Password

THE EL PASO COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Volume 41, No. 3 · El Paso, Texas · Fall, 1996

Graphic Artist	Denise K. Mankin
Historical Society Logo	José Cisneros
Printing	Gateway Printing Co., El Paso
Circulation	Dr. H. D. Garrett

ARTICLES APPEARING IN THIS JOURNAL ARE ABSTRACTED AND INDEXED IN **HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS** and **AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE**

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Membership Secretary, El Paso County Historical Society, P.O. Box 28, El Paso, Texas 79940.
Society Membership of $25.00 per year includes a subscription to PASSWORD.

PASSWORD (ISSN 0031-2738) is published quarterly by
THE EL PASO COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 603 W. Yandell, El Paso, Texas 79902.

Periodicals Postage Paid at El Paso, Texas.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to
PASSWORD
The El Paso County Historical Society
P.O. Box 28
El Paso, Texas 79940

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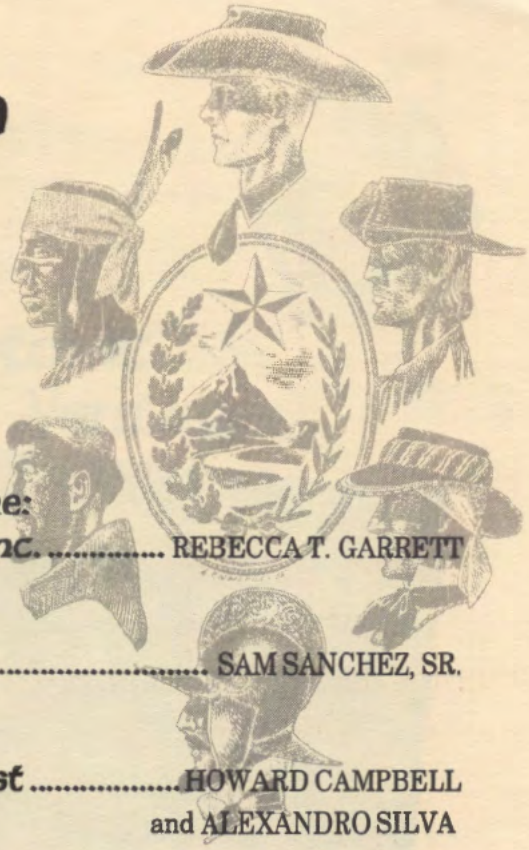
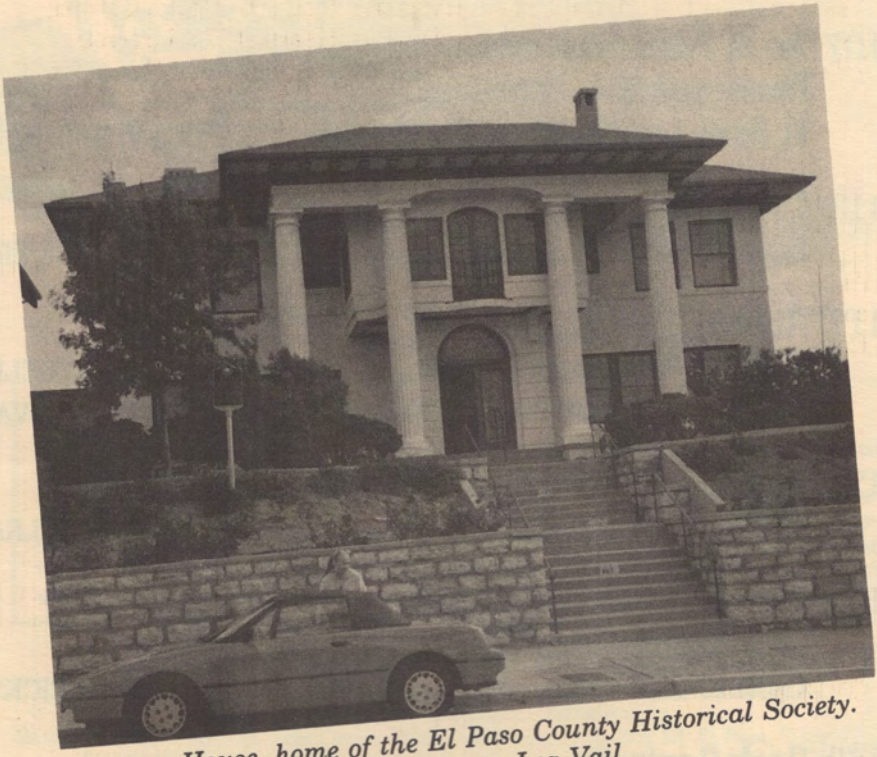
VOLUME 41, NO. 3
FALL, 1996
EL PASO, TEXAS



CONTENTS



Burges House, home of the El Paso County Historical Society.
Photo courtesy Lea Vail

Entered as Periodicals Mail at El Paso, Texas

An El Paso Historic Preservation Venture: El Paso Landmarks, Inc.

By Rebecca T. Garrett

A "windfall" of over $30,000 was presented recently to the El Paso County Historical Society as the final action of El Paso Landmarks, Inc., a group of citizens who organized in 1966 with the intent of restoring, preserving, and maintaining the historical buildings of the county.

This movement owed its origin to the Woman's Department of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, which, as one of its projects in 1964-1965, undertook to buy and restore an historical building known as *Los Portales* on the square in San Elizario. It soon became evident that the project was too ambitious for the Woman's Department to accomplish. The retiring president of the department, Una (Mrs. Maurice) Hill, spearheaded a group of women who were encouraged by the leaders of the community, to continue the effort by forming an independent organization which they named El Paso Landmarks, Inc.

Los Portales could be purchased for $5000, but, before the fund drive began, representatives from the organization met with a number of leaders of San Elizario and its church, as well as citizens of Ysleta and the Lower Valley. The building held many memories since it had, for forty years, housed an elementary school, and further, third, fourth and fifth generation descendants of the man who built the house were still living in the area. The question was—what would be the reaction in San Elizario if an El Paso group bought and restored *Los Portales,* a building that

"Los Portales" housed an elementary school for forty years. Circa 1906. Photo courtesy archives, El Paso County Historical Society.

had been part of the intimate history of San Elizario for more than one hundred years? This question needed examination.

Responding with enthusiastic support, the various persons interviewed spurred the decision to start the fund drive. The steering committee of this new organization included Maurice and Una Hill, Dennis and Fanny Lane, Jerome and Cornelia Owen, Ray and Alice Lockhart, W.W. and Grace Lake, Jack Jr. and Mary Vowell, Frank Jr. and Barbara Gorman, Charles C. Gaither, Ed Carroll, Fred Hervey, who initiated the public subscription by giving $1000, and Jack Ratliff, the attorney who wrote the by-laws and articles of incorporation.

On November 10, 1965, Los Portales was purchased for $5000 from the San Elizario Independent School District. The Texas Historical Landmark Commission plaque on the building states:

> Los Portales (or Casa Garcia) was built about 1855 by a local landowner and rancher, Gregorio Nacenseno Garcia as a family residence. The structure was adobe, built in the territorial style and featured milled wood detailing. Because of its distinctive inset gallery, it became known as Los Portales.[1]

Gregorio N. Garcia was a leading citizen during this period when San Elizario, having a population of 1200, was the first seat of government of El Paso County. In the 1870's the house was con-

verted to a grade school and it remained so until 1922. It housed the first public school in El Paso County.[2]

An organizational meeting of El Paso Landmarks, Inc. was held on February 12, 1966, and the following officers were elected: President-C.C. Gaither; Vice-Presidents-Jack Vowell, Jr., Barton Boling, Jack Ratliff, and Lorenzo Alarcon; Recording Secretary-Mary Ellen (Mrs. Eugene) Porter; Treasurer-Robert Lockhart; Assistant Treasurer–Fanny Lane.

The fund drive to raise the $5000 to purchase *Los Portales* had been successful, and the membership for 1966 had reached nearly two hundred. Many donations were made in addition to the $10 annual membership fee. When *Los Portales* became the property of El Paso Landmarks, Inc., it had long been divided into multifamily dwelling units with some parts uninhabitable because of disrepair. Ed Carroll, American Institute of Architects, prepared the plans and supervised the restoration. The building was found to be structurally sound but in need of a new roof, general carpentry, painting, and re-plastering. Mexican ceramic tile floors were laid throughout, including in the long gallery. The original *vigas* were repaired and preserved.[3]

Landmarks members envisioned that the building would be used as a community center with large areas devoted to a museum displaying and relating San Elizario's two hundred year history. Partitions were changed to accommodate such needs, and two public restrooms and a caretaker's apartment were provided. These additions made it necessary to drill a well, attach a pump, and build a wellhouse.

Funding of $16,000 for this part of the project was made possible through Charles Gaither, president of the Citizens State Bank of Ysleta. The members of Landmarks signed for the loan which would be repaid by an annual payment of $1000 plus interest.

Soon after Landmarks bought *Los Portales* and began its restoration, it received the donation of the remains of another once magnificent structure, the *Casa Ronquillo* (or as described in the deed, "The Palace of the Spanish Viceroy").[4] A five room block was all that remained of the original twelve room house, and that was deteriorating rapidly. The owners, the Jesus S. Levario family, hoped that Landmarks could save the building from destruction by vandals, who had already attacked the structure. Realizing the value of *Casa Ronquillo* as the oldest and most historical building in the area, Lower Valley citizens combined

"Casa Ronquillo" also known as "the Viceroy's Palace," was purchased soon after "Los Portales." Photo courtesy archives, El Paso County Historical Society.

donations with those of the county commissioners to aid Landmarks in securing the edifice.

Restoration began on *Casa Ronquillo.* The roof was restored, cement floors were poured, holes in the adobe (where treasure hunters had dug) were patched, windows and doors were boarded, and a chain link fence was installed around the property. Almost i-mediately the fence disappeared along with the boards on the windows and doors. Owing to the isolated location of the property, all efforts to secure the building from vandals and gangs proved futile.

The museum in *Los Portales* began to take shape. Generous publicity by both El Paso newspapers was given to the activities of Landmarks in San Elizario. Show cases were donated by Harry Shain to display those historical items loaned or given by several San Elizario families. James and Orell Dick gave and had delivered Victorian rosewood furniture which added to the feeling of hospitality. One room became a replica of an old schoolroom, and Jack Vowell Jr. guaranteed the salary of Minerva Sanchez who was contracted to keep the museum open on weekends and on special occasions.

Early in the undertaking, Dr. Eugene O. Porter of the history department of the University of Texas at El Paso was asked to recommend sources to educate the group on San Elizario's history. There was plenty of firmly held oral tradition, some of

which was legend, but there was no written history. From this request developed the first scholarly history of San Elizario. The handsome book, *San Elizario,* with Jose Cisneros' drawings, was not well received by many citizens of San Elizario.[5]

The museum gradually lost its support and the person to manage it, and San Elizario did not use the building as a town meeting hall. By the late 1970's, Landmarks was meeting its obligations through large gifts from a few loyal members. The organization never secured permanent corporate funding.

Charles Gaither, who lived in Lower Valley, volunteered to assume management of *Los Portales* and find renters. With the help of friends in San Elizario, he established some financial security for the project when the San Elizario School District rented the building for storage. After Gaither's death in 1992, Landmarks was re-organized by Maurice and Una Hill for the purpose of disposing of the properties.

The opportunity came when El Paso County was offered a $500,000 grant from the Texas Department of Transportation for the historical enhancement of San Elizario and Socorro Road. Matching funds had to be met by the county, and Landmarks' two properties qualified for that amount.

Landmarks was willing to convey the properties to El Paso County on the condition that "they would be restored and dedicated to historical, cultural, and educational purposes for the benefit of the citizens of the El Paso County and visitors to the San Elizario historic area."[6] The deeds to the two properties, *Los Portales* and *Casa Ronquillo,* were conveyed to the commissioners' court by a deed drawn by attorney Michael Hutson on April 10, 1996.

At the last meeting of El Paso Landmarks, Inc. on December 28, 1994, a distribution of assets was made by adoption of the following resolution:

> Any funds belonging to the corporation be donated as an endowment in memory of Charles C. Gaither to the following 501(c)(3) nonprofit corporation, El Paso County Historical Society, and the interest from this endowment be utilized under the direction of the Burges House Commission.[7]

A check was presented to El Paso Historical Society for $30,150

on May 23, 1996.

Many of those historically-minded members of Landmarks of thirty years ago are no longer living. Doubtless, they left the work feeling that the San Elizario venture into preserving two of the county's oldest and most historic buildings was a thankless, expensive failure.

The records will never show the extent of their dedication, but because of their foresight and tireless efforts, it now appears that the resources of the county and state will combine to save *Casa Ronquillo* (the Viceroy's Palace) and *Los Portales* in order that future generations might have insight into El Paso County's history.

NOTES

1. Plaque, Texas Historical Landmark, 1962.
2. Historical American Building Survey, 1980.
3. Ed Carroll to Rebecca Garrett, July 2, 1996
4. Bill Lockhart, "Casa Ronquillo," *Password,* Vol. 41, No. 2 (Summer, 1996) pp. 71-85.
5. Marshall Hail, "Lower Valley Mission of San Elizario? Well, It Never Existed, Historian Says," *El Paso Herald-Post,* September 30, 1964, pp 1, A-13; "Dr. Cleofas Calleros, Says Prof Adds 'Confusion to Errors,'" *El Paso Herald-Post,* October 7, 1964; Joe Rubio, "San Elizario Controversy: Time Erases All," *Southern Catholic Register,* October 9, 1964, pp 1-2.
6. Agreement with El Paso County, signed May 9, 1995, by County Judge Chuck Mattox and Kenneth K. Bailey, President, Landmarks, Inc.
7. Minutes El Paso Landmarks, Inc., December 28, 1994.

Much of the information in this article was obtained either by conversation or written communication with those individuals still living who were members of the original Landmarks organization. Included in this group are Una Hill, Fanny Lane, Jack Vowell Jr., Ed Carroll, and Cornelia Owen. In addition, the files of Landmarks, Inc. retained and maintained first by Charles Gaither and later by Una Hill were utilized as primary sources of information.

REBECCA TURNER GARRETT, was born in Coleman County in central Texas. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Texas Western College. For fifty years she has been married to H. D. Garrett, M.D.; they have a son and daughter, both living in Texas. Her interests have been varied but in recent years her principal function has been as a member of the Burges House Commission of the El Paso County Historical Society, of which she is a charter member.

Los Portales in San Elizario

By Sam Sanchez, Sr.

The building in San Elizario known as *Los Portales* was erected in the 1850's. It is just one of the many buildings of similar architecture that extended to form the ancient town of San Elizario, such as it was in the nineteenth century.

It is constructed of adobe with thick walls and has a flat roof supported by cottonwood rafters *(vigas)*, saplings, and thatch. The roof is covered with soil and about six inches of adobe clay to keep out the weather. Some buildings are known to have had more than twelve inches of soil and four to six inches of adobe clay on the roof.

El Paso County was formed from the western part of Bexar County in 1850 at the time the dividing line between Texas and New Mexico was resolved. San Elizario, the most prosperous town in the area, became the first county seat of El Paso County.

In visiting San Elizario today, it is only logical to assume that *Los Portales* played an important part in the county's early history. Other buildings surely existed which have since crumbled in the name of progress.

The first county courthouse was located across the street from the jailhouse in a complex of buildings that might have been part of the old Spanish Presidio. The last of these ruined buildings was leveled in the early 1960's.

Gregorio N. Garcia acquired *Los Portales* as his residence. He was Justice of the Peace in the 1860's, and, undoubtedly, occupied some space within *Los Portales* as his judicial office. In the early 1870's, Garcia and his friend Telesforo Montes were serving as Texas Rangers. Many times, the Rangers assembled

in front of *Los Portales* before taking to the field in search of hostile Apaches. In 1877 Garcia was elected county judge and again *Los Portales* experienced much political activity, including the hostilities of the Salt War controversy. Garcia's growing family required a larger home, so the family moved, and *Los Portales* became an educational facility for the youth of the community.

Superintendent Lorenzo G. Alarcon, grandson of Gregorio N. Garcia. Photo courtesy Sam Sanchez, Sr.

Between 1878 and 1884, when Octaviano A. Larrazalo served as school teacher in San Elizario, classes were held in *Los Portales*. In 1884, Larrazalo resigned his position as teacher to become county clerk, but he had to move to the city of El Paso where the county government had just found a permanent home. He went on to become district attorney for West Texas, and later married Maria Garcia of San Elizario and moved to New Mexico. He became governor of the state in 1919. Mr. Larrazalo was serving as a United States Senator in Washington by the late 1920's and was being considered for an ambassadorship when he died in Albuquerque in April, 1930.

Other teachers followed, including Jose Perez, who later was justice of the peace, and Lorenzo G. Alarcon, who was the grandson of Gregorio N. Garcia, and who taught school in *Los Portales* in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Alarcon continued his teaching career until the late 1960's, when he retired as superintendent of schools at San Elizario.

Los Portales was rented out as residential apartments from the 1940's through the early 1960's. By the late 1960's, the building had deteriorated to such an extent that something had to be done if *Los Portales* was to be preserved. The Adobe Horseshoe Theater Restaurant was being constructed and the site was being considered as additional customer parking.

The Woman's Department of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, under the guidance of the Chairman-Director Una Hill, adopted as its project the restoration of *Los Portales*. Before much could be done, Mrs. Hill's term of office ended and her successor adopted another and unrelated project. Many persons, however, believed that the *Los Portales* project was too important to be cast aside and forgotten. A number of historically-minded persons including Maurice and Una Hill, Dennis and Fanny Lane, Jack Jr. and Mary Vowell, and many others, created El Paso Landmarks, Inc. a non-profit organization, to bring the *Los Portales* project to completion.

Los Portales was restored and a tile floor installed. The building was opened, mostly by appointment, to those people interested in viewing it and the articles collected by members of El Paso Landmarks, Inc.

In 1974 Minerva Sanchez served El Paso Landmarks, Inc., as the Director of San Elizario Properties, which included *Casa Ronquillo* located behind the San Elizario Catholic Church. Under her leadership and guidance, and with the help of some of the youth of San Elizario, *Los Portales* enjoyed a beautification program that included landscaping in the back yard and a complete paint job on the outside.

Through the efforts of Mrs. Sanchez and with some help from the El Paso County Historical Society, *Los Portales* rapidly became a tourist attraction as a museum and cultural center.

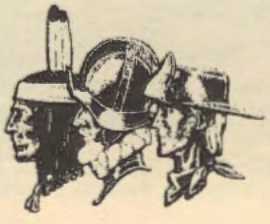
The restored "Los Portales" building in San Elizario. Photo courtesy Sam Sanchez, Sr.

Some of El Paso's finest exhibitions of art were presented there in the annual *Memorias del Pasado* art exhibit. Private collections also found their way to *Los Portales.* One such was the Dorrance Roderick Retablo Collection on loan from the El Paso Museum of Art through the courtesy of El Paso Director of Museums, Leonard Sipiora. Other weekly exhibits included the award winning photos of the Guatemalan earthquake taken by Luis Villalobos while he was on special assignment with the *El Paso Times.* Many other exhibits were held during Mrs. Sanchez' tenure as director.

A special exhibit of works by noted Southwestern artist Peter Hurd of San Patricio, New Mexico was being arranged for *Los Portales* when Mrs. Sanchez relinquished her position.

In the early 1980's, *Los Portales* was serving as classrooms for the Headstart Program of San Elizario. Some walls were constructed inside to make additional classrooms and bathrooms were also constructed. Also the San Elizario Independent School District tax office found space in what might have been the judicial office of Judge Gregorio N. Garcia over a century ago.

SAMUEL SANCHEZ, SR. traces his roots back to the Spanish presidial days of San Elizario. He is a graduate of Clint High School and attended Texas Western College. He and his wife, Minerva, are former directors of the El Paso County Historical Society. He frequently lectures on local history.



Robert Zingg: El Paso Anthropologist

By Howard Campbell and Alexandro Silva

Robert Zingg is the best-known cultural anthropologist to have lived and worked in El Paso for an extended period. Zingg's major works are *The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico* (with Wendell Bennett), *The Huichols: Primitive Artists,* and *Wolf Children and Feral Man* (with J.A.L. Singh). His archaeological publications include *Report on Archaeology of Southern Chihuahua.*

Born in Hugo, Colorado, on April 8, 1900, Zingg died in El Paso on January 3, 1957. His father was superintendent of a school in New Mexico, where Zingg learned Spanish as a child. He gained experience in the language while teaching English in Cuba in the 1920s. After residing in Cuba, Zingg traveled to the Philippines where he lived for five years and worked as an English teacher and later as a salesman for the Goodyear Tire Company. Zingg studied anthropology at the University of Chicago with several famous scholars including Edward Sapir and Robert Redfield. When he received his Doctor of Philosophy degree in anthropology in 1933, his dissertation consisted of an ethnography of the Tarahumara.

Zingg's main fieldwork among the Tarahumara took place between September 1930 and June 1931. It was sponsored by the University of Chicago and was coordinated with Wendell Bennett of Yale University. In 1950 Zingg returned to the Tarahumara domain to conduct additional research. He also conducted almost a year of fieldwork among the Huichols in 1934. Zingg's research on so-called "feral" children in India was tangential to the main body of his work in Northern Mexico, but it attracted some

scholarly attention and controversy.

Zingg's academic affiliations included a two-year stint as a research associate at the University of Chicago in the mid-30s. Subsequently, he worked as a researcher in the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, New Mexico for a year. Another year's research was spent in German universities and museums. Zingg began teaching at the University of Denver in 1937, where he taught until 1942. He held the academic rank of associate professor. During the Second World War, he spent time with the Red Cross in India.

Zingg moved to El Paso in 1947 where he spent the remainder of his life writing articles and working on his manuscripts. As Zingg figuratively put his feelings in his resumé:

> I gained escape from that parroquial Anglo-Saxon atmosphere by coming to the city of El Paso. Here the gentle and melodious murmur of the Spanish language seems to soften our Germanic English, just as our Spanish borderland heritage softens the harshness of the Anglo-Saxon and thus combines the best of both heritages.

While living in El Paso, Zingg founded the Unitarian Church and became its chairman of the board. He delivered frequent lectures in the community, although he never taught at Texas Western College (now the University of Texas at El Paso). Zingg was also an amateur photographer, and, according to his widow, an obsessive collector of artifacts (interview with Emma Zingg, 1993). Many of these artifacts, including Tarahumara and Huichol items, were later donated by his widow to the El Paso Centennial Museum located at the University of Texas at El Paso.

Having three children (Juanita, Henry, and Robert) from a previous marriage, Zingg married Emma, a public school librarian in El Paso in 1947. At the time Zingg was a salesman for *Encyclopedia Brittanica*. The couple built a home in the then upper-middle class suburbs of the Lower Valley at 137 North Pendell Road.

Zingg retained close ties with some of the Tarahumara families he studied, so it was only natural that some of them would stay at his home from time to time. Such was the case in December, 1948, when Zingg arranged for nine Tarahumaras to run from Chihuahua City to El Paso in connection with the Sun Carnival. The nine runners left Chihuahua at 3:05 p.m. on Decem-

ber 27th, but eight of the nine quit running after 150 miles and were carried to El Paso by automobile. Pedro Paseno of Bocoyno, a man in his early thirties, finished the run in forty-four hours. He had run 230 miles and suffered no ill effects except blistered toes, hunger, and sleepiness.

Robert Zingg in his American Red Cross uniform during World War II.

Emma Zingg remembers hosting these runners in her home for about a week after the race. She remembers their halftime appearance at the Sun Bowl football game and how she prepared two meals a day for about a dozen Tarahumara guests. They stayed in the Zingg household for about a week and did yard work for a neighbor family. For Emma, these events revealed her husband's positive feelings toward the Tarahumara, but we do not know if the Tarahumaras' sentiments were reciprocal.

Emma Zingg remembered her husband as a strikingly handsome young man with blond hair that never turned gray. She recalled that he was a serious, generous man who obtained free clothing and other items for the Tarahumara as well as for the poor people of El Paso. Zingg was completely devoted to his work and maintained a constant correspondence with Robert Redfield and other contemporary anthropologists as well as magazine and book publishers. Mrs. Zingg observed that although her husband was not a good photographer, he took many ethnographic photographs. She considered him a good writer when it came to expressing ideas with style, but noted that his grammar left much to be desired.

The Tarahumara, Zingg's first book, was an in-depth study of the Tarahumara Indians, who are described by the authors as "the largest tribe of American Indians north of Mexico City" (p. vii). Typical of the times, this monograph was a comprehensive, descriptive ethnography. (Zingg's unpublished manuscript

Beyond the Mexican Mountains, on the other hand, is a travelogue of his Tarahumara adventures written in a more literary, non-scientific style.) Zingg and Bennett emphasized cultural detail instead of abstract theorizing. Some of the chapters cover Tarahumara agriculture, food, economics, government, and kinship. The focal point of the study was the mountain village of Samachique where the most unacculturated Tarahumara lived. Unlike today's specialized research, Bennett and Zingg combined ethnology and archaeology in their research. Zingg published the bulk of his archaeological research in his *Report on Archeology of Southern Chihuahua,* which focuses on the "Basket-Maker" and "Cave-Dweller" phases of Tarahumara history.

Tarahumara Indians of Burro Corral in their typical clothing. Photo by Robert Zingg in the 1930's.

The Tarahumara is considered a classic work in the ethnographic literature on Northern Mexico. The book was divided into two parts: part I by Zingg addresses Tarahumara material culture and the physical environment, and part II by Bennett deals with ideational and symbolic elements as well as Tarahumara social structure. The work contains many ethnographic photos, a bibliography, and an appendix that consists of a tabular analysis of Sonoran Uto-Aztekan culture. In the final chapter the anthropologists summarize their Tarahumara study as follows:

> The Tarahumaras have proved a valuable group for study because a simple American Indian culture still functions among them in a large tribal entity. Superimposed on this native culture is a thin veneer of Spanish-Indian elements which can be be separated with considerable certainty from the pre-Spanish elements (p. 383).

Zingg's Huichol book, like his Tarahumara ethnography, is a serious scholarly work. The research was sponsored by the University of Chicago and published through the University of

Denver. *The Huichols* is a massive, at times redundant, tome of some eight-hundred pages. It examines Huichol religious organization, belief systems, and art in great detail. The book also contains a number of fine drawings of Huichol artifacts, photographs, and a long biographical sketch of the great Norwegian anthropologist, Carl Lumholtz. The purpose of the study was to check and augment Lumholtz's fieldwork.

Zingg structured his year-long fieldwork among the Huichol into three phases of four months each. The first phase entailed living in a Huichol village and waiting patiently for the local people to acknowledge him. In the second phase Zingg selected several key informants and gradually established rapport with them through gift-giving and flattery. The third phase involved intensive interaction with Huichol people who, according to Zingg, "join[ed] the procession and vie[d] with each other to serve the ethnographer in one or another capacity" (p. xxi).

Especially interesting aspects of the book are the discussions of Huichol myths, idols, ceremonies (including the famed peyote rites), and sacred art objects. Like the Tarahumara book, this work also describes many aspects of subsistence practices and economics. For Zingg, the Huichol epitomized a "primitive" culture. He wrote: "The Huichol is primitive rather than civilized because he works at his religion instead of at his technology. Throughout Huichol culture the emphasis is on the mystical and religious" (p. 774). At one point he observes that "among the Huichols, every adult is an artist."

Overall, Zingg corroborated much of Lumholtz's Huichol ethnography. He also adds some theoretical interpretations of Huichol spiritual practices based on the writings of French social analysts Durkheim and Levy-Bruhl, and the American anthropologist Kroeber. The book concludes with a discussion of the differences between "primitive" and "civilized" peoples and between "genuine" and "spurious" cultures. Although these distinctions seem quite antiquated today, this study is replete with rich detail about Huichol culture that remains valuable to ethnographers. Zingg's admiration for the Huichol people is evident in the last line of the book's preface: "Were the choice mine to have been born an American or a Huichol, I might have chosen the latter way of life though I know of no other that I would have been content to have thus chosen" (p. xxxix).

Wolf Children and Feral Man strays far afield from Zingg's earlier Mexican ethnography. Like his other books, however, this study forcefully promotes an image of scholarly sophistication. In this case, though, academic trappings are taken to near ridiculous extremes. The book contains four forewords and one preface written by professors from major universities, and one introduction by Zingg. Ironically enough, this excessive credentialism regarding the books' authenticity and competence may actually undermine its credibility.

The book deals with a number of cases of purported "wolf-children," that is, human beings who survived in the wilderness without human contact. Zingg's main source of evidence was the Reverend J.A.L. Singh's diary centering on two children whom he claimed to have rescued from wolves in Midnapore, India. The issue of feral man was introduced to science, according to Zingg, by Linnaeus in the 18th century. Singh and Zingg's book was a contribution to debates concerning "extreme cases of human isolation either...of abandoned infants adopted and suckled by animals; or of older children who have wandered away into the forests to survive by their own efforts unaided by human contact" (p. 131).

J.A.L. Singh's diary, as printed in *Wolf Children and Feral Man,* reports on the lives of two Indian children, Kamala and Amala, whom he claimed to have found living wild in a jungle in India in 1920. He said the children were raised by a female wolf which he observed with his own eyes. According to Singh, the "wolf-children" displayed animal-like behaviors such as sleeping "like little pigs, overlapping one another" (p.31). And "...they never slept after midnight and used to love to prowl at nights fearlessly, unlike human children of that age" (p. 31).

In the second half of the book Robert Zingg examines other comparable cases of supposed feral conditions in humans who were viewed as savages or congenital idiots. These included Caspar Hauser, a boy who was kept in a dungeon in Nuremberg for approximately seventeen years. Hauser never learned to speak and was deprived of all human communication. Another classic case was that of "Wild Peter" of 18th century Hanover, Germany. Although Zingg makes few explicit statements about the larger implications of these purported feral humans, his writings seem to conclude that he viewed these cases as legitimate contributions to ongoing debates concerning human nature and

Tarahumara Indians who made the run from Chihuahua to El Paso in December, 1948, and stayed with the Zingg's on Pendell Road. Robert and Emma Zingg are shown. The two young girls are not identified.

the role of culture in the shaping of human beings. On page 118 he notes, "Now I leave it to you to decide between the two factors in human affairs, heredity and the influence of the environment." In this quote he reproduces the tendency of social scientists of the day to frame these issues in dualistic terms.

Reading the book near the end of the twentieth century some of Zingg's claims about the "wolf-children" seem contrived and absurd. For example, Zingg unquestioningly accepts the veracity of Singh's accounts and the photos of Kamala and Amala. Regarding the diary, he claims that "The internal evidence of the Diary itself is the best evidence of its authenticity" (p. xxxv). As concerns the photographs of "feral children" which he treats as more evidence, he states that "poor as some of them are...the twenty-two pictures could not have been posed or faked" (p. xxxvi). The former is an example of self-referentiality leading to circular reasoning. The latter represents an uncritical belief in the objectivity of photographs. Although some persons may be skeptical about Zingg's claims regarding the "wolf-children," the book demonstrates the lingering power of nature vs. nurture debates in the popular and scientific imagination. And his ethnographic studies remain provocative contributions to anthropological literature.

In February, 1954, Zingg lectured on his experiences in the *Barranca del Cobre*. This lecture was sponsored by the Writer's Group of the El Paso Woman's Club. He lectured quite often in his mature years.

At the age of fifty-six Dr. Zingg suffered a coronary attack and died on January 3, 1957. At the time he was chairman of the Board of the First Unitarian Church of El Paso. Charles C. G. Manker officiated at the funeral service held in the Harding and Orr Funeral Home. After the service, Zingg's body was sent to the crematory at Albuquerque.

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HOWARD CAMPBELL, is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Texas at El Paso. He has published widely and recently on the Indians of Mexico, the latest work being *The Politics of Ethnicity in Southern Mexico* published by Vanderbilt Publications in Anthropology. Dr. Campbell and colleague David Carmichael are currently preparing Zingg's unpublished manuscript Beyond the Mexican Mountains for publication by a university press.

ALEXANDRO SILVA, a native El Pasoan, is a graduate student in anthropology at The University of Texas at El Paso.

Yankee Teachers

from

The El Paso Times

October 30, 1896

The lack of discretion in some school teachers, not exactly imported into this western country, but self exported from New England, is glaringly apparent in cases like the one reported yesterday by the Albuquerque Democrat. It records the following:

It is reported that one of the teachers in the Third ward school addressed her pupils on politics yesterday, and after telling them that she though (sic) McKinley was the right man, took a vote of the room and of course a majority sided with the teacher. She then explained to them why it was that the students in that Chicago college threw eggs at the Democratic procession—because they considered it a disgrace to have a man like Bryan pass through their street.

Then these women are surprised when a southern or western board of school trustees tells them their objections to giving employment to this narrow minded class of self exported school marms.

That teacher in Albuquerque should be made an example of what is due her class of women. Let her disgrace be made known clear to Maine. If such an occurrence had taken place in El Paso the TIMES would print the name of the offender and would insist on her expulsion. No persons so narrow of brain is fit to teach in a school. Send her back where she belongs until she can learn the rudiments of learning which she now ignores.

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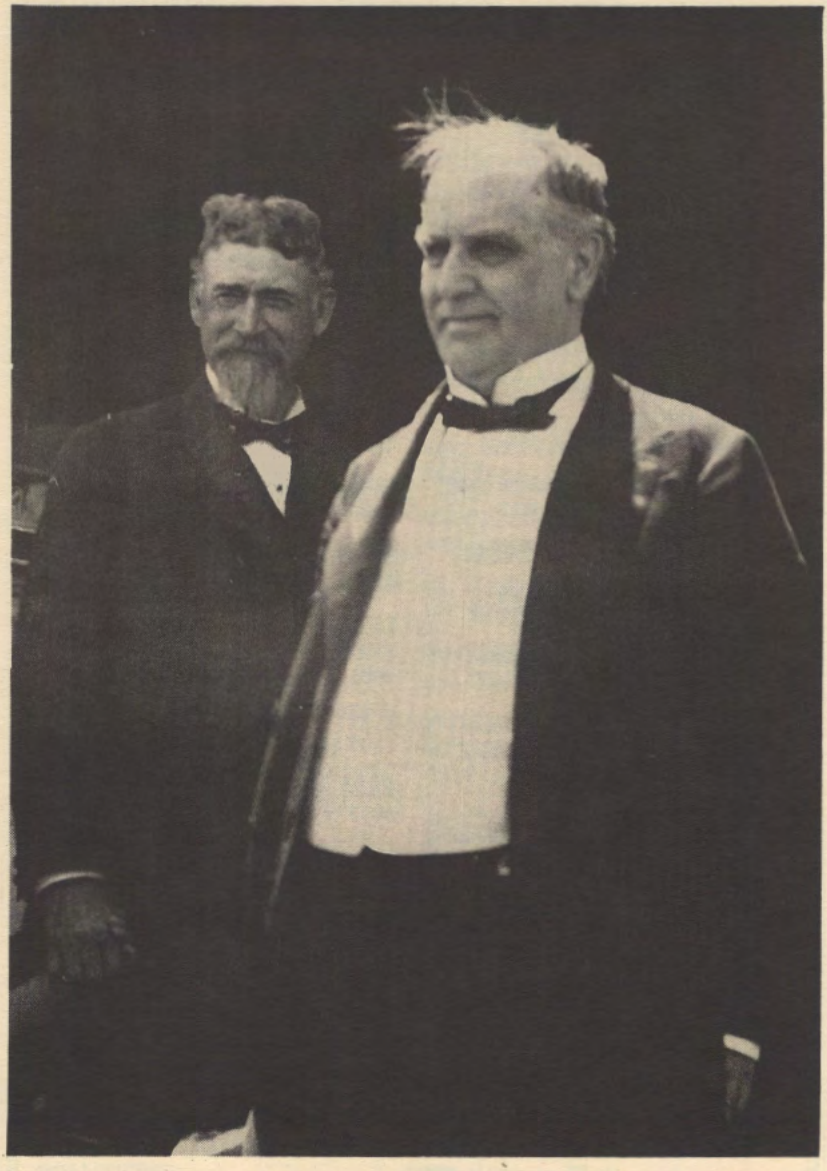

President William McKinley in El Paso, May, 1901. The man standing behind McKinley to the left is Charles R. Morehead, a founder of State National Bank. Photo courtesy James D. Lea

President McKinley's Visit to El Paso

By James D. Lea

President William McKinley stopped in El Paso for two days in May, 1901. The visit was part of a long swing through the South and West to celebrate his inauguration to a second term. The presidential train carried his wife, his aides, several members of his cabinet, many invited guests, and a number of representatives of the press. His new vice-president, Theodore Roosevelt, did not accompany him.

The president had come through some of the principal cities of the South, notably Memphis, New Orleans, Houston, and San Antonio. In a prior southern tour, he had emphasized the unity of the nation in an effort to dispel the lingering divisiveness of the Civil War. This message of unity, coupled with the imminent withdrawal of American troops from the military occupation of Cuba and its approaching independence, combined to make him a popular president. On this new tour, he planned to develop the theme of foreign markets and an open door policy for cotton exports to the Far East.

The western states reveled in the tour, since it acknowledged their growing importance to the nation. Each state and city he had visited tried to outdo the others in pomp and ceremony.

Now it was El Paso's turn.

President McKinley's train arrived in El Paso from San Antonio on Sunday morning, May 5. The city had made no formal plans for a welcome ceremony for that day, allowing the president's party a day of rest before the grand parade planned for Monday. Some of the president's party, including the president, retired to the Sheldon Hotel, where they were guests of the hotel.

The parade for President McKinley coming down San Antonio Street, on its way to the little plaza and the Sheldon Hotel. The Wigwam Bar is to the right. The banner over the street reads "Headquarters for the Redmen, Eagles and Elks."

The members of the press stayed at the Orndorff Hotel. The president, his wife, and some of his party planned to attend church services on Sunday at the Methodist Church on Myrtle Street.

The visiting members of the press corps were invited to a banquet at the Sheldon Hotel dining room on Sunday evening, and treated "in press style" with only extemporaneous speeches permitted by both hosts and guests. The party went on until the early hours of morning, and it was promised that "he who follows them will do much and see more." The banquet was obviously successful, as many of the newspaper men who attended were not present at the parade the next day.

On Monday morning, May 6, "the visitors were treated to a breakfast of Mexican delicacies...which they appeared to enjoy very much, but it was noticeable that later several members of the party wanted a light repast." Following the breakfast, the presidential party was officially welcomed to El Paso with a parade which was nearly two miles long. The streets and sidewalks had been lined with onlookers for hours, and the crowds were large, particularly around the little plaza. The parade began on the north side of the Sheldon Hotel, went east to Campbell Street, turned south to San Antonio Street, went north on El Paso Street,

and finally ended near where it began, next to the Sheldon Hotel in the little plaza.

President McKinley, Mayor B. F. Hammett, and General Juan A. Hernandez, commander of the second military zone of Mexico and the personal representative of President Porfirio Diaz, were in the first carriage, which was preceded in the march by a battalion of police led by the Mexican military band from Chihuahua, by grand marshal Charles Davis and his aides, by the Border Rifles, and by members of the Confederate Veterans and the Grand Army of the Republic. Other carriages in the procession carried cabinet members and local and visiting dignitaries. When the parade approached Mesa, it collided with the carriages of the ladies who were just starting to Juárez where they were to be entertained at breakfast. The ladies ordered a halt and remained in good position to view the procession from first to last. Mrs. McKinley was in the front carriage with Dr. Rixie, her personal physician, and Mrs. B. G. Hammett and seemed to enjoy the parade heartily.

The most beautiful part of the parade was a procession of twelve hundred schoolchildren, beginning with the kindergarten students, and arranged according to size, forming a stair-step appearance from beginning to end. They carried American flags and placards containing patriotic sayings and an excerpt from one of McKinley's speeches on education. They marched to the music of McGinty's Band. When the parade ended at the Sheldon Hotel, some of the schoolchildren joined the president and his party on the platform and sang two "national airs," including "America." As the president "stood listening intently, his lips followed the words of the national anthem and his fingers beat time on the rim of his hat."

Mayor Hammett then introduced Captain Thomas J. Beall, who made the welcoming address. Captain Beall was succeeded by General Hernandez, who also welcomed President McKinley in the name of President Porfirio Diaz of Mexico. Governor Miguel Ahumada of the State of Chihuahua then added his welcome.

The president rose to thunderous applause, and responded with thanks to the citizens of El Paso and Mexico. He praised the hospitality of his hosts and thanked the many visitors, expressing his desire to return some day to journey into Mexico—a journey forbidden to American presidents who, until then by tra-

dition, never left the country. He finally paid tribute to the unity of the American people, and emphasized the peaceful methods which the nation always attempted to use in settling its differences: "We know no imperialism in the United States except the imperial powers of the sovereign people."

The crowd then called for a speech from Secretary of State John Hay. The secretary thanked the citizens of El Paso and "...the last distinctly southern state which we can visit," and commented on the "assurances of all the great powers of the earth that our equal right to trade in China shall be respected forever," and "that...the whole matter [of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, owned and controlled by the United States for the benefit of the world at large] will be settled satisfactorily to the people of the United States, and it will be due to the influence and persistence of the president."

Following Secretary Hay's words, Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock, and Postmaster General Charles Emery Smith also thanked the citizens and praised them for their patriotism and enterprise.

At the conclusion of the speeches, President McKinley expressed a desire to meet the old soldiers of the Confederacy and the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) As they came forward he

Schoolchildren parading west on San Antonio Street, with a sign quoting one of McKinley's speeches on education. The schoolchildren's part of the parade was notable enough to be mentioned in the El Paso Daily Herald and several national newspapers.

President McKinley speaking to the citizens of El Paso. He is standing on a platform under an awning on the west side of the Sheldon Hotel, facing the little plaza.

said to the first man in line, 'Comrade, I am glad to see you.' To each and every one he had some kind or appropriate word. The desire to shake hands with the president, however, became so general and the crush became so great that the president was compelled to leave the stand.

The president and his party began their journey westward that afternoon, through New Mexico and Arizona to San Francisco, where he would christen the battleship "Ohio," named after the state of his birth. The demonstration at the Southern Pacific depot was immense. Four bands played, and policemen had to clear the tracks of onlookers so that the president's train might proceed. The president continued to wave from the rear platform until the train was out of sight.

A sad footnote to El Paso's reception of President William McKinley was provided by the El Paso *Daily Herald* reporter describing the festivities:

> One thing that seems queer to the vast majority of citizens is the fact that the president goes from place to place entirely unattended and unguarded. Should an assassin desire to take his life it would be a comparativey easy matter for him to carry out his design and escape. Yesterday when the president drove to the church there was not a policeman or other officer in sight. It is

> customary for the president to have no body guard, but to many people it seems strange that sensible precautions are not taken to protect the ruler of a great nation. It seems that common prudence would dictate such a course. However, republican simplicity abhors all the customs of European courts and the president must take the same chances as any other man, although history bears evidence of the bloody work of assassins in this country. In reality the president stands little chance of losing his life, but to the monarchs of Europe his utter disregard of danger must appear ludicrous.

Four months later, on September 6, 1901, President McKinley was felled by a shot from the assassin Leon Czolgosz at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. He died on September 14, 1901.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank his parents, Tom and Sarah Lea, and friend Libby Shaw, for preserving the glass negatives from which these pictures were made. The four pictures in this article are part of a set of about ninety glass and film negatives taken in and around El Paso from the late 1890's to 1905. The photographer is unknown.

The author also wishes to thank Chuck Hamilton, the photograph archivist at the Houston Public Library / Houston Metropolitan Research Center, for his skill, interest, and dedication in enlarging the figures for this article.

JAMES D. LEA grew up in El Paso and graduated from Austin High School and Texas Western College. Following two years in the United States Army, he graduated with a doctorate in physics from the University of Texas at Austin. He spent thirty years as a geophysical advisor with an oil company, retiring in 1991. He married Doris Walker of El Paso. They have two daughters and two grandsons.

Fraud in the Lower Valley: *The Rancho de Ysleta* Grant Claim

By Rick Hendricks

On 26 May 1825, the Mexican State of Chihuahua enacted colonization law containing several articles that had an immediate impact on land tenure in the *El Paso del Norte* area. Section 2, Articles 14 and 15 established a junta in Chihuahua charged with examining land-title registrations, land purchases, and sales. Article 16 stated that land legitimately acquired by or assigned to old communities (such as Ysleta), for their establishment and settlement and under their control, was theirs. Article 18 instructed town councils or judges to fix monuments and limits for *ejidos,* or common land; to report on public funds and notify the government of having complied with this order; and to consult authorities in Chihuahua should questions arise. Article 19 provided that in communities that did not have documents relative to their common land, the governor of the state would order the corresponding file prepared.[1]

On 24 August 1825, the Colonization Commission communicated a decree from the interim governor of Chihuahua and the consultative junta, which necessitated the enforcement of the colonization law in the *El Paso del Norte* area. In fulfillment of this decree, Félix Pasos, alcalde of El Paso del Norte, surveyed the lands belonging to Ysleta beginning on 1 November 1825. This doccment records the first known survey of the lands held to be those of Ysleta.[2] Several results of Pasos's survey bear directly on the putative, subsequent application of the citizens of Ysleta for an additional community grazing grant, the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant.

After completing the measuring of the four sides of the Ysleta grant, Pasos recorded his observations of the land within the grant and the extant documentation about the grant. The survey clearly showed that Ysleta was utilizing all the land in the area of the original 1751 grant.[3] At that time Ysletans probably had numbered between 330 and 350.[4] In the second half of the eighteenth century and in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the population of Ysleta remained fairly steady, hovering around 450.[5] By 1825, however, there were between 550 and 750 people living in Ysleta. Moreover, the entire *El Paso del Norte* area was rapidly growing and available vacant land was fast disappearing.[6]

Given these circumstances, it was logical for Ysleta to request additional land from the government in Chihuahua. Allegedly, this was done on 9 July 1828, when the citizens of Ysleta petitioned Governor José Antonio Arce.[7] According to the petition, all the land confirmed in 1825 was under cultivation. Because of the great increase in cattle, horses, and sheep the originally granted land was no longer sufficient for pasturing their livestock. Therefore, they requested land in the vicinity of *Sierra Alta,* including Hueco Tanks and the *Ojo de los Alamos,* the only water sources available. They gave the population of Ysleta as 815, comprising 184 families and individuals, more than double the population in 1751. Their livestock numbered several thousands.

Governor Arce communicated to the *alcalde* of El Paso the decision of the Second Constitutional Congress of the State of Chihuahua on 13 August 1828. The request was granted to the petitioners; they were given a community grant not to exceed one league per head of household. The governor also ordered the *alcalde* to survey the land and prepare the necessary documents for the protection of the petitioners, their heirs, and successors.

The *alcalde* convened a community meeting in Ysleta on 5 September 1828. According to the Act of Possession, all the residents of Ysleta were present; Martín Luján, José Apodaca, Cesario Telles, and Juan García were mentioned by name. The *alcalde* gave the chain carriers, Joaquín Molina and Juan Lucero, a 110-vara cord. The talley keeper was Jesús Provencio. The survey party proceeded to the west side of *Loma del Tigua,* which marked the northeast corner of the original Ysleta grant, and began the survey of the community grazing grant.[8] When the survey was concluded, the *alcalde* gave to the citizens of Ysleta the

possession of the land, which amounted to 186 leagues or 823,606 acres; he also gave them a written title. On 24 September 1834, the Constitutional Congress of the State of Chihuahua confirmed and ratified the grant.[9]

No further action was recorded regarding the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant until July 1855. At that time the Rio Grande Commission was in El Paso County to examine grant titles in the western part of the state.[10] While the Commission was in El Paso County, the citizens of Ysleta obtained a certified copy of the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant from the Mexican archives of *El Paso del Norte*. The claimants would later allege that the commission failed to recommend confirmation of the grant because it exceeded the limit of eleven leagues spelled out in Section 1 of the act of February 1854 of the Texas State Legislature, which had established the Rio Grande Commission.[11]

In July 1887 the City of Ysleta contracted with John P. Randolph to act as its attorney in an effort to recover land at or near Hueco Tanks, twenty-five miles northeast of El Paso, known as the *Rancho de Ysleta*. By the terms of the agreement, Randolph stood to earn a one-half interest in the grant. On 1 September 1888, Randolph recorded the certified copy of the grant papers with El Paso County, including the 1834 ratification by the Congress of the State of Chihuahua.[12]

On 28 February 1889, Randolph caused a "trespass to try title" suit to be filed in the 34th Judicial District Court of El Paso County against Charles J. Canda, Simeon J. Drake, and William Straus of New York City as trustees of the Texas Pacific Land Trust.[13] The firm of Merchant, Teel & Wilcox filed the suit as attorneys for the plaintiff.[14] The Texas and Pacific Railway Company had received land certificates from the State of Texas for having built a railroad from Texarkana to Fort Worth. One hundred ninety-three sections that had been located and patented in the El Paso area conflicted with the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant, which had passed to the trustees of the Texas Pacific Land Trust when the railroad went into receivership in 1885.[15]

Ysleta revoked its agreement with Randolph toward the end of 1889, stating that he had failed to carry out the terms of their contract.[16] By January 1890, however, Randolph was back on the case. He hired Ludwig Heldt to survey and plat the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant. His survey, completed on 10 June 1890, found the grant to contain 716,510 acres.[17]

In 1892 Randolph brought suit before the Court of Private Land Claims, which had been established the previous year. While he outlined the entire *Rancho de Ysleta* grant claim, Randolph only sought a ruling on the 65,628 acres located in what was then Doña Ana County (now Otero County), New Mexico.[18] At this point the attorneys for the Texas Pacific Land Trust charged that the grant papers were forgeries. Someone had altered the date of the copy of the grant title which had been certified by the archivist of *El Paso del Norte,* Pilar de Laso, from 1855 to 1853. Randolph offered no explanation and made no further effort to have the grant recognized.[19]

Ernest Dale Owen, a Chicago attorney, entered into a contract with the City of Ysleta in August 1894 to perfect the city's title to the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant in exchange for an option to purchase the entire grant for ten cents an acre. Owen continued with the case before the Court of Private Land Claims, following Randolph's strategy of seeking a judgment on the New Mexico portion of the claim.[20] In early September Owen filed an amended petition with the Court of Private Land Claims in which he offered an explanation of the loss of the original grant documents. He stated that when the Rio Grande Commission was in El Paso to examine grant titles, the citizens of Ysleta had obtained a certified copy of the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant from the Mexican archives of *El Paso del Norte,* which was certified by Pilar de Laso. The Commission carried several original documents relating to large land grants back to Austin for further study, where they were destroyed by a fire in 1881. Owen was apparently unaware that the report of the Commission was already missing by 1858.[21]

The United States Attorney for the Court of Private Land Claims, Matthew Givens Reynolds, filed his answer on 3 August 1894. Reynolds denied everything claimed by the City of Ysleta in its petition and made a number of serious accusations. He stated that he could not form an opinion about whether the plaintiff was a municipal corporation under Texas law, but he denied that it was the lawful successor to the "ancient pueblo of *San Antonio de Ysleta.*" Reynolds denied that *San Antonio de Ysleta* had ever existed on or owned the tract of land in El Paso County and in New Mexico Territory described in the petition.[22]

He also denied that the land had been granted to Ysleta on 13 August 1828 by Jose Antonio Arce, governor of Chihuahua, and denied that the grant was confirmed by the Second Constitutional Congress of Chihuahua. Reynolds further denied that the alcalde of El Paso lawfully surveyed the grant in 1828 or granted possession of it. He denied that the City of Ysleta had uninterrupted possession of the land or that they were in possession of it at that time. Reynolds challenged the claim that Chihuahua had the right to make such a grant, denying that it had possession of the area at the time of the decree. He denied that a grant document was issued by the State of Chihuahua or that they had the authority to do so. The United States Attorney also denied that the copy of the alleged title papers filed with the petition was executed by a lawful Mexican authority: national, state, or local. To support this allegation, Reynolds included two affidavits from the archivist of the *Secretaría de Gobierno* of the State of Chihuahua, Ricardo Dozal, indicating that he had examined the archives on 18 June 1894 and found no documentation relating to the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant.

José María Varela, archivist of the *Jefatura Política del Distrito Bravo y del Ayuntamiento de Ciudad Juárez,* prepared an affidavit, which Reynolds also filed. Varela stated that he had examined the archives on 25 June 1894 and failed to locate any document referring to the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant. Reynolds then charged that the grant document was a forgery and had been antedated. It was neither a lawful nor an attempted lawful act of the Republic of Mexico the State of Chihuahua. He denied that the grant had a lawful origin or that its boundaries had ever been defined by any tribunal or official with the authority to dispose of public land belonging to the Republic of Mexico or the State of Chihuahua.

United States Attorney Reynolds concluded his answer by stating that neither Mexico nor Texas, in their respective sovereign capacity, had ever recognized the plaintiff's claim. In the event that the claim was ruled genuine, however, Reynolds wanted it known that such grants were only for temporary use and never conveyed absolute title. On behalf of the United States, he requested that the claim be rejected and the petition dismissed.

Chief Justice Joseph R. Reed delivered the unanimous decision of the Court of Private Land Claims on 27 September 1894. While there was unanimity that the claim should be rejected, the

court was not in agreement over the grounds. Some members of the court felt that the plaintiff had failed to present sufficient evidence to prove the existence of a valid grant, given that the copy was "not so authentic as to render it competent." Chief Justice Reed stated that it was not appropriate for him to indicate whether he agreed or disagreed with that position. He had come to a conclusion before arriving at that point. Reed stated that he had based his decision on his view that the City of Ysleta was within the boundaries of the State of Texas when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. In Reed's opinion, even were the claim valid, it was protected by the constitution from the time of Texas' admission into the Union and not subject to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Ysleta could not bring suit before the Court of Private Land Claims on the grounds that the court had no jurisdiction over the claim.

On 13 September 1894, Owen and Zeno B. Clardy had filed another "trespass to try title" suit on behalf of the City of Ysleta in the 34th Judicial District Court of El Paso County against the trustees of the Pacific Land Trust.[23] A "Notice to Serve" was also filed in the District Court of El Paso County on 13 September by which the defendants were to be cited to answer the plaintiff's petition. On 2 October 1894, Thomas Murphy, Deputy Sheriff for the City and County of New York, reported that he had served the notice on Canda on 18 September. He further certified on the 27th that he had not been able to locate Drake or Straus. A note on the wrapper of the "Notice to Serve" indicated that Drake was in the Adirondacks and would not return for a month.

Meanwhile in El Paso, on 1 October the firm of Davis, Beall, and Kemp, acting for the defendant, requested that the case be removed to the United States Circuit Court for the Western District of Texas. The petition was based on the fact that Canda, Strauss, and Drake were not residents of Texas, the state where the suit was being brought, and because it was a civil suit in which the matter in dispute exceeded the value of $2,000. It was determined that proper grounds for removal had been shown and the removal was so ordered. Judge T.S. Maxey upheld this ruling on 16 April 1895, finding that a municipal corporation was a citizen of the state that created it.[24]

Judge Maxey had previously ruled in the José Lerma grant case that a certified copy of the file of an alleged Mexican land

grant was not sufficient evidence to establish its validity when there was no evidence of the grant in Mexican archives. This decision had been confirmed by the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. In the face of such adverse precedents, Owen decided not to pursue the case, which was formally dismissed on 21 October 1899.[25]

The decision handed down by Chief Justice Reed of the Court of Private Land Claims was clearly in keeping with the position of the United States Supreme Court with respect to Texas land under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In 1856 the court ruled, in *McKiney v. Saviego,* that the treaty did not apply to any land within the acknowledged limits of the State of Texas because the Republic of Texas had been recognized as existing independently from Mexico for many years.[26] Given that the City of Ysleta was in Texas, Reed ruled that it could not sue in the Court of Private Land Claims. Yet the matter placed before the court was more complex. To be sure Ysleta was in Texas, but the land it was specifically suing to recover, 65,628 acres, all lay within New Mexico and had never been officially acknowledged by the United States as being within the limits of the Republic of Texas, although Texas had laid claim to it. Reed's decision failed to address this aspect of the claim, which was the point on which the court had been asked to rule.

If Reynolds had other evidence proving the grant documents to be false, he failed to disclose it. Thus it would seem that precedent set by the United States Supreme Court in its restrictive interpretation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, rather than the acceptance of Reynolds's denials and allegations, prevented a thorough examination of the considerable apparent merits of the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant claim or a full disclosure of Reynold's claim of fraud. Moreover, this negative decision was cemented by subsequent conservative interpretations of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with respect to Spanish and Mexican land grants in Supreme Court rulings in 1897 and by similar adverse rulings by the Court of Private Land Claims.

Yet there may have been evidence of a complex fraud, which was not made public at the time, but somehow influenced the rulings. Just such a conspiracy is revealed by examining the title chain of land deeded within the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant boundaries. As has been noted, El Paso surveyor John P. Randolph

had entered into a contract with the mayor of the City of Ysleta, Charles Kerber, which was filed on 16 July 1887. Randolph was given power of attorney to recover the land encompassed by the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant in exchange for a conveyance of half of whatever he recovered.[27] Two days later, Randolph conveyed land to B. P. Eubank, a surveyor and lawyer. Eubank was to pay half of the expenses and court costs and provide legal services related to the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant case in exchange for half of Randolph's share of the grant. According to the deed, this was reckoned to be 90,000 acres.[28]

On 6 September 1888, Randolph drafted a special warranty deed for one undivided league out of his share of the grant to Eubank in full settlement of their previous contract. An additional $1,500 was paid to Eubank, who filed a release from the contract. Randolph then made out another special warranty deed for one undivided league out of his share of the grant to G. W. Wahl. As payment, Randolph received $448.[29]

By December Randolph had selected another law firm to handle the *Rancho de Ysleta* claim. On the twenty-eighth, he filed an agreement with M.B. Merchant and Travanion T. Teel by which Randolph conveyed an undivided eighth of his share of the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant in exchange for legal services.[30]

Randolph filed a warranty deed on 3 September 1889 that conveyed an undivided sixteenth of his share of the grant to R. B. Hooker. Randolph received $500 for this portion of the grant. The next day, another agreement was filed whereby Randolph conveyed another eighth of his part of the grant to H. R. Hillebrand in exchange for his assistance with the case. On 6 September, for the sum of $865, Victor Ochoa, the federal interpreter for the Western District of Texas, obtained from Randolph an undivided half of Randolph's part of the grant. The fee owed to the law firm of Stanton and Nugent had been deducted beforehand. By a "contract to quiet title" of the same date, Stanton and Nugent were to receive a fourth of an undivided half of Randolph's share of the grant after deducting the fees of Merchant and Teel and Eubank and an undivided third of whatever was recovered from them.[31]

Despite all these moves, a new city council of Ysleta, headed by a new mayor, revoked Randolph's power of attorney and contract on 4 November for failure to comply.[32] That revocation

notwithstanding, however, on 12 November 1889, Randolph filed a lease agreement with P. F. Black for 5,000 acres, in the shape of a square, of which Hueco Tanks was the center. Black was to pay Randolph $1,000 per year for the term of the lease, which was to expire when the case of *Ysleta v. Canda* was decided. In the meantime, Black was to control the water at Hueco Tanks, putting the tanks in good condition. Furthermore, he was to report trespassers and protect the timber and grass on the property.[33]

The following January, the mayor and city council of Ysleta again contracted with Randolph to recover the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant lands and they granted him their power of attorney. The terms of the contract, which was filed on 24 January 1890, again called for Randolph to receive half of whatever he recovered. Randolph was to have the grant mapped and monumented, delivering a survey and field notes to the City of Ysleta within a month's time. He was to demand and receive from the State of Texas and the United States government patents or confirmation for the land. Randolph was empowered to make contracts, sales, compromises, and leases with adverse claimants as he saw fit, but was directed not to make any lease for more than two years without the approval of the mayor and city council.[34]

That same day, Randolph filed a new agreement arranging for H. R. Hillebrand to assist him and pay one fourth of the expenses in exchange for one fourth of Randolph's half share of the grant. This agreement replaced their earlier one. Hillebrand immediately conveyed to Sylvester Rodemacher an undivided five leagues to be deeded as soon as the title was settled.[35]

Eubank made out a special warranty deed to A. Courchesne for one undivided league and filed it on 8 February. This was the same piece of property earlier conveyed to Eubank by Randolph. In compensation for his land Eubank received $300.[36]

Hillebrand, Ochoa, and Hooker filed a quit claim deed on 7 May 1890 by which they conveyed to W. A. Morehouse sixteen undivided sections, consisting of 10,240 acres. Also on that day, Randolph filed an agreement with Ludwig Heldt to survey and monument the grant at his own expense. For his services he was to receive as full compensation the quit claim deed to the Morehouse land. Morehouse duly filed the quit claim conveying land to Heldt on 27 June. Held was to receive an undivided third of sixteen undivided sections. On that same day, Heldt immediately filed a quit claim by which P. E. Kern was to receive an

undivided 2,000 acres for the sum of $1,000.[37]

Victor Ochoa filed a special warranty deed on 1 September 1890, conveying the undivided fourth share of the grant he had previously received, to Hillebrand for $1,100. Two days later, Hillebrand filed a quitclaim deed that conveyed five undivided leagues to M. J. Kohlberg for $10 and goods equal to its unspecified value. Also on 3 September, Randolph and Ochoa ratified deeds filed on that date.[38]

On 13 April 1892, T.T. Teel filed a quit claim deed that conveyed to F. Moore 1,000 undivided acres for $150.[39] By the end of April, the Tiguas had learned what was happening with Randolph's activities with the City of Ysleta. On the twenty-eighth, a long list of tribal members granted power of attorney to Sostenos González, Crecencio Márquez, and Mariano Colmeneros to recover the land encompassed by the *La Prieta* grant. The document the Tiguas prepared was confusing in that it claimed that Ysleta had been party to the *La Prieta* grant along with Socorro and San Elizario, whereas *La Prieta* grant really involved only the latter two communities. They further confused their original 1751 grant with the putative second grant, which was said to have been confirmed in 1834.[40]

On 8 June 1892, F. Moore filed a quit claim deed conveying 250 undivided acres to J. D. Hammett. P. H. Kern filed a quit claim on 29 December 1892. For the sum of $1,000, he conveyed to H. de Houck 2,000 undivided acres. No further transactions took place until the following April. On 29 April 1893, R.B. Hooker of Monroe County, Arkansas granted his power of attorney to Randolph to manage and sell his interest in the grant and he filed a warranty deed conveying to H.R. Hillebrand all right, title, and interest in the grant. Hillebrand filed a deed of trust on 30 March 1894 naming A. Courchesne as trustee to secure for himself and others fifty-one undivided leagues.[41]

The City of Ysleta contracted with a new lawyer, Ernest Dale Owen of Chicago, on 18 August 1894. Owen was to perfect and clear title and in exchange for his services he was to have the option of purchasing the city's half of the grant for ten cents an acre, payable within 180 days of perfecting title at the First National Bank of El Paso. Two days later, T. T. Teel filed a contract by which Owen would perfect title in exchange for half of the grant; when the title was perfected, Teel was to convey to

Owen his interest for ten cents an acre.[42] This was the final land transaction involving the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant because the unfavorable decision of the Court of Private Land Claims in September 1894 effectively ended traffic in grant land.

To date no trace of the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant has been found in Mexican archives. The term *Rancho de Ysleta* and that of its companion, the *La Prieta* grant, are not present in the historical record of *El Paso del Norte* as preserved in the *Ciudad Juárez* Municipal Archives. No document was found in 1894 nor has any surfaced in that repository mentioning either grant. Nor does any document in the archives of Chihuahua make reference to either, much less prove the existence of the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant. This silence reigns over the grant and the subsequent dispute between Ysleta and Socorro and San Elizario and the confirmation of the grant by the Chihuahuan congress in 1834.[43]

According to the documents presented to the Court of Private Land Claims, the original July 1828 petition to Governor Arce of Chihuahua was made by Juan José Apodaca on behalf of the town of Ysleta. It has been impossible to establish that an individual by that name ever lived in Ysleta or acted on behalf of the town. In the September 1828 survey, four individuals were described as citizens of Ysleta: Martín Luján, José Apodaca, Cesario Telles, and Juan García. None can be placed in Ysleta, or indeed, anywhere in the El Paso area before 1846. A José Apodaca was constable by 1860, but he was only ten years of age in 1828, and others of that name were not prominent in Ysleta until the 1850s at the earliest. Juan García was a councilman by 1859 and a former mayor in the 1870s. Cesario Telles, age sixteen in 1860, emerged as a leading community figure in the 1870s. The only Martín Luján who can be positively identified in the El Paso area around the time of these documents would have been seventeen years of age in 1828. The chain carriers and tally-keeper, Joaquín Molina, Juan Lucero, and Jesús Provencio, are not associated with Ysleta. The same is true for the witnesses: José Velarde, José Valdis, Jesús López, Juan María Varela and José Alveres. Judge Agapito Albo likewise cannot be placed in Ysleta.[44]

The failure to place any of the individuals named in the several documents related to the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant in Ysleta cast serious doubts on the validity of the documents. A plausible

explanation is that the Charles Kerber administration, in league with Randolph (and later Owens), conspired with a number of individuals to perpetrate a land swindle, whereby they attempted to obtain title to the land within boundaries of the fraudulent *Rancho de Ysleta* grant at the same time that they were selling parcels to unsuspecting investors. The participation of Victor Ochoa, federal interpreter for the Western District of Texas, in the land transactions relating to the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant began as early as September 1889 and lasted for at least a year. In November 1889 Ochoa had prepared and filed the translations of the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant documents. As a willing conspirator, Ochoa would have had the experience and skill to prepare the fraudulent Spanish "copy," of which only a subsequent "transcription" exists and the translations; or he might well have been duped into translating a "copy" of questionable origins; or he might have become a co-conspirator at that point.

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What seems to have occurred is that the swindlers reached into Ysleta's past for the surnames of Hispanic families and the names of prominent individuals from the previous generation. They erred by not going far enough back in time, resulting in an act of possession of a grant of land to a group of teenage (and younger) boys who were supposedly the leading citizens of Ysleta. Moreover, these individuals had somehow risen to prominence since the time of the 1825 survey of the Ysleta grant and all disappeared by the time of the 1841 boundary dispute with *Senecú*. Further evidence that this grant is spurious comes from the report of Ysleta *alcalde* Francisco de Paulo Pasos on land in Ysleta in 1835. *Alcalde* Pasos stated that Ysleta owned only one league in each direction. It is not credible that he would have neglected to mention the newly confirmed *Rancho de Ysleta* grant had such a grant been made.[45]

Only two pieces of evidence suggest that a supplemental grant was made to Ysleta beyond the original Ysleta grant of 1751. The first is the previously mentioned power of attorney

granted in 1892 by tribal members to prepare legal action to protect Tigua rights to the *La Prieta* grant. But even this document does not make reference to the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant and it is in error in stating the basic facts being adjudicated regarding that grant, to which Ysleta was not a party. The most logical explanation for the confusion in this document is that tribal leaders learned after the fact what the town of Ysleta and Randolph were about and felt obliged to make some effort to stop them. Therefore the tribe's document closely reflects the claims put forth in the putative 1828 grant documents.

A final piece of evidence is suggestive of a second grant, but this evidence is directly at odds with the circumstances of the copies of the 1828 petition and the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant. In 1931 Manuel Ortega, a one-hundred-year-old Tigua chief, recounted a story dating from before his birth. According to the story, Tiguas were rewarded by the government in Chihuahua with a second land grant for their service in fighting Comanches. Ortega related that the grant encompassed the "plains that lie north of the valley, including everything from the edge of the mesa to beyond *Cerro Alto.*" The old chief indicated that the land was granted to the Tiguas for their use and enjoyment and that for many years they had title papers which were subsequently lost.[46]

The reliability of Ortega's statement is compromised, however, because neither the 1828 petition nor the grant documents mention Indians. His statement, given in the 1930s, mentions a boundary call, *Cerro Alto* (Sierra Alta), cited only in documents presented in the 1890s. Chief Ortega may have confused two events separated by many years.

In arguing against recognition of the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant before the Court of Private Land Claims, United States Attorney Matthew Reynolds stated that the putative copy of the grant had been manufactured and antedated. Although his proof, if he had any, does not now form a part of the record, it would seem that the basic tenet of his allegation was correct. After a thorough examination of the documentary record, it is not possible to establish the validity of the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant, and there seems considerable evidence that the grant documents were forgeries, part of a short-lived and ultimately unsuccessful land swindle.

ENDNOTES

1. José M. Ponce de León, *Reseñas históricas del Estado de Chihuahua* (Chihuahua: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1910), 1:178-81.
2. The official translation misdates the proceedings as 1 February 1825. The survey was conducted on 1 November 1825. Francisco de Paulo Pasos, Boundary Survey, Ysleta, 1 February [sic] 1825, El Paso Co. Sketch File, 35(2), Archives and Records Division, General Land Office of Texas.
3. This quote is from my translation in Rick Hendricks, "The Tiguas and Their Guests: Land Tenure in Ysleta del Sur," (Las Cruces, 1995), 53, manuscript.
4. Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín referred to Ysleta as an Indian pueblo with a population of 297 in the report on his inspection of the area in 1751. This figure is probably an undercount. Robert Ryal Miller, "New Mexico in Mid-Eighteenth Century: A Report Based on Governor Vélez Capuchín's Inspection," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 89:2 (October 1975): 170, 179.
5. For population trends in this period see Hendricks, "Tiguas and Their Guests," 24-46.
6. No census for Ysleta in 1825 has come to light. Estimates derive from adding the Indian population (226) to the Hispanic heads of households (72) multiplied by 4.5 and 7.2.
7. Bowden is the standard source for the *Rancho de Ysleta* grant. He is cited herein only when he is the sole source. J. J. Bowden, Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in the Chihuahuan Acquisition (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1971), 171-77.
8. The grant cites Loma del Tigua as the northwest corner of the Ysleta grant, but it is the northeast corner. The northwest corner is Loma Colorada in present-day *Ciudad Juárez*, Mexico. The confusion arises from the fact that the cardinal directions expressed in the grant, and indeed in most land documents for El Paso's lower valley, refer to the axis of the valley as the north-south axis when it really tends northeast-southwest.
9. *Deed Book* 26:19-20, El Paso County Deed Records, University of Texas at El Paso Library, Special Collections.
10. City of Ysleta v. United States, Court of Private Land Claims, No. 33, New Mexico State Archives and Records Center (SARC).
11. Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, 3:1,533.
12. *Deed Book* 26:19-20.
13. *Town of Ysleta v. Canda*, Records of the El Paso County Clerk's Office, El Paso, Texas, 1140. The Texas Pacific Land Trust asserts that its General Files contain "no records directly related to the case." David M. Peterson to Rick Hendricks, Dallas, 3 Aug. 1995, letter in my possession.
14. *Town of Ysleta v. Canda.*
15. Bowden, *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants*, 173.
16. *Deed Book* 20:104.
17. Bowden, *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants*, 174.
18. *City of Ysleta v. United States*, Court of Private Land Claims, No. 33, SARC.
19. Bowden, *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants*, 174.
20. *City of Ysleta v. United States*, Court of Private Land Claims, No. 33, SARC.
21. No record of the Commission's visit has survived in the Land

Office of Texas. Bowden, *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants,* 176, n 3.

22. *City of Ysleta v. United States,* Court of Private Land Claims, No. 33, SARC.
23. *Town of Ysleta v. Canda,* Records of the El Paso County Clerk's Office, El Paso, Texas, 2000.
24. Bowden, *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants,* 175.
25. Ibid, 176.
26. Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 81.
27. CT, Box 14 (Deed Book 26:19).
28. Eubank filed suit (1197) against Randolph on 8 July 1889 in the District Court of El Paso County to reinstate this contract, but the case was dismissed. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 32:472).
29. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 15:482, 489; 33:80).
30. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 33:147).
31. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 19:65-66; 33:290, 293).
32. Bowden, Spanish and Mexican Land Grants, 173. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 26:104).
33. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 35:333).
34. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 35:332).
35. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 33:335, 337).
36. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 20:112).
37. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 20:119; 24:273-74; 33:371).
38. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 17:587; 19:205; 23:161).
39. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 24:329).
40. The Heirs and Descendants of the Grant to the People of Ysleta to Sostenos González, et al., Power of attorney, El Paso, [28] April 1892, *Deed Book* 26:190-94.
41. The City of Ysleta filed suit against Courchesne on 19 September 1894 in District Court of El Paso County, but this case was dismissed. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 8:604; 20:590; 23:546; 24:335).
42. CT, Box 14 (*Deed Book* 36:250, 262).
43. For a thorough discussion of the La Prieta grant see Bowden, *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants,* 177-83.
44. Information from Nicolas P. Houser; CT, Box 14; the parish of Our Lady of Carmel, Ysleta, Texas; the Juárez Municipal Archive; W. H. Timmons, Lucy F. West, and Mary A. Sarber, eds., *Census of 1841 for Ysleta, Socorro, and San Elizario* (El Paso: El Paso County Historical Commission, 1988); and the 1860 United States Census of the El Paso.
45. Hendricks, "Tiguas and their Guests," 51-56.
46. John Phillips, "History of Ysleta, Texas" (Austin: Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, 1931), [7-8], manuscript.

DR. RICK HENDRICKS, a frequent contributor to *Password,* is an editor of the Vargas Project at the University of New Mexico. His latest book, *New Mexico Prenuptial Investigations from the Archivos Históricos del Arzobispado de Durango, 1760-1799* has just been published by the Rio Grande Historical Collections at New Mexico State University.

Book Reviews

CROSSING RIO PECOS by Patrick Dearen. (Chisholm Trail Series, Number Sixteen) Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1996, $15.95.

Of the many obstacles to western migration across Texas in the nineteenth century, none was more troublesome than the Pecos River. Because of its combination of quicksand, mud bottoms, treacherous flow-rate, and difficult approaches, neither vehicles nor animals could cross with reasonable certainty of success. Furthermore, until well into the 1880's, hostile Indians were frequently present to imperil travelers and their animals.

Now, Patrick Dearen tells the gripping story of Rio Pecos and its hazards. He has drawn his information from an impressive variety of sources—anecdotes acquired by personal interview as well as such conventional materials as maps, military journals, books, letters, manuscripts, and newspapers. Additionally he has used information recorded in nineteen interviews of knowledgeable persons of that era by J. Evetts Haley, the noted Texas historian. These interviews were made available by the Nita Steward Haley Memorial Library in Midland.

Dearen's presentation includes detailed descriptions of eight of the most acceptable crossing sites on the Pecos in its course across Texas below the New Mexico border as they existed in the nineteenth century. The descriptions of Horsehead and Fort Lancaster ford sites are of particular interest because of their importance to movements of military forces for protection of wagon trains from Indian attacks.

Also included are accounts of lives tragically lost in the sudden rush of Pecos waters, of lives saved by acts of great heroism, and even of how Uncle Sam's mail managed to negotiate the treacherous river. At times the only practical method for insuring mail transport was to maintain stage stations on both sides of the Pecos so that the mail coaches need not be driven across the river. Instead, the mail and passengers were ferried over to the wagons waiting on the opposite shore.

The crossing of the Pecos by automobile affords no true picture of the turbulence and ferocity of the river before it was tamed by dams and by the removal of water for irrigation in its upper segments. The stream now appears insignificant, more like a creek than a river in its Texas extent. Early attempts to build bridges over the Pecos had failed until a pontoon bridge was constructed in 1877 a few miles north of Iraan. Then, in 1881, the Texas & Pacific Railroad erected a bridge for its trains, and, later, bridges for vehicles and animals came into use.

Crossing Rio Pecos is Dearen's third book dealing with what is clearly his specialty—the Pecos River area of the nineteenth century. This one, like the others—*Castle Gap and the Pecos Frontier* and *Portraits of the Pecos Frontier,* demonstrates the author's lively writing style and his love for his subject. These two qualities plus thorough research and impeccable documentation make the book an excellent addition to the existing records of western migration.

H. D. GARRETT
El Paso

A PLACE IN EL PASO: A Mexican-American Childhood by Gloria Lopez-Stafford. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996. $16.95/$14.95.

A Place in El Paso extends an invitation into a socio-cultural and historical journey of a child's memories taking place in a Chicano/Chicana Mexican neighborhood on the United States-Mexico border in the 1940's and 50's. These memories and dreams also lead the reader into an exciting, fresh voyage of sounds, images, faces, resistance, struggle, magic, and hope.

With this book, Gloria Lopez-Stafford joins Sandra Cisneros, Ana Castillo, Mary Helen Ponce, Estela Portillo-Trambley, Julia Alvarez, Nicolasa Mohr, Denise Chávez, Norma Cantu, Emma Pérez, and Alicia de Alba, prominent Chicana and Latina writers who respectively provide growing-up experiences in various United States communities. And like these writers, she also shares with her readers her struggle to find her *lugar,* her place, her identity.

When her story begins, Gloria (Yoya for short) is a five-year-old child, the daughter of a Mexican mother and an Anglo father. Now in the care of her much older father, she is grieving the death of her mother. Soon her father dies, and the little orphan moves from home to home in the neighborhood, Segundo Barrio.

Life on the border becomes a haven for Yoya. She captures *la frontera* eloquently as she depicts a unique Chicana experience.

Her adventures envelop the reader in her joy, pain, anger, happiness, bewilderment, sorrow, and her need for love and belonging—a place to be. Portraying the positive contribution of Mexican immigrants to the host community, Yoya shows pride in her neighborhood, respect and admiration for her neighbors and friends, and a strong loyalty for the dry desert land of the border. Her stories are filled with Spanish, Spanglish, and English sounds—the sounds she was so fond of listening to: "a mixture of English and Spanish that became an art form." *"Segundo Barrio* was the environment of my childhood. It was little Mexico in the city of the Pass, in the elbow of the state of Texas, at the bottom of the United States."

Yoya is filled with courage and tenacity and a love for life. As she moves around in the neighborhood, she consistently questions herself and her motives for wanting to be someone she is not and for being ashamed of her godmother, who is a Mexican with a dark complexion. Such fearless questions serve her well. Yoya recognizes the richness of her diverse cultural heritage, and she accomplishes a "comfortable place to be."

ROSALIA SOLORZANO
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A CAMPAIGN IN NEW MEXICO WITH COLONEL DONIPHAN by Frank S. Edwards. Foreword by Mark L. Gardner. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1996. $18.95

In June, 1846, a wagon train of merchants and about 1700 soldiers of the "Army of the West" under the command of General Stephen W. Kearny left the environs of St. Louis to head west on the Santa Fe Trail. The military objective was to conquer New Mexico as part of the war recently declared on Mexico by the United States. The more that 150 civilian wagons were loaded with goods to sell or trade at Santa Fe and at points south on the Chihuahua Trail.

Among Kearny's troops was a nineteen-year-old Englishman named Frank L. Edwards, who "happened to be in St Louis" during the preparations for the Army's departure. At Santa Fe, he was detached from the main army, which headed west for California, and became part of Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan's Missouri Volunteers who marched due south. They fought the Battles of Brazito (twenty-five miles north of El Paso del Norte) and of Sacramento (on the outskirts of the town of Chihuahua), and briefly occupied Saltillo. One year after having left St.

Louis, Edwards, along with the some 700 "Volunteers," was discharged at New Orleans. He returned to New York, where he had lived before enlisting and almost immediately began to write a book about his experiences. By November, 1847, the book came off the presses and sold extremely well.

Now, just in time to coincide with the 150th anniversary of the start of the war, comes this reprint of Edwards's valuable contribution to our understanding of the Mexican War in the Southwest. According to Mark L. Gardner, who wrote the twenty-two page foreword, this reprint is "the only printing since 1849," except for a "reader microprint issued in 1966."

Gardner describes Edwards as a "wonderfully observant" man who "had a sharp sense for things worth writing about," adding, however, "that he was an impressionable young foreigner."

The reader soon discovers the accuracy of Gardner's characterization. Edwards indeed had a "sharp sense" for "things" unusual and significant, and he was impressed by what he saw—sometimes favorably and sometimes not. Here are exuberant descriptions of the wildlife on the prairies—wolves, buffalo, prairie dogs, the swarms of insects. And here also are a young foreigner's callow responses to some of the people he encountered in this country so new and strange to him. In one instance, he recounts meeting "a Scotchman, with his yellow wife and mongrel young ones." In another, he declares that "The women of Santa Fe being mostly poor, are badly clothed, and are very dirty, which does not add to the attractiveness of their ugly dark countenances." Statements such as this are scattered throughout the narrative and stand in stark contrast to the gentle observations made by Susan Shelby Magoffin in her diary, *Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico.* As a matter of record, Susan was travelling in the same wagon train as Edwards, although undoubtedly in much greater comfort and style, having recently married a well-to-do Santa Fe trader.

Despite his disparaging comments about the people of New Mexico and certain aspects of their culture, Edwards' account is well worth reading. The military aspects of the New Mexico campaign will appeal to some readers, and the description of the countryside, the towns, and the customs of the people, will attract the interest of the general reader. One example is his commentary on the funeral processions for the children who had died from an epidemic of the measles which had been brought to Santa Fe by the Americans.

Readers from the El Paso area will be disappointed that his coverage of El Paso del Norte is rather skimpy. He does mention "Señor Ponce [Juan Ponce de Leon], an old Mexican gentleman, and the richest man in the valley of El Paso." This remark may

have been prompted by the fact that Edwards was the quartermaster for Doniphan's troops and that "the richest man in the valley" was a sure source of food and supplies.

What makes the publication of Edwards' account of the New Mexico Campaign of 1846-1847 so important is that after almost 150 years it is available to the general public as well as to the scholar. It gives those of us who travel the modern-day interstate highways, especially between El Paso and Santa Fe, a glimpse into the past and, hopefully, an appreciation of those who endured hardships we can only imagine.

CLINTON HARTMANN
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PATHS OF LIFE: American Indians of the Southwest and Northern Mexico. Edited by Thomas E. Sheridan and Nancy J. Parezo. Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1996. $45.00/$17.95.

Paths of Life is a book based on a major exhibit presented at the Arizona State Museum which features fifteen Native groups found in the Southwest and Northern Mexico, including the Navajo, Apache, Tarahumara, Hopi, Seri, and Paiute. The work is edited by Thomas Sheridan and Nancy Parezo, both curators at the Arizona State Museum, who have collected an excellent group of essays by noted historians, anthropologists, and ethnologists. The essays deal with a diversity of subjects about these Native tribes. Each tribe presented, in spite of invasion, exile, and even slavery, has managed in its own way to keep its culture alive and intact.

The focus of the book is on the uniqueness of each group. This is a point that cannot be stressed too strongly, since too many people still believe that all Native tribes are alike. The approach is twofold. First, the writers examine the ceremonies and rituals that each tribe has maintained to insure its tribal identity. Secondly, these scholars discuss the impact of new ideas on the Southwestern tribes and how these concepts are incorporated into their traditional ways of perceiving the world.

The book originated out of a desire to share with a wider audience the knowledge obtained in the creation of the exhibit. The resulting book is, therefore, a collaboration between Native American advisors and many members of the staff of the Arizona State Museum who wanted to capture on the printed page the creativity and scholarship of the exhibit. Both Anglo-American and Native American views are reflected in the work, and the

combination works extremely well.

Each article in the book deals with a specific tribe and one cultural theme connected with that group. For example, the essay on the Yaqui examines how the Catholic religion has been combined with Native rituals to form a unique and powerful Yaqui religion. The section on the Navajo discusses how sheepherding reinforces the Navajo concepts of how men should relate to one another and the land on which they live. Intermingled in these essays are sidebars on such intriguing topics as "How To Weave a Basket," "Diet and Diabetes Among the O'odham," "The Cocopa Game of Peon," and "Women's Roles: The Heart of Hópi Society." Whether research scholar or lay reader, there is something for everyone in this book.

An added asset in the project is its abundance of illustrations, both in color and black and white, that depict Native life. These include glimpses of traditional ceremonies, works of art, and the difficulties of living on the reservation. In many instances tribal experience seems to come alive through these photographs. As one would expect with any endeavor on native studies that comes from the University of Arizona Press, both text and illustrations can be appreciated for their accuracy and authenticity.

Certainly the real power of *Paths of Life* lies in its unquestionable variety and scope. A knowledge of all fifteen tribes will be broadened by the reading of this work. Every person interested in the Native tribes of the Southwest and Northern Mexico should add this book to his library.

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OVERLAND: THE CALIFORNIA EMIGRANT TRAIL OF 1841-1870 by Greg MacGregor with an Introduction by Walter Truett Anderson. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996, $75.00/$37.50.

An estimated 300,000 to 500,000 emigrants traveled the trail to California and Oregon between 1841 and 1869, covering ten to fifteen miles on a good day. They left Independence, Missouri, in the spring, and it was a life-or-death race to cross the mountains before snow blocked the passes and left hapless pioneers to starve on the trail.

None of us can fully comprehend the hazards and difficulties, much less the wonder, of that journey across the vast plains and the formidable mountains. Greg MacGregor, however, brings us as close as we may ever come to experiencing the epic

trek of those westering pioneers. He accomplishes this feat in a large-size book which displays his excellent photographs, each one faced on the opposite page with his explanation of the photograph and also with interestingly appropriate quotations from emigrants' diaries and letters and from nineteenth-century guidebooks.

MacGregor, who teaches photography at California State University, researched the trail and traveled it for hundreds of miles, photographing it as it appears today. Some of these photographs show graphic evidence of the trail: eroded wagon ruts, graves of emigrants, remains of burnt-out wagons, and bones of draft animals. Some also show that much of the route still holds its pristine scenic glory—tall mountains, darting streams, and broad horizons that seem to stretch to infinity. Others show what has sprung up over and near the trail—KOA campgrounds, golf fairways, housing developments. And still others proclaim the detritus of rusted automobiles and abandoned industrial junk. All of the photographs (together with their respective accompanying quotations written by—and for—the nineteenth-century traveler) serve to deepen our understanding and appreciation of the long OVERLAND journey.

The quotations included in the book reveal a gamut of emotions. One which Lavinia Porter wrote states, "I would make an effort to be cheerful and patient until the camp work was done.... When I thought I had gone beyond hearing distance, I would throw myself down on the unfriendly desert and give way, like a child, to sobs and tears...." In 1849 a woman named Catherine Haun wrote, "We reached Sacramento...just six months and ten days after leaving Iowa.... Upon the whole I enjoyed the trip, in spite of the hardships and dangers....I love to live it over again, in memory, those romantic months...of the journey."

This handsome book has much to recommend it: photographs andcommentary and the words of long-ago travelers; poignant images of the present and the past side-by-side. The book presents a dramatic and fascinating way of looking at that epic trek across the western frontier.

DOUGLAS V. MEED
El Paso

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