	1956—5.06
1903—5.83	1930—8.31	1957—10.61
1904—5.92	1931—10.77	1958—10.12
1905—13.89	1932—9.78	1959—10.14
1906—8.42	1933—11.39	1960—8.12
1907—9.39	1934—6.98	1961—8.87
1908—7.82	1935—11.04	1962—5.39
1909—4.43	1936—5.21	1963—7.47
1910—7.41	1937—9.45	1964—7.44
1911—12.45	1938—7.55	1965—9.31
1912—6.07	1939—8.46	1966—6.81
1913—6.67	1940—13.36	1967—8.04
1914—11.39	1941—15.88	1968—10.67
1915—9.90	1942—8.25	1969—10.56
1916—11.65	1943—7.62	1970—6.28
1917—3.29	1944—9.55	1971—8.05
1918—7.63	1945—6.33	1972—10.11
1919—15.03	1946—8.27	1973—10.88
1920—6.26	1947—5.24	1974—9.83
1921—10.29	1948—6.44	1975—8.01
1922—4.09	1949—8.42	1976—5.19
1923—7.95	1950—4.10	1977—7.91
1924—6.37	1951—5.38	1978—10.97
1925—5.48	1952—8.09	1979—10.35
1926—9.21	1953—5.08	1980—8.87

\* U.S. Department of Commerce, Albuquerque Weather Bureau, "Local Climatological Summary 1951," in Department of Development Records, Climatological Data, location no. 24-C-2, NMSRCA; and, Marketing Incorporated, *Information New Mexico: Almanac and Book of Facts 1983* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Marketing Incorporated, 1983), 119-20.

Further comparison finds that the mid-century event had twice the duration and severity.<sup>18</sup> Only the establishment of the Soil Conservation Service and the acceptance of new conservation techniques saved the same area from the cataclysmic topsoil damage associated with the Dust Bowl.<sup>19</sup> The mid-century event, however, did produce killer dust storms of the variety recorded during the 1930s.<sup>20</sup>

Ranchers and farmers in the United States have been productive; yet a complex series of natural laws, governmental policy, and historical events have combined to make farming and ranching risky enterprises. By the 1950s, demand for agricultural produce had been stimulated by two world wars, the Korean conflict, growing population, and the steady decline of active farmers and ranchers in the United States. As the wars ended, worldwide demand for foodstuffs declined. At the same time, new technology and the use of new fertilizers and chemicals dramatically increased production. Overproduction coupled with decreasing markets created record grain surpluses deflating crop prices in the United States.<sup>21</sup>

At the end of World War II, inflated prices for non-agricultural goods began to further erode profitability in agriculture. With food plentiful and inexpensive, demand for non-agricultural products rose. Furthermore, the success of labor unions prompted inflation because employers were prone to raise prices rather than engage in protracted negotiations. The end of the Korean War further augmented the inflationary surge and the demand for non-agricultural products.<sup>22</sup>

Between 1935 and 1959 the New Mexico cattle industry tried to expand production of marketable livestock, but these efforts were curtailed by a combination of low market prices and a short supply of feed.<sup>23</sup> The state's "normal" semiarid conditions coupled with precipitation deficits caused this lack of feed. The market prices for cattle grew steadily because of growing demand, especially between 1947 and 1948, when state cattle prices almost doubled from \$76.30 to \$103 per head.<sup>24</sup> By 1951, the decreased meat supply, unable to keep pace with demand, caused such high prices that government price controls were imposed.<sup>25</sup>

In short, by 1951 the grain supply and costs of growing grain rose, while consumer demand and sale prices declined. As for livestock, supply was low while demand and sale prices to consumers were high. Farmers grew record yields, but could not make a profit. Ranchers failed to raise enough cows to bring the cost of meat down. The federal government responded to grain supply problems by passing price supports and attempting to reduce production.

To stimulate economic recovery from the Great Depression, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Congress of the 1930s passed federal aid programs. In support of agriculture, Roosevelt and his New Deal allies identified the core problem as "overproduction" of commodities.<sup>26</sup>

Beginning with the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, and modified in a piecemeal fashion by future laws, agriculture's New Deal initiated a system of voluntary contracts between the federal government and farmers that sought to cut production.<sup>27</sup>

By 1949, ranchers and farmers who "cooperated" or contracted with the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) agreed to take some acreage out of production, to adhere to production goals by plebiscite, and to follow certain marketing practices as proscribed by the secretary of agriculture. In exchange for their cooperation, the government agreed to guarantee the farmer a price support—a monetary return on basic and non-basic commodities.<sup>28</sup>

The "nonrecourse loan" provided the most common method of gaining the price support. The farmer used his crop as collateral for a loan issued by the USDA, usually through a subdivision called the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC). If prices increased by the end of the growing season, the farmer paid the loan, plus interest, and still profited. But if no profit could be realized, the government agreed to purchase the crop and take no further recourse.<sup>29</sup>

The government's purchase price for the supported commodity was based on many variables. These included: the availability of funds, the perishability of commodities, the price levels at which other commodities were being supported, the food value of each crop (especially in relation to corn), and the importance of the commodity to "agriculture and the national economy," to name a few.<sup>30</sup> The most important variable in determining the price support was the "parity price" of each commodity. During the midcentury drought, articles appearing in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* offered various definitions for parity.<sup>31</sup> In summary, parity was the margin of profit on sales of agricultural goods that allowed farmers to break even in relation to what they must purchase to produce the same goods.

Ultimately, the government's elaborate efforts to reduce the production of crops failed. Cooperating farmers were never given more than 90 percent of "parity," and price supports were supposed to be smaller as overproduction rose. The government maintained the price support at a rigid 90 percent of parity, however, regardless of overproduction levels. The farmers who were "non-cooperators" were still offered a price support at a lowered percentage of the parity price.

Government grain surpluses consistently set new storage records. Farm acreage taken out of production, either as a part of the price supports program or leased to the government as part of any soil conservation service program, made little impact upon the surpluses. Although fewer acres were being planted, production rose steadily because farmers began using new methods, chemicals, and fertilizers. Consequently,

they were getting a much higher yield per acre on all produce.<sup>32</sup> The importance of grain surpluses to the drought is that the federal government was anxious to release surpluses for emergency feed to drought--stricken areas.

Livestock was added to the price supports policy with the passing of the Jones--Connally Act (Public Law 73--142) in 1934. Using this law, the government responded to the ranching crises brought by the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl. Through this act, the government directly purchased cattle, sheep, and goats. According to Lowell K. Dyson:

Farmers [stockmen] got fair returns, and packers processed a substantial portion of the meat for distribution to the poor and unemployed. The program had several important side effects. The purchase of 8.3 million head in 1934 contributed to the rise in market price for the remainder. In addition, since producers consciously chose their culls for sale to the Government, herd quality probably rose.<sup>33</sup>

Three American presidents served during the mid--century drought—namely, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. Through World War II, the postwar period, and the Korean conflict, the drought's effects continued to intensify. By 1953 the economic paralysis had caused a political problem.

The election of 1952 ended twenty years of Democratic party domination of both the presidency and Congress. President--elect Dwight D. Eisenhower named Ezra Taft Benson as the new secretary of agriculture, and Benson became a lightning rod for political anger each time new ideas were expressed. During the lame--duck interregnum (from 4 November 1952 to 20 January 1953), farmers were anxious to have Benson commit to continuing rigid price supports legally scheduled for renewal in 1954.

Benson made farmers uneasy, however, about the future of rigid supports. His first official act in January 1953 was to restructure the USDA, noting "a desire to save money and to take government out of agriculture to the fullest extent...."<sup>34</sup> To increase demand for agricultural produce, Benson spoke of better marketing and research rather than the ideas advanced by the previous Democratic administrations.<sup>35</sup> He believed that price supports caused "uneconomic production" and were only necessary as "insurance against disaster," and that full parity income should result from free markets.<sup>36</sup> He refused to commit to renewing rigid supports in the coming year.

Most farmers were furious, and Democrats tried to use Eisenhower campaign speeches, one delivered at Brookings, South Dakota on 4 October 1952, and Eisenhower's first State of the Union message in 1953, as evidence that the administration had reneged on the price-supports concept.<sup>37</sup> Rigid supports were not renewed. On 28 August 1954, President Eisenhower signed the Agriculture Act of 1954 that made price supports flexible. Payments would fluctuate between 82.5 and 90 percent of parity, and beginning in 1956, the rates would drop to 70 percent in some cases. In the new Republican scenario, support payments would drop in proportion to the amount of produce in excess of production goals. Consequently, overproduction should be unprofitable.<sup>38</sup> The American Farm Bureau Federation, the largest of three national farm organizations, favored the change while the National Farmers Union and the National Grange opposed it.<sup>39</sup>

Through 1953 and 1954, the grain surpluses continued to grow as farm incomes decreased. The first eleven months of 1954 resulted in a 4 percent drop in agricultural prices over the previous year. By September 1955, prices declined an additional 2 percent.<sup>40</sup> Both crop production and government grain surpluses set record highs. Farmers were legally obliged to reduce surpluses through production goals, acreage allotments, and marketing practices, but the surpluses continued to grow because production rates grew. Although farmers planted fewer acres, their yield per acre increased because of the use of fertilizers and chemicals.<sup>41</sup>

The proposed "soil bank" program in November 1955 sought to replace the parity system by paying landowners directly to take land out of production. According to the proposal, farmers would be paid to take land normally used for grain production and instead plant soil-building grasses that would store fertility and prevent erosion.<sup>42</sup> Soil bank payments to farmers totalled between 5 and 7 percent of the average annual production value of the land taken out of production. Other payments defrayed property taxes and the cost of seeding grasses. Original estimates on the cost of the program ranged between 350 million to one billion dollars annually.<sup>43</sup>

In the early 1950s, the national livestock situation contrasted the grain situation. Stockmen could not produce enough meat for the American consumer. Supply could not meet demand, and the price was so high that the federal government imposed price controls. New Mexico stockmen remained in this economic situation until the drought dynamics caused economic paralysis in 1953.

In March 1951 the New Mexico Cattlegrowers Association (NMCA) held its thirty-seventh annual meeting in Albuquerque with two topics commanding the agenda. Foremost was the fight against government price controls imposed because of the high cost of meat. The USDA's

Office of Price Stabilization (OPS) ordered price controls in January, and future price rollbacks were planned for June, August, and October. The argument of the stockmen, delivered by Governor Dan Thornton of Colorado, was that the federal government failed to control the rising costs of production due to inflation. Therefore, it was not fair to hold down the sale price of meat. Both production costs and sale prices should be either controlled or not, the stockmen asserted. The second issue was a call for the government to create a "unified grazing policy." For the privilege of grazing on federal lands, the Forest Service charged forty-three cents per animal per month while the Bureau of Land Management charged twelve cents.<sup>44</sup>

As governmental price controls on range cattle were implemented, two things happened. First, retail sale prices of meat began to fall, and second, a national shortage of salable live cattle occurred.<sup>45</sup> The cause of the shortage might have been natural or fabricated. Stockmen were confronted with governmental pressure to explain the shortage, and they initially responded by claiming that midwestern feeders were withholding cattle from markets.<sup>46</sup> Most cattle produced in the panhandles and in New Mexico were sold to feeders because these semiarid ranges normally lack the available forage to fatten the animals to market quality. After midwest feeders spoke in their own defense, a second cause for the lack of available market quality animals was explained as an "act of God"—the lack of available forage on the plains to make cattle salable to feeders. At this point in June 1951, the gradual paralysis of drought appeared in New Mexico.<sup>47</sup>

The argument raged as the administration of President Harry S Truman, through the OPS subdivision, claimed prices should be controlled at the live cattle level to make beef affordable. The OPS claimed that even with price controls the profit margin per head of cattle was \$42.43. The stockmen persisted in saying that the production costs were just as high as the sale prices, and price controls should be imposed upon neither. The producers of beef also argued that prices would normally drop in July and August as cattle were moved to market.<sup>48</sup>

Whether government policies worked is debatable, but without a doubt national production of cattle increased rapidly. The cattle population in New Mexico grew by 2 percent in 1952, but the value per head was \$104 in January 1953, a large decrease from \$168 the previous January. Shipments to midwestern feeders totalled 15,524 in 1952 and rose to 25,045 in 1953.<sup>49</sup> A major reason for large shipments in 1953 was that drought-induced range conditions caused "sacrifice" selling of cattle.<sup>50</sup> This also might have caused the rise in 1952.

Thus, throughout the election of 1952, farmers asked for price supports because raising crops proved unprofitable; and according to the government, stockmen enjoyed a profit that was too high. The Eisenhower victory infuriated most of the nation's farmers, but stockmen initially favored the Eisenhower philosophy of *laissez-faire* economics that was spearheaded by Secretary Benson. Benson wanted government out of the cattle price-fixing business, and he counseled general self-reliance in agriculture.<sup>51</sup>

The shift away from Eisenhower for the livestock industry in New Mexico and other drought-stricken states came in 1953. At the March 1953 meeting of the New Mexico Cattlegrowers Association, the general attitude against price supports and price controls prevailed.<sup>52</sup> The effects of the drought could no longer be neglected, and within months a new attitude in favor of price supports for cattle emerged. By 23 July a newly-formed association, the United Livestock Producers Association of the Southwest and West, sent a delegation to Washington, D.C. to ask that price supports for livestock be maintained at 90 percent of parity. The delegation represented producers from the Dust Bowl states of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, and Colorado. The older parent organization, the National Livestock Association, still opposed price supports and controls.<sup>53</sup>

By late August 1953, emergency selling of cattle in the drought area began on a large scale. Because of the rapid increase in supply, cattle sold for 50 percent less than the previous August.<sup>54</sup> Between 1953 and 1954, the average price per head of cattle dropped from \$104 to \$75.<sup>55</sup> Prices that were controlled only months before were now bringing a negative return in the drought-hit areas. In October 1953, a caravan of 350 cattlemen from thirty states arrived in Washington, D.C. to ask for price supports.<sup>56</sup> Secretary Benson's answer was firm. The livestock market should be supported indirectly by trying to stimulate consumption with limited public school and military buying programs and with foreign aid projects.<sup>57</sup>

Stockmen recalled the livestock price supports allowed during the Dust Bowl period. The Jones-Connally Act in 1934 incorporated some livestock—cattle, sheep, and goats—into price supports policies by establishing production control programs in conjunction with government purchasing of animals to support prices.

Production control of animals was enhanced in 1936 with the passage of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, which encouraged stockmen to take land out of animal production and sow soil-building grasses to prevent erosion. This law also created state and local committees, composed of farmers, ranchers, bankers, and officials of the USDA's political subdivisions, which played crucial roles



TABLE 2: ALL CATTLE AND CALVES IN NEW MEXICO Number and Value, 1920 to 1959			
YEAR	NUMBER (1,000)	VALUE PER HEAD (DOLLARS)	TOTAL VALUE (\$1,000)
1920	1,700	45.10	76,670
1921	1,800	35.90	64,620
1922	1,900	25.00	47,500
1923	1,500	22.30	33,450
1924	1,350	22.70	30,645
1925	1,290	21.50	27,735
1926	1,225	27.00	33,075
1927	1,280	29.20	37,376
1928	1,156	38.90	44,968
1929	1,120	46.50	52,080
1930	1,200	40.30	48,360
1931	1,200	30.30	36,360
1932	1,248	21.60	26,957
1933	1,395	15.10	21,064
1934	1,560	14.20	22,187
1935	1,300	15.60	20,280
1936	1,278	28.00	35,784
1937	1,313	28.10	36,895
1938	1,288	27.40	35,291
1939	1,263	30.20	38,166
1940	1,263	35.30	44,584
1941	1,238	37.40	46,324
1942	1,288	49.70	64,050
1943	1,352	59.60	80,602
1944	1,420	52.30	74,297
1945	1,335	55.50	74,092
1946	1,268	63.70	80,772
1947	1,179	76.30	89,958
1948	1,144	103.00	117,832
1949	1,178	127.00	149,606
1950	1,178	118.00	139,004
1951	1,225	162.00	198,450
1952	1,225	168.00	205,800
1953	1,237	104.00	128,648
1954	1,188	75.00	89,100
1955	1,164	76.00	88,464
1956	1,222	77.00	94,094
1957	1,112	72.00	80,064
1958	1,056	110.00	116,160
1959	1,162	152.00	176,624

P.W. Cockerill, *A Statistical History of Crop and Livestock Production in New Mexico*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 438 (Las Cruces: New Mexico State University, May 1959), 11, in NMSU Records, NMSRCA.

during drought periods.<sup>58</sup> When the drought emergency occurred and programs responded, committees reported on conditions within their jurisdiction, determined eligibility of individuals for grain subsidies, and supervised the distribution of grain and hay.<sup>59</sup>

Federal government involvement in drought relief began in 1918 and evolved rapidly during the Dust Bowl and Great Depression eras. According to Lowell K. Dyson's *History of Federal Drought Relief Programs*, the most important piece of legislation impacting the midcentury drought was Public Law 81-875 (1950), which gave the president the power to declare "major disaster areas and exert sweeping powers." This law was passed during the Cold War out of fear of atomic war, but related to agriculture, it allowed the president to spend money quickly. It was coupled with Public Law 81-38 (1949), which transferred a revolving disaster loan fund to the direct control of the secretary of agriculture.<sup>60</sup> The fund was originally established by the Farm Credit Act of 1933 and initially placed under the control of the Farm Credit Administration. Public Law 81-38 was passed after a series of blizzards in 1949, and it allowed the secretary of agriculture to fund many varieties of recovery loans for crops and livestock, including emergency feed, hay, and soil erosion loans as well as beef-purchase programs. Public Law 83-115 (1950) broadened the scope of these loans and programs.<sup>61</sup>

Under the authority of these laws, the governor of each respective state must petition the president to declare a disaster. In the case of an agricultural disaster, the secretary of agriculture must exercise some discretion about the type of loans and programs to be implemented. Loans during the midcentury drought period were made available for a two-year period beginning on 14 July 1953. The loans, which never exceeded \$2,500, were serviceable over three years at a standard 5 percent interest.<sup>62</sup> Other loans regularly issued by the USDA were sometimes enhanced. Also, to augment soil-conservation efforts, the department issued loans for emergency tillage of private properties during the spring "blow months." The Federal Crop Insurance Program, begun by the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (PL 75-143) and enhanced by the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1939 (PL 75-430), played a minor role until running out of funds by 1955.<sup>63</sup>

Support of meat prices through livestock buying programs never occurred on a large scale during the midcentury drought era. In October 1953, to stabilize the initial impact of emergency selling, the federal government purchased 130 million pounds of low-grade beef for canning and was further committed to purchase another 70 million pounds.<sup>64</sup> By December 1955, Secretary Benson again committed to spend \$85 million to purchase 170 million pounds of pork in order to reduce chances of a price crisis in that industry.<sup>65</sup> In October 1956, negotiations were under-

way with the international Export-Import Bank and Mexico to issue the latter a loan for the purchase of cattle in the United States.<sup>66</sup> By February 1957, Mexican buyers spent just over \$2 million in twelve states, and in New Mexico, they purchased 1,026 head at a cost of \$134,150.<sup>67</sup>

In the private sector, railroads began cutting rates charged to transport feed and hay to drought-stricken areas, and they quickly extended the rate cuts as the drought intensified. Railroad companies also shipped cattle out of drought areas at low cost.<sup>68</sup>

The most controversial programs established by the USDA to help stockmen endure the drought were the emergency feed and hay programs, begun in New Mexico in 1953.<sup>69</sup> After reviewing these programs, several conclusions arise. A study of the timing reveals a government strategy to keep these programs temporary, which led to confusion in the dispensing of emergency services, feed, and hay. This strategy was guided primarily by the attitude that the drought was short-lived and secondly by the political milieu of the Eisenhower administration. Ultimately, this strategy created confusion regarding the various aspects of these programs, ranging from the most basic aspect (i.e., the naming of programs) to the most complex (i.e., determining eligibility and amount of feed provided). At the height of the midcentury drought, after years of losing animals, the federal government wanted to stop the programs when they were needed the most.

The emergency feed programs were run uniquely by the federal government and made surplus grains available to needy ranchers at low cost. Grains held in storage by the Commodities Credit Corporation were transferred to local commercial feed dealers who contracted with the local drought committees. At the outset of the programs in July 1953, qualifying stockmen were offered an allotment of feed at greatly reduced prices.<sup>70</sup>

In August 1954, the system was changed. The local drought committees issued vouchers negotiable as a monetary subsidy when grain was purchased by qualifying stockmen. Local dealers were allowed to charge a small, regulated handling fee, and the vouchers they accepted were traded for dealer certificates which in turn were exchanged for an equal amount of federal surplus grain. The subsidy was 60 cents for every 100 pounds of grain purchased.<sup>71</sup> This subsidy was raised to \$1.00 per 100 pounds and later was raised further to \$1.50.<sup>72</sup> Initial reports indicated that the program dropped the average feed price by 50 percent, and in the case of wheat from \$75 to \$35 per ton.<sup>73</sup>

As the drought ended in 1957, the USDA reported that a total of \$520 million had been spent on relief programs nationally. In New Mexico the total spent was \$32,068,000. Probably more than half funded loans, one-fourth supported the grain feed programs, and the remainder funded the hay and emergency-tillage programs.<sup>74</sup> The first of three feed pro-

grams began on 2 July 1953 and was named the 1953 Emergency Feed Program.<sup>75</sup> As 1954 arrived, no formal name change occurred. The numerical sequence of instructional memoranda issued by the Department of Agriculture continued without revision and the 1953 rules were carried well into 1954.<sup>76</sup> The USDA announced that the program would terminate on 31 March as scheduled, but politicians and stockmen mounted heavy political pressure. By 12 March the USDA responded by announcing a fifteen-day extension, making the new deadline 15 April.<sup>77</sup>

Politicians and stockmen were incensed. They ridiculed the extension, and by 29 March an "indefinite" extension was announced.<sup>78</sup> Termination of services rendered by the 1953-54 program occurred at the end of business on 15 July 1954.<sup>79</sup> The 1954-55 grain-feed program restarted services by 6 August 1954, and curtailed services on 31 July 1955, allowing for a sixty-day supply of feed as the program ended.<sup>80</sup> The third grain-feed program did not start in New Mexico until early 1956. During the hiatus (31 July 1955-27 February 1956), the New Mexico Drought Relief Committee hired an independent group to survey Union County, which was in especially bad condition. A formal request (22 November 1955) for reinstatement of the grain-feed program in the state went unheeded by the USDA, and much friction ensued.<sup>81</sup>

After a second request by Governor John Simms, a small portion of Union County, east of Range Line No. 33, was reinstated on 27 February 1956.<sup>82</sup> On 2 April, a large area running across the center of the state and including portions of Harding and Union counties was also reinstated. But the grain issued was not to exceed the calculated feed supply needed to keep "foundation herds" alive until 15 May. More counties were added on 11 May, with basic herd feed limits not to exceed supply before 30 June.<sup>83</sup> On 18 May, Governor Simms sent a forceful telegram to Secretary Benson requesting that all thirty-one counties be scheduled to receive emergency grain, as recommended by the local drought committees and high-level administrators of Benson's own USDA. By 23 May, most of New Mexico was eligible to receive emergency-feed grains for livestock, but the feed supply was limited through 30 June 1956, the termination date of the program's services.<sup>84</sup>

An extension of the 1956 grain feed program began on 1 July without any disruption in services or grain supplies. Twenty-eight New Mexico counties were reinstated for services through 31 August, and enough feed was to be issued to eligible stockmen for feeding of foundation herds until 30 September 1956.<sup>85</sup> On 12 July, the program was officially named the 1956 Emergency Feed Program. New memoranda were issued with new headings and numerical sequence. The remaining counties (San Juan, Taos, and Rio Arriba) became eligible on 1 August.<sup>86</sup>

As the end of September approached, the program was extended with little discussion. Applications were to be accepted until 1 April 1957 for feeding limits to 30 April, thus making the program actually the 1956–57 program. Services provided by this program were terminated on 15 May 1957, and specific time limits were set for stockmen and feed dealers to process negotiable documents in hand. The state drought committee recommended that the program end on 1 July 1957 and be restarted without interruption as the 1957 Emergency Feed Program, but the arrival of heavy snowfall and rain curtailed the need.<sup>87</sup>

Another unfortunate occurrence that generated confusion during the drought years was the media's inability to distinguish between grain–feed programs and hay and roughage programs. An excellent example is a 29 January 1957 story, reported that New Mexico was dropped from the “drought feed program.” The story actually discussed the hay program that state authorities administered with a preponderance of federal funds.<sup>88</sup> State authorities implemented two hay programs during the midcentury drought. The first began in 1954 during Governor Edwin L. Mechem's administration and ended in 1955 under Governor John F. Simms. The latter started the second initiative, the Federal–State Cooperative Emergency Hay and Roughage Program, that closed with Mechem in 1957.

Through the month of October 1953, President Eisenhower and the governors of the drought–stricken states discussed and formulated the policy that governed the hay and roughage programs. Eisenhower allocated \$10 million for the programs and met with the governors in Kansas City, Missouri, on 15 October. The federal and state governments agreed that the cost of the hay programs would be shared, and each state would individually negotiate the percentage they would be expected to pay.<sup>89</sup>

New Mexico's first hay program began on 17 August 1954. The agreement between the United States and New Mexico promulgated a fifty–fifty federal/state funding formula, and the federal government committed \$500,000 until 1 April 1955 to the state's \$148,646 posted the previous day for use through the fiscal year. This first program was terminated on 1 April as scheduled by the state, but an amendment to the original agreement was signed on 4 May, and the program was revived until the end of the state's fiscal year (30 June 1955).<sup>90</sup> A second amendment was signed on 27 June that extended the hay program one month to the new and final termination date of 31 July. With each new extension, eligible stockmen were allowed for a sixty day supply of hay and roughage for foundation herds.<sup>91</sup>

The state reserved authority to administer hay programs, but used the same local committees that determined eligibility and helped operate the federal grain–feed programs. The main policy difference between the grain and hay programs was that the former made federal surplus

grains available at reduced cost to the stockman, and the latter only defrayed transport costs of hay bought to keep "foundation herds" alive. The severity and duration of the drought caused the rules of the second hay program to change by subsidizing the purchase of hay with both federal and state funding. This change resulted in litigation that ultimately caused New Mexico authorities to recoup the state's share of funding after the drought ended.<sup>92</sup>

The ten-month gap between the Kansas City meeting in October 1953 and the beginning of the first hay program is puzzling. The negotiations regarding the funding formula or a lack of real need might have caused this delay. The lag between the first and second hay programs occurred between 1 August 1955, and 13 September 1956, coinciding with the most severe months of the drought. There were various calls for reviving the hay program, but federal government surveys revealed that "considerable" hay was for sale within New Mexico, and more information was needed, especially regarding severity and possible contributions to the effort from state coffers. On 13 September 1956, the federal government and the state of New Mexico signed an agreement creating a second hay and roughage program. They agreed to a 75:25 federal/state funding formula, and applications for hay and roughage could be submitted until 30 November to supply enough hay to feed surviving herds through 31 December. The federal government initially contributed \$225,000, matched by the state's \$75,000. The program was called the Federal-State Cooperative Emergency Hay and Roughage Program (FSCEHRP).<sup>93</sup>

The FSCEHRP created a major policy change by allowing funds to be used by eligible ranchers and farmers to directly subsidize \$10 of the cost of each ton of emergency hay or roughage purchased. Unfortunately, the New Mexico Supreme Court found in the case of *New Mexico ex. rel. Mechem v. Hannah* that this new policy violated the anti-donation clause of the state constitution. The attorney general of New Mexico was ordered to collect that portion of state funds issued to stockmen to purchase hay. The response to the FSCEHRP was overwhelming and state authorities seemed unaware of how much reaction would occur.<sup>94</sup>

Within two weeks, Governor Simms committed another \$75,000, raising the state's allocation to \$150,000. Soon after, Simms encouraged the federal government to add funds to fulfill the 75:25 federal/state ratio. The USDA responded on 3 October by adding \$1 million for a total federal commitment of \$1,225,000. On 19 October the federal government, through a letter issued by Kenneth L. Scott, Agricultural Credit Services director, raised their total to an even \$2 million.<sup>95</sup>

On 29 January 1957, the state terminated the program because of the cost incurred. Approximately \$3.3 million had been committed, and much of the total was held privately as negotiable and unspent documents. Stockmen held "purchase orders," and feed dealers and banks held "dealer's certificates." The state's estimated financial responsibility was \$833,333. State budget watchers were aware of the program's growing cost by the end of 1956. But they did not perceive the expense negatively because of the need after years of drought. Furthermore, a high-profile presidential and gubernatorial election was underway. An extension to the FSCEHRP was rendered just days before the 6 November 1956 election. Had all gone well, the program could have lasted until 30 April 1957, but that was not the case.<sup>96</sup>

The Texas hay program started three weeks before New Mexico began the FSCEHRP (August 1953). Armed with negotiable purchase orders and certificates, Texans bought up all the hay and roughage available in New Mexico. Large amounts of hay and roughage left the state while New Mexicans watched and waited. The most unfortunate effect of this Texas headstart was that market prices soared for the remaining hay and roughage. One official estimate stated, the prices of alfalfa in the state ranged from \$17.00 to \$22.00 per ton. As of September 15, the prices had increased to \$35.00 to \$40.00 per ton, with stocks of hay being rapidly depleted." Other official reports claimed the price had risen from \$25 to \$45 per ton over the same period. Newspapers speculated that prices would peak at \$60 per ton of hay, and New Mexico stockmen would have to buy their hay in other states.<sup>97</sup>

After the program started in New Mexico, the \$10 per ton subsidy was easily offset by the rise in the market price of hay and roughage. This dislocation further reduced the number of small ranch owners in New Mexico, and there were calls for feeding programs aimed specifically at their plight. Local dairies also called for supplemental feeding or subsidy programs because of the amount of quality feed that cows must consume to produce milk.<sup>98</sup>

In the gubernatorial election of 1956, ex-governor Mechem defeated incumbent Simms by a margin of 11,225 votes out of 251,751 cast. The count in each county was close, and there exists no solid evidence that the hay program adversely affected Simms's campaign. Mechem alleged during the campaign that Simms procrastinated for two weeks while processing FSCEHRP paperwork, which drew a heated response from the program's director, Daniel M. Smith Jr., who also was the state comptroller. Smith also testified before the New Mexico State Finance Board that Washinton officials gave Texas preference in order to carry the state in November. In retrospect, the evidence clearly shows that Simms expedited the process whenever possible, and it is likely that Texas was given preference for purely political reasons.<sup>99</sup>

The 1956 presidential election tallied a record turnout of 62 million voters and a second landslide victory for President Eisenhower over Democratic challenger, Adlai Stevenson. Eisenhower won 35.5 million votes to Stevenson's 26 million, and the electoral vote was 457 to 73. Although Stevenson carried seven southern states, Eisenhower carried Texas and the Democrats maintained slight leads in the House of Representatives and the Senate. Manipulation in the timing of the hay programs might have happened in the federal legislative process, where Texans Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Baines Johnson held key positions in the House and Senate, respectively.<sup>100</sup>

Edwin Mechem began his third term as governor of New Mexico in January 1957. On 29 January the state suspended the FSCEHRP because it could not supply the matching funds needed to pay its 25 percent share of the funding. The estimated amount of state funding thought to be legally available for the program was \$244,000, which included the \$150,000 committed in autumn and a surplus of \$94,442.49 reported by the state auditor on 30 June 1956. An attorney general's opinion issued in March 1957, however, found no evidence of a second contribution of \$75,000. The opinion brought forth a letter dated 3 October 1956 from Simms to Rickman, a USDA official, which only mentioned the second \$75,000 and pledged the state's full cooperation.<sup>101</sup>

During February 1957, the legislature and the governor discussed FSCEHRP's problems. The question of the FSCEHRP's constitutionality was brought to the attention of Governor Mechem and Attorney General Fred Standley by a "mystery person." On 25 February, Mechem signed Senate Bill 180 that added \$200,000 to the program, with the unofficial caveat that the new law would have no effect if the program was found to be unconstitutional.<sup>102</sup>

Through the month of March a series of deadly snowstorms brought an end to the drought. Thousands of cattle that stockmen had worked hard to keep alive were lying dead along the fence lines of New Mexico. Bad news also came on 26 March when the attorney general's opinion found the second hay program illegal because it violated the anti-donation clause of the state constitution. Mechem brought suit against State Auditor Hannah and the State Treasurer J.B. Grant to compel them to return the \$200,000 funded in February. In addition, the New Mexico Supreme Court, in a unanimous opinion issued 8 August 1957, found that the FSCEHRP violated Article IX, Section 14 (the anti-donation clause) of the state constitution.<sup>103</sup>

Events regarding the FSCEHRP turned ugly. Questions were raised about the legality of the first hay program and other drought relief programs. Recriminations abounded and charges of favoritism were waged against wealthy ranchers who allegedly received illegal hay and grain. The final audit of the second hay program conducted on 23 April 1958



showed that disbursements totalled \$1,967,427.14, not including administrative expenses. The federal government's responsibility for actual hay and roughage delivered through the program totalled \$1,737,822.81. New Mexico's portion was \$229,605.33, but only \$181,706.04 had been processed, leaving a variance of \$47,899.29. Apparently, many stockmen holding purchase orders never redeemed them after the legal questions arose, and many cattle died in the March snowstorms.<sup>104</sup>

On 3 July 1961 the attorney general of New Mexico sent letters to all stockmen who bought hay or roughage with purchase orders issued by the FSCEHRP, and each letter explained that 25 percent of the aid (the state's share) must be repaid. Several months later, State Treasurer Joseph Callaway filed suit against Jay M. Axtell and others who owed over \$1000 in order to force repayment of the subsidy. More than five years later, on 16 February 1966, Judge Sam Montoya of the Santa Fe District Court ordered Axtell and others to repay the state, along with 6 percent annual interest from the 3 July 1961 notification date.<sup>105</sup>

In the early 1950s, the major political debate about crop production concerned the logic, level, and effectiveness of "rigid" price supports. In cattle production, the major political fight was to prevent the government from imposing price controls because stockmen allegedly kept prices high and made too much profit. As the drought worsened, New Mexico farmers continued their movement to save rigid price supports. New Mexico stockmen warmed up to the idea of government intervention, however, reversing a long-held *laissez-faire* attitude. Stockmen shifted from an anti-price control position to pro-price support because of the drought.

The climax occurred in 1956 and 1957. In 1956, the ranching situation became so serious that New Mexico changed the rules of the Federal-State Cooperative Emergency Hay and Roughage Program. This allowed stockmen to use state funds in combination with federal funds for the direct purchase of emergency hay for their animal herds, already reduced by emergency selling and death.

Stockmen gratefully used all FSCEHRP funding to directly purchase emergency hay and roughage, but this practice was found unconstitutional. Beginning in 1957, ranchers were forced to pay back all state funds issued by the FSCEHRP at the same time they were repaying promissory notes taken to survive the drought. Ranchers also tried to rebuild their herds during these same years. The drought finally broke in early 1957 with a series of winter snowstorms, but thousands of animals that had survived the years of drought perished in the blizzards. Ranchers will again face the challenge brought by drought. Their estimates about the timing, magnitude, and duration may become life-or-death decisions

affecting their enterprises. This essay provides a list of the problems and a resource for more technical information. And, at best, it provides examples of proactive and reactive responses that will help all be better prepared for the future.

## NOTES

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4. United States Department of State, *Severe, Sustained Drought in the Southwestern United States*, 12-13.

5. United States Department of the Interior, *The Drought in Southwestern United States as of October 1951*, prepared in the office of Undersecretary Richard D. Searles (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1951), 1, NMSEL; United States Department of the Interior, *General Summary of Effects of the Drought in the Southwest, 1942-56*, Geological Survey, Professional Paper no. 372-H, prepared by H.E. Thomas (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1963), H-1, NMSEL.

6. United States Department of Interior, *General Summary*, H-2, H-6, H-16, H-17, and H-22; Special Assistant to the President for Public Works Planning, *A Report on Drought in the Great Plains and Southwest*, October 1958, pp. 23-24, 33-35, in NMSEL, no. 0-SW-10. These two papers agree that because of the mid-century drought, local governments throughout the Southwest became more innovative in water management. New Mexico's counties, cities, water districts, and ditch associations earnestly began to pool their resources to build small reservoirs and update water-delivery systems. This position is based on a review of New Mexico State statutes passed in the years 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, and 1959. Other large groups of laws relate to the Interstate Stream Commission and state engineer. By 1956, the federal and state governments began larger projects, such as Abiquiu and Navajo dams. As a result, water tables began to drop as groundwater replaced surface water for agricultural purposes.

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22. Garraty, *The American Nation*, 819-20.

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26. John S. Schlebecker, *Whereby We Thrive: A History of American Farming, 1607-1972* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1975), 238. Schlebecker says the problem was actually "underconsumption," and he provides statistics to support this contention at least during the early 1930s.

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Spanish Colonial Research Center, NPS,  
Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico,  
Albuquerque, NM 87131 USA  
Telephone (505)766-8743 / Fax (505)277-4603  
E-mail [clahr@unm.edu](mailto:clahr@unm.edu)

# Politics, Religion and the Blue Book: The John Birch Society in Eastern New Mexico and West Texas, 1960–1965

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TERRY ISAACS

Robert Welch began the John Birch Society (JBS) in Indianapolis, Indiana and from its 1958 founding the right-wing political group spread rapidly across the United States.<sup>1</sup> By 1960 the JBS fostered study groups in such remote areas as the farm and ranch land of eastern New Mexico and west Texas. The rural areas provided fertile political ground for Birchism and a conservative political ideology. Although the Southwest held to a strong Democratic party tradition, that part of New Mexico known as “little Texas,” and the Panhandle of west Texas, welcomed JBS efforts at removing the “Communist threat” from the area.

By 1961 JBS members in Roswell and Portales, New Mexico and Amarillo, Texas had scrutinized libraries, schools, religious leaders, and race relations. The extent of the Bircher’s impact on southwestern life remains difficult to determine. However, promoting “Americanism” attracted a considerable following during the early 1960s. JBS conservative thought manifested itself in organizations, speeches, and seminars throughout the Southwest. This right-wing movement (characterized as “electricity in the air”), its impact, and its eventual success or failure deserves historical examination.<sup>2</sup>

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Terry Isaacs is associate professor of history at South Plains College in Levelland, Texas.

Birchism has as its immediate antecedent the McCarthy era. Robert Welch twice addressed the "friends of Senator Joe McCarthy" during the mid-1950s and earned the reputation as a loyal McCarthy supporter.<sup>3</sup> With "Red Scare" activities cyclical in twentieth-century American history, Welch's JBS emerged to greet a renewed interest in stopping Communism. Although publicizing a projected national membership goal of one million, the Society consisted of local chapters, each comprised of about twenty members, who met in individuals' homes. The JBS headquarters in Belmont, Massachusetts accepted donations in addition to yearly membership dues of twenty-four dollars for men and twelve dollars for women (figures 1 and 2). The 1962 national Birch Society budget was \$1.3 million.<sup>4</sup>

The JBS promised to halt what its members perceived as too great a change in the accepted southwestern lifestyle. For example, desegregation appeared to many Birchers as only another extension of the Communist erosion of American culture. Subsequent Earl Warren Supreme Court rulings increasingly troubled the JBS and consequently drew the group's wrath.

Internationally, political events held America's attention during the early part of the decade. The preeminence of Soviet space successes and Nikita Khrushchev's boasts occupied many American minds. The Soviet orbit of Yuri Gargarin was socialism's crowning triumph. It placed America's space exploration even further behind in the space race. And the fear of a Communist government in Cuba, only ninety miles from Florida, heightened political anxiety.

In the political realm of the 1960s, even the Democrats attempted to cash in on the prevailing communist fear. To this end, the Democratic party stressed a "missile gap" in its 1960 presidential campaign. Although the publicized missile gap held national attention for months, the Kennedy administration revealed its nonexistence just three weeks after the inauguration.<sup>5</sup> Still, a lingering doubt permeated the conservative American political mind. How could the Soviets, using an atheistic system, have scientifically surpassed the most advanced country in the world?

The most plausible answer to this question, in the view of the JBS, must originate with America's internal decay. Communists and Communist Sympathizers (COMSYMPS) conspired to destroy the American way of life.<sup>6</sup> To Birchers, an assault upon the capitalist system was plainly visible. Externally, the United Nations became the target of both national and local Birch Society broadsides. Additionally, the JBS viewed United Nations health, relief, and cultural programs as Communist front organizations subverting the American way of life.

The racial and social upheaval in America was, to the JBS, just more evidence of Communist activity across the land. Interracial conflicts then occurring in other portions of the United States were uncommon in the remote areas of west Texas and eastern New Mexico. While the larger issue of Black–White conflict was both geographically and culturally removed from Roswell, Portales, and Amarillo, Hispanic–White racial conflicts only infrequently erupted in the area. The established white majority controlled the economic, political, and religious aspects of southwestern life. Civil rights, although increasingly a rallying point in parts of the South, remained in the background for most Texans and New Mexicans.

Changes mandated by the 1954 Brown desegregation case were implemented slowly in Texas and New Mexico. The Warren Court’s decisions caused Birchers to bristle at what they perceived as an assault on Americans’ personal liberties. Following the instructions of Robert Welch, JBS members sported “Impeach Earl Warren” banners. Birchers also distributed 500,000 copies of *Two Revolutions at Once* to Birch Society chapters across the country. The sixteen–page pamphlet portrayed the civil rights movement as a worldwide Communist conspiracy.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Birch state coordinators provided Earl Warren Impeachment Packets to the society’s members.

Elsewhere, TACT (Truth About Civil Turmoil) committees were set up in cities to expose the “fraud” of the civil rights movement. These JBS front groups screened films, most notably *Anarchy USA*, revealing that America’s racial agitation emanated from Communists in Cuba and Algeria. More than 260 prints of the seventy–five minute film were in use by 1967.<sup>8</sup>

Probably the most effective JBS activity was the Support Your Local Police (SYLP) campaign. The program, started in 1963, became a productive JBS recruiting tool. Within one year, hundreds of SYLP committees existed across the nation. Bumper stickers that encouraged support for lawmen enticed new followers into the Society and gained the sympathy of law officials. Birchers viewed lawlessness, the civil rights movement, and Communism as capitalism’s nemeses. These threats, once identified, could only be removed through vigilant efforts of the JBS in tangent with law enforcement officials.

These political questions served as catalysts for the John Birch Society in west Texas and eastern New Mexico during the early 1960s. Through examination of JBS activities during this era, researchers may discover Birchism’s impact on three similar southwestern communities. In addition, the JBS legacy still exists in the political attitudes currently held by area citizens.

Application For Membership

\_\_\_\_\_, 19

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

This is my application for membership in the \_\_\_\_\_  
Chapter of THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, for one year  
from this date, and for automatic renewal each year  
thereafter, unless I resign in writing. I understand  
the dues schedule printed on the back of this sheet,  
as applicable to myself.

If my application is accepted, I agree that my mem-  
bership may be revoked at anytime, by a duly appointed  
officer of the Society, without the reason being stated,  
on refund of the pro rata part of my dues paid in  
advance.

Sincerely,

(Name) \_\_\_\_\_

(Address) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dues Received \_\_\_\_\_

Application Approved

By \_\_\_\_\_

Title \_\_\_\_\_

Figure 1: John Birch Society membership application. Once accepted into the organization, the applicant then joined a local chapter for monthly meetings. Original in author's private collection.

## DUES SCHEDULE

Life membership in the Home Chapter,  
(which automatically covers membership  
in any local chapter), for men or  
women . . . . . \$1,000.00  
(This may be paid in two consecutive  
annual installments of \$500.00 each.)

Regular annual membership in the Home Chapter	For men . . . . .	\$24.00
	For women . . . .	12.00

Membership in a local chapter, mini- mum per year:	For men . . . . .	\$24.00
	For women . . . .	12.00

(This may be paid as \$2.00 per month  
for men, and \$1.00 per month for wom-  
en, to the local Chapter Leader.)

If any member wishes to pay larger dues,  
to support the Society's work (or to make  
contributions for that purpose), such  
dues or contributions may also be split  
into monthly installments if desired.

(Applications for membership in local chapters  
should be approved by the Chapter Leader. Appli-  
cations for membership in the Home Chapter will  
be approved by the home office.)

Figure 2: Membership dues schedule. John Birch Society applicants paid yearly dues to both the national office in Belmont, Massachusetts and their local chapters. Original in author's private collection.

Although the JBS had been active in Roswell, it maintained a low community profile during 1960. However, a *Roswell Daily Record* (RDR) editorial, "Battin' the Breeze," by Max Odendahl, garnered a storm of letters and opinions. The column satirized the "Jack Spruce Society" and its founder "Herbert Belch":

Belch has published a Greenbook, which lays down the basic fundamentals of the organization. He says this nation was "founded as a republic, not for free love." Only married couples belong to the groups and during the meeting some of the spicier films out of the Hollywood hotbed are shown. Members of the Society are also said to be ready to go about town showing their own film "*Operation Abortion*," to civic groups.<sup>9</sup>

Odendahl's veiled reference to *Operation Abolition*, a film being screened in Roswell by the American Legion, and his satirization of the Society, prompted numerous letters to the RDR's Public Forum. The film, along with *Communism on the Map* "received wide showing in Roswell."<sup>10</sup> The spokesman for the local post of the American Legion responded with "I took great offense of the low-level smutty, and nasty-minded attempt at satire against the John Birch Society." The letter writer may have revealed a larger picture of the Society's members when he continued, "I do not know if the JBS is right or not, but at least they are trying to do something about the Communist threat to our way of life."<sup>11</sup> Another letter to the *Record* agreed with the JBS assertion "that 60% of the press in this country is Communist, pink or misled by pinks."<sup>12</sup> After the "Spruce" column, a Roswell Birch leader—"livid about the article"—demanded Odendahl purchase a copy of *The Blue Book* in order to become better informed about the Society's work.<sup>13</sup> Odendahl's columns became less vitriolic and he subsequently "highly recommended the film to anyone."<sup>14</sup> The editorials and letters appeared to have increased interest in the JBS. Consequently, in upcoming years, Birchism in Roswell would cast a long shadow over Chaves County politics.

If Roswell residents flirted with JBS conservatism, Amarillo residents embraced it heart and soul. Some 200 miles away, the Texas Panhandle area known as the Golden Spread was quite similar to Roswell. This predominantly farming and cattle-ranching area scorned anything or anyone deemed "liberal." The *Amarillo Daily News* (ADN) editorial page reflected and advocated a bedrock conservatism. KGNC radio, the newspaper's affiliate, aired Dan Ammermann and "It is happening here," a weekly program "designed to promote Americanism and to fight Communism and Socialism through information and education."<sup>15</sup> Additionally, one of Amarillo's corporate leaders received national Birch publicity.

The JBS Bulletin commended Southwestern Public Service Company, the area's major utility provider, for "wide circulation" of Bircher Tom Anderson's column "Straight Talk." The Texas-based firm, labeled "a very public spirited and patriotic public utility company," deserved a "barrage of letters...thanking them for their continuous output of patriotic advertising, in their own excellent monthly publication, *The Southwesterner*."<sup>16</sup> In early 1962 a representative of the utility company showed *Communist Encirclement-1961* to an Amarillo study group on socialism-communism. According to the group's newsletter, the film was "excellent and pulls no punches."<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, Roswell's letter-writing conservatives, in accordance with JBS education guidelines, shared their New Mexican political outlook in the *ADN's* "Golden Spread Forum." One conservative Roswell politico sent letters to newspapers in Tucson, Arizona, El Paso, Texas, and Albuquerque, New Mexico in addition to the Amarillo and Roswell papers.<sup>18</sup>

Contemporaneous with the early 1960s shift to Birchism, both cities hosted nationally-known conservative Republicans to speak to the citizenry. Everett Dirksen spoke to the Potter County Republican party in Amarillo and gave a "State of the Union Address" to more than 300 residents. Ronald Reagan received a similar welcome at the Roswell Chamber of Commerce Roundup. JBS founder Robert Welch spoke to an overflow crowd of 1,800 at the Amarillo Municipal Auditorium while noted conservatives from the JBS "Speakers Bureau" actively recruited individuals to conservative thinking.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile, the JBS took full advantage of the political climate to recruit members. A full page newspaper advertisement invited interested citizens to an Amarillo Freedom Seminar.<sup>20</sup> Over 1,000 people heard keynote speaker Clarence Manion, who had been a Notre Dame School of Law dean and became a counselor to JBS founder Robert Welch. Less than one month later, Ken McFarland delivered "several dozen broadsides at the Communist cause to about 1,000 persons" at the Amarillo Producers Grain Corporation banquet.<sup>21</sup>

The success or failure of the JBS recruitment effort in Amarillo is difficult to assess. The number of secretive chapters remains unknown, but pro-JBS letters to the *ADN* suggested either a real or perceived victory over Communism. "[I]f everyone was fighting Communism as Amarillo is, there would be no Communist in America."<sup>22</sup> Similarly, Robert Welch commended Roswell's Dr. George Richardson by saying that if everyone worked as hard as the doctor, "we'd be on our way to town." Richardson's political activism was not without its price, however. In the late 1950s, he was denied surgery privileges at Walker's Base Hospi-



tal because he was "too controversial." Moreover, Richardson received harassing telephone calls because of his anti-communist activism. Callers often awakened the local physician with pre-dawn "I'd rather be red than dead" phone calls.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile, a different attitude manifested itself midway between the two southwestern cities. Portales, New Mexico initially revealed less enthusiasm for the JBS. While conservative clubs existed in the area and Birchers undoubtedly promoted Americanism, the *Portales News Tribune* (PNT) was anything but supportive. In one example, the *Tribune's* editor, Gordon Greaves, voiced his support for the editor of the Roswell paper when Birchers condemned the *RDR's* editorial opinions. Greaves commented that the *Record's* editor was "up to his ears in John Birch letters."<sup>24</sup> The Portales publisher then drew the wrath of JBS members in his own area. He continually defended his political positions and maintained that the "strength of America lies not in suppression of ideas, but in recognition that democracy is a melting pot of ideas from which can come orderly development of new concepts in all fields."<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile, in nearby Chaves County, the newspaper editor took both a conciliatory and negative view of Roswell's JBS. In an unsigned editorial, Albert Stubbs, the *RDR's* editor for more than twenty-five years, maintained:

We don't have any particular quarrel with the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade because we feel that American citizens should be alerted to the dangers of Communism and its tactics. This is all to the good. But, because many people feel that the methods of the John Birch Society are in themselves un-American and abridge the freedoms of thought and belief, people are entitled to know the link between the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade.<sup>26</sup>

While editorial opinions and community discussions swirled around the JBS in all three cities, Birchers were busy recruiting new members.<sup>27</sup> Advertisements for a National Indignation Rally appeared in the *RDR*; it was held 20 January 1962 in Odessa, Texas. Former Army General Edwin Walker and Tom Anderson, editor of *Farm and Ranch* magazine, were the speakers. Anderson, a Welch advisor, asserted later in Roswell that "Our greater threat isn't fallout—it's sellout."<sup>28</sup> The rally protested reports that Perrin Air Force Base in Denison, Texas provided training for Yugoslavian pilots. Lowry Air Force Base in Aurora, Colorado also was scheduled to train foreign air crews. The half-page newspaper advertisement, funded by "Indignant Citizens of Roswell," sought the removal

of the pilots from the United States.<sup>29</sup> On a local level, Birchers sought to purge the area of subversive elements destroying America from within. Nationwide, the Society focused its attention on Earl Warren, the United Nations, Cuba, and foreign aid to perceived Communist governments.

Locally, conservative officials focused the brunt of their energies on what they dubbed “immoral materials.” Amarillo public officials confronted the perceived Communist threat through direct action when Henry Miller’s bestseller *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) was classified as “definitely obscene” by County Attorney Naomi Harney. The attorney’s office confiscated 5,693 copies of the novel from a book outlet and a trucking firm.<sup>30</sup> On a national level, the JBS endorsed MOTOREDE (Movement to Restore Decency), which was an attempt to limit sexually explicit reading material and prohibit sex education in schools. Potter County Sheriff Jim Line urged prosecution of the operators of two Amarillo bookstores, a drugstore, and a news distribution agency. The sheriff, after a grand jury refused indictments of the stores, saw a direct connection to Communism:

The deliberate breakdown of our morals is the number one object of the Communist Party of America to the point that people will rebel to the government and buy Communism. Lenin said “we will not have to conquer America by force of arms but it will sicken and fall into our hand like an overripe fruit.” Condoning the circulation of such literature as this book aids them immeasurably in the corrupting of America.<sup>31</sup>

The grand jury refused indictments by the wide margin of 10 to 2 and cited that the proper course “would be for the sheriff to take his cases to the county attorney and ask her to accept complaints. She in turn would then be responsible for prosecution of such complaints.” Promptly, citizens formed an Amarillo Decent Literature League and began a petition drive.<sup>32</sup>

The *Tropic of Cancer* episode only whetted the JBS appetite for morality in Amarillo’s reading material. Within three months, Parents for Better Education, a national JBS front group active in Amarillo, demanded the removal of ten novels from the local libraries. Four of the selections were Pulitzer prize winners themselves and seven were written by Pulitzer-prize-winning authors. Tempers flared when *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) by John Steinbeck, *Andersonville* (1955) by Mackinley Kantor, and Herman Wouk’s *Marjorie Morningstar* (1955) were among the forbidden volumes. Amarillo College librarians removed the offending volumes from the College bookshelves for “a few months” then replaced them when the controversy subsided.<sup>33</sup> Nearby, the Portales editor condemned Amarillo’s actions. He said, “book banning once

started won't stop with alleged obscenities. The book banners would emerge from this triumph with renewed zeal to expunge other books which contain subject matter not to their liking."<sup>34</sup> Portales-area Birchers became more active in the months that followed. "Our mail is becoming heavy with letters, pamphlets and clippings on various subjects of Anti-Communism...One letter contained so many clippings we had to pay extra postage to get it out of the post office," editorialized Greaves.<sup>35</sup>

Nevertheless, Portales citizens continued to read what Birchers had forbidden their Amarillo neighbors. Seven of the nine novels were available at Eastern New Mexico University and five were on the shelves at the Roosevelt County Library. Five copies of *The Grapes of Wrath* had been checked out thirty-six times during the preceding year. Moreover, the library loaned *Morningstar* five times during the same period.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, the Roswell Public School Board of Trustees, under pressure to insure "Americanist" school textbooks were in use, appointed a committee to examine the school's texts. The committee found no Communist-inspired books and there the issue remained.<sup>37</sup> Citywide, a "Pro-American" library display was the subject of several letters to the editor. Initially the Roswell Library Board approved a display of Pro-American literature, which did not include either the Declaration of Independence or the United States Constitution. Three weeks later board members admitted their previous error and refused the display request but accepted twenty-eight JBS selections for shelving and loan.<sup>38</sup>

Undaunted, Roswell's JBS members established a bookstore that joined more than 350 other American Opinion Libraries in the United States. The outlets stocked a complete line of JBS books, pamphlets, and bumper stickers. Although nationally most were called American Opinion Bookstores, they were, in fact, reading rooms "manned, utilized and promoted by volunteers who were local members of our organization."<sup>39</sup> The location of Roswell's JBS reading room, the Freedom Bookstore, followed Welch's *Blue Book* directive that outlets be located adjacent to Christian Science reading rooms.<sup>40</sup>

Nationwide, American Opinion Bookstores, while providing an outlet for JBS materials, required vigilance from the JBS state coordinators in maintaining "proper" literature. Roswell's Freedom Bookstore opened daily and with some success promoted Americanism. A spokesman for the bookstore stated that they sold more than "600 to 700 copies of *A Texan Looks at Lyndon* (1964) by J. Evetts Haley. I understand everyone in Texas has a copy of the book. Over a million copies have been printed," added the JBS employee. Other bookstores in Roswell reported smaller sales; Cobean's Stationery reported fifty copies sold with numerous in-

quiries while William's News agency reported 200 copies had been "distributed and 200 more were on order." Haley, a conservative Amarillo rancher and historian, claimed that in four days 210,000 copies of the book were ordered.<sup>41</sup>

Neither did motion pictures escape the purview of JBS moralists. In the Amarillo area, the Better Movies Committee of Potter County caused two scenes to be cut from *Poor White Trash* prior to being screened in Amarillo theaters.<sup>42</sup> The innocuously-named committee joined many like it across the nation as a front group with dual purposes, one of which was recruitment to the Society, the other the removal of Communist propaganda from America.<sup>43</sup>

In Roswell, the Chaves County Ministerial Alliance brought pressure on KSWB-TV to remove "Peyton Place" from its telecast schedule. The manager refused on the basis of "contractual obligations." A letter to the editor of the *RDR* maintained the station manager had "an obligation...to resist the pressure of any group." The letter writer bolstered his argument with citations of freedom of the press and protection offered by the American Civil Liberties Union. Roswell's Birchers certainly chafed under the claims of "the evils of unofficial censorship" and the mere mention of the ACLU.<sup>44</sup>

The civil rights movement probably elicited more interest in the JBS than any other political question. National JBS campaigns such as the "Get US out of the UN" movement prompted only mild responses when compared to the race issue. The JBS found that civil rights struck a sensitive political nerve among west Texans and eastern New Mexicans. "I am not for communism and I am not for mixing of the races [integration]. And I don't know any God Fearing Christian [Born again Believer] who is," wrote one conservative to the *PNT*.<sup>45</sup>

In response to an editorial on race and Communism in the *PNT*, a writer brought Catholicism into the fray: "Sir if there is nothing to Communism and Romanism then tell me why there is [sic] so many God called preachers and freedom loving people against them, friend you are the one being deceived and not the public as a whole...wake up before it is too late."<sup>46</sup> The Civil Rights Act, warned Ezra Taft Benson, "is part of the pattern for the Communist takeover of America." The JBS Bulletin exhorted, "Fully expose the 'civil rights' fraud and you will break the back of the Communist Conspiracy."<sup>47</sup>

As the national civil rights debate ensued, letter writers discussed race relations with regularity in the area's newspapers. *PNT* editor Greaves called for compassionate understanding in racial matters.<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, Roswell's Walker Air Force Base chaplain, Rabbi Phil Schecter, voiced concerns over racial problems. After a Roswell restaurant denied service to three members of the Harlem Globetrotters, Schecter asserted:

The Record recently carried advertisements by the local chapter of the VFW and the John Birch Society. Both of these advertisements, as were the seminars recently conducted by these groups, efforts stated to be in behalf of patriotism, the Constitution and the things America stands for. Perhaps these goals could be more rapidly advanced and aided if groups such as these were to give life service instead of lip service to Americanism... Will these extremely patriotic groups merely condone these un-American activities or will they hold seminars...but this time on how to break the barriers of racial prejudice?<sup>49</sup>

Letters condemning racism appeared sporadically in the media. Many responded to previous JBS missives linking communism to the civil rights movement. One writer with a religious view toward racial difficulties pointed out that an earlier letter omitted the greatest commandment of all, "Love thy neighbor as Thyself."<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, Birchers found the civil rights legislation pending before Congress a direct step on the road to communism. A *RDR* advertisement, "Are We a Nation of Sheep?" recounted the United States descent toward Communism and continued, "Our press and air waves serve up a daily fare of Elizabeth Taylor, Bobby Baker, Martin Luther King and the endless dribble of sex."<sup>51</sup>

Roswell's racial problems were complicated, especially in the realm of housing, due to the recent Walker Air Force Base Atlas ICBM silo construction project. African American construction workers and missile technicians found limited housing vacancies in the city. Discrimination toward African Americans prompted the *RDR*'s editor to comment:

The question of housing for Negro families in Roswell, many of the families here to work on the Atlas project or in the Air Force, is a critical one. Let's keep Roswell's name clean in the eyes of the world. And, shutting our eyes to the problem as it exists won't solve anything or cause the problem to vanish.<sup>52</sup>

Amarillo's housing shortage, meanwhile, appeared to have been less acute than that of either Roswell or Portales. However, Air Force investigations into housing shortages for African American officers near Clovis-Portales's Cannon Air Force Base resulted in added construction. Ten African American commissioned officers were separated from family members and billeted in barracks due to housing shortages in the area.<sup>53</sup>

The communist conspiracy in the Southwest, according to Birchers, could be halted by a bulwark of religious orthodoxy among the area's denominations. Nationwide, JBS attention centered on the alleged communist influence within the National Council of Churches (NCC). JBS members attempted to force local congregations to withdraw from the national organization.

The Methodist Church, long a supporter of the NCC, racial integration, and programs viewed by the JBS as leftist, became the object of Birch attacks. Although the theological seminaries in the Southwest became the object of strict JBS scrutiny, Amarillo ministers' sermons were particularly subjected to Birch Society evaluation. Primarily, the JBS scrutinized the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal ministers. The associate pastor of the largest Methodist church in Amarillo estimated Birch strength at 10 percent of his 5,000 member congregation.<sup>54</sup> The seemingly small number of Birchers in the Polk Street Methodist Church presented a much larger vocal presence when pulpit messages differed with their political agenda. Harassing midnight telephone calls to the minister increased tension within the religious community. The church's pastor recalled a "pressure on the ministry" in Amarillo but "they never accomplished a thing in influencing the pulpit." A Birch committee presented the pastor with portions of Sunday school literature and church bulletins underlined in red pencil which, in their view, reflected communist thought. "I felt Amarillo was the national capitol of the JBS," added the minister.<sup>55</sup>

The bishop of the Episcopal diocese centered in Amarillo also experienced JBS inquiries:

We had a very strong Birch group here and they took after the National Council of Churches and local ministers. One small church was formed by the JBS and called the Independent Methodist Congregational Church. It was a mixed group and they were concerned about radical conservatism. Race was the original focus and this led to the attack on the NCC because they (NCC) took a liberal position on racial issues. The Birchers felt themselves of consequence but I don't think they had any weight at all.<sup>56</sup>

One minister at Amarillo's Trinity Methodist Church refused communion to a Birch member at Sunday service. The irascible minister, known for confrontations with Birchers, pastored the city's most "liberal" church. The pastor was the subject of complaints to the Methodist bishop.<sup>57</sup>

Birchers mistakenly identified the Polk Street Methodist associate pastor as having played a "Communist record" for the youth of the congregation. Actually, an Episcopal minister had played *For Heaven's Sake* for his congregation. The contemporary long-play album satirized man's materialism in contrast to Christ's life. One song, "He Was a Flop at Thirty-Three," particularly troubled the Birchers. A Birch committee visited the Polk Street Church to evaluate the associate pastor. His sermon, intended as a satire of Birch activities, focused on National Socialism in Germany and Nazi techniques of gaining power. At the sermon's conclusion, the Birch committee's leader informed the minister that "that was the finest sermon he had ever heard preached." Thus, the Birchers moved their attention from the Polk Street ministry to other areas of perceived Communist influence.<sup>58</sup> Both religious and political satire caused Birchers to search for leftist meanings contained in the commentary. In response, the JBS letter writers continued to seek simple "yes or no" answers to their inquiries on suspected areas of Communist influence.

While Amarillo's church-communism debate remained on a local level, Roswell's religious orthodoxy discussion revolved around a popular southwestern evangelist. Billy James Hargis, a Tulsa, Oklahoma religious fundamentalist, became embroiled in debate with the editor of the *RDR*. Hargis combined his religious zeal with an anti-Communist crusade. The argument spilled onto the pages of the *Record* when Hargis appeared in Roswell under the auspices of the Americanism Committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post 2575. George Richardson, a frequent contributor to the *RDR*'s Public Forum, was chairman of the committee and served as master of ceremonies at Hargis's appearance. Hargis "roasted a national religious publication, liberal ministers, editors and educators." The evangelist had been identified in the Soviet press as one of the "four most dangerous men in America because of his Crusade." An audience of 100 to 125 listened as Hargis labeled *Presbyterian Life* a "puny, slimy publication."<sup>59</sup>

Albert Stubbs, the *RDR*'s editor, in a signed editorial, mildly questioned the evangelist's motives. "He certainly plants seeds of doubt and discord concerning the major protestant churches, particularly Presbyterian and Methodist." Stubbs encouraged his readers to listen to Hargis' weekly radio program.<sup>60</sup> At the same time Hargis threatened court action after an unfavorable editorial in the *Portales News Tribune*: "I demand, Mr. Graves, [sic] that you print this letter in answer to your editorial, and send me a copy of it. If not, our attorneys will take this under advisement because I definitely feel you have libeled me."<sup>61</sup> The religious argument subsided but editor Greaves continued to voice his feelings about

the Hargis crusade. "We are deeply troubled about the influence this man holds over so many people." Greaves compared the conservative movement to a disease when he added, "we regard it as a symptom of a sort of sickness that afflicts our nation."<sup>62</sup>

Religion and anti-communism continued to be debated in Roswell churches. In an unsigned editorial the *RDR* again posed questions but offered few solutions:

There is considerable unrest in many churches across the land and right here in Roswell. Some church members find it hard to reconcile themselves and their church's stand on racial matters. Some interpret liberalism in the realm of racial equality as liberalism in all areas. Many deplore the fact that their church, on a national level, gets involved in social and economic issues. But how else can the church be effective? If your church is experiencing an internal upheaval, don't accept the reasons stated by the dissident at face value. Look for deeper roots. They are there, although they are not as plain as day.<sup>63</sup>

Ironically, the Supreme Court, in its decision to ban prayers in public schools, triggered little reaction in Chaves County. The decision met a "quiet reception in Roswell." Apparently Americanism, anti-communism, and civil rights commanded the right-wing's attention in the area.<sup>64</sup>

Political leaders often encountered Birchers while on the campaign trail. New Mexico's Democratic Lieutenant Governor Mack Easley verbally assaulted the right-wing extremists of Roswell in 1964. Easley said, "Roswell has the dubious distinction of being known as the capital of the state's John Birch Society." The lieutenant governor said the state Republican leaders are always "howling calamity on the state's affairs." He added that "it has been conservatively estimated there will be a \$7 million surplus in the treasury."<sup>65</sup> The Hobbs, New Mexico native didn't limit his criticism to the JBS but broadened his indictment to include the *Roswell Daily Record* when he accused the paper of being biased in its news coverage. Waving a clipping from the *Hobbs News-Sun* concerning some remarks of President Johnson, he said that the story appeared on the front page of the Hobbs paper and probably appeared on the back page of "your newspaper here."<sup>66</sup>

Dr. Jack Redman, Republican candidate for the United States House of Representatives, refuted Easley's assertions. Redman said the charge was "without foundation and cannot be supported in reality." Later in the campaign, Easley and Redman publicly debated the merits of the Republican party philosophy. Easley, who called the entire election year



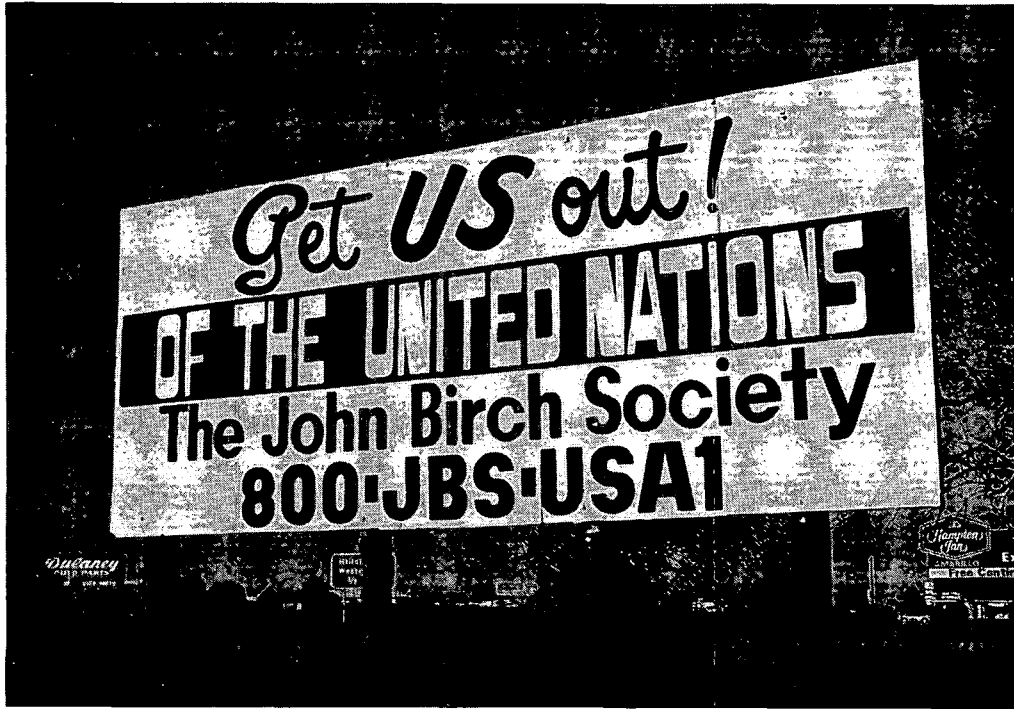
episode "merely good politics," continued his campaign against the Republican party. The long-time Democrat especially targeted the Goldwater presidential bid. "It is absolutely essential to the future of our country that we keep Barry Goldwater out of the White House."<sup>67</sup>

During the same campaign, Roswell's Democratic party candidate for State Corporation Commissioner, G. Y. Fails, introduced another avenue to the political debate. Fails lambasted the JBS, Ku Klux Klan, and the Communist party when he said "any candidate who deliberately courts votes from such extremists deserves defeat."<sup>68</sup>

In election eve campaigning, more than 1,500 Roswell residents heard Richard Nixon encourage Chaves County voters to support Goldwater. Nevertheless, Democratic campaign rhetoric swayed enough voters in conservative Chaves County to provide a slim 8,640 to 8,419 Lyndon B. Johnson victory while he swept the rest of the state and the nation.<sup>69</sup> In what was termed a "massive election," Roswell's voters favored GOP candidates for Congress and Senate while the Democratic candidates won statewide. Republican Edwin Mechem was defeated by Democrat Joe Montoya for United States senator and the GOP congressional candidate Jack Redman, was defeated by Democrat E.S. "Johnny" Walker. Nine counties, including Chaves and Roosevelt, gave election majorities to Mechem, while the other twenty-three counties favored Montoya. Roosevelt and Curry County (Clovis) residents voted opposite one another in the congressional races. Portales voters favored the GOP while Clovis ballots revealed a Democratic party preference.<sup>70</sup>

In the presidential election, Portales and Roosevelt County voters returned to the Democratic fold after a sixteen year trend toward Republicanism. In 1960 they gave Richard Nixon a 2,278 vote margin but in 1964, LBJ carried the county by 143 votes.<sup>71</sup> Meanwhile, Amarillo's 1964 presidential election returns revealed a narrow victory margin for LBJ. Johnson carried Potter County 11,949 to Goldwater's 10,589 votes. Nearby Randall County (Canyon) voters revealed a Republican sentiment when they gave 7,843 votes to Goldwater and 6,008 to LBJ.<sup>72</sup>

Elsewhere, unsuccessful United States senate candidate George Bush did extremely well among Panhandle voters despite Lyndon B. Johnson's appeal for voters to support Senator Ralph Yarborough. Bush got 12,803 votes to Yarborough's 9,668 in Potter County. In the Eighteenth Congressional District, the Republican oilman's popularity was evident when he received 52,267 votes to Yarborough's 42,481. As the decade progressed, the JBS in Potter County apparently increased its membership, counting as among their own all precinct chairmen in the Republican party.<sup>73</sup>



This photograph was taken in November 1995. The John Birch Society is still active in the Amarillo area. A member erected this billboard, just south of the city, where it has remained as a prominent display for many years. Photograph courtesy of author.

Apparently, Birchers in eastern New Mexico and west Texas influenced some voters in national elections, but experienced less success in local contests. Although Roswell had been billed as the "JBS capital of the state," reports alluded to a much smaller group of Birchers. A Republican spokesman placed JBS membership at less than 1 percent of the registered voters in the county.<sup>74</sup> After a charge by Senator J. Penrod Toles that "the Chaves County GOP was infiltrated by members of the John Birch Society," a Republican party press release said, "it will take years to have as many Birchers as there are extreme leftists in the ranks of the Democratic Party."<sup>75</sup>

Today Roswell, Portales, and Amarillo maintain a definite political conservatism. The Amarillo radio airwaves still contain right-wing opinions. A steadfast propensity for conservative Republican politicians exists in the area. Amarillo residents supported George Bush in his unsuccessful congressional race in 1962, and continued their support for his presidential campaign in the last two elections.<sup>76</sup> The Thirty-first State Senatorial District is represented by staunch Republican Teel Bivins, who maintains that Amarillo's conservative nature stems from the individualism of an economy based on cattle ranching and oil.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, the lone Democratic exception to the Golden Spread's list of Republicans was Bill Sarpalius, who maintained a conservative voting record. Sarpalius voiced conservative opinions in the Amarillo media but aligned himself politically with the Clinton administration. This decision devastated his 1994 reelection campaign. Amarillo and Texas Panhandle voters placed the Thirteenth Congressional District squarely in the Republican column with Mac Thornberry's recent election to Congress.<sup>78</sup>

Public opinion in Amarillo remains conservative. In the view of Kenneth Kohler, a former state representative, the area's conservatism increased with the advent of the Reagan Revolution. Kohler served as president of the Young Republicans of Potter County during the early 1960s. According to the lifelong resident of the city, the Birchers did not try to influence the Young Republicans. "If they did, it would have a gentle call up...they may have sent us articles." He added that "absolutely a Birch presence still exists...these people have a missionary zeal that has not gone away."<sup>79</sup>

Nearby in New Mexico, the *RDR*'s Public Forum column often prints conservative opinions about Communist influences within not only the United States, but the world. Roswell's George Richardson has spent a small fortune mailing letters to individuals and newspapers throughout the Southwest in his quest to expose "liberalism."<sup>80</sup> However, a more

visible example of Roswell's JBS legacy, The Freedom Bookstore, no longer exists. Nearby business people recently could not or would not even recall its existence. Amarillo's Birch Society, however, maintained its American Opinion Bookstore well into the 1980s.<sup>81</sup>

In terms of religion, Amarillo's First Congregational Methodist Church, although experiencing two name changes, preserves its conservative outlook. The predominantly Republican congregation has opposed the ordination of homosexual ministers and the legalization of abortion. Meanwhile, in New Mexico, Roswell had no "Birch Church" similar to the Amarillo group. Apparently, Roswell's Birchers worshipped with the established religious denominations in the city.<sup>82</sup>

As the 1960s came to a close, the John Birch Society appears to have faded into obscurity. The Vietnam conflict overshadowed Birch rhetoric that warned of an entangling quagmire in southeast Asia, so Birchers continued to focus on the decay of America's moral and spiritual fiber.<sup>83</sup> But above all, the Communist threat blinded many JBS members to the more pressing social problems besetting the United States during the pre-Watergate era.

Ironically, thirty years later, a John Birch Society still exists. It is currently headquartered in Joe McCarthy's hometown—Appleton, Wisconsin. The current voice of the Birch Society, *The New American*, originates in that city. Additionally, during those same three decades, the collapse of communism became a reality. Nikita Khrushchev was replaced by Nobel Peace Prize winner for Mikhail Gorbachev. The chances of exported revolution from Castro's Cuba are nonexistent and the symbol of Communist domination, the Berlin Wall, no longer stands. One wonders how the former members of the John Birch Society in eastern New Mexico and west Texas have responded to the geopolitical changes of recent years. Many conservatives flirted briefly with an organization they believed a bulwark of "Americanism." Others embraced the John Birch Society as a bastion of family, home, and church. Undoubtedly, some so fully accepted Birchism that they will forever regard recent world events as just more attacks inspired and directed by Communists to destroy the American way of life.

## NOTES

1. Robert H. Welch, *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society* (Belmont, Massachusetts: Robert H. Welch, 1959), 1.

2. Bob Chewning, interview with author, 18 February 1989.

3. J. Allen Broyles, *The John Birch Society: Anatomy of a Protest* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1964), 31.

4. John Birch Society membership registration card. No explanation was provided by the Society for the gender difference in dues; Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, *The Radical Right* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 240.

5. "Missile gap said closed," *Roswell Daily Record*, 7 February 1961, p. 1.

6. Epstein and Forster, *The Radical Right*, 246. The acronym was one of many used by the JBS.

7. *Ibid.*, 95.

8. *Ibid.*, 101.

9. "Battin' the Breeze," *Roswell Daily Record*, 7 June 1961, p. 4.

10. Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power, The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 349. The forty-five-minute film, narrated by Fulton Lewis III, criticized left-wing radicals for their San Francisco demonstration against the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) meeting in that city 12 May 1960. "Hundreds of copies (of the film) were circulated around the country with HUAC witnesses...to run the projector, answer questions and make sure no one missed the point." A copy of the film is in the American Citizenship Center, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. "Good Morning," *Roswell Daily Record*, 9 April 1961, p. 4.

11. H.D. Danenberg, letter, *Roswell Daily Record*, 12 June 1961, p. 4.

12. W.C. Slade, letter, *Roswell Daily Record*, 18 June 1961, p. 4.

13. Max Odendahl, interview with author, 12 September 1988.

14. "Battin' the Breeze," *Roswell Daily Record*, 12 June 1961, p. 4.

15. "It is happening here," *Amarillo Daily News*, 13 October 1961, p. 7.

16. "Bulletin for September," *The John Birch Society*, September 1964, p. 22.

17. S & EI Newsletter, February 1962. The newsletter previewed two programs for the next meeting. A copy of the newsletter is in the author's possession.

18. See, for example, Wayne Adams, letter, *Amarillo Daily News*, 7 July 1961, p. 24; Dr. George and Mrs. Gen Richardson, interview with author, 7 October 1994. Richardson, an ear, nose, and throat specialist, practiced medicine in Roswell for over thirty years and has been described as the "political conscience of Roswell."

19. "Dirksen lashes JFK," *Amarillo Daily News*, 30 September 1961, p. 1. The \$25-a-plate dinner was held at the Amarillo Country Club. The editor of the *ADN*, Wes Izzard, introduced the Senate minority leader to the gathering. "Don't Blame Me—I vote Republican" banners decorated each dining table. On Welch's appearance, see "Anti-Red fighter raps double-think," *Amarillo Sunday News-Globe*, 16 April 1961, p. 1. Welch's hour-long remarks were broadcast by two Amarillo radio stations.

20. "If you believe in the cause of freedom," *Amarillo Daily News*, 6 November 1961, p. 7.

21. "McFarland raps Communist cause," *Amarillo Daily News*, 5 December 1961, p. 48.

22. Mrs. T.L. McCallister, letter, *Amarillo Daily News*, 14 December 1961, p. 48.

23. Richardson interview. Richardson later successfully lobbied friends at Strategic Air Command Headquarters in Omaha in order to regain use of Walker's surgical facilities.

24. "By the Way," *Portales News Tribune*, 24 January 1962, p. 1.

25. See Mrs. Dale Thoms, letter, *Portales News Tribune*, 28 January 1962, p. 2.

26. "Strube and Birchism," *Roswell Daily Record*, 17 January 1962, p. 4.

27. Epstein and Forster, 88.

28. "Parties termed socialistic," *Roswell Daily Record*, 4 December 1962, p. 1. Anderson, who had referred to "Pontius Pilate as a middle of the roader," said in an earlier edition of the *Portales Tribune*, "I'm for Adlai and Eleanor marrying so I can hate 'em as a couple."

29. "National Indignation Convention," *Roswell Daily Record*, 18 January 1962, p. 24.

30. "Books seized," *Amarillo Daily News*, 29 October 1961, p. 1.
31. "Line lashes jury," *Amarillo Daily News*, 7 November 1961, p. 1.
32. "Grand jury siege over," *Amarillo Daily News*, 9 November 1961, p. 1.
33. "Books suddenly obscene," *Roswell Daily Record*, 1 February 1961, p. 4; George E. Huffman to author, 12 January 1990.
34. "By the Way," *Portales News Tribune*, 29 January 1962, p. 1.
35. "By the Way," *Portales News Tribune*, 9 April 1962, p. 1.
36. "Banned books appear on Portales library shelves," *Portales News Tribune*, 7 February 1962, p. 8.
37. Chewing interview.
38. Mrs. George S. Richardson, letter, 16 November 1961, p. 20; "Library board turns down special display," 8 November 1961, p. 6, both in *Roswell Daily Record*. Betty Shouse, personal papers in author's possession.
39. Welch, *The Blue Book*, 77; Richardson interview.
40. Broyles, *The John Birch Society*, p. 131. The JBS provided a six page manual that advised how such American Opinion Libraries may be set up. Apparently, by placing the JBS bookstores next to the Christian Science reading rooms, Birch literature would receive greater exposure to the public.
41. "Roswellites join Texans in look at Lyndon," *Roswell Daily Record*, 18 August 1964, p. 1.
42. "Objectable scenes cut from movie at drive-ins," *Amarillo Daily News*, 13 September 1961, p. 5.
43. Epstein and Forster, 215.
44. "On censorship," *Roswell Daily Record*, 20 December 1964, p. 25.
45. "By the Way," *Portales News Tribune*, 25 October 1962, p. 1.
46. E.L. Harris, letter, *Portales News Tribune*, 31 March 1963, p. 2.
47. Ezra Taft Benson's son, Reed Benson, was director of the JBS Washington office; Broyles, *The John Birch Society*, 157, 163.
48. "By the Way," *Portales News Tribune*, 2 October 1962, p. 1.
49. Rabbi Phil Schecter, letter, *Roswell Daily Record*, 14 February 1962, p. 13.
50. Fidel Neria, letter, *Roswell Daily Record*, 19 July 1963, p. 19.
51. "Are We a Nation of Sheep?" *Roswell Daily Record*, 19 April 1964, p. 23.
52. "Of this and that," *Roswell Daily Record*, 25 February 1962, p. 4.
53. "Air Force needs Negro housing," *Portales News Tribune*, 15 July 1962, p. 5.
54. Lee Weldon Stephenson, interview with author, 28 September 1990.
55. Jordan Grooms, interview with author, 24 October 1990.
56. George Quarterman, interview with author, 24 October 1990.
57. Stephenson interview.
58. *Ibid.*
59. "Hargis slaps church publication in talk," *Roswell Daily Record*, 9 March 1962, p. 2.
60. "Billy James," *Roswell Daily Record*, 11 March 1962, p. 4.
61. "Letter from Rev. Dr. Hargis," *Portales News Tribune*, 10 April 1962, p. 2.
62. "By the Way," *Portales News Tribune*, 25 April 1962, p. 1.
63. "Of this and that," *Roswell Daily Record*, 22 November 1964, p. 4.
64. "Prayer ban in Roswell no problem," *Roswell Daily Record*, 24 July 1963, p. 2.
65. "Easley calls Roswell Birch Society capital," *Roswell Daily Record*, 30 June 1964, p. 1.
66. "Candidate cites 'fair reporting,'" *Roswell Daily Record*, 5 July 1964, p. 1.
67. Mack Easley, interview with author, 12 October 1990.
68. "Fails takes swing at extremism," *Roswell Daily Record*, 29 September 1964, p. 2.
69. "Nixon sees next 3 days as decisive for election," *Roswell Daily Record*, 1 November 1964, p. 1.

70. "Chaves voters support GOP's Mechem, Redman," 4 November 1964, p. 1; "How New Mexicans voted in Senate, House Races," 5 November 1964, p. 10, both un *Roswell Daily Record*; "Final Results in New Mexico voting," *Portales News Tribune*, 5 November 1964, p. 7.

71. "By the Way," *Portales News Tribune*, 5 November 1964, p. 5.

72. "LBJ Goes All the Way," *Amarillo Daily News*, 4 November 1964, pp. 1-10.

73. "18th Congressional district," *Amarillo Daily News*, 4 November 1964, p. 10; Elizabeth Paxton, interview with author, 9 November 1991. Mrs. Paxton was vice-chair of the county Republican party during the 1960s.

74. Richardson interview. According to Richardson, four Birch groups existed in Roswell during the 1960s. See also "John Birchers only one per cent," *Roswell Daily Record*, 14 July 1963, p. 2.

75. "Sen. Toles accuses Chaves GOP of being infiltrated by Birch Society," *Roswell Daily Record*, 10 July 1964, p. 1.

76. "Bush elected 41st president," *Amarillo Daily News*, 9 November 1988, p. 1.

77. Teel Bivins, interview with author, 20 March 1991.

78. "Challenger claims seat from Sarpalius," *Amarillo Daily News*, 9 November 1994, p. A1. In a bitterly-fought campaign, Thornberry captured 55.7 percent of the vote while Sarpalius received 44.3 percent.

79. Kenneth Kohler, interview with author, 7 March 1991. Kohler, who served in the 1961 special session of the Texas Legislature, estimated "we had 2, 3, or 4 Birch members" in Potter County's Young Republican membership of "about 75."

80. Dr. George and Mrs. Gen Richardson, interview with author, 7 October 1994. Richardson said he spent \$20,000 "seed money" to bring out "the political truth."

81. Paxton interview. Mrs. Paxton, a JBS chapter leader, operated the American Opinion Bookstore in Amarillo from 1976 to 1985. Although membership in the JBS was constantly changing, Mrs. Paxton's chapter consisted of the following membership profile:

Occupation	Sex
farmer	m
primary school teacher	f
businessman with spouse	m/f
architect with spouse	m/f
musician	m
dentist	m
retired couple	m/f
businesswoman-secretary	f
retiree	f
real estate agent with spouse	m/f
journalist	f

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Although no Roman Catholics or Jews were members of the chapter, a variety of Protestant denominations were represented. One atheist briefly maintained membership but "felt uncomfortable" and withdrew. Each monthly meeting opened with a prayer and pledge to the United States flag. Finally, although no names were mentioned by Mrs. Paxton, the last member of the group, a journalist, may have allowed the Society to influence public opinion. The editor of the *Amarillo Daily News* during the 1960s was Louise Evans, a well-respected conservative journalist.

82. Kenneth Ford, interview with author, 4 March 1991.

83. "Mind Pollution," *The New American*, 8 August 1994, p. 11.



# Great Plains Research

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War.* By Donald R. Moorman and Gene A. Sessions. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992. xvi + 332 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$29.95.)

*Camp Floyd and the Mormons* studies how the federal military occupation of Utah Territory between 1857 and 1861 modified the Mormon kingdom in the Great Salt Lake Valley. The narrative ranges over a wide array of topics: causes of the occupation, the occupation itself, territorial government by non-Mormons, the spread of vice and violence, life at Camp Floyd, the conduct of the federal courts, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, exploration of the Great Basin, federal Indian policy, and the economy. Brigham Young, Alfred Cumming, Albert S. Johnston, John C. Cradlebaugh, and other colorful characters come alive in the book. *Camp Floyd and the Mormons*, a contribution to the Utah Centennial Series, is a lively account of this little-understood confrontation between the Church of Latter Day Saints and the United States government.

Responding to reports of a Mormon rebellion in Utah Territory, President William P. Buchanan deployed the United States Army to the Great Salt Lake Valley. He ordered the expedition commander, Colonel Albert S. Johnston, to occupy the valley and help federal authorities restore law and order. After a bloodless, humiliating campaign against the Mormons, the regular army built Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley during the summer of 1858. This Great Basin military post became the center of Gentile, or non-Mormon resistance to prophet Brigham Young and his Mormon followers, who dominated Utah.

The occupation destroyed any Mormon hope for blessed isolation. Young and his followers hoped to build a Mormon theocracy that would serve their church and God. Following the army to Utah, however, thousands of Gentile teamsters, prostitutes, gamblers, and adventurers, whose way of life was an affront to the Saints, tore at the edges of Mormon hegemony. In the streets and saloons of Salt Lake City and Fairfield, Gentile and Mormon toughs frequently skirmished with flailing fisticuffs and smoking guns over provocations great and small.

New federal appointees tried to break Mormon political domination. Their acknowledged leader was Colonel Albert S. Johnston, commander of the Department of Utah. His command, and exercise in anti-Mormonism, threw its weight behind the territorial judiciary, which tried to prosecute Mormon leaders. Giving Mormon prophet Brigham Young fits, one-eyed Justice John C. Cradlebaugh vigorously investigated the Mountain Meadows Massacre and other mysterious murders, scarring "the territory for a generation" (p. 107). Among the Gentiles, however,

an anti-army clique formed around Governor Alfred C. Cumming. Jealous of Johnston's power, the vain governor was "too willing to accept Mormon claims against the army" (p. 120). The Johnston-Cumming rift, exploited by Young and the Mormon leadership, undermined the effective government of Utah Territory.

The major consequence of the occupation was to incorporate Utah Territory into the national system. Aided by territorial authorities and Mormon negligence, Gentile merchants took over and molded the Utah economy to their own benefit, wreaking havoc on Mormon agriculture and home industries. The influx of federal money injected unprecedented prosperity into Utah Territory but also revised wages and prices upward and pushed Mormon indebtedness to higher levels. From this time forward, the Utah economy would wax and wane with the booms and busts of the national and regional economy.

*Camp Floyd and the Mormons* complements Norman Furniss's classic *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859*, enlarging especially on the local effects of the federal occupation. These two monographs, supplemented by several important articles by William MacKinnon, will give scholars a thorough understanding of the Mormon War. Nonetheless, the Moorman-Sessions volume will stand as the most complete history of the Mormon War.

Larry Durwood Ball  
*Albuquerque, New Mexico*

*Caroline Lockhart: Her Life and Legacy.* By Necah Stewart Furman. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994. xxii + 221 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

In her outstanding literary biography of Caroline Lockhart, Necah Stewart Furman balances biography and criticism as the subtitle aptly indicates. Repeatedly, Furman describes Lockhart as a tough-minded but talented woman "out of time, out of place" (p. 8).

Born in Kansas, Lockhart's journalistic experiences began on the East Coast in Boston and Philadelphia, where she gained a reputation for receiving assignments generally given to male reporters, including an interview with William "Buffalo Bill" Cody. At a time when it was still unusual for a middle-class woman to work outside the home, Lockhart not only joined a profession considered unladylike, but she also relished the exploits associated with it. In addition, Lockhart was openly sexually active for her time, even though such actions hindered her periodic desire for married respectability.

On the other hand, Lockhart personifies many aspects of the contemporary West, including its complexity and paradoxical nature. Her diaries, of which Furman makes extensive and discerning use, reveal Lockhart's inner struggles and bitter disappointments that she hid behind a bravado of independence and humor. Moreover, these intimate sources of Lockhart's life were Furman's richest repository of information, as they are for many "new western" and women's historians.

In addition, although Lockhart sided with those who yearned "to arrest time" (p. xv) in the romantic era of the "Wild West," she was not above using the contemporary tool of tourism to gain this end. Besides being one of the original boosters of Cody's annual frontier event, she promoted the beneficial aspects of dude ranching. In fact, like others, Lockhart not only contributed to the myth of the West but lived it, assuming the role of a rancher in her later life.

Lockhart's literary heritage contributed profoundly to the modern image of the West, while differing significantly from her contemporaries. Unlike Mary Austin's and Willa Cather's works, the cowboy West and its frontier past permeated almost everything Lockhart wrote after 1904. Notwithstanding favorable comparisons to Zane Grey and Owen Wister, her work contrasted greatly with that of her male colleagues. Besides interjecting rough doses of reality into her works, Lockhart also introduced strong female characters into the bunkhouse, previously an exclusively male domain.

Though Furman could have placed more emphasis on Lockhart's parallels with the contemporary West, her mixture of life story and literary criticism holds the reader's interest. The author can legitimately claim literary biography as another area of expertise.

Stefanie Beninato  
*Santa Fe, New Mexico*

*Contemporary New Mexico, 1940–1990.* Edited by Richard W. Etulain. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994. xi + 210 pp. Illustrations, bibliographies, index. \$19.95 paper.)

In describing this volume, based upon a series of papers delivered at a 1992 conference on New Mexico's history since 1940, editor Richard Etulain characterizes its twofold purpose as "to supply a brief overview of New Mexico during the last half-century and to suggest how dozens of important subjects of this fifty-year period remain to be studied" (p. x). The subsequent half-dozen essays generally achieve Etulain's objectives in competent fashion.

As anyone familiar with current scholarship about the American West would expect, most of the essays devote considerable attention to questions of race, ethnicity, gender, family life, and environmental affairs, although more traditional subjects such as economic and political development receive substantial treatment as well. On occasion, the reader finds a useful merging between topics addressed by different authors such as Rosalie Otero's examination of the role of ethnic identity in New Mexican cultural life and Ferenc Szasz's analysis of New Mexican cultural evolution since World War II or Virginia Scharff's piece on modern New Mexican families and Michael Welsh's description of post-war economic change or Welsh's essay and political scientist F. Chris García's explanation of the "politics of cultural accommodation" since 1940. Even the six "keys" to understanding New Mexico that Gerald Nash identifies in his lead-off essay appear, in somewhat different garb, in most of these essays. This linkage among essays reinforces the reader's understanding of the increasingly complex social, cultural, and political life of New Mexico in the post-war period.

Among the individual articles, those of Szasz and Scharff stand out among their peers as the most imaginative and (particularly in Scharff's case) the most engaging in their descriptions of modern New Mexico's cultures and the accelerating changes in the lives of its families. Szasz's argument in favor of an interpretation that stresses the rise of certain "new" cultures that may overshadow the traditional "three cultures" of the state possesses interesting implications beyond New Mexico's boundaries. In a more traditional vein, Nash and Welsh have produced especially detailed and well-informed summaries of the general course of New Mexican history since 1940 and economic developments in that same period, respectively. Lastly, both Otero and García have tackled the pervasive influence of ethnicity upon post-war New Mexico in the respective arenas of the arts and politics.

In a few instances, further revision would have strengthened certain essays. Although Scharff's pungent essay, with its adeptly-chosen anecdotes and sharply-written prose, entertains and provokes, more discussion of developments in social welfare policies would have clarified the roots of the contemporary social conditions that she dissects with such vigor. Conversely, biographical vignettes about the men and women who benefited from the relentlessly "personal" dimension of New Mexican politics would have enlivened García's rather abstract analysis of the patterns and structures of political power.

Such qualms, however, do not erode the significance of *Contemporary New Mexico*. Taken as a whole, these essays advance our understanding of the seminal impact of World War II upon the Far West as seen through the evolving circumstances of New Mexico. Let us hope that similar works may emerge in other western states as we continue to ponder this region's place in the history of post-war America.

Peter J. Blodgett  
*Huntington Library*

*The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain.* By Fernando Cervantes. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1994. x + 182 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

In this fascinating study, Cervantes, by blending social and intellectual history, explores the influence of diabolism in New Spain from the sixteenth through the mid-eighteenth centuries. The book opens with an explanation of how native Mesoamericans reshaped and syncretically incorporated into their own cultures the alien European concepts of God and the devil taught by Spanish friars.

Unlike European Christians, the indigenous peoples of New Spain believed in many deities, all of whom combined elements of good and evil. Such was necessary, they felt, for the maintenance of terrestrial harmony; in other words, to keep a balance between creativity and destruction. The notion of a totally good God or a completely evil devil was incomprehensible to the Mesoamerican mindset, as was the concept of monotheism. Thus, Cervantes suggest that the early Spanish success in converting native peoples was actually the result of the Indian inclination to welcome a new, powerful diety into a pantheon of gods, rather than

a willingness to accept the Christian claims of the existence of only one God. Unable to comprehend the Indian concept of divinity, Franciscan missionaries were both puzzled and scandalized when they discovered so many Mesoamericans “regressing” into paganism by clandestinely sacrificing to their old deities.

Cervantes next turns to an examination of diabolism from the perspective of the educated European elite. After a brief overview through the thirteenth century of Christian beliefs concerning the devil, the author states that anti-Thomist tendencies in fourteenth-century Franciscan nominalism, which separated the concept of the natural from the supernatural (nature from grace), eventually led to new ideas about diabolism. These nominalist concepts, in turn, convinced frustrated Franciscan friars in New Spain that Indians who relapsed into paganism were actually devil worshippers.

Using archival evidence, Cervantes goes on to demonstrate that by the late sixteenth century, the Friars Minor of New Spain had become so convinced of the powers of the devil that they were not only claiming demonic possession of Indians, but even that some women were being involuntarily impregnated by Satan. Some friars became so obsessed with diabolical power that they convinced themselves that God was actually using the devil to do his will, to torture and possess people, thereby testing their faith. Thus, Satan actually became a pitiful actor in God’s plan of salvation. God, in turn, was indirectly redefined as an omnipotent, capricious, sadistic tyrant, a depiction certainly unacceptable to traditional orthodoxy. Consequently, early modern notions of diabolical power, influenced by nominalism as well as by the conflict between Christianity and Mesoamerican religious belief, became so extreme that it was inevitable that they would collapse under their own weight.

This finally happened in the first half of the eighteenth century, when church officials and inquisitors were no longer willing to take Franciscan claims of diabolical horrors seriously. By the late 1700s, church writers like the Jesuit, Francisco Javier Clavigero, without denying Satanism, were treating the history of Mexico (New Spain) from a naturalistic viewpoint, rejecting diabolical intervention. Indian religion was now explained in naturalistic terms, which emphasized its cultural differences from European Christianity. This secular approach of these writers actually played down diabolism in order to retain a credible image of the devil in the new Age of Reason.

Cervantes’s book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of early modern history. Both colonial Latin Americanists and medieval European historians should find it interesting. Nevertheless, it is arduous reading and Cervantes would have widened his readership had he translated Latin quotations such as that on pages 140–41 and taken the time to better familiarize his non-medievalist readers with basic introductory information on the lesser-known medieval political theorists he cites.

Edward T. Brett  
*La Roche College*

*Confronting Change, Challenging Tradition: Women in Latin American History.* Edited by Gertrude M. Yeager. (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1994. 242 pp. Notes, \$40.00 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)

With this addition of the Jaguar Books series on Latin America History, Gertrude Yeager has compiled an excellent array of articles on Latin American women's history that would greatly contribute to any Latin American history course. The work includes articles on literary criticism, culture, law, labor, suffrage, and revolution. The contributors include Evelyn Stevens, Daphne Patai, Sylvia Arrom, and Donna Guy, to name but a few. Yeager also added documentary evidence in the forms of "Law No. 1263: The Revolution Protects Motherhood," Republic of Cuba; "A Typology of Poor Women," Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean; along with an interview of Indiana Acevedo, a Nicaraguan housewife and Christian-based community activist.

The greatest significance of Yeager's work lies in its historiographical importance. Essays by Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera and Teresa González de Fanning reveal the consciousness of Latin American women with regard to double standards in the conception of beauty and education. The essay by Lillian Estelle Fisher, first published in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* in 1942, discusses how the limits of post-Mexican Revolution liberal reform affected women. The articles by more contemporary historians exhibit the growth and diversity of Latin American women's history. In the second section, entitled "Reconstructing the Past," the contributors examine the history of women in Argentina, Chile, Columbia, Mexico, and Peru through various thematic lenses.

Yeager's work would serve any student of Latin America, yet there exists one shortcoming. Yeager did not include any historical essays by contemporary women's historians, writers, or cultural critics from Latin America. The incorporation of such works would have contributed to the study while introducing Latin American history students to Latin American scholars.

Elaine Carey  
*University of New Mexico*

*Neither Wolf Nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change.* By David Rich Lewis. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. xiii + 240 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$29.95.)

David Rich Lewis has written an extraordinarily perceptive analysis of attempts of the United States government to force agriculture upon three nineteenth-century Native American tribes. The volume has seven chapters. The first examines agriculture, civilization, and American Indian policy. Following chapters contain paired examinations of Northern Ute, Hupa, and Papago peoples prior to and following government attempts to force Euro-American agriculture on communities.

Lewis's thoughtful summary of the policy of forced agriculture is especially useful for readers seeking to understand the labyrinth of United States-Indian relations during the past 150 years. As the author indicates, small farmers were idealized to the point of obsession in Anglo American society. Consequently, politicians, the press, religious leaders, and social reformers advocated small farms for American Indians.

The author examines Nucu (Northern Utes) from a fresh perspective. Their experiences with the United States government has usually been examined from political, military, or ethnological viewpoints. This work adds a new dimension to their tale. Paired chapters on Natinook-wa (Hupa) and Tohono O'odham (Papago) examine important but lesser-known Indian peoples of California and Arizona. In each case, pressure to adapt to United States governmental expectations regarding agricultural forms had severe consequences. Lewis traces his subject communities from traditional through mid-twentieth-century circumstances.

His conclusion finds that structural problems hindered implementation of Euro-American styles of agriculture on western reservations. These included difficulties caused by a lack of consistency in critical areas such as those providing direction and resources. Lewis argues that government officials failed to understand and compensate for physical realities of western reservations, especially political ramifications of water scarcity.

Another problem was the government's failure to understand the various tribal interactions with mainstream American economics, both nationally and regionally. This created shifting economic fields where reservation isolation prevented capital development and produced increasingly marginalized communities. Failure of officials to consider culture and subsistence patterns resulted in misguided attempts to impose Euro-American cultural preferences in agriculture on Indians. Devaluing herding and other native preferences resulted in upsetting production patterns. Lewis also describes ways in which communities exercised choices in dealing with imposed programs. They adopted or modified those proposals that seemed most attractive to their circumstances.

Lewis's book is well-researched, documented, and nicely-written. It will be useful to students and scholars in a variety of disciplines surrounding western American history and Native American studies. I highly recommend the book.

D. C. Cole  
*Moorhead State University*

*They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School.* By K. Tsianina Lomawaima. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994. xviii + 205 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Recent decades have witnessed a flood of publications on American Indian schooling. Professor K. Tsianina Lomawaima's study joins works such as Robert A. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, and Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education At Santa Fe Indian School*. Increasingly, these accounts depend on former students' voices, and Lomawaima's volume accentuates this pattern. "I tell a story that belongs to the narrators" (p. xvi), she writes, and herein lies the strength of her book. The narrative is told largely through the words of more than fifty alumni, whose recollections retain a power that no synthesis can recapture.

When Chilocco's last class graduated in 1980, the northeastern Oklahoma school missed its centennial by four years. Like other federal schools opened during the 1880s and 1890s, Chilocco emerged on the heels of Carlisle Indian School's success, but Chilocco was unique as the premier agricultural institution. *They Called*



*It Prairie Light* does not purport to be a general history of the school, since Lomawaima's interest in Chilocco is rooted in her father's experiences there in the 1920s and 1930s, where he engaged in what he called "an awful lot of scraps" (p. 156). These two decades remain the focus of the study.

Critical of historians who have "bent an ear to listen to Indian voices," but cannot discern a "pattern in the message" (p. xii), anthropologist Lomawaima attempts to provide this pattern through her interviews. She contends that student responses were influenced by age upon entering, their family backgrounds, and the historical moment of the school itself. Her most persuasive argument emerges in her assessment of female students, which might encourage inclusion of gender as another category of analysis. Lomawaima's contention that federal policymakers envisioned women as "matrons of allotment households...supporting their husbands in the difficult transition...to farmer" (pp. 86-87) recalls Eleazar Wheelock's eighteenth-century dream of enrolling Indian women in his Connecticut Indian school to assist Indian men "in the Business of their Mission."

Although Lomawaima emphasizes student solidarity, she also acknowledges strong differences, which sometimes reflected tribal roots. In this respect, her account reminds us of the wide variations among boarding schools. Although many of Chilocco's students were Cherokee, Choctaw, or Creek, these tribes did not dominate Chilocco's environment as did the Pueblos at Santa Fe Indian School. Chilocco's dividing line was more often one of full bloods versus mixed bloods.

The strongest message in Lomawaima's book lies in the vibrant memories of former students recalling their responses to a regime seeking to control both spirit and mind. Although she, too, has struggled to craft a conceptual framework for these responses, she has taken initial steps for others to follow.

Margaret Connell Szasz  
*University of New Mexico*

*The Court Martial of Lieutenant Henry Flipper.* By Charles M. Robinson III. (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1994. xvi + 130 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, \$12.50 paper.)

In September 1881, at the frontier outpost of Fort Davis, Texas, Second Lieutenant Henry Ossain Flipper was brought before a court-martial and charged with embezzlement and acts unbecoming an officer. Flipper was dismissed from the service as a result. Courts-martial were not uncommon during this era and this one would have been relegated to insignificance had not Flipper been the only black officer in the United States Army. The issue that ensued from this trial, as is often the case in those involving great potential for prejudice, is a question of fairness. Charles Robinson clarifies some of the controversy, arguing that despite what many would assume, a black man did receive a fair court-martial in the overwhelmingly white world of military officers. Though acquitted of embezzlement due to lack of evidence, it was clear Flipper had violated the code of conduct for officers.

In reviewing the court-martial, Robinson concludes the Flipper was indeed treated fairly. Robinson raises the question of the punishment, however, finding that Flipper's dismissal was a penalty far out of proportion with his crime. For

imposing such an unjust punishment, the army, as an institution, allowed prejudicial attitudes to influence the level of punishment. Robinson supports this theory by highlighting how white officers found guilty of more serious crimes received less severe sentences. Relying heavily on the court records, Robinson successfully carries the reader through the court-martial, effectively dissecting the proceedings.

What works less well is placing the Flipper trial in the context of the period. In 1882, Jim Crowism and white supremacy were on the rise and blacks were often victims. A brief discussion of the social milieu of the frontier could have revealed much. While Robinson may not explore new material or interpretations, his dependence primarily upon court documents for his conclusions is a new methodology that serves as confirmation for previous works on the Flipper court-martial.

Captain Thomas F. Cornell  
*United States Military Academy*

*The Red Captain: The Life of Hugo O'Conor, Commandant Inspector of New Spain.* By Mark Santiago. (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1994. vii + 127 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.95 paper.)

In this useful monograph, Mark Santiago gathers together considerable information, some familiar and some hitherto unknown, concerning one of the eighteenth-century Borderland's most prominent figures, Hugo O'Conor. Santiago even avoids the frequent characterization that the Irish-born Spanish career officer was called the red captain by the Texas Indians because he was a redhead, leaving the probability that by Native American standards, O'Conor's ruddy complexion set him apart in a society where physical characteristics were often used to describe both friends and enemies.

Focus of the O'Conor biography concentrates first on his overseas experience beginning in Cuba in 1763, then on his career in Mexico City and Texas. The story peaks with O'Conor's appointment as Commandant Inspector of the Provincias Internas of northern New Spain. Attention is given to his rise in rank, the result of having connections in high places, particularly cousin Alejandro O'Reilly and their mutual friend Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli.

O'Conor was commissioned to implement new plans for a strong northern presidial line and for Indian control on both sides of that frontier. To this end, he devised a strategic plan for subduing various Apache and other Indian groups, a plan that was only partially successful. Lack of complete success resulted in part from insufficient manpower, limited cooperation from some of his subordinates, and faulty logistics.

Santiago argues that O'Conor's foreign birth was a great personal disadvantage that lost for him the rewards that he otherwise ought to have received for his efforts. A man who died at age forty-four as a brigadier general and a governor of Yucatan, however, could not have suffered from excessive prejudice.

Despite the book's merits, some all-too-evident weaknesses appear. Spanish spelling and accentuation leave much to be desired. Footnotes that cite three or more sources for the same statement, as if this gave it greater weight, more likely show

that although history does not repeat itself, historians do. An evidence of carelessness in footnoting is misspelling one basic source thirty-five times, a defect showing consistency but not care, as Rubio Mañé's name repeatedly becomes Rubio Manje.

Donald C. Cutter  
*Albuquerque, New Mexico*

*Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag, 1821–1836.* By Andrés Tijerina. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994. xi + 172 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.50 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)

The fifteen years that an independent Mexico governed Texas (1821–1836) have often been portrayed in terms of Anglo American colonization and Mexico City's increasingly tyrannical rule. In telling the stories of the Austin colony, the Alamo, and San Jacinto, the story of the other Texas settlers has been largely neglected. Although some scholarly work on the subject has appeared in the last quarter-century, nothing approaching a well-rounded survey of Tejano (Mexican Texan) history in this period has appeared. In this respect, Andrés Tijerina's book is a big step in the right direction.

The general subject of *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag* is the identification of Tejano contributions to Texas during this crucial period of the state's history. According to Tijerina, Tejanos built on or modified Spanish colonial institutions to suit local needs and, in turn, transferred important elements of this frontier culture to arriving Anglo Americans; for instance, Texas land law, ranching culture, and nineteenth-century military organization. Moreover, because of their concern with the region's economic development, the Tejano elite fostered the development of Texas as a cotton-producing region.

Instead of developing close ties with the immigrants from the United States, however, Tejanos found themselves increasingly alienated: "As the 1840s progressed, Tejanos were either driven out, or their movement was restricted...Anglos flooded in and took the ranches, the livestock, and indeed the livelihood of the old Tejanos around Béxar, Goliad, and Nacogdoches" (p. 138). Tijerina ends on a positive note, however, asserting that although the number of Tejanos decreased in relation to the booming Anglo American population, their culture was adopted and disseminated by the newcomers throughout the American West.

This message—that American society in important ways and from an early date was indeed multicultural—would stand on more solid ground if the book did not contain some conspicuous problems. Tijerina does not take into account, for example, that Anglo-American settlers brought legal and political institutions with them from the United States that were similar to those that Mexicans adopted following independence from Spain. Tijerina does not consider that Mexicans might have been influenced by models of Anglo American institutions. Curiously, although the title implies a history through 1836, the author does not analyze Tejano participation in the revolt and war of independence. To a lesser degree, there are also a number of mistranslations and erroneous dates in the text. Lastly, the notes and bibliography indicate that Tijerina did not employ some of the recent literature in the field.

*Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag* is an important book that deserves serious attention despite its shortcomings. It makes the Texas Mexican population actors and not merely passive bystanders or victims of the social, political, and economic forces that eventually swept Texas into the Anglo American fold.

Jesús F. de la Teja  
*Southwest Texas State University*

*Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century.* By Donald L. Parman. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1994. xviii + 235 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, \$12.95 paper.)

The twentieth century is finally receiving the attention of historians of the West and a recent offering by Donald Parman, *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century*, is an exceedingly useful survey of Indian activities during this period. Parman begins with the impact of the Dawes Act, which allotted many reservations and continues through the century until 1990, with the emergence of CERA in Montana, a right-wing group organized to attack Indian rights. Although sketchy in some places, Parman's book contains an amazing number of obscure facts about the various episodes of this century, and this attention to detail makes the book worthwhile reading.

In a volume packed with data, however, it is strange to see several important references omitted entirely. There is nothing, for example, dealing with the Newlands Act and subsequent Leavitt Act which had major implications for irrigation on Indian lands. The Committee of One Hundred, a prestigious investigation of the conditions of Indians during the 1920s, is not mentioned and this omission is curious since both the Senate Investigation of the Conditions of Indians and the three reports of the Brookings Institute certainly originated in the failure of the Committee of One Hundred's report to President Coolidge. The *Winters* case is mentioned, but not its companion *Winans*, which provided the basis for protecting Indian fishing rights during this century.

Most puzzling is Parman's seeming inability to understand the roots and sequence of the termination policy. The 1928 Klamath effort to withdraw from supervision by the Bureau of Indian Affairs is not discussed; failure of this effort embittered Wade Jackson, and in 1947 when Senator Watkins visited Klamath, Jackson made the withdrawal of the BIA a high priority. Several years later, the Hoover Commission, which again is not mentioned, recommended that Indians be turned over to the states, prompting Dillon Myer to begin the termination policy on his own initiative. How can Parman have missed these activities altogether?

Self-determination probably begins in 1916 when a bill to give Indians the right to select their own superintendents was offered in Congress. Thereafter, we find sporadic efforts by both Congress and the Indians to expand self-government. Not only are these efforts not mentioned, the Self-Determination Act of 1975 is barely cited, leaving the reader to conclude that it was a good idea that never was given legislative substance. Instead, far too much time is devoted to anti-Indian organizations that occasionally existed in the 1980s to prevent Indians from exercising fishing rights. Again, Impact Aid—PL 874 and PL 815—are not mentioned and these statutes provided immense opportunities for Indians in education.

This book, consequently, is curious. It has a great many facts that cannot be found elsewhere, but it lacks mention or discussion of some truly important developments in this century. It is a good book to read, but it must be supplemented with other books that cover some of its more woeful inadequacies.

Vine Deloria, Jr.  
*University of Colorado, Boulder*

*Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West.* By William Robbins. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994. xvi + 255 pp. Notes, index. \$29.95.)

This is an ambitious book from one of the West's most prolific historians, in that Robbins seeks nothing less than a model to explain the causation of change (and power) in the West as a place. Though Robbins focuses on the West as a place (emphasis on the northern West), he avoids the epistemological trap of place versus process via finding his theme in capitalism and "its revolutionary consequences."

Quickly he ticks off several sub-themes: "In essence, history written 'from the bottom up' is limited when it ignores larger constellations of power" (p. 8); the capitalist transformation of the West took place with dramatic swiftness; and the phenomenon of urbanism served as a conduit for the flow of capital from the East and from Europe. The federal government fostered this capitalistic transfiguration through military protection, subsidized transportation and mineral extraction, and emancipation of the free-wheeling capitalist from carrying the burden of social costs (in effect, Robbins has adopted the free rider approach). Finally, the economy of the West was hobbled by a dependence on an erratic transportation system, remoteness from markets, and an immature metropolitan development. Many of these factors placed the West in an untenable economic position vis-a-vis eastern and European modernization.

While Robbins finds the colonial concept of limited usefulness—"A more inclusive understanding of western America rests in the ability to grasp the full meaning of capitalism...." (p. 7)—he is unable to escape the atmosphere of colonialism, which he finds pervades the West up to 1945. With this interpretive *mein*, Robbins examines these theses in eight chapter essays—the Mexico–United States borderlands, the American–Canadian West, the West as an arena for investment, the individual entrepreneurial West as exemplified by the regional capitalist, Samuel T. Hauser (who, as Robbins notes, John Hakola removed from historical fog in his 1961 dissertation and Hauser's inventory notes), the colonial extractive nature of the northern West (which he finds generic to other extractive sub-regions of the West), a comparative view of South and West, and the interaction between metropolis and hinterland.

So where does this multifaceted examination of the American West leave the author and the reader? In a roundup paragraph, Robbins concludes that "To grasp the essence of the transformation of the American West during the last century and a half, therefore, one must look to the mainstays of material relations in the region..." (p. 189). Robbins shuns the Turnerian exceptionalism of the West, though this reviewer is more comfortable with Earl Pomeroy's succinct observation years ago that "This historian of the West has no obligation to demonstrate the uniqueness

of his region." Or, as another historian of the West put it a decade ago, "The West, then, remains, not the West of the past, but the West of the nation and the world." One applauds Robbins for his willingness (avoiding the Humpty-Dumpty syndrome) to subscribe to the thesis that a synthesis of the West will only be revealed with a comprehensive understanding of the parts before we try to model the whole. Allan Bogue has perceptively argued for this approach to western history, as has Donald Pisani more recently in his magisterial study of water in the West.

The summons to national identification is fraught with disharmony, however, as the "New West" historians have most recently illustrated. Historically, Americans have perceived centralization (especially by the bureaucracy) as tyrannical, and decentralization as the preservation of individual freedom. Today's West, along with the nation, wrestles with this economic and political tug-of-war.

In his opening remarks, Robbins warns his readers that this book is "largely derivative," a confession (if it is indeed that) that should not discomfit him as it has not embarrassed thousands of other authors. The more vexing question for those who peruse these pages is whether the author has taken us to the next interpretive level—a stratum to which so many aspire, so few attain, and so many feign discovery—with shouts of "eureka!" My suspicion is that regardless of future verdicts, *Colony and Empire* will be acknowledged (and perhaps unacknowledged) in footnote after footnote.

Gene M. Gressley  
Laramie, Wyoming

*Tata: A Voice from the Río Puerco*. Edited by Nasario García. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994. xxxii + 207 pp. Illustrations, map. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Nasario García's *Tata: A Voice from the Río Puerco* is a voice very much worth hearing. The main voice that emanates from these pages is the voice of the fathers, of *Los Viejitos*, and in particular the author's own father, Nasario P. García, born in 1912 in Rincón de Cochino in the Río Puerco Valley of northern New Mexico.

The book, however, is actually more a duet than a solo, and as much a balance of explanation and recitation as it is of exclusive aria. *Música de los padres y hijos del Norte* is perhaps a more apt accounting of the music heard here, songs and melodies wherein the son's voice of familial and regional love and respect is heard in counterpoint throughout, contributing to an even larger sense of community chorus.

The arrangement and orchestration is chronological and follows the life and times of the elder García by means of various anecdotes and tales, balanced with a series of introductory essays that head each chapter and spotlight the key phases of a father's, and inevitably, a son's mutually-influenced lives. As such, *Tata* (term of endearment for a father or grandfather) is a kind of community autobiography that transcends the individual, the local, and the parochial and the only ostensibly insignificant lives of a New Mexican family done in the sometimes soft, at other times raucous voicings and variations of interview, oral history, and story.

Much of the texture, timbre, and subject of the senior García's voice is transmitted through the idiomatic Spanish of the lives and landscapes found for three centuries in the shadow of the mythic two thousand-foot basaltic monolith known

as Cabezón Peak, and along the byways of such melodically sounding villages as Ojo del Padre, La Posta, Casa Salazar, and San Luis. Through the bilingual presentation of each narrative and anecdote, and by means of the accompanying glossaries of Río Puerco regional idioms, an authenticity at once archaic and transcendent flows through the book like the very geological and geographical river imminence of the at once flowing and sandy Río Puerco.

Here, in *Tata: A Voice from the Río Puerco*, Nasario P. García offers the reader a concert of much simple beauty and blood-kinship. It is a performance that does honor to the nobility of the Río Puerco's own seminal and splendid river muses as they inspire and shape the lives of a father, a son, and a very special part of a wonderously vibrant and culturally diverse New Mexico, a *tierra del alma* to all those who claim and champion its history and heritage.

Robert F. Gish  
California Polytechnic State University

*Bad Hand: A Biography of General Ranald S. Mackenzie.* By Charles M. Robinson III. (Austin, Texas: State House Press, 1993. xviii + 392 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

In a review of Michael Pierce's *The Most Promising Young Officer, A Life of Ranald Slidell Mackenzie* in the Fall 1994 *Nebraska History*, I noted the ironic simultaneous appearance of two Mackenzie biographies when, in the full century following his death, there had not been a first. I thought Pierce's effort was solid, though a bit lean. Robinson's *Bad Hand*, conversely, is heftier and for several reasons, the better book.

Ranald Mackenzie graduated from West Point in 1862 and saw ample Civil War service. His growing reputation blossomed on the Indian frontier where, in 1873, he led a daring if dangerous raid into Mexico chasing marauding Kickapoos and Lipan Apaches. He also commanded decisive attacks on Comanches, Southern Cheyennes, and Kiowas at Palo Duro Canyon, Texas, during the 1875 Red River War, and on Northern Cheyennes at the Red Fork of the Powder River, Wyoming, during the 1876 Great Sioux War. These and other battlefield successes were critical to the outcomes of their associated campaigns and solidified Mackenzie's reputation as one of the army's premier Indian fighters.

But as Charles Robinson observes as he closes this biography, these successes and the continual physical hardships of arduous field service were also Mackenzie's undoing. In 1884 at age forty-three, three months after having been committed to the Bloomingdale Asylum in New York City and seventeen months after earning his brigadier's stars, Mackenzie was declared insane.

Most latter-day historians, including Pierce, attribute Mackenzie's affliction to a syphilitic infection. Robinson develops the case that Mackenzie's insanity was more likely derived from post-traumatic stress disorder and dementia. The former, unheard of before the Vietnam War, is a progressive condition of estrangement, irritability, and sporadic and unpredicable explosions of aggressive behavior, symptoms fully characterizing Mackenzie during his frontier years. This disorder typically derives from the wounds, stresses, and fatigue of unrelenting field service and combat, and again, this characterizes Mackenzie's life. Dementia, on the other hand,

could be caused by a venereal infection but so, too, could it derive from serious head injuries of the very sort Mackenzie suffered twice in his life. Robinson's arguments and conclusion are convincing. Either way, insanity was a tragic and ignoble end for an officer riding the crest of greatness.

Author Robinson commenced this biography hoping to humanize Mackenzie, and he succeeds. Though no body of personal papers survives, the author drew upon a wholesome array of general sources, including Mackenzie's official military files. Robinson's insights into Mackenzie's peer relationships are particularly interesting, and his depictions of Mackenzie's physical world are typically sound, though in one instance exceedingly overdrawn. Robinson apparently did not travel into Great Sioux War country, and thoroughly misrepresents the geography of the Dull Knife battle and Powder River campaign. That instance notwithstanding, Robinson fashions a convincing portrait of a hard-driven soldier leading a self-imposed austere life who suffered a pathetic end. This is the biography of Ranald Mackenzie to read and quote.

Paul L. Hedren  
*National Park Service*

*Primeras [Doctrinas] del Nuevo Mundo: Estudio histórico-teológico de las obras de fray Juan de Zumárraga (1548).* By Fernando Gil. (Buenos Aires: Publicaciones de la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad Católica Argentina, 1993. ix + 750 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, bibliography, index, erratum).

La obra del padre Fernando Gil es parte de la celebración de los quinientos años de presencia europea en América. Su trabajo parte de la asunción que este medio milenio de evangelización de los habitantes de este continente que tiene como uno de sus elementos fundacionales la obra de difusión de la fe cristiana de fray Juan de Zumárraga (n. 1468?; m. 1548), primer obispo de México. Gil no concede otra alternativa a esta conmemoración que la de la irradiación de la luz que significó para los americanos la palabra divina traída por los españoles. Al mismo tiempo, proclama la reafirmación de la fe entre los "conquistadores" al entrar en contacto con millones de seres hasta entonces alejados de "la religión." Por ello, el autor desecha por principio la noción de una leyenda negra y otra dorada en el proceso de dominio de las Américas: los promotores de las formas de organización temporal y espiritual provenían de una misma tradición cultural de la cual no pueden separarse cuando tratan de fijar en la sociedad dominada sus proyectos. Los lazos que unían a la Iglesia con el Estado eran más que una formalidad, significaban la inseparabilidad de ambos programas.

La primera sección de este estudio está conformada por una erudita presentación de Zumárraga como hombre producto de una sociedad católica en expansión. Basado en los primeros biógrafos del fraile vizcaíno, Gil lo enmarca dentro de la tradición teológica dominante en la Península Ibérica de la primera mitad del siglo XVI. En este sentido, Zumárraga fue producto de una corriente de pensamiento que trató de adaptarse a las condiciones planteadas por el descubrimiento de tierras y hombres hasta entonces no imaginados. Las reuniones de la jerarquía católica en la Nueva España mientras Zumárraga encabezaba la diócesis mexicana confirman la necesidad que tenían los evangelizadores de adaptar ese cúmulo de presupuestos teológicos a



la realidad de la naciente sociedad. En dichas Juntas, se ponían a discusión las formas de establecer el cristianismo entre los pueblos que entraban en us proceso de adaptación a una forma organizativa impuesta por los dirigentes de la conquista militar. Suavizar los métodos temporales de dominio significaba dejar espacio para la asimilación de la fe católica.

La última mitad del libro también es un ejemplo de la dedicación erudita del autor para entender la obra del primer obispo de México. Desde los puntos de vista teológico y pastoral, Fernando Gil presenta y examina las obras producidas en México durante la administración episcopal de Zumárraga. Una condición determinante para difundir el catolicismo en tierras novohispanas era la instalación de una imprenta a fin de evitar larga espera en tanto se mandaban publicar los instrumentos de pastoral hasta la metrópoli. Decisivo fue el papel del obispo para convencer a las autoridades hispanas de esta necesidad en el Nuevo Mundo. Fue de esta manera que la primera imprenta en América (ca. 1539) estuvo dedicada al tiraje de las primeras doctrinas, cartillas, catecismos, confesionarios, diccionarios, vocabularios y "artes de la lengua," todos utilizados como herramientas para la indoctrinación de los indios.

En cuanto a las obras del obispo Zumárraga, Gil realiza un estudio teológico, y de manera cronológica, de tres de ellas: la *Doctrina Breve* (1543-1544), la *Doctrina Cristiana* (1545-1546), incluyendo su *Suplemento* y la *Regla Cristiana Breve* (1547). Su estudio abarca desde las consideraciones teológicas, hasta las formas en que el autor utilizó para hacer de sus instrumentos una fuente efectiva del conocimiento de la fe.

En síntesis, las *Primeras [Doctrinas] del Nuevo Mundo* resulta una útil combinación del análisis histórico de la obra total de fray Juan de Zumárraga como obispo de México y un examen teológico de sus principales publicaciones utilizadas como materiales de la enseñanza de la fe católica.

Ricardo León-García

*Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez*

*The Urban West: Managing Growth and Decline.* By James B. Weatherby and Stephanie L. Witt. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1994. xii + 154 pp. Charts, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

This book is a study of the legal and economic limitations imposed on cities and their attempts to deliver adequate programs and services despite constraints during a decade (1978-1988) of rapid growth in the urban West. The authors (social scientists) touch upon thirty-four regional cities with populations of 100,000-200,000. They focus on a core group of ten cities including Tempe, Arizona; Modesto, California; Pueblo, Colorado; Boise, Idaho; Reno, Nevada; Salem and Eugene, Oregon; Salt Lake City, Utah; and Tacoma and Spokane, Washington.

Chapters contain valuable information and analysis about the impact state and federal governments, economic systems, and citizens' groups have had on the cities' growth and development. Limitations imposed by state and federal legislation, economic reality, or citizen initiatives have created problems for city officials in man-

aging issues such as infrastructure decline and growth mania. Declining federal aid, more state mandates, economic uncertainty, property tax revolts, and other negative influences encouraged many cities to engage in aggressive economic development policies, including public-private partnerships.

Especially informative are the various case studies the authors provide. The growth/quality of life pendulum in Boise, and the response of citizens to rampant growth in Modesto help explain why growth and growth management problems have been two of the most important issues in local government in recent years. Confronting the costs of infrastructures in Salem and planning for growth in Tempe are two case studies that illustrate that there is much a community can do for itself. The problem of rapid growth and limited local discretion exists, however, and it is clear in the Eugene and Reno case studies. Aggressive economic strategies and organizations are emphasized in the authors' case studies of Pueblo, Spokane, and Tacoma. Finally, Salt Lake City serves as an example of a city confronted with the task of managing both growth and decline.

Growth is probable, but it should be managed and challenged at every turn so that cities improve their present conditions and realize their positive visions of the future. Considering the obstacles, note the authors, the goals are formidable but not impossible. This book is an important contribution and should be read by those interested in the present and future history of the modern American urban West.

Bradford Luckingham  
*Arizona State University*

*Soul in the Stone: Cemetery Art From America's Heartland.* By John Gary Brown. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1994. viii + 246 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. \$39.95.)

In *Soul in the Stone*, John Gary Brown, a professional photographer, sets out to illustrate "the partnership between human expression and the institution known as the cemetery." Brown searched burial grounds in ten states in the central United States, photographing examples of cemetery art that reveal "artistic excellence or interesting concepts." The opening section of the book describes some of the cemeteries he visited and discusses topics such as motifs, symbolism, and epitaphs. Photographs of cemetery art, organized thematically into chapters on religious iconography, secular images, children, ethnic influences, a life well-lived, umbrella organizations, and ashes to ashes, make up most of the book (200 of its 250 pages).

Cultural geographers, anthropologists, art historians, historians of religion—all have found grist for their scholarly mills among the crosses and tombstones of American cemeteries. Brown's photographic quest, however, carried no such academic burden. Instead, he has presented a well-chosen and well-photographed collection of "extraordinary and entertaining examples of cemetery art."

Many of the tombstones are extraordinary indeed. Some reveal considerable artistic skill in the presentation of traditional themes and subject matter—lambs, trees, crosses, and angels. More individualistic tombstones convey in creative and original fashion a sense of the lives of those being commemorated. A granite sample

case, a life-sized statue of a golfer complete with a bag of golf clubs, a full-sized rolltop desk, the engine of a 1924 Chevy—such memorials resonate with a celebration of lives lived. Brown's photographs graphically evoke the diverse ways in which cemetery art can reflect both cultural values and individual lives.

The technical quality of the photographs is excellent as is their reproduction in this handsome book. Brown has created a fitting tribute to the artistic treasures in the cemeteries of heartland America.

Lynn Musslewhite  
Cameron University

*The Jumanos: Hunters and Traders of the South Plains.* By Nancy Parrott Hickerson. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994. xxviii + 270 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

The Jumanos Indians have made frequent appearances in Borderlands records, yet have remained elusive to contemporary historians and anthropologists. In her current work, Nancy Hickerson, associate professor of anthropology at Texas Tech University, attempts to flesh out the role and the identity of the Jumanos.

The first Europeans to encounter the Jumanos were apparently Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and company, the survivors of the shipwrecked Panfilo de Narváez expedition. Over the next two hundred years, the Jumanos became important to both the Spanish and the French, as traders, guides, allies, and political leaders. The influence of the Jumanos waned quickly after 1700.

The territory of the Jumanos covered much of the Southwest and the southern plains, and the name may have been applied to people living in fertile river valleys and arid lands. The author believes that originally, the term was applied to Tanoan-speaking Indians who inhabited the southern plains, and later applied in a more narrow sense to these Indians who played a traditional role as traders.

Trading connections made the Jumanos useful as contacts and cultural brokers between first, Spanish colonists and later, French interlopers. It was the Jumanos, referred to as Teyas by Casteñada, who pointed out to Francisco Coronado the way to Quivira, thanks to their ability to communicate with the Tanoan-speaking guides of Coronado. During successive decades, the Jumanos played an important role in Spanish-native contacts in New Mexico and later in Texas.

In New Mexico, several Jumano villages apparently existed in the Salinas and Tompiro regions, and, like the Pueblos, were subject to missionary efforts. The Spanish relied on the Jumanos as intermediaries in their efforts to convert the Caddoans of Texas, and it was the Jumanos who inflamed Father Benavides's desires to establish a mission among the nomadic Indians by their story of the Lady in Blue.

Beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Jumanos became the targets of increasing Apache attacks. The Pueblo Revolt and the appearance of the French on the southern plains further strained Spanish-Pueblo relations. With the inability of the Spanish government to give the Jumanos aid against their old enemies, the Apaches, and increasing presence of French traders among the Caddoans, the Jumanos were displaced as middlemen of Indian traders.

By the early eighteenth century, the New Mexican as well as the plains Jumanos began to abandon their Spanish connections, probably due to the death of Juan Sabeata, the most prominent Jumano leader. The tribe was slowly absorbed into the plains Apache and Caddoan/Wichita cultures.

*The Jumanos* serves as a useful addition to the literature of early Borderlands anthropology and history. The sources for the study are entirely documentary, and students of New Mexico history will find them, as well as many of the episodes and characters, familiar. This should not detract from placing the Jumanos in their proper important role as traders and culture brokers along the Spanish colonial frontier.

Hana Samek Norton  
*Albuquerque, New Mexico*

*Pueblos, Villages, Forts & Trails: A Guide to New Mexico's Past.* By David Grant Noble. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994. ix + 346 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

David Grant Noble's new book, *Pueblos, Villages, Forts & Trails*, subtitled *A Guide to New Mexico's Past*, is, strictly speaking, neither a guide book nor a history book, although it obviously contains elements of both. This ambiguity is evident in the book's organization. Each of its sections, "The Anasazi-Pueblo Past," "New Mexican Towns," "Warfare in New Mexico," "Historical Trails," and "Other Historic Places" lists its sites not geographically or chronologically but alphabetically. This, however, is not a criticism but an observation.

In guiding the reader to a greater appreciation of New Mexico's diverse and extraordinary past, Noble introduces the first three sections with concise overviews that give a sense of the broad sweep of the state's history and even its pre-history. Here, as elsewhere throughout the book, cross-references suggest places where one might go to actually follow the footsteps of those who helped create that past.

The text is clear and generally accurate (although El Morro and Zuni are west, not east, of Acoma), both historically and geographically. The black-and-white photographs, many of them taken by Noble himself, are beautifully reproduced and add much to the text, as do many other illustrations and maps. The author's "travel tips" (what else there is to see in the vicinity) and "how to get there" information, obviously oriented to helping travelers find the place rather than telling about it, are clearly presented. Noble has also included one or two references following each entry that range from the classic to the contemporary. Unfortunately, he does not include any fictional works, which in some cases might also have been of interest.

While this book is not one for the first-time visitor or the casual passerby, it will be much appreciated by those who want to know "more than meets the eye" as they begin to explore New Mexico's wonderfully diverse cultural heritage.

Dorothy Parker  
*Eastern New Mexico University*

*Misiones Jesuitas en la Tarahumara: (Siglo XVIII)*. By Ricardo León García. (Cuidad Juárez, Mexico: Universidad Autonoma de Ciudad Juárez, 1992. 177 pp. Maps, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography.)

León's treatise on the eighteenth-century Tarahumara provides a no-nonsense historical summary of this persistent Indian group in northern Mexico. The organization of the book is classic inasmuch as the author describes the region's geography and environment, one of the most rugged in North America. His general description is followed by a specific commentary on the climate and distribution of plants, animals, and people in the 1700s. He sets the scene for historical interaction with a succinct but thorough presentation of the Tarahumara people, their customs, and tribal practices.

A section follows on the Society of Jesus with reference to their special evangelical spirit built on the directives of St. Ignatius. Although he correctly denotes northern New Spain during the times of Spanish invasion and Indian reaction as a war zone, León is fair in not vilifying either Spaniard or Indian but attempts to present the worldviews that were at variance. Spain had its policies, the Jesuits had their religious goals, and the Indians were confronted with the problem of accepting these cultural changes or not.

Concluding his generic statements about the missionaries and the Tarahumara, León opens a specific case study on the mission of La Purísima Concepción de Papigochi. It illustrates his thesis about the Indian response of violence to Spanish efforts to incorporate the rancherías into mission pueblos. The missions were highly productive and hence became competitors with the secular haciendas and squabbles arose between religious and laity over Indian labor—a story repeated in all mission sectors.

The last section is on life at a Tarahumara mission. In many ways, this is a mini-application of the methodology employed in the preceding chapters, looking at generalities and finally at specifics at Papigochi. León's conclusions are not earth-shattering, but they are generally fair. His constant referral to primary documents is both useful and illuminating, and his grasp of the Tarahumara in mid-eighteenth century is quite well-balanced. This is a fine example of solid regional history that will find its way into the repertoire of what is known about the rare Rarámuri.

Charles W. Polzer, S. J.  
Arizona State Museum

*Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860–1992*. By Bradford Luckingham. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994. xiv + 258 pp. Maps, tables, notes, index. \$35.00.)

Through his own work and that of his students, Bradford Luckingham has been largely responsible for securing Phoenix a prominent place on the historical map of the American West. In *The Urban Southwest* (1984) and *Phoenix* (1989) he examined the nation's ninth-largest city in escalating detail from its founding to the present. Now, drawing heavily on his previous research, he fleshes out his earlier treatments of three of the city's minorities: blacks, Mexican Americans, and Chinese Americans. But although *Minorities in Phoenix* will help make Phoenix residents more aware of their city's sorry history of discrimination against such a large part of its population, serious conceptual and organizational deficiencies undermine the book's broader usefulness.

Luckingham begins with a standard overview of the history of the three groups in the United States in general, and the West in particular, in which the book's primary theme clearly emerges. "Coming from every direction to Anglo-dominated early Phoenix, minority group members sought equity and opportunity. Over the years progress was made, but problems persisted. And problems remain" (p. 11). According to Luckingham, little about the western experience was unique; the treatment of these groups differed more in degree than in kind from that of their counterparts elsewhere. The heart of the book consists of three sections, each devoted to a different group and divided into the same three chronological and chronicle-like chapters, though with the Chinese section noticeably shorter: Community Development to 1930; Depression, War, and Peace, 1930-1960; Progress and Problems, 1960-1992. In a conclusion entitled "The Phoenix Experience," Luckingham distills his most significant factual information, again group by group, and with no additional analysis.

Luckingham deserves praise for noting that his ethnic groups helped shape their own destinies and that minority development was not simply the result of "white racism," although few of his sources are minority-generated. He also documents the divisions within each group, but tends to concentrate on the less successful among blacks and Mexicans and the more successful among the Chinese Americans. He thus misses an opportunity to fill an historical void by explaining how so many blacks and Mexicans managed to work themselves into the ranks of the middle class and why so many Asians failed to keep up with the more upwardly mobile members of America's newest "model minority."

But there are more serious problems as well. For example, Luckingham fails to explain why he chose these particular groups while omitting Native Americans who, for example, outnumber the city's Chinese population. More troubling is Luckingham's organizational structure which leads to needless repetition and minimizes opportunities for cross-group comparisons, although there is passing reference to potentially illuminating intergroup rivalries. It also serves to homogenize the experiences of the three groups by ignoring their different chronological watersheds and obscures aspects of the western or Phoenix experience that were truly unique. In short, although Luckingham did additional research and provides numerous details and capsule biographies not found in his first two books, western and urban historians familiar with that earlier work will encounter the same conclusions about the treatment of these groups, and those interested in ethnicity will find no conceptual breakthroughs.

Howard N. Rabinowitz  
*University of New Mexico*

*En Divina Luz: The Penitente Moradas of New Mexico.* By Michael Wallis and Craig Varjabedian. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994. xvii + 130 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. \$39.95.)

In *En Divina Luz: The Penitente Moradas of New Mexico*, both author Michael Wallis and photographer Craig Varjabedian set out to capture the deep and intense relationship between penitentes, their moradas, and the earth from which they are given life. The penitente worship, practices, and rituals are connected by a mystical cord. The book then takes the analysis further through visual exhibition. The stunning photography demonstrates the beauty, remoteness, and isolation of these sacred houses of worship and ritual.

To Hispano New Mexicans, the moradas are as sacred as kivas are to the Pueblo peoples of this region. Both kiva and morada have been mistrusted and misunderstood through the various cycles of conquest that have attended New Mexico. Early nineteenth-century writers mistakenly described penitentes as belonging to a religious order rather than a male confraternity of devout laymen whose religious rituals sustained Catholicism and enriched it in lieu of the scarcity of priests in many remote Hispanic communities. Much was sensationalized by these early voyeurs who photographed a few mock crucifixions and then generalized their rituals and secrecy. A penitente lore evolved both among Anglos and Hispanos alike regarding their rituals and personal behaviors. During difficult times, moradas were forced underground, frowned upon by religious authorities as a result of this sensationalized view. There were other reasons, however, that caused a penitente to prefer anonymity. This is at the heart of being a penitente, and the issue this book critically misses.

Central to being a penitente is a deep sense of devotion, commitment, personal penance, and humility. As my friend Horacio Valdez, *santero* and penitente used to say, "every hermano must avoid *escandalo*, too much publicity. He must show through his example how to be humble." While credit must be given to both author and photographer for not revealing the locations of the photographed moradas, there is an overwhelming sense, to this reviewer, that the sense of humility and privacy so important to the hermanos has been trespassed upon. Granted, permission was acquired for photographing each structure, but I cannot help but feel a great sense of loss when I review each image. There is also the issue that no attempt seems to have been made to express the desires of other hermanos who would have preferred this book not be published at all. Hopefully, this book will help preserve abandoned moradas, but the other side of the blade is that it might just aid the curious and those of dubious desires to trespass upon the sacred.

Orlando Romero  
*Palace of the Governors*

*Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fé to Los Angeles: With Extracts from Contemporary Records and Including Diaries of Antonio Armijo and Orville Pratt.* By LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993. ix + 375 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, appendix, index. \$12.95 paper.)

Originally published in 1954, this book, now a classic history of the Old Spanish Trail, focuses on the Anglo American experience in the forging of various routes through New Mexico to the Great Basin and California. Inasmuch as the Hispanic trade with Utes between 1678 and 1850 are treated lightly, the narrative bears the earmarks of ethnocentrically-written history characteristic of the first half of the twentieth century in North America. The story line, however, weaves a fascinating account about a series of Indian trails that entered history's limelight with eighteenth-century Spanish efforts from New Mexico to establish a route to Alta California through Utah that culminated in the Anglo American westward movement. The uniqueness of the Hafens' work lies in the fact that it is the only book that covers the entire history of the many routes that came to be known as the Old Spanish Trail.

Given that the Hafens' book is the only scholarly work on the subject, it has withstood the test of time. Its scholarship, although dated (even in this second edition), is nevertheless a starting point for new research. Its thoroughness in narrating the Anglo American efforts on the Old Spanish Trail borders on a definitiveness that challenges the introduction of new material on the subject. Even so, additional materials will only reinforce or complement the Hafens' work, but the story line should remain the same. In other publications by the Hafens—some of which related to the Old Spanish Trail—the prolific authors left few stones unturned regarding their encyclopedic knowledge of mountain men and trappers.

This paperback edition contains an introduction by David J. Weber who aptly states the significance of both the Old Spanish Trail and the scholarly work rendered by the Hafens. Weber's comments point to one disturbing note that reflects a misunderstanding about what the Old Spanish Trail and its variant routes represent in their historical contexts. Weber states that "[A]lthough Spaniards did not blaze this trail or, indeed, travel directly between Santa Fe and Los Angeles, individual Spaniards did traverse parts of the lengthy route" (p. 11). The Old Spanish Trail had two salient themes in its historical denouement: The development of routes, some of which were actually blazed by Hispanics through western Colorado to Utah Lake and the Great Basin, and the development of routes that eventually connected New Mexico and California.

The knowledge explorers gained from California and New Mexico contributed to Antonio Armijo's route blazed in 1829 from Santa Fe to California. Armijo was accompanied by New Mexican guides who had been to the Great Basin and the Colorado River for trade as recently as the year prior to his expedition. The Great Basin trade from New Mexico, though largely illegal because Spanish militarists had prohibited New Mexicans from going to the Yuta country, was the object of many Hispanic expeditions that went there between 1711 and 1852. When the route to California was established following the Armijo expedition, Hispanics, along with Anglo Americans, used it to immigrate to Los Angeles. Thus, even though the Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to California shares a history with New Mexican efforts to engage in the Great Basin trade, both concepts were born during the Spanish colonial period. In all probability, on the other hand, the route from Utah Lake to New Mexico was conceived by Utes who desired trade with the pueblos of



the Rio Grande and later with Hispanic settlements near there. In spite of this slight criticism, this work is recommended as a standard model for studies on prehistoric and historic trails such as the Old Spanish Trail and its variant routes that have contributed to our national story.

Joseph P. Sánchez  
*Spanish Colonial Research Center*

*Rock Art in New Mexico.* By Polly Schaafsma. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1992. viii + 175 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$29.95 paper.)

A large part of New Mexico's allure is its past. The people who have come and gone over the centuries have left a record of their lives in the material remnants that constitute the archaeological record. And one of the most intriguing subjects of archaeological inquiry is rock art.

Since Polly Schaafsma's original 1972 publication of *Rock Art in New Mexico*, "an unprecedented interest in rock paintings and petroglyphs...has led to a virtual explosion of research and documentation in New Mexico" (p. 1). As a result, the Museum of New Mexico Press reissued *Rock Art* in 1992. In this latest rendition, Schaafsma has extensively rewritten much of the text and incorporated some of the latest research. She has also updated her bibliography and added sites, such as a section in chapter three that deals with Albuquerque's West Mesa.

Organized into five chapters, *Rock Art's* first four take us from northwestern to southern New Mexico, back to the Upper Rio Grande, and finally to the eastern part of the state. All chapters contain dozens of black-and-white photographs and detailed descriptions of each region's iconographic patterns. One of the most effective aspects of her analysis is the attention she gives to the distinctions and similarities between distant and more recent past. For example, chapter one describes pre-1300 A.D. Anasazi rock art and later Navajo contributions; chapter two takes the reader from prehistoric styles such as Mogollon red to historic techniques used by Apache groups; and chapter five focuses exclusively on Hispanic rock inscriptions. Schaafsma's last four pages discuss a few archaeological hoaxes and call for further investigations in spite of the difficulties inherent in accurately dating and definitively interpreting rock art.

Overall, Schaafsma has outdone herself with her text revisions and amended bibliography. Should there be a third edition, though, perhaps she could include a short section of color plates. A warning for those who lack an archaeological background: this is not a tour guide. The language includes technical terms and descriptions geared toward graduate students and above. It is a good book for a field school, but not a weekend excursion. Nevertheless, this edition of *Rock Art in New Mexico* is a solid, detailed, and scholarly analysis of an exciting archaeological subfield.

Evelyn A. Schlatter  
*University of New Mexico*

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*Coal Town: The Life and Times of Dawson, New Mexico.* By Toby Smith. (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Ancient City Press, 1993. 133 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$27.95 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)

Journalist and western writer Toby Smith has found another worthy, regional topic: Dawson, New Mexico. As the first general study about this former coal mining community, *Coal Town: The Life and Times of Dawson, New Mexico* provides a brief but comprehensive account of its rich past. The author hopes to put Dawson, a ghost town today, back on the state map.

Located in northeastern New Mexico and owned by the Phelps Dodge Corporation, Dawson was once the largest coal-producing camp in the Southwest. It grew from an idyllic cattle ranch to a bustling town of thirty square miles and 6,000 residents. During its existence between 1899 and 1950, Dawson yielded over 33 million tons of coal for the nation's industry and served as an economic center for the region. Of 200 such contemporary company towns in the American West, Dawson was also the most culturally diverse community. With different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, people from America, Latin America, Europe and Asia labored and lived together harmoniously. Such a pleasant atmosphere of race relations turned Dawson into a model company town in the twentieth-century West.

Focusing on social and cultural activities, *Coal Town* has done a fine job in recapturing the daily life of people in Dawson. Each of the nine chapters deal with a specific topic, from education to sports. Smith's adroit use of primary resources, including more than 100 interviews, supplies his work with not only the necessary facts but enlightening anecdotes. A journalistic writing style makes the story especially appealing. In addition, over fifty historic photos complement the narrative by offering distinctive visual images.

As a fair piece of local, popular history, *Coal Town* aims at general readers instead of trained scholars. A scrupulous historian wishes to know more about the role of Dawson in a larger historical context. An analysis of census data and other statistics is also crucial for such a community study. Yet, this book should receive attention from mining and labor historians who want to further explore the subject.

Liping Zhu  
*Albuquerque, New Mexico*

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### New Mexico Historical Review

Published quarterly in January, April, July, and October, *NMHR* is offering all in-stock back issues at \$6.00 each (regularly \$7.00 each), plus postage if mailed. Comprehensive indexes are \$6.00 each instead of \$7.50. One-bound volumes (all four issues are in one bound volume) are \$20.00. Annual subscriptions are \$26.00 for individuals, and \$36.00 for institutions.

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## BOOK NOTES

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*Al Sieber: Chief of Scouts.* By Dan L. Thrapp. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. xii + 432 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.95 paper.) Reprint of 1964 edition.

*Kit Carson Days, 1809–1868, 2 Volumes.* By Edwin L. Sabin. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. xiv + 996 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$32.00 paper.) Reprint of 1935 edition.

*Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840–1849.* Edited by Kenneth L. Holmes. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. 280 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$12.00 paper.) Reprint of 1983 edition.

*Comanche Vocabulary: Trilingual Edition.* Edited by Daniel J. Gelo. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995. xxvii + 76 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. \$25.00 cloth, \$10.95 paper.)

*A Bibliographical Guide to the Study of Western American Literature.* Edited by Richard W. Etulain and N. Jill Howard. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. xii + 471 pp. Illustration, index. \$39.95.) Expanded and updated version of 1982 edition.

*Fallen Guidon: The Saga of Confederate General Jo Shelby's March to Mexico.* By Edwin Adams David. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. xi + 173 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$27.50 cloth, \$14.95 paper.) Reprint of 1962 edition.

*Majestic Journey: Coronado's Inland Empire.* By Stewart L. Udall. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995. x + 166 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, index. \$19.95 paper.) Reprint of 1987 edition.

*Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis.* By Bradford Luckingham. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995. xi + 316 pp. Illustrations, maps, charts, tables, notes, index. \$12.95 paper.) Reprint of 1989 edition.

*Generations and Other True Stories.* By Bryan Wooley. (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1995. 295 pp. \$25.00.)

*The Island of California: A History of the Myth.* By Dora Beale Polk. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. 400 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.00 paper.) Reprint of 1991 edition.

*The Gift of the Sacred Pipe.* By Vera Louise Drysdale. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. xii + 106 pp. Illustrations, index. \$29.95 paper.)

*Bravos of the West.* By John Myers Myers. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. 467 pp. Maps, appendixes, bibliography. \$15.00 paper.) Reprint of 1962 edition.

*Celsa's World: Conversations with a Mexican Peasant Woman.* By Thomas C. Tirado. (Tempe: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1991. 121 pp. Notes. \$11.00 paper.)

*William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West.* By Robert G. Athearn. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. xix + 371 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.95 paper.)

*Along Ancient Trails: The Mallet Expedition of 1739.* By Donald J. Blakeslee. (Niwot: University of Colorado Press, 1995. xviii + 291 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, bibliography. \$39.95.)

*Explorations in American History, Occasional Papers no. 8.* Edited by Sandra Varney MacMahon and Louis Tanner. (Albuquerque: Center for the American West, Department of History, University of New Mexico. 1995. 227 pp. Notes. \$10.00 paper.)

*A Guide to the Carl Albert Center: Congressional Archives.* By Judy Day, Danny Goble, Todd Kosmerick, and Janice Mathews. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. 113 pp. Illustrations, index. \$5.00 paper.)

*Dunes and Dreams: A History of White Sands National Monument.* By Michael Welsh. (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Intermountain Cultural Resource Center, 1995. 213 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.)

## NEWS NOTES

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With the publication of the January 1996 issue, the *New Mexico Historical Review* assumes a new look with a revised cover. The overall format of the journal remains the same and readers will continue to enjoy the same high quality of articles, book reviews, and information they have experienced over the previous seventy years of publication. Seventy—one never looked so good.

The Doña Ana County Historical Society announces a sesquicentennial symposium on 30 March 1996 to recognize the historic year 1846. Various scholars including Thomas E. Chávez, Oscar J. Martínez, Ward Alan Minge, John Porter Bloom, Frank Ross Peterson, Robert J. Torrez, Gustav Seligman, Leon Metz, and Harvey Wilke will participate. The symposium will focus on the implications for New Mexico of 1846 and take “an in-depth look at the origins of ethnic diversity in New Mexico.” The event promises to be an informative experience for participants. Registration cost is \$25 before 1 March and \$30 thereafter. For further information please contact the DACHS/ 500 North Water Street/ Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001-1224/ 505-522-1194.

The XII Travellers Memorial of the Southwest will dedicate a fourteen-foot bronze sculpture of Fray García de San Francisco, the founder of El Paso del Norte in 1659, on 2 April 1996 in El Paso’s Pioneer Plaza. The sculpture will be the largest historical bronze in Texas and a fitting symbol of the state’s rich history. Anyone interested in donating to this worthwhile cause or participating in the dedication ceremonies can contact the XII Travellers Memorial of the Southwest at P.O. Box 220243/ El Paso, Texas 79912/ 915-577-1247/ FAX 915-533-7698.

The Amon Carter Museum will host an exhibition of over 100 lithographs, drawings, and photographs of nineteenth-century city views entitled “The Ties That Bind: Views of Community on the American Fron-

tier, 1850–1900.” The event, which opened on 18 November 1995, will run through 11 February 1996. Drawn exclusively from the Museum’s renowned collection of urban views of the American West, the exhibition was organized by the Amon Carter Museum. The show will examine the boosterism that characterized the American West during this period as well as the toll the historical process of urbanization extracted: large-scale deforestation, threats of species extinction, unsustainable exploitation of natural resources, and widespread destruction of habitat. For more information please contact the Public Affairs Office at 817–738–1933, ext. 55. Photographs and checklist are available upon request.

**A CALL FOR MANUSCRIPTS.** The University of Nevada Press and the Nevada Humanities Committee invite submission of manuscripts dealing with the effects of technology on the development and evolution of the American West of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Submissions may be scholarly essays, imaginative nonfiction, poetry, short fiction, photography, art or other genres. Accepted manuscripts will be published in a volume entitled *Science, Technology, and the American West*. Send inquiries or manuscripts to Stephen Tchudi, Editor/ *Science, Technology, and the American West*/ Department of English (098)/ University of Nevada/ Reno, NV 89557–0031/ 702–784–6755/ FAX 702–784–6266/ email: s\_tchudi@scs.unr.edu.

The Forest History Society announces award winners. Gordon G. Whitney has won the 1995 Charles A. Weyerhauser Award for the best book on forest and conservation history published in 1993/1994. His book, *From Coastal Wilderness to Fruited Plain*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 1994. Stephen J. Pyne won the Society’s 1995 Theodore C. Blegen Award for best article published in a journal other than *Forest & Conservation History*. His article, “Nataraja: India’s Cycle of Fire” appeared in the Fall 1994 *Environmental History Review*. The Society granted its Ralph W. Hidy Award to Susan Rhoades Neel for her article, “Newton Drury and the Echo Park Dam Controversy,” which appeared in the April 1994 issue of *Forest & Conservation History*. Nancy Bazilchuck received the Society’s 1995 John M. Collier Award for Forest History Journalism. Her “Hardwoods, Hard Choices,” a three-part series, was published in January 1994 in the Burlington Free Press.

The National Cowboy Hall of Fame of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma has scheduled several special events for 1996. These programs include “An Evening with Charles Goodnight” (9 February); the Western Heritage Awards (16 March); the Invitational Cowboy Poetry Gathering (27–28 April); and “Croutons on a Cow Pie” (28 April). For further information on these and other events please contact Dana Sullivant, Director of Public Relations or Amber Hailaba, PR Assistant at 405–478–2250, ext. 259.