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1967

THE TERRITORIAL PRESS OF NB* MEXICO, 183[^]-1912

by

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A DISSERTATION

IN

HISTORY

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of Texas Technological College
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for
the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved

June 1967

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PREFACE

In this study of the press of territorial New Mexico the writer has sought to show not only the traits of the newspapermen *find* their Journalism but editorial influence upon the development of New Mexico In these years. The first three chapters of this work contain the story of the most interesting and most important of the territorial newspapers. The infonaatlon in each chapter corresponds to a particular era in the development of the economy and culturil of New Mexico. In each period an effort has been made to analyse the characteristics and concepts of the Journalists, the content and evolving styles of their newspapers, and the mechanical and business practices employed in the productlor of their newspapers. The final chapters seek to evaluate the contributions of the journalists In converting the wild and backward frontier of 18'4B into the placid but progressln state of New Mexico of 1912, These chapters trace the attitudes and actions of the editors with regard to the most important of the territory's political, economic, cultural, and social pi*oblems and evaluate the efforts of the press to solve these prcblems.

In the preparation of this work the writer has become Indebted to many persons. Professor Lawrence L. Graves made excellent suggestions concerning organization and improvements in style. Professor V. C. Holden gave valuable sdvlce as to research procedures and ors-anlrlation.

Professors J, William Davis, Lowell L. Blaisdell, Timothy P. Donovan, and Merton L. Dillon also closely read the work and made many helpful recommendations. The various university libraries in New Mexico courteously lent their facilities and files of territorial newspapers. James Dyke and Peggy Tozer, librarian and reference librarian at Eastern New Mexico University, secured a great many microfilmed newspapers on inter-library loan. David O. Kelly, librarian at the University of New Mexico, and his staff provided a great deal of information and made available the large collection of territorial papers of that institution, many of them on inter-library loan. Chester A. Linscheld, librarian at New Mexico State University, allowed the writer to examine the Amador collection of newspapers, which at that time were being arranged for microfilming. H. L. Wallace, librarian at New Mexico Highlands University, made available the Mills collection of newspapers and the files of the Las Vegas Daily Optic. Numerous New Mexico county clerks provided working space and access to territorial newspapers filed in their offices. Albert Stubbs, editor of the Roswell Daily Record and Frank Pfelffer, publisher of the Latrobe Ranger, gave the writer free use of microfilmed files of their papers. Gordon Greaves, editor of the Portales News-Tribune, gave many helpful suggestions. L. A. File, of the New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, provided information about early New Mexico towns. Jack

D. Rittenhouse of Santa Fe, who had started a similar project, graciously lent his collected Information and many copies of territorial newspapers. The writer Is deeply indebted to his wife, Mary Carter Stratton, for reading numerous drafts and for advancing many suggestions for improvement of the work.

The principal towns of New Mexico during the territorial era,

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY PRESS, 1834-1879

Journalism was late in coming to New Mexico because of its isolation, poverty, and illiterate population. All of these factors help to account for the fact that no newspapers were founded there during the long Spanish rule from 1598 to 1821, and that only three papers were published in the relatively brief Mexican era from 1821 to 1846.

First settled in 1598 by the Spanish under Don Juan de Oñate, New Mexico remained an isolated outpost under more than two centuries of Spanish rule. The Spanish failed to find the mineral wealth that had lured Oñate to New Mexico; but the population grew, nourished by a subsistence type of agriculture with little exterior outlet for its products. When Mexican rule began in 1821, trade was opened with the United States via the Santa Fe Trail, and the economy of New Mexico benefited by this outlet for wool and other products. In 1848 the area was ceded to the United States, and territorial agriculture gained a large local market as the result of the needs of hundreds of soldiers and horses in military posts. The ensuing period of economic improvement was interrupted by the American Civil War and a large scale outbreak of Indian warfare. During the Civil War period, California and New Mexico volunteers subjugated the Indians, eliminating a menace to the great

portion of the New Mexican people. After the Civil War, the territory began to gain its first appreciable permanent Anglo-American population. Many of the California Volunteers remained in New Mexico, mineral discoveries at Elizabethtown and near Silver City brought miners to the territory, and cattlemen came to use the vast rangelands. New Mexico, however, remained an isolated frontier region until railways reached it late in 1878.

Journalism in the early American period was somewhat amateurish, conducted by men who usually also pursued another career but who were interested in the political utility of the press. Nevertheless, these Journalists were well educated, vigorous. Independent men of wide interests and allegiances. As a result the Journalism of this era was of great vitality and reflected diverse opinions on public questions. Thus, despite a lack of potential profits in an area of great poverty and illiteracy, the territorial public was well served by its few papers in the years from 1847 to 1879.

Although in these years Journalism expanded rapidly elsewhere in the United States only sixty-three newspapers were published in New Mexico.¹ Furthermore, many of these

¹ In contrast, during the first twelve years of the booming California mining era more than 600 different papers were published. See Edward C. Kenble, Helen Harding Bretner, ed., A History of California Newspapers. 1846-1850 (Los Angeles, 1915).

papers had survived but for one issue and others for only a few weeks, so that in January, 1879, fifteen newspapers, seven of which were relatively stable and long-lived, were being published in the New Mexico territory. The publishers of these papers had been motivated by the prospects of political spoils, mineral discoveries which promised to sustain newspapers, and anticipation of great economic growth for New Mexico when railways reached the territory. With so few territorial newspapers, their editors became exceptionally important and influential. Their small numbers also gave them a sense of comradeship despite vigorous battles for political spoils and insulting exchanges between journalists so common in their papers. Thus, these first editors reflected the spirit of the American frontier, for they were self-sufficient, rugged individualists who were inherently democratic and optimistically believed a great reward would be theirs once railways entered New Mexico and ended its isolation.

In frontier New Mexico during the Spanish and Mexican eras, there were no public and very few parochial schools, and the result was illiteracy made it an inhospitable area for journalists. Nevertheless, three Spanish language papers appeared at Santa Fe during the Mexican era. El Crepusculo & la Libertad were published for four weeks in 1834, and La Verdad was issued for about sixteen months in 1844 and 1845. Later in 1845, El Payo de Nuevo

MeJico appeared for several months. Then, even before annexation, came the founding of the first English language Journal, the Santa Fe HenubTican. An issue of January 1, 1847, was evidently a prospectus,³ and regular publication began September 1st, 1847, with this notice to the public:

The want of some medium through which the public can be informed of the earliest and most authentic news from the States, the movements of the ARMY, and of stirring events of the WAR have been severely felt throughout New Mexico, both by the American and Mexican population, and we have determined to try and supply this desideratum.⁴

The plant of the Republican was owned by the United States Army, and soldiers were unsigned to the paper as printers. Since the army did not wish to subsidize the paper indefinitely, however, it sold the plant to the founders of the Santa Fe New Mexican, who published their paper intermittently in 1849 and 1850.⁵ In June, 1851, the

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Henry R. Wagner, "New Mexico Spanish Press," New Mexico Historical Review, XII (January, 1937), VP¹ 1-1P. A possible fourth paper unlisted above is Padre Jose Antonio Martineas' Taos El Crepusculo. This paper has been listed by several New Mexico historians, but Wagner compiles circumstantial evidence that casts serious doubt upon its existence.

3 Santa Fe Republican, January 1, 1847. A prospectus with a sample issue for subscription and future advertising: could be sold. This was a common practice in this period.

* Ibid., September - 1st 1847.

5 Ibid., Knirry 13, 1848; Albuquerque El Abajo Weekly Press, January 20, 1867; Santa Fe New Mexican, HO/ember 2nd, 1849, Oliver La Frenche, 'Vjith Fe. llic Auto\i-:>rc'phy of the Southwestern Town (Norman, 1937), 3- .

Santa Fe Weekly Oatette was established, becoming the first long-lived New Mexico paper.⁶ Although this paper had various editors and publishers, James L. Collins, its founder, was closely associated with it until his death in 1869.⁷ Two other short lived papers appeared in the
 *** Amigo del Pais, established at Albuquerque in 1853, moved in a few weeks to Santa Fe where it soon lapsed. In 1867 this shop was used to publish the Santa Fe Patriot for the duration of a political campaign.⁸

In the 1830's Anglo-Americans had also entered southern New Mexico, and this element became Jealous of the political power of northern territorial towns such as Santa Fe and Albuquerque. New Mexico then included the present state of Arizona, to which rich mineral discoveries

" Santa Fe Weekly Onvetze, December 17, 1864, February 19, 1853. From the title of this issue it can be deduced that the paper was founded early in June, 1831, if no publication dates were missed. Since missing publication dates was rather usual, possibly the Oatette started earlier in 1831.

⁷ James L. Collins, a native of Kentucky and former resident of Missouri, first came to New Mexico in the Santa Fe trade in which he engaged from 1826 until the Mexican War. During the war, he joined the United States Army, and after the war he established his home in Santa Fe. He was the founder of the Gazette and was its editor and publisher several times. At other times he occupied various offices in the Indian agency and the territorial government. Collins fought in the battles of Valverde and Apache Canyon as a member of the Union forces. While serving as United States depository in June, 1869, he was murdered during a robbery of his office.

⁸ Albuquerque Abajo Weekly Press. January 1863.

near Tucson brought an Influx of miners and increased population for all southern New Mexico. Mesilla, with a population of 2,420, was the largest town of the area. First settled in 1849, the town soon attracted hundreds of Spanish-American farmers, who used the Rio Grande waters for irrigation. In the late 1830s residents of Mesilla and Tucson jointly attempted to escape the control of northern territorial committees, proposing that southern New Mexico be made a separate territory with the *name* of Arizona. The Mesilla Times was launched in October, 1860, as a spearhead for this movement. After Congress had rejected several pleas from this area for statehood or a separate territorial status, the Arizonians petitioned the Southern Confederacy to annex them. Shortly after, Texas troops invaded the area and a Times headline read: "ARIZONA IS FREE AT LAST!" When California federal troops marched toward New Mexico late in 1862, however, the Texans retreated. With them went Times publisher B. C. Murray, who abandoned his paper.

Even while the Civil War raged in New Mexico new Journalistic ventures were launched. In 1862 a second Santa Fe Republican was founded, but the general commanding the federal forces soon closed it for disloyalty.

^ Mesilla Times October 10, 1860, to January 15, 1862; Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, April 8, 1862, January 20, 1869; United States Census Office, Population of the United States in 1860, The Eighth Census (Washington, 1864), pp. 566-73, hereafter cited as the Eighth Census.

troop movements.¹⁰ A second Santa Fe New Mexican was launched in January, 1863, and was sold in November, 1863, to V. H. Nanderfeld. In May, 1864, Nanderfeld took in Thomas Ttieker as a co-publisher.¹¹ These two conducted the New Mexican until 1865, making it the leading territorial paper of these decades. The advent of a second Santa Fe Journal started a competitive struggle; out of that battle arose the Daily New Mexican, launched in 1868 with this optimistic greeting:

Following up the progressive spirit of the age.. we this day present to our readers, and the public generally, the first issue of a daily newspaper for New Mexico. . . . Last November we greatly enlarged the size of the *KEK MEXICAN* weekly; we determined then to follow up our improvements and enlarge our enterprise as soon as opportunity offered. Hence when the question of a telegraph line between Santa Fe and Denver was first proposed we gave it our hearty commendation and support. We saw the DAILY NEW MEXICAN then in our advance eye.¹²

A heated Journalistic competition continued at Santa Fe for the remainder of the pre-railroad era. This struggle and the ill health of the publisher of the Volante led to the sale of this paper in October, 1869, when it became the Weekly under a new owner.¹³ As the

¹⁰ Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press. January 20, 1863.

¹¹ Tied. . . January 20, August 11, 1863, May 10, 1864; New Mexican, November 7, 1863, May 27, 1864.

¹² Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, June 9, 1868.

¹³ Santa Fe Weekly Post. October 11, 1869.

battle became more intense, a Daily Post appeared in June, 1870. The Weekly Post was suspended in March, 1872, and in July the Weekly Post also lapsed. The editors of the New Mexican, hoping for a permanent death of their competitor,

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wrote: Bequelescat in pace.[^] Nevertheless, the plant. Which was sold at a sheriff's auction, was used in August, 1872, to found the New Mexico Union. This paper finally was bought by the owners of the New Mexican early in 1874, probably to insure that its shop would not be used again at Santa Fe.

During the 1870's several short-lived rivals competed with the New Mexican for the business of the largest territorial town and the public printing of the capital. Published from 1873 to 1875¹⁶ the fortnightly Regimental Flag featured military news. The Albuquerque Weekly, launched in September, 1874, was published for about sixteen months.¹⁷ The weekly News, a Democratic campaign paper, lasted about one month in 1875.¹⁸ The Illustrated

¹⁶ Albuquerque Republican Review, June 17, 1871; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, March 1, July 1, 1872.

¹⁷ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, August 27, 1872, February 17, 1874; Albuquerque Daily Journal, March 1, 1881.

¹⁸ Silver City Mining Life, October 31, 1874; Albuquerque Republican Review, October 16, 1875.

¹⁷ Albuquerque Republican Review, September 5, November 14, 1875.

¹⁸

Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, August 1, September 14, 1878.

Monthly, a magazine Initiated 1a January, 18vB, was converted in July, 1878, to a weekly newspaper, the Rocky Mountain Sentinel.^{iq} For several months in the autumn of 1879 this paper was published as a daily, but on Christmas day 1879 it was closed by its northagors—the publishers of the New Mexican.³⁶ The New Mexico Co-operator began as a weekly in July, 1876, but in March, 1873, it became the daily Her Mexico Mvortlner. This paper apparently soon returned to a weekly status and continued thus until 1880.²¹ The New Mexican subdued all of its competitors of the 1870's. But the decade had not been kind to it with the ambitions of W. R. Naderfeld and Thomas Tlicker, for on December 31* 1877, they announced the suspension of the Daily New Mexican:

With the Issue of the DAILY NEW MEXICAN today it has been published nine years and six months. With slight exceptions during this whole period, it has been a losing investment to its proprietors. With the close times of the past year, and the indisposition of advertisers to continue their support of its columns, the Committee is forced upon them that the loss incident to its publication is greater than in Justice they can submit to. It is with

¹⁶ Silver City Gazette County Herald, January 19, 1878, March 2^a, 1879; Santa Fe Review, Mountain Sentinel. November 7, 1877; Albuquerque Review, July 17, 187^a.

²⁰ Albuquerque Review. December 31. 187^a; Albuquerque Daily Journal, March 18, 1878.

²¹ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, July 18, 1878; March 20, 1878; Albuquerque Daily Journal, March 1, 1881; N. W. Ayer and Sons American Newspaper Journal (Philadelphia, 1881) 224.

reluctance that they come to this conclusion. . . .
Whenever it shall seem practical its publication
will be resumed.²²

Albuquerque Journalism lagged far behind that of Santa Fe in the 1860's. Although founded in 1706, the small farming and trading center had a population of only 1,203 in 1860 and thus gave little encouragement to Journalists. Despite these discouraging facts, H. S. Johnson²³ in January, 1863, launched the Rio Abajo Weekly Press there. Compared to the usual bombast of initial editorials, that of Johnson's was quite modest:

. . . we do not think the brilliance of our style of writing will throw any considerable number of readers into ecstatic raptures, or set the Rio del Norte on fire. . . . However, . . . we can master enough simple English words to manifest our proficiency to the generality of the readers of the language.²⁴

Although during the next decade the Albuquerque paper had several names and publishers, Johnson apparently retained control. William McGuinness, publisher of the paper

²² Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, December 31, 1877.

²³ H. S. Johnson, a native of Pennsylvania, came to New Mexico in 1840 following an older brother, K. C. Johnson, who was a political appointee in the territorial administration. In 1853 H. S. Johnson became an apprentice printer on the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette and for a short time in 1859 edited this paper, in 1861 he was elected to the territorial legislature and in 1869 he was appointed Judge in the Second Judicial District and continued in this position until his death in 1876,

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Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, January 2, 1863 Eighth Census, pp. 566-Y5.

from 1870 to 1880, edited the paper under very trying conditions. Until 1876 it was the Republican Review, but at that time McGuinness dropped Republican from its flag. ²⁶

Because of equally discouraging conditions, only two short-lived weeklies were published in the Mesilla Valley from 1863 to 1871. A Mesilla Weekly Times was launched in 1867, but soon was abandoned after it failed to receive promised support from a political candidate. ²⁶ Its plant, that of the earlier Times, was moved to Las Cruces in 1869 and utilized by an almost equally short-lived Rio Grande Gazette.[^] Two years later N. V. Bennett gave Las Cruces, which had a population of 1,204 in 1870, its first durable newspaper, the Borderer. Bennett, DS his first editorial showed, was one of the most imaginative of the early editors:

THE BORDERER rises from his easy chair—a box that was once used for the transportation of candles—places his hand gently on the empty barrel that forms his desk, scrapes his moccasin on the adobe floor of his sanctum and with a majestic inclination of his head says to Mr. Public, Mrs. Public and Miss Public, 'Your most

^{^5} Albuquerque Republican Review, March 16, 1870; Albuquerque Review, April 29, 1877, December 31, 1880.

^{^^} Santa Fe Weekly Gazette. July 30, 1867; Mesilla Weekly Times. July 27, 1867; Santa Fe New Mexican, August 24, 1867.

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Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, April 8, 1882; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, October 1, 1869-

Obedient! We wish for a long and happy acquaintance—a pleasant association with your family for a hundred years to c(»e. . . .'20

Bennett, a zealous Democrat, uaed his paper to revive the post-Civil War Democratic party in New Mexico before ill health forced him to suspend the Borderer in 1875«²⁹

Meanwhile, new Journalists had arrived in the Nesilla Valley. Lawrence Lapoint launched the Masllla Newc in September, 1873, and made Ira M. Bond a co-publisher early in 1874. These partners in August, 1874, established at *Las Cruces* ^^* Q del Rio Grande, which they published until 1878.*³⁰ Further Journalistic rivalry in this populous irrigated area was provided by the Nesilla Valley Independent, published from June, 1877, until July, 1879.^{->T} Another newspaper was

2S United States Census Office, Ninth Census, Vol. I. Statistics of the Population of the United Stetes (W«shington, 1&t?), pp. 204-06, hereaftFr cited as Ninth Census; Las Cruces Borderer, Narch 16, 1871.

^C Silver City Herald, February 27, 1ⁱ^^^ N. V. Bennett was a native of New York and had taught school in Louisiana and Texas. Several years before he came to New Mexico for hi& health, Bennett had edited the Red Wing, Ninne*^{^^^/i} Ar^us. In New Nexlco he became a leader in the Democratio party and was believed to have been the best potential candidate of that party for congressional delegate in 1675. However, he rejected the nomination because of his illness.

^ Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, October 12, 1P73; Mesllla News, Narch 14, August 27, 1B74; Santa Fe Weekly New Nexlcint March 3C, 1878.

^^^ Merilla V: lley Independent, June ?3, 1877, July 26, 1879. The latter dale in the last issue of extant copies; and since no further nentlon of the Valley Independent was found In any other territorial paper, this is presumed to be the final issue of the paper.

added in 1878 by school master S. H. Newman with his Nesilla Sk P-M>CF*ta, a campaign weekly. This paper successfully rallied the Nesilla Valley Democracy for electoral victory. Disgruntled Republicans then seized the press of JEI Democrete and threw it into the Rio Grande. Undaunted by violence, Newman obtained another press and began the Las Cruces Thirty-Four, named for the Democratic margin of election
 1^ 32
 victory in Dona Ana County.

Both Las Cruces and Las Vegas were relatively young towns; the latter, founded in 1833, had grown slow^{^^} as a supply center for area sheep ranchers, reaching a population of 1,090 in 1870. Here again Journalism was late in starting, and the first paper of the town, the Acorn published by A. V. Aoy, was not founded until 1869. Soon renamed the New Mexlco Advertiser, this paper. Issued as a daily for brief periods, was continued until 1880, although in 187P

^{^^} Nesilla Democrats, September 14 to November 2, 1878; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate. May 5, 1[^]11. S. H. Newman earlier had been editor-publisher of the Nail at Las Vegas, but he lost this paper when he was convicted of libeling T. B. Catron, territorial attorney general. Unable to pay a fine for his conviction for criminal libel, he sought to edit the Nail from the Las Vegas Jail but failed. Las Cruces Thirty-Four remained at Las Cruces until 1882 and then was moved to El Paso and renamed the Lone Star. Newman edited this paper intermittently as a daily and weekly until the mid-eighties. Eventually he moved to Albuquerque where he became a successful insurance man.

coming to Silver City, and the Mining Life, first paper of that camp, was not launched until 1873. Its editor immediately assumed the duty of promoting the growth of the town and camps his salutatory editorial illustrated:

We offer the Mining Life to the people of Grant County and the territory of New Mexico, as a medium through which the world may learn of our whereabouts . . . and the treasures of our mines, our soil and the congeniality of our climate and the rapid growth of our population.^^

The Mining Life was suspended early in 1875 because its publisher concluded that a paper could not be profitable at Silver City. Within a month, however, the Grant County Herald was launched using the plant of the Mining Life and soon became the most lucrative territorial paper.⁴¹ Serious competition never existed at Silver City, and the Grant County Herald rivaled the Santa Fe New Mexican as this era's most profitable territorial paper—despite the New Mexican's monopoly of the territorial public printing. Other publishers, on the contrary, having neither rich

^ Silver City Mining Life, May 17, 1873—Editors of this era usually headed the first editorial of the first issues of their papers with a "salutatory." This was usually a long statement of the aims of the paper. Correspondingly often when a paper was suspended it published a "Valedictory," explaining why it was necessary to suspend publication.

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Silver City Grant County Herald, March 6-27, 1875. The ~~profitability~~ profitableness can be deduced by the fact that it had the highest advertising rate of any territorial paper of this era (see below) and consistently had the largest percentage of advertising.

mines nor political printing spoils, strove to maintain their papers until railways had reached New Mexico, bringing a great economic development and a flood of population.

As well might be expected, the adventurous Journalists of the pre-railway era were by nature opportunists—men who, because of the extreme poverty of New Mexico, sought through Journalism the rewards of politics. As a necessary corollary the political affiliations of the Journalists of a dependency such as New Mexico changed with the changing fortunes of the national political parties, for national power controlled territorial political rewards. In turn, the sectional origins of the editors changed when the North gained political and economic dominance of the nation during the 1860's. Despite their opportunism, however, the Journalists, on the whole, were well-educated and competent. In addition, they held in high esteem their positions as editors or publishers. Because of such self-esteem, it was easy for the editors to follow the current custom of personal Journalism. Nevertheless, such heated exchanges did not prevent a feeling of fraternalism among them, nor did political differences breed unfriendliness unless the editors were located in the same town.

Many editors and publishers who came to the territory for other reasons found it politically expedient or profitable to enter Journalism. This certainly was the case with H. S. Johnson, publisher of the Albuquerque

mo Ab.lo Weelcly Press. Johnson followed «i old.r brother to New Nexlco and became an apprentice printer at Santa Fe. Later he became publisher, legislator, and district Judge. Nost of the various editors and atockholders of the Santa ^ ^-^ly Oezette were both territorial officials snd part

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tine Journalists. But on the other hand, W. H. Nanderfeld and Thomas Tucker, publishers of the Santa Fe New Mexican, were practical printers when they arrived in the territory. Yet they too soon allied themselves with the dominant political group for a share of the political spoils.⁴³ The Jouimaliatic careers of A. J. Fountain and N. V. Bennett also had strong political motivations. Fountain arrived in New Mexico with the California Volunteers and remained to enter Journalism and politics.⁴⁴ Bennett

Up

Among the editors, publishers, and directors of this paper were Dav. J. Miller and S. M. Yost, Indian Agency; C. P. Clever, adjutant general and other positions; J. L. Collins, Indian Agency and United States Depository; J. T. Russell, Indian Agency and adjutant general.

43

W. H. Nanderfeld, a Pennsylvanian, came to New Nexlco from Pueblo, Colorado, to become the shop foreman of the Santa Fe New Mexican in 1863. Thomas Tucker, an Ohloan, had worked on icansas and Denver papers as a printer and in Colorado and New Nexlco !nlne8. When he first came to Santa Fe Tucker was r- printer on the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette. See Chapter IV for the political activities of Manderfeld and Tucker.

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A. J. Fountain came to New Mexico with the California volunteers, and immediately after the Civil War, as a resident of El Paso Co\mty, Tcyar, served two teruis in the Reconstruction era Teyu^ Cenate. Later he returned to Uew Mexico and established himself a^ a lawyer. He became a co-publisher and editor of the Mesllla Valley Independent,

apparently came to New Mexico for his health and founded a paper which became an exponent of a southern New Mexico Democratic faction led by his brothers. Both Bennett and Fountain, however, had previous newspaper experience before they arrived in the territory. On the contrary, some of the mining town editors had little evident interest in political rewards, being attracted to the territory by its mineral wealth. Nevertheless, politics was the principal reason for a majority of the territorial editors' entry into Journalism.

Politics also appeared to have an influence on the geographic origins of the early Journalists. Before the Civil War many political appointees, who also became editors, were southern Democrats; after 1860 most editors were northern Republicans. An example of this trend is provided by M. Baird, publisher of the Santa Fe Amigo del Pais and El Democrata; he came to New Mexico from Kentucky via
 45
 Texts. Further examples are provided by the prevalence

and later was a stockholder of the Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican. He served several terms in the New Mexico legislature, was an assistant district attorney, and as a colonel of New Mexico militia led troops against Indians and rustlers. While representing the New Mexico Cattlemen's Association, he was murdered in 1856. His body was never found, creating one of the most famous and controversial mysteries in New Mexico's past. A gold miner and printer while in California, a recent biographer believes him to have been a native of New York, A. N. Gibson, The Life and Death of Colonel Albert Jennings Fountain (Norman, 1955)

^ Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, January 28, 1863.

Of southerners at the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette; J. L. Collins was from Kentucky and Missouri, John T. Russell was from Virginia,⁴⁶ and S. M. Yost and Dav. J. Miller were former Texans.**^ The contrary trend after 1860 was displayed by N. V. Bennett from New York; J. H. Koogler from Iowa, and by Pennsylvanians W. H. Manderfield, H. S. Johnson, and S. M. Ashenfelter.⁴⁷ A few Journalists were from neither section. There were several native Journalists and some Europeans who had drifted to the frontier, as was the case with Louis Hommel who was a native of Germany.⁴⁸ William McGuinness was from Ireland,⁴⁹ and A. V. Aoy came

⁴⁶ Albuquerque Republican Review, April 23, 1870.

⁴⁷ Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, May 22, 1858.

⁴⁸ S. M. Ashenfelter, a native of Pennsylvania, was appointed a territorial district attorney by a Republican administration in 1869. Dismissed from this position, he began the practice of law at Las Cruces, where he met and married the daughter of a prominent Democrat, Cornelius Bennett, and became a Democrat. In 1877 he became editor-publisher of the Silver City Grant County Herald and retained a connection with this paper and its successors until the mid-eighties. At the same time, he continued to practice law and became one of the most prominent lawyers in southwestern New Mexico. See also Chapter IV.

⁴⁹ San Lorenzo Red River Chronicle, May 3, 1882.

⁵⁰ Albuquerque Review, March 9, 1878. McGuinness apparently was well-educated, having spent three years in a Dublin, Ireland, collegiate seminary. He came to America in the 1840s and joined the American army. During his service he was stationed on the frontier in Utah and in New Mexico. Louis Hommel was in the same army unit with McGuinness, and both of them took Spanish-American wives in New Mexico and remained in the territory. Hommel also apparently was well-educated and was literate in three languages. Before becoming editor of the Las Vegas Gazette, Hommel conducted a school at Trinidad, Colorado, teaching Anglo-Americans and Spanish-Americans to speak the other's languages.

from Spain vlf- Cuba and Mexico. Despite these exceptions, the origins of a majority of the early Journalists followed the pattern noted above. The basic reason for this trend appears to have been politica. From 1853 until 1861, the Democratic party was in power nationally; southerners, dominant in that party, obtained appointments for southerners in New Mexico. In the later period[^], the republican party was dominant, and northerners received New Mexico appointments. In addition[^] the economically expanding North pushed westward, building railways, investing in mines, and bringing with it northern men as supervisors and workers.

Another characteristic of the early editors, their high regard for their positions and the power of the press, was shown by the attitudes and ideas of several of them. Newsmen conceived that the occupants of the editorial chair were expected to be very wise and might be called upon to answer almost any question,⁵¹ The concepts these editors held of their positions are shown by S. M. Ashenfelter's attitude) he believed an editor's duties included:

^{^1} In common terminology in this era, editors "ascended the tripod" upon becoming an editor. Webster's International Dictionary defines a tripod as a three legged stool upon which early nineteenth century aspirants for college degrees were seated during their final oral examinations. Thus, editors, like the candidates, were expected to be able to answer all questions. Another term used by the editors of this era was "sanctum" which was the editor's office. Dictionaries define sanctum as a secluded place for deep concentration and study. Thus, the editors' terminology reveals their self-esteem as that of men of erudition and intellect.

. . . the careful moulding and direction of public thought leading into the same exalted frame of mind and capacity for making sound Judgements which are characteristic of the average editor himself.

. . . [He should] . . . pay great heed to the malice in the conversations of the street corner oracles . . . and make his Journal the mouthpiece of their peculiar wisdom. This gratifies the malicious few and serves to create among the craven many a proper respect for the editor himself, and in fact is one of the methods of "Independent Journalism".

Closely coupled with the editors' high regard for their positions was their concept that all newspapers were valuable community assets which *the* public had a duty to support with subscriptions, advertising, and, if necessary, direct contributions. The publishers believed that their papers were valuable promotional tools for any town. For example, one editor wrote: "We will make all effort to forward Grant County. We see a bright future for our area and modestly believe that a well conducted Journal can contribute much to help." As another illustration, J. H. Koofjler of the Gazette at Las Vegas claimed:

In our sister territory of Colorado, the first thing the early settlers did was to see that the papers of the Territory were well supported and encouraged, and the wisdom of that course is now seen in the thrift of the population and the growth of the Territory, without newspaper; Colorado would have yet been an unknown land, traversed only by a few hunters. . . . The people supported the papers, and the papers made the Territory,

5^ Silver City New Southwest, April 23, 1880.

^^ Silver City Herald, January 20, 1877.

5^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, March 3^, 1873.

The high regard of the editors for their positimis and the prestige of the press apparently broight most of them to announce that they would not indulge in personal Joumalina, the practice of sharp criticism of fellow editors ocamMnly followed by most American rural Journalists of that period. To Illustrate, the Santa Fe New Mexican adopted a poUey of "live and let Uve."55 s. N. Ashenfelter, upon assuming the editorship of the Silver ^^ Qyant County Herald, strongly stated his policy:

We propose to avoid controversy with other Journals, deeming that it would be a species of presumption, not to say dishonesty, on our part to burthen the coluians of the HERALD with such matter, to the exclusion of local or general news.36

H. 8. Johnson of the Albuquerque Rio AbaJo Weekly Press warned fellow editors against critical personal Journalism but stated he would reply In kind if attacked.

And now a few words to our editorial brethren. Dearly beloved, we do not consider you generally knaves bullies and blackguards, ready to sell yourselves to the highest responsible bidder, frighten grc^enhoms and abuse your contemporarier;. Nevertheless it behooves us to say to you, that we are like unto yourselves as God made us. We may Jostle and controvert opinions, but beware of personalities. '^People who live in glass houses should not throw stones!" Editorially we belong to the church militant, and will retum "good for evil;** that is, if you give us a knock, we

55 Albuquerque Ftto AbaJo Weekly Press. Mnv lo, 1864.

5^ Silver City Grant County Herald, September 1, 1877.

will give you as good as we get. Draw it mild.⁵⁷

Despite the good intentions of these early editors, controversy, criticism, and abuse were common—particularly in competitive situations. For example, the Santa Fe New Mexican greeted the loss of the postmastership by the editor of the Santa Fe Post with this editorial headed "At Last!":

We published last night one of the most welcome dispatches that has ever been brought into this Territory by the electric telegraph, . . . the telegram announcing the removal of Mr. A. P. Sullivan, Postmaster, from the office . . . that has been used so basely and traitorously . . . against the Republican party. . . . Democratic leaders . . . immediately perceived in his arrogant self sufficiency, inordinate vanity, destitution of Judgement and discretion and his rule or ruin ambition the means of producing dissension in the party.⁵⁸

A great deal of the abuse directed toward other editors appeared in the form of unsigned letters, which, if not written by the editor, certainly had editorial approval. A series of unsigned critical letters appearing in the Silver City Mining Life and Mesills News display this practice. O. L. Scott of the Mining Life published numerous letters signed by "Gila Pete," "P. Biicll," or other fictitious names. Some of the letters were critical of

⁵⁷ Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, January 20, 1863.

⁵⁸ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican. April 9, 1872.

N. V. Bennett of the Borderer of Las Cruces. The Nesilla
l^s used letters slewed "Jee Whllikins," "Truth," and
 "Impecunious" abusing Scott and B^mett and occasionally
 Inserted an editorial comment that any responsible person
 could learn the identity of the letter writers *upon ^n^ll-*
catlon at the News' office. Scott made several efforts to
 learn the name of his literary assailant and at length re-
 ceived a reply which he published along with his answer.

O. L. Scott, Esq.

Dear Sir—we are not in the habit of giving the
 name of our correspondents upcm a simple request
 |gy letter.

We have interviewed the correspondent signed
 'Impecunious*' and he authorized us to say, if you
 desire to hold him perscmally responsible, and
 make personal applicaticm in our office, ve shall
 give you his name in full.

We hopo you are satisfied we have done all we
 eo«ild in this matter.

Very respectfully
 Your Obt. Srvt's
 Lapoint & Bond

Ira N. Bond, Esq.
 La Mesllla, N. M.

Dear Sir—Impecunious Is an ungentlemanly and
 cowardly scrub, and you're ditto.

Yours very truly^
 O. L. Scott59

59 Silver City Mining Ufe. October 25, 1873»
 November 14, 1874; Mesllla Hews, September 5, to December
 5, 1874, passim.

Despite a tendency to be sharply critical of one another, the early territorial editors displayed an overriding spirit of fraternalism and comradeship. A thorough reading of the editorial columns of these newspapers reveals that one of the subjects most discussed was the actions, accomplishments, and failings of the territorial editors. The tenor of these commentaries appears to place the Journalists in an elevated position in territorial society. Although many of these editors actually had very little status in that society, the frequency of press accounts about Journalists made them public figures about whom the newspaper audience knew more than it did of all but a few of the most prominent New Mexico political figures. Thus, the interest of the editors in each other, their comparative rarity because of the small number of papers, and their tendency to place themselves in a special, superior category bound them in a unique comradeship despite their frequent quarrels.

Perhaps the fraternalism of the editors was increased by their better than average education. Their superior education can be deduced from the nature of their prior occupations, which they often continued to practice while editors, Among the varied occupations in which these territorial editors had gained experience were: as territorial officials, fourteen; practicing lawyers, ten; ministers of the gospel, five; doctors of medicine, two; school teachers,

seven. On the other hand, among all American Journalists of this period, a majority had moved into the editorial chair from the printshop, where they had usually started as young apprentices and educated themselves.⁶⁰ In New Mexico only from eleven to fifteen out of eighty editors had either printing or Journalistic experience before they moved into their editorial chairs. Thus, on the whole, territorial editors of this era were above average in education and had a wide background which broadened their perceptions.

Possibly it was the better educational backgrounds of editors which produced a better than average Journalism. Of course, like the writers of that period, they were inclined toward wordiness and flowery, stilted language. But their writing was generally clear in meaning, and there was a minimum of glaring errors in grammar, spelling, and typography. One incident occurred that showed in itself that high standards were expected and maintained. A. V. Aoy, a self-trained printer who was relatively unfamiliar with the English language, was more error-prone than most editors. Willa McGuiness criticized his sloppiness, and emphasized his point by publishing Aoy's answer to his criticism:

⁶⁰ Frank Luther Nott, American Journalism: A History. 1690-1960 (New York, 1955), p. 111

The Edtr of that uodle sheet the Albur-Review has our thans for his crltlsdnim. We are sorry to see such anb elegant fiery stump orator occvipy such a humdle pos.itlon and controlled by a ring and clique in which he dares not call his soul his own. He should retum to the land of potatoes and weild his pen and passions in behalf of his country and so put to shame the eloquence of the O'Donnels, O'Donogougghes and all of the rest of the celedrated O's. We beg him to continue to advertise us and send his bill io the editors of the Co-Operator, a copy of which will be found safely ledged et the next Centenlal, in spite of all the gi^wls by our esteemed ccmtemporary of the immediate collapse.^

The capabilities of the early territorial Journalists, however, were not best represented by Aoy, for generally they were competent in their craft and well-educated. These qualities made them unique in New Nexlco, a uniqueness increased by the rarity of Journalism on the frontier. All of this, in turn, generated a spirit of frstemalism and, at the same time, a high self-esteem. From such self-esteem it was easy for the editors to fall occasionally into the sharp criticism characteristic of the currently common personal Journalism. Such bitterness was increased jy the battles of these opportunistic editors for political positions or rewards. Thus, a sujrvey of the predominant traits of the early editors shows them to be well-educated, capable, politically alert, and both friendly

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Ibli-* Judging by Nott's description of American rural Journalists in general. New Nexlco editors, considering their handicaps, were above the average. At the same time they were generally better than cor-u/rable papers of the 1880•8 in New Nexlco. Albuquerque Review. July 15, 1876.

and critical in their relations with one another.

But these capable editors faced several limitations. Included among the handicaps of the early territorial papers were the mixed population of New Mexico and the customs of contemporary journalism which left their papers unattractive in content, style, and makeup compared to present day newspapers. The small space available for the information and entertainment of readers was cut almost in half by the necessity of duplicating the news in two languages. Dominating the meager remaining space were the editorials. Following the editorials in a declining order of importance and space were territorial news, local events, national news, and special features. Inadequate news sources also hampered the editors, for they obtained information, usually very late, from other papers, volunteer correspondents, and from a very frequently interrupted Associated Press service. Considering the handicaps, the quality of territorial Journalism was good.

Journalism in New Mexico in this form presented the unique problem of a predominantly Anglo-American press serving a population overwhelmingly Spanish-American. The first paper edited by an Anglo-American, the Santa Fe Republican, set the pattern for most of the early papers by dividing its pages between the two languages. Although there were some efforts to break away from this by printing a paper in each language in areas of heavy Spanish-American

population,⁶² most territorial editors followed the bilingual practice. Despite the heavy usage of the Spanish language in newspapers, only about 12 per cent, ten of eighty, of the Journalists were native Spanish-Americans. Instead, natives usually became translators of the English language copy to the second language. Bilingualism reduced by one-half the space available for editorials, news, and features in New Mexico papers, for the Spanish language portion was largely a repetition of the English language copy. Moreover, it was usually a translation of the previous week's English copy.⁶³ On the other hand, many southern New Mexico mining area papers did not follow the bilingual practices. The Tubac and Tucson Arizonian. Mesilla Times. Silver City Mining Life and Herald were published in English alone. Most of these papers apparently believed they had little to gain from bilingualism, since the majority of the population they served was Anglo-American. Nevertheless, the great majority of papers of this era were bilingual.

The present day newspaper reader, accustomed to a varied fare of news in a wide range of topics and with numerous special features, would find the early territorial

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Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, May 5» June 30, July 7, 1863, July 19, THWT provides an example of an unsuccessful effort to publish separate Spanish and English language newspapers from the same plant. The origin of the term Spanish-American is given in Chapter V footnote 46.

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Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican. April 20, 1875
 Lea Cruces Eco del Rio Grande February 12, 1876.

Journals very dull reading, for they were heavy in editorials and llaited in news. The editorial columns were of greatest Interest snd importance with their colorful language and personalized topics which served to Increase reader Interest. Perhaps this motivated personal Journalism, for disputations of the well-known editors lent color and increased reader Interest in the editorials. Next after the editorials in Importance and proportion of space was the general news of the territory. This usiiply was obtained by clipping stories from other territorial papers; often, however, stories were reported by voluntary correspondents. In some instances such correspondents proved unreliable, but the editors, who often also served as reporters, business managers, and mechanical staff, had neither tine nor facilities to verify facts. In addition, the lack of reliable news sources and poor comDnmications Ted editors to publish mere rumors and to depend heavily upon unconfirmed facts.⁶⁴

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Editors occasionally signified a wlllingriess to print letters of news *or* information on cccro!rlc ^^vr^Jopment by anyone from any part of the territory. For exan^ples see Sirt^ Fe Weekly Gazette, Feb rut r: 5, 1859; fltu^ querque Rio Aba^jo ^eikiy Press, fe'epbe.ber 1, |i6z* Ac a result of* the practices note? here, the cariy territorial newspapers sometimes provide v .^r souicc;:, for hlrtoric^l facts unless several papers and other sources ere compared. However, the editors' familiarity i#lth the motives, backgrounds, and interests of the leading personal^ tier of the lightly popuif-ted territory orovided them with an insight which Is valuable in understanding territorial history.

Local news was usually limited to the most important events, for social items and news of sports events rarely were used. Least prominent was national and international news. Most territorial editors borrowed this news from other papers, although the Santa Fe New Mexican and Silver City Grant County Herald subscribed for the Associated Press service for short periods. This service, a 500 word daily telegram, was a brief relation of the chief news stories of the day, and was usually presented to the readers as a news summary.

The type and consistency of special features used by the territorial editors followed no regular pattern. One wasteful feature, considering the limited space of these papers, was the publication of a directory of territorial and county officers, which required eight to ten inches of space and usually ran unchanged week after week. This feature, more common later, was used only by the Silver City Mining Life and Nesilla News in these decades. A more useful feature, used by the Albuquerque Republican Review, Mining Life, and Herald, was the publication of a current list of food prices.

^ Apparently the only motive for such a wasteful feature was to impart information. Although uncommon in New Mexico in this era, it was more widely used elsewhere. For examples see William J. Petersen, The Pageant of the Press; A Survey of 125 Years of Journalism, It's All in the News (Iowa City, 1962), pp. 65, 71, 94.

Vsrio^is types of literary features were prominent in some of the papers. Flcti(^, used by many American weeklies at this time, was uncommon in New Mexico. The Albuquerque RI9 ^bajo Weekly Press, the only notable user of fiction, published one short novel and then abandoned the practice.⁶⁶ Several years later the Albuquerque Review ran a serialized history of New Mexico.⁶⁷ Literary efforts were confined mainly to humor and poetry. Most humor was in the forms of retires upon the other editors or in the form of brief puns. An example of the latter is the following: "DEFINITION—A spare rib; a thin wife." One of the best humorous articles., headed "'WHISTLE TIME,'" appeared in the Silver City Herald:

Silver City, besides apparent time, mean time, meal time, treble time, has whistle time, which is kept by the mill men and regulated by the organ of digestion of the several engineers "on watch" and is far meaner time than mean time or any other time.

An engineer afflicted with tape won't make any other day in the year as long as the first of June, not because solar time is chopped off by the irregular motion of the sun, but because the snake is rectleaa and requires its victim to call the "relief" before the usual time for breakfast.

There seems to be a laudable rivalry among the mills. No sooner does one whistle toot, than the engineers of all the other mills, rush for the

^'^^ Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, February 17 to May 12, 1863.

^^^ Albuquerque Republican Review, May 31, 1863, passim.

^ Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, October 10, 1863.

aeveral clocks, set them to correspoond with the sound of the first whistle and then awako) the echoes by aimouncing that they too, are on time; thus giving Silver City absolute time, which does away with the necessity of considering time in relation to the heavenly bodies and their motion.^^

Poetry, another literary feature popular in the American press in these years, was prominent in only three territorial papers. These Journals, the Albuquerque Republican Review, Silver City Mining Life, and Herald, all used a great deal of it. Most of this poetry was contributed, but some of it waa unsigned and possibly the work of the editors. The folXovlng selection, mtitled "NO KISS," is one of the better humorous poems:

^'Klss me Will,' sang Marguerite
To a pretty little tune,
holding up her dainty mouth,
Sweet as roses bom in June.
Will be ten years old that day,
And he pulled her golden curls
Taaslngly, and answer made:
"I'm too old—I don't kiss girls."

Ten years pass and Marguerite
Smiles as Will kneels at her feet,
Gazing fondly into her eyes.
Praying, **Wont you kiss me, sweet?"
'Rite is seventeen todays
With her birthday ring she toys
For a moment, then replies: ^^
"I'm too old—I don't kiss boys!"

^9 silver City Herald, July 1, 1876.

^^ Silver City Grant Co\nty Hemld, September 17,
1877.

Poetry of a more serious mien wee also frequent,
and the following, "WHAT IS LIFE," la an example of this
type:

A little crib beside ^e bed,
A little face below the spread,
A little frock b^ind the door,
A little shoe upon the floor.

A little lad with dark brown hair,
A little face blue eyed and fair,
A little lane that leads to school,
A little pencil, slate and rule.

A little blill^esome winsome maid,
A little hand within is laid,
A little eottage, acres four,
A little old-time household store.

A little family gathered round,
A little turf-heaped, tear dew'd mound:
A little added to His soil,
A little rest from hardest toll.

A little silver in his hair,
A little rooci and easy chair;
A little ni^t of earth~lit gloom,
A little cortege to the to*nb.⁷¹

Just as the extensive space devoted to poetry by
some territorial Journals is In striking contrast with
current practices, so are the Journalistic styles of the
territorial editors. Today in Journalism, the first para-
graphs of news stories summarize the important facts and
contain the chief point of the article. Territorial papers,
and the general American press of this era, might place the
important facts anywhere in a long story. Where modem

⁷¹ Silver City Herald. Nov«Dsber 5» 1876.

Journalism strives for clarity by the use of simple sentence construction and simple and concise language, territorial Journalism is noted for its verbosity, flowery and stilted language, as well as long and complicated sentence structures. Modern headlines are large, attractive invitations to read a new story and again emphasize the chief point of the story. The headlines of territorial Journalists were usually in small type, one line in depth and one column in width, and often unrelated to the chief point of the story. In the mid-seventies, however, multi-tiered headlines, already being used by the eastern press, began to appear in New Mexico.⁷²

Page makeup of the territorial papers likewise would be considered very poor by present standards. The left hand columns of the first page were given over to advertising, and if the paper was well supported by the town merchants, advertising might occupy over three-quarters of the first page and all of the last page. Page two contained the editorials along with some advertising and news stories. In bilingual papers news space on pages three and four was reserved for the Spanish language copy. Since the papers were generally only four pages and bilingual, large headlines and artwork to provide balanced makeup were

impractical. Thus, both by custom and necessity these papers were poorly balanced in makeup and used small headlines.

Hampered as they were by poor makeup, limited space, the necessity of dividing that space between two languages, and the shortcomings of the journalistic practices of that *Belle*, it is remarkable that the territorial journals enjoyed circulations as large as they did. Perhaps the emphasis upon editorials was the wisest course, for the editors, who made themselves well-known public figures, shared their thoughts on an interesting personalized basis with their readers. Since general news was often stale and skimpy, the editorial interpretations of territorial life became the most important and enjoyable feature of the early territorial journals.

The success of a newspaper lies neither in the brilliance of its editorials nor the excellence of its news stories and features alone, for a newspaper is also a business in which the problems of production costs, advertising, and circulation sales must be met before it can endure. The conditions for the economic success of early territorial newspapers were made difficult by tedious and time consuming printing methods. Business success was further curtailed by high territorial illiteracy rates which reduced subscription sales and advertising effectiveness. This, coupled with high advertising rates, reduced

advertising revenues and ultimate profits. The American press derived supplementary income from commercial printing during this era, but in New Mexico the only important business of this type was the territorial public printing. Battles for this extra income led to a fierce competitive struggle at Santa Fe, accounting for the failure of several newspapers there. Most newspaper failures in the territory, however, were the result of the difficult conditions of Journalism in New Mexico in this period.

Throughout the early territorial period very crude and tedious printing methods prevailed. From the little information available concerning the sole printing press of the Mexican era, it can be deduced that this press was very similar to that used by Gutenberg almost four centuries earlier.⁷³ The earliest press of the Anglo-American New Mexicans was the Spanish portable army press,⁷⁴ By the 1860's, most New Mexico newspapers were using a Washington model hand press, capable of 250 impressions of type.

⁷³ Henry R. Wagner, "New Mexico Spanish Press," New Mexico Historical Review, 1 (January, 1937), pp. 1-3; California Newspapers, pp. 50-52.

⁷⁴

Comments of contemporary Journalists indicate that the press and material of the Santa Fe Republican belonged to the United States Army, and the army had a small portable hand press capable of printing three and four column tabloid pages that was being used in this period. Such a press was later used to launch the Daily Optic at Las Vegas. Albuquerque Rio Abajo weekly Press, January 20, 1863; Santa Fe Republican, March 11, 1868; Las Vegas Daily Optic, October 2, 1885.

two page form per hour.⁷⁶ Thus, printing a four page paper with 1000 subscribers required the labor of two men for at least eight hours. Probably a longer time was actually needed, for fatigue would eventually slow the workers. The first cylinder model mechanical press was brought to New Mexico in 1875 for Revista Catolica at Las Vegas. Although this Esirhaven press could be operated by steam power, its Jesuit owners operated it manually at a speed of about 250 impressions an hour.⁷⁶ It was probably easier, however, to maintain such a rate on this press than it was on the Washington hand press. These slow press speeds made large circulations impractical and improbable, retarding territorial Journalism.

Composition of type equally handicapped papers, for thousands of tiny pieces of type were assembled by hand and locked in a form before the printing of the paper could begin. After the printing of the paper, the type was returned to its *proper* niche in the type case!—an operation almost as time consuming as composition. Skilled printers set about ten column inches of news matter type per hour.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Willi Mengel, Ottmar Mergenthaler and the Printing Revolution (Brooklyn, 1961), pp. I-13.

⁷⁶

* Albuquerque Republican Review. August 1, 1875. At this press speed it would require 32 to 40 hours to print a four page newspaper with 4000 subscribers.

⁷⁷

"Occasionally the fastest printers of several papers or towns would hold contests in which the best printers would set twelve to fifteen column inches of the body type of the paper per hour. If the best printers working

In practice It probably required all the time of one printer five days a week to set the type, print the paper, and redistribute the type for the four small size pages used by most of the territorial weeklies. For example, when R. 3. Johnson was the entire staff of his Albuquerque Pic r.tr^c We^ly Press, he printed the paper in the daylight hours but worked late each night preparing copy for the paper.⁷⁸ Since many territorial editor-publishers were their entire staffs, publication of these newspapers required of them exceedingly long and tedious hours. Hence, the shoz*tccomings of many territorial editors are made more understandable.

Editors who wished to devote more time to editing found It very difficult to recruit printers, for such skilled workmen were rare in frontier New Mexico. To illustrate, Santa Fe New Mexican publisher W. H. Manderfield probably made Thomas Tucker, a printer on the competing Santa Fe

7"

Weekly Gazette, a partner because he needed a compositor.

William McGuinness taught his wife, a native of New Mexico, the trade, and one week, during his illness, -^^.^^ published

under the impetus of a contest did no better than this, the average Journeyman printer probably set less than ten inches per hour. For a|i. example of such a contest see La-* Vegas Daily Optic. April 20, 1882.

^^ Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, April 14, 1863.

7^ This appears to be true, for previously to Tucker's co-publishership territorial • Serene Court Justice Kirby Benedict was believed to have been writing editorials for the New Mexican. In any case, after this date editorial era to be more consistent in style and form.

the paper alone.⁸⁰ Some publishers sought to train native
 Ntj/ Mexicans as printers.⁸¹ This was very difficult since
 few of them were literate, and fewer yet were literate in
 the English language. Thus, the isolated publishers often
 had little recourse but to become their own compositors.

Another obstacle was the expensive and time consum-
 ing haul by wagon to bring supplies to isolated New Mexico.
 Since practically all territorial papers were undercapital-
 ized, they were able neither to maintain an adequate stock,
 nor to get dependable delivery of much of newsprint.
 As a result, every paper of this era survived over a year
 missed issues or printed on brown wrapping paper because
 newsprint failed to arrive when expected. When an issue
 was missed, subscriptions and advertising contracts were
 extended, reducing revenues and increasing expenses of the
 publishers.

Apparently to offset the high expenses of publish-
 ing and the limited circulation revenue, the publishers
 adopted very high advertising rates. Most early New Mexico
 Journals printed their rates in their papers. The pub-
 lished rates of the Santa Fe Republican, for example, were
 \$1.50 per square, about one column inch, and \$1.00 per
 square for each subsequent insertion at the same type."⁸²

⁸⁰ Albuquerque Republican Review, March 16, 1879.

⁸¹ Albuquerque Review. March 15, 1879.

⁸² Santa Fe Republican; New Mexico 1, 1879-80. Probably
 the true rates of most territorial publishers of this era were very

The Santa Fe Weekly Gazette in 1853 charged \$1.00 and 75 cents for this arrangement.³⁴ The rate of the Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press was 11.00 and 50 cents. This tabloid weekly, however, sold the entire column for \$100.00 per year, which amounted to about twelve cents per column inch.³⁴ Evidently many changes in the advertisement rates were severely effected in the course of that year, for the rate of the Santa Fe Daily New Mexican was \$1.50 and \$1.00, which was less than the rate of the Daily New Mexican at 42.50 and 12.00.³⁵ Probably the rates of the two papers were higher because it had a larger circulation. In the early days of advertising in the pre-railway era was the \$2.00 and \$2.00 rate of the Denver City Graffiti County Herald higher than the pre-railway rate of the New Mexico newspaper.⁸⁶ First-class rural weeklies at this time sold for as high as \$1.00 per column inch for a first insertion and an entire column for one year for as little as 42.00.⁸⁷

known only to the advertiser, and publishers, except for the rare non-local advertiser who paid the usual rate. It was for such unusual ones that the rates were indulged, for other rates probably were reached by negotiation.

83

Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, February 1st, 1853.

34

Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press; January 20, 1863.

85

Santa Fe Daily New Mexican. July 9, 1868.

31 Denver City Graffiti County Herald, March 6, 1875.
 Editor Publisher William Zerk. "for Zo:z" 1864, n. 1.

7 Mott, American Journalism, p. 3-98.

Possibly the high rates of the territorial papers prevented their receiving national advertising, for very little such advertising was to be seen in these journals, despite the fact that most of them were represented by a national advertising agent.⁸⁸

The published advertising rates of the New Mexico papers were quite high, considering their small circulations, the current purchasing power of the dollar and the rates of comparable eastern papers. Yet there were reasons for these high rates. The excellent rag content newsprint used was expensive, and high freight rates over the Santa Fe Trail increased costs of all supplies. In fact, high freight costs inflated all prices in New Mexico, forcing publishers in turn to charge high advertising and subscription rates.

In addition to maintaining exceptionally high rates the publishers were quite slow to adopt the improvements in advertising techniques developed by papers in the eastern United States, and thus their advertisements were often unappealing. For example, in the 1847 Santa Fe Republican most advertisements were similar to present day classified advertising, being composed of small blocks of the body type of the paper. By the 1860's and the 1870's large type,

⁸⁸ For example see Albuquerque Republican Review, December 16, 1871. The Review had as its agent Geo. P. Rowell & Company, the advertising representative of a majority of American weeklies of this era.

display advertisements were more popular; and newspapers sought especsllly to sell one full column and half column standing advertiaements for *one yemr*» The standing advertisement practice sometimes produced strenge results. For example, a Bean Brothers' Saloon advertisement in the Mesllla Times announced for over a year the arrival of a new shipment of whiskey. By the 1870's some eastern American papers were publishing multi-column advertisements, and advertisers were beginning to demand frequent copy chsnse. Since this increased Interest in the advertisements, it was beneficial to both publishers and advertisers.^{81^} The scarcity of prlntera evidently led publishers to encourage standing advertisements, which appealed to merchants because of their much lower prices. Thus, this was an almost universal practice. Publication of acts of Congress and army notices asking for bids on supplies provided income for some papers.⁸² Nost advertising revenue, however, came from display advertisements, and encouragement of standing advertisemcnts both curtailed revenue and limited advertiaing effectiveness, discouraging Increased advertising?

^{81^} Nesills Times, October 18, 1860 to January 15, 1862; Nott, American Journalism, pp. 299, 397, describes eastern American advertising practices of this era. Frequent copy changes provide more interesting advertising. Hence It is better resd, produces more results, and advertisers are encouraged to advertise more. Thus, publishers benefit from more revenue and a more interesting paper.

For example sec Albuquerque Republican Review, Narch 26, 1870.

budgets. Thus, standard practices limited the growth of advertising revenues.

Kept relatively high subscription rates also limited newspaper income, for this restricted the circulations of territorial papers. The annual subscription rate of the first Santa Fe New Mexican was \$7.00 and the rate for the Daily New Mexican was \$16.00.⁹¹ Both papers were small four page tabloids. The rates of weekly papers were gradually reduced over the years until by 1879 most were \$3-00 annually. Considering that most of these papers had a consistent four page format, these prices were very high. Thus, high prices along with high illiteracy rates kept circulations of these papers quite small. The Santa Fe Republican claimed a circulation of 750, but this claim probably was exaggerated.⁹² In view of the low circulation figures reported to N. W. Ayer and Son's Newspaper Annual in the mid-eighties, it is doubtful if any territorial paper of the seventies had more than 500 subscribers.⁹³

⁹¹ Santa Fe New Mexican, November 24, 1849; Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, July 9, 1868.

⁹⁰ Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, January 20, 1863.

⁹³ **088» American Journalism, p. 396, states that the average American country weekly of this time had less than 100 circulation, considering New Mexican illiteracy and the high prices of newspaper subscription in New Mexico, the 500 figure appears more reasonable for New Mexico weeklies.

The achievement of larger circulations by these papers would not automatically have increased profits, for few subscribers paid in advance. Publishers had great difficulty with collections! William McGuinness of the Albuquerque--
 ^^^ JSSLSSL* ^' example, constantly lusted unpaid ac-

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counts. ^^ Even the prosperous Grant County Herald in booming Silver City was troubled with delinquent subscribers, for S. N. Ashenfelter informed his readers after nine months as publisher that unpaid subscriptions amounted to \$2,000.⁹⁵ Apparently do to 90 per cent of his subscribers were delinquent. Thus, not only were circulations small, but poor collections further reduced revenue.

Hon-Journalistic printing, or "Job work" in the Jargon of publishers, offered a supplementary income which all territorial publishers sought. The greatest profits were from the printing of territorial and federal agencies, the United States Army, and the legislature. While the first two provided more consistent income, legislative printing was extensive and very profitable during a short period. All bills introduced in the legislature and the laws finally approved were printed in two languages. The Santa Fe New Mexican, because of its political influence and location, monopolized governmental printing after

⁹⁴ For example see Albuquerque Review, January 13, 1877.

⁹⁵ Silver City Grant County Herald, July 6, 1877.

^ 96
1870. Therefore, Job T^{ork} T^{rovlded} little income for other territorial papers.

Monopoly of the terrltorlsil public printing, while profitable for the lew Mexican, brought with it *the* dlsadvantrgc of almost continual competition. Competitive struggles between territorial ne*.;spapere were rare in this era except at Santa Fe, where betweei 1863 end 187^: seven-teen papers were published. Although only about one-hslf of these survived long enouj^ to provide effective comrseti-tlon for the dominant Hew Mexican, even short-lived rivals sbsorbed part of community funds available for subscrip-tions and advex*ti8ing. Furthenaore, ccnpetition is expen-sive in other ways. Sometimes newspaper battlec sre fought by reducing circulation and advertising rates, but Santa Fe papers apparently fought by offering additional services. The most proT^inent of the additional services was daily publication. While this proved effective for the New Nexican against the Weekly Gazette, and dally, and weekly Posts, three efforts to use it against the tiev Mexican proved ineffective and its users soon ^ere driven into bankruptcy. Competition was not without its benefits to society, for without it, possibly no daily newspaper would have been publir^hed it the te-ritorial capital. In addi**on.

^6

" For more detailed information on the connection between politics, the territorial public printing, and the Santa Fe New Nexican zet Cr^nter IV.

the territory enjoyed the advantage of the Associated Press telegrams for several years, providing earlier news of the outside world. On the other hand, it is quite possible that without this rivalry Santa Fe would have been served better by only one Journal—a newspaper freed from the necessity of political subservience.

Competition and the harsh conditions imposed upon Journalism in New Mexico led to many newspaper failures. Of sixty-six papers founded before January, 1879« only fifteen had survived, and another five of them would lapse before the end of that year. In view of these conditions, why were so many papers established? Several reasons can be assigned. First, papers were established by opportunists who hoped to transform the prestige of a publishership into political preference, either spoils or offices. Second, the editors, like their frontier neighbors, were inherently optimistic, believing that mineral development or the magic of railway transportation would in the future make New Mexico into a prosperous empire from which they would benefit more because of their early start. Third, the simple machinery and limited supplies needed to launch a newspaper made it easy for these optimistic opportunists to found papers.

Since the political motivation for founding newspapers has already been shown, it need only be added that few of the editors profited from their efforts to advance

themselves through politics. The competitive struggle for printing spoils at Santa Fe illustrates one facet of this, and on the other hand, few of them were rewarded with offices. Thus, on the whole the rewards promised by politics failed to materialize. Similarly, most of those who anticipated rewards from the economic growth of New Mexico found few rewards. Of all who had published papers before 1879, only three would remain publishers in New Mexico for another five years, and only two of the newspapers published in January, 1879, survived that long. Nevertheless, these men were incurable optimists who believed in a great and prosperous future for themselves. An editorial by William McQuinness written shortly before the railways reached Albuquerque provides an example of their optimism:

We have fought long, hard and faithfully, have experienced many severe struggles, and many painful sacrifices. . . [and soon] . . . We will be in on the reward.

Optimism comes easy when the price is low, and the cost of founding newspapers in this area was very low indeed. At least that seems to be the case with A. V. Aoy of

1
The editors were Louis Hommel, Ira N. Bond, and S. N. Ashenfelter. The two surviving newspapers were the Santa Fe New Mexican Review, a combination of the New Mexican and Albuquerque Evening Review, and the Silver City Grant County Herald, which after numerous changes in name became the Silver City Press and Independent and survives today, as does the New Mexican.

^ Albuquerque Review, December 31, 1879.

^^^ ^coy^^ *t Las Vegas, for as the Santa Fe New Mexican
notedI

Hr, Aoy commenced publication . . . with no more skill as a printer than might have been expected from an office devil who had spent three months sweeping the office, as carrier and ink dauber and with no more type and material than might have been packed on a man's back.⁹⁹

The low initial cost of entry into the newspaper business was one of the few advantages of the territorial Journalists and was offset by many handicaps. Obsolete hand powered presses and hand composition of type require long hours of tedious labor, which, because of a shortage of printers, usually was performed by the editor-publishers themselves, iive largely illiterate and impoverished population curtailed circulation and advertising revenues. Irregular, slow, and expensive freight interrupted publication and further reduced profits.

In addition to the mechanical and business difficulties territorial papers were limited by bilingual publication, poor page makeup, headlining, and writing style.«. Little space was devoted to local news, and other news was often late or unreliable. Consequently, the core of these papers became the editorials, which were made interesting by the prestige and Insight of the editors and their strongly partisan support for political i^llles—support usually given to obtain political preferment. The ensuing rivalry was

^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican. March ?4, 1*^74,

valuable, for the educated, individualistic, frontier editors espoused varied causes, delving fearlessly into most public questions. As a result, the public was well served. Such was the position of the territorial press at the end of the pre-railway era and in the first years of the next decade.

CHAPTER II

THE TERRITORIAL PRESS IN TRANSITION, 1879-1900

For the territorial press the years from 1879 to 1900 were a period of change. The opportunistic amateur Journalists of the pre-railway era rapidly gave way to a group of equally opportunistic professional newsmen. This new group quickly launched dozens of new papers but sought economic rather than political profits. Yet by 1900 economic depression in the territory had forced Journalists to turn again to politics for sustenance. In this period the development of territorial Journalism was retarded, and the newsmen lagged behind in accepting new Journalistic styles, mechanical methods, and business techniques. Thus, despite an early optimism induced by railway development, by 1900 the receding frontier and poor economic conditions had transformed territorial papers into routine country weeklies and dull and backward dailies.

The new era began in December, 1878, when a Santa Fe railway subsidiary reached the New Mexico border, within three years this line had been extended southwestward to Las Vegas, Albuquerque, and present day Rincon where it divided, one branch going to Deming and the other via Las Cruces to El Paso. Simultaneously, from the west the Southern Pacific advanced across southwestern New Mexico, and from the north a Denver and Rio Grande line, projected

to Albuquerque, El Paso, and New Mexico City, halted at Espanola, twenty-four miles north of Santa Fe.¹ In 1880 the Atlantic and Pacific launched the western end of its proposed transcontinental line westward from Albuquerque toward California.

Opened to the world by four major railways. New Mexico now had an outlet for its products, and a wave of immigration came to the territory to exploit its wealth. Following the railway construction crews came miners to begin exploiting low grade ores that could then be marketed using the cheaper transportation. Cattlemen were attracted by vast *tree* ranges, easy access to markets, and exceptional profits resulting from high cattle prices. Lured by potential profits to be derived from the new exploiters of New Mexican wealth, merchants came by almost every train. Close behind all of these groups trailed a swarm of saloon keepers, card sharps, petty gunmen, and prostitutes to pander to the baser desires of *frchitier* New Mexicans. Thus, New Mexico, a rugged frontier for almost three centuries, quickly assumed a new vitality, roughness, and rawness, and became even more of a frontier area. Mining towns quickly sprang up at White Oaks, Chloride, Hillsboro, Kingston, Raton, Gallup, and the sleepy village of Socorro became the

¹ Later a company of Santa Fe townsmen built a line to Espanola, leasing it to the Denver and Rio Grande in order that Santa Fe could have a direct connection with Denver. See Chapter VI.

fourth largest territorial town. Albuquerque and Las Vegas prospered as railway centers and distribution points. Most of the new arrivals were Anglo-Americans, who soon grew from a small fraction to one-third or more of the population—completely altering territorial life.

Then the prosperous eighties gave way to the bleak nineties. Inflated cattle prices fell, reduced silver prices closed many of the territorial mines, and reductions in the tariff on wool curtailed sheep raisers' profits. The great depression, which gripped the entire nation from 1893 to 1897, was extremely harsh in New Mexico, for the territory had lost one major industry and two others were crippled before the general depression began. Nevertheless, even in the midst of depression there were signs of future prosperity for New Mexico. Irrigation projects brought hundreds of farmers to the Pecos and San Juan river valleys, and the frontier of homesteading farmers advanced into the northeastern corner of the territory—developments that later would bring New Mexico even greater wealth and population.

Under the impetus of the new population and industry there was a tremendous growth of territorial Journalism between 1879 and 1901. In this period 283 new Journals were launched, making a total of 204 different papers published in these years compared to 66 for the pre-railway era. In January, 1879, New Mexico had no daily paper, but

in 1900 there were five stable dailies among sixty-three papers then being published, since the proportion of failures was less and the proportion of long-lived papers larger, a greater stability of the press in this era is indicated. A great many of those papers which failed did so as a result of economic conditions, particularly in the mining center. On the other hand, many of the failures can be attributed directly to harsh competition; confined largely to Santa Fe in the earlier period, it raged generally throughout the territory in this era. Politics played a part in this severe competition, for almost every town had a newspaper representing the interests of one of the major political parties. If one party lacked newspaper representation, it would often publish its own paper for the duration of a political campaign. Thus, despite greater overall stability for Journalism in this era, competition and depression brought many trials for the newsmen.

Las Vegas Journalism mirrored all of the troubles of the new era. Competition was rife, political quarrels were frequent, and in the nineties depression would leave its mark. The booming prosperity of East and West Las Vegas boosted their combined population to 5,697 by 1890 and attracted many Journalists, and as a result 44 different papers were published there between 1870 and 1900. Fierce competition began with the launching of two new weeklies, the New Mexico Herald and the Optic, in June and

July, 1879. The Gazette quickly retaliated by adding a daily issue.² Then in October, 1879, Russell Klstler, editor of the Optic, converted his struggling weekly to a daily—apparently foolhardily. But surprisingly enough the paper was soon operating profitably.³ In January, 1880, ^{^^^} ^{^^•^} Nexico Herald moved from Las Vegas to less competitive Santa Fe,⁴ and J. H. Koogler, evidently believing the Optic would win the battle, sold his paper in 1883 to a group headed by Jefferson Reynolds, local banker.⁵ This paper then had many short term editors and several suspensions before it died permanently in May, 1886.⁶ Meanwhile,

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Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, January 3, 1884; Albuquerque Daily Journal, March 1, 1881. The bilingual Las Vegas New Mexico Herald was established by R. W. Webb, formerly of THE Little Rock, Arkansas, and Miguel Salazar. Webb later published the Santa Fe Era Southwestern. Golden Retort. and in 1884 briefly edited [^]the daily Gazette at Las Vegas; U. S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. III, Population, 1910 (Washington, 1913), pp[^] 161-83, hereafter cited as Thirteenth Census.

3 Russell Klstler and W. J. Turpen founded the Otero Optic May 22, 1879. In July, 1879, the Optic was moved from the railway construction camp town of Otero to Las Vegas. Turpen later sold his equity in the paper to Klstler shortly before it became the Daily Optic. Klstler, a native of Ohio, had worked on papers in Indiana, South Dakota, and Montana. W. D. Klstler, brother of Russell, was associated in the management of the paper until his death in 1890. The Klstler brothers were sons of a Methodist minister. But despite this background, Russell Klstler in his adult years apparently became an alcoholic. Las Vegas Daily Optic, November 5-20, 1879, November 21, 1881, October 2, 1882, July 3, 1884, November 5, 1898.

* Las Vegas Daily Optic. December 18, 1879, February 5, 1880.

5 Silver City Enterprise, April 1, 1883.

[^] Las Vegas Daily Optic, April [^], 1883, March 7, May 29, September 10, 1884, February 16-21, September 8, 1885.

the Deily Optic had survived with great difficulty. During the political campaigns of 1880 and 1886, normally Republican Klstler, in need of funds, had sold his support to the Democi«ts,⁷ bringing the Republicans in the next several⁸ years to retaliate with campaign weeklies.

The founding of papers in Las Vegas was not dependent only on political motivation, however, for In this era all types of weeklies were founded, sopping up some of the funds available for newspaper advertising and subscriptions. The mining industry had as its trade publication, the Mining World, published intexmittently in the eighties. Cattle and sheep men could turn to the pages of the New Mexico Livestock Journal, founded in 1882 and succeeded in 1884 by

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See Chapter IV for complete details and documentation.

[^] Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican. October 18, 1880; Us Vegas Dally Optic. October[^] 18U6; Las Vegas San Niguel CountyIspublican, October 16-30, 1886; Las Vegas (^acniporra, October 15riB««i Las ••«•» Cachiporrita, October 8, iW.

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Albuquerque Daily Journal, Narch 1, 188I; N. s[^]. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper /Annual (PhlladelphTa, TlBBiry; 188T7 p. 593, iBBb, p. ff^{^^}, hereafter cited as Ayer. American Newspeper Annual with the yeer of publicat-sfi. W. c. Hadley, original editor and publisher of Ninlng World, was educated at Haverford College and the University Of Chicago as a mining engineer. Hadley, a native of Indiana, also edited the Daily Gazette of Las Ve;!;ss, was the first president of the iiew Mexico Press Asocietion, and later made a fortyme from lake Valley, New Nexlco, mines before his death in 1896. W. C. Hadley was the son of a distinguished New Mexico educator, Hiram Hadley who was first president of the present day New Mexico State University, president of the University of New Mexico, and territorial superintendent of educstion.

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the New Mexico Stock Grower. Real estate dealers began several advertising sheets to be sent to prospective immigrants. In addition, the lack of a Sunday issue by Las Vegas dailies led to the founding of several briefly flourishing Sunday weeklies. The Sunday Herald, the Sunday Morning Mountain Breeze, the Sunday Courier, and the Sunday Morning Review all competed for Las Vegas revenues.

Nevertheless, politics motivated the most serious threats to the Daily <>tlc. The political campaign of 1884 was featured by the foundation of the Daily Chronicle¹² later it became a weekly. The desire of Republicans for a

^^ San Lorenzo Red River Chronicle. July 1, 1883; Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, April 29, 1883, February 29, 1884. In January, 1884, the New Mexico portion of its title was dropped and it became The Stock Grower.

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Santa Fe Weekly Mexican Review, September 11, 1884; Silver City Enterprise, November 27, 1886; Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, May 2, 1887, January 7, 1888, January 5, 1900; Las Vegas Sunday Courier, July 8, 1888; Las Vegas Sunday Morning Review, June 25, December 24, 1899.

^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic. October 14, 1884, July 10, 1886) Las Vegas Chronicle, December 14, 1884. In this campaign two Republicans and a Democrat sought election as delegates to Congress. The Daily Optic and the Daily Chronicle each supported one of the Republicans, and the Daily Gazette supported the Democratic candidate. Louis HOLT¹, editor of Chronicle, was one of the most colorful of the editors of the territorial era. A native of Germany, Hommel was literate in three languages. Hommel was the founder of the Gazette of Las Vegas and while a co-owner of this paper was charged with assault. After his release on bond, he was arrested again and charged with stealing a horse. During this arrest he struggled with a deputy sheriff and killed him. Hommel was then convicted of murder but was later pardoned by Governor Lew Wallace. Soon after his pardon, Hommel in June, 1880, launched the San Lorenzo B^A River Chronicle. San Lorenzo was a small village on the upper Canadian River. Later the Chronicle was moved

newspaper voice led J. A. Carruth in March, 1891, to found the Las Vegas Frees, which was published first as a weekly and then as a daily until November, 1892.¹³ Efforts apparently fostered in January, 1893, the weekly Examiner founded by the owners of the prosperous New Mexico Stock Grower. The Examiner became a daily in June, 1895 but weakened by the ensuing battle it was turned over in January, 1897, to a company headed by J. A. Carruth. Finally in February, 1898, the exhausted combatants merged, apparently forced to do so by their creditors, and the Daily Examiner was absorbed by the Daily Optic. Klutner lost control of the paper to George T. Gould, who represented a company of prominent Las Vegas Democrats.¹⁴ Republicans, still determined to control a Las Vegas paper, then retaliated in October, 1900, with the

to nearby San Hilarlo, and in 1834 to Las Vegas. Hucis's last paper was Le Cronica de Mora, which he was publishing at the time of Hucis's death in 1897; see also Note 3, Chapter I.

¹³ White Oaks New Mexico Interpreter. March 13, 1891; ¹⁴ Headlight, December 1, 1891; Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican Nov«ber 25, 1892.

¹⁴ Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican. June 7, 1895; Las Vegas Stock Grower and Farmer, January 2, 1897; H. V. L. Ayer. American Newspaper Annual, 1896, p. 505, 1898, p. 529; Las Vegas Daily Optic February 9-28, 1898. Among the major stockholders of the company which acquired the Optic in 1898 were Felix Martinez, Union People's party leader and later prominent as a Democrat; A. A. Jones, a future Democratic United States Senator from New Mexico; and F. A. Manranares, Democratic delegate in Congress from New Mexico "«083-85. George T. Gould, a doctor of divinity and former Methodist minister, was a native of Kentucky. He later published newspapers at El Paso and Albuquerque and was prominent in territorial Democratic circles.

Dally Record. ^^

Politics also led to the founding of two good Spanish language papers in Las Vegas, still further increasing Journalistic strife there. La Voz del Pueblo, founded at Santa Fe in 1888 by Nestor Nontoya and E. H. Salazar, was purchased in June, 1890, and moved to Las Vegas by the Union People's party. Then in March, 1894, Salazar left La Voz to found El Independiente.¹⁶ These two prosperous weeklies absorbed still another part of available circulation and advertising funds of the town, making Journalism in Las Vegas even more competitive.

Initially, optimistic pioneer publishers at Las Vegas launched papers of all types, seeking to garner a portion of the commercial revenue of the town. This dispersion of revenue among many papers weakened all combatants and led them to seek political subsidy. Politicians without newspaper representation fostered new Journals, adding to the intensity of the rivalry. The ultimate result was ***** ^^ Piñon Optic, the best territorial paper of these years, failed to develop into a strong daily paper which

¹⁵ Santa Fe New Mexican, October 17, 1910.

¹⁶ Santa Fe Sun, June 6, 1890; Santa Fe Voz del Pueblo, October 20, 1888, February 2, 1889, June 7, 1890; Las Vegas Voz del Pueblo, June 14, 1890; Las Vegas Independiente, March 24, 1894. Felix Martinez, leader of the Union People's party at Las Vegas, became publisher of La Voz del Pueblo, which had originally been launched as a Democratic capitalist paper.

could have provided necessary civic and business leadership for the town.

As compared with Las Vegas and the Santa Fe newspaper battles before 1879, competition did not play as important a part in the capital city Journalism. Rail connections failed to bring the prosperity anticipated by the city, and it thus had less appeal to Journalists. The lessened commercial importance of the town, which was the largest in the territory in 1880, is shown by a decline in the population from 6,185 in 1880 to 5,603 in 1900 and 5,072 in 1910.¹⁷ Under these circumstances Journalistic rivalry soon reverted to the struggle for public printing contracts. During this era the New Mexican battled twenty-two other short-lived papers for political power and the public printing. At the end of the era the New Mexican remained the most important territorial paper because it was still the most politically influential.

Expectations of commercial rather than political profits motivated the first competitors of the New Mexican. The Las Vegas New Mexico Herald was the first to arrive, becoming at Santa Fe the Era Southwestern,¹⁸

¹⁷ Thirteenth Census, Vol. III, pp. 161-83.

¹⁸ Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, February 27, 1880; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican March 15, 1880; Santa Fe Era Southwestern, November 30, 1880.

J. O. Albright bought this paper in September, 1880, publishing it as the weekly and daily Democrat until September, 1882. His blast at the town when the Daily Democrat was suspended in August, 1882, indicates the lack of potential commercial profit.

Will this issue the DAILY DEMOCRAT wearily closes its leaves, and take a Rip Van Winkle sleep—not for twenty years we predict, but until the people of this drowsy town come to a sense of understanding and realize the necessity of supporting an enterprise that is entirely devoted to their Interests.^^^

Initially the owners of the New Mexican apparently expected it to gain commercial profits and also to provide them with political influence. Early in 1880 a group of Santa Fe railway officials bought this paper, revived the Daily New Mexican, and placed Charles W. Greene in charge. Despite the efforts of Greene and later managers, the New Mexican proved unprofitable, and in May, 1883, its owners abandoned it, moving the plant to Kansas.²¹ At this time

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J. G. Albright, a native of Ohio, had been engaged in newspaper publication in Missouri and Kansas before he came to New Mexico in 1880. Later he founded the Albuquerque Daily Democrat, which he continued to publish until 1895. Albright then was engaged in newspaper publication at El Paso, and in 1881 he founded the Albuquerque weekly New Mexico State Democrat, which he published for the remainder of the territorial era,

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Santa Fe Daily Democrat, October 7, 1880, January 31, August 1, 1882; Santa Fe Weekly Democrat, January 6, 1881; Albuquerque Evening Review, August 25, 1882.

^^ Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, February 27, March 1, 1880, February 15, 1881, May 27, 1883; Santa Fe New Mexican. February 11, 1906; Albuquerque Daily Journal. March

the Santa Fe Ring, the political clique which had allied itself with the New Mexican, entered directly into Santa Fe Journalism. W. H. Ballhaehe and Max Frost, members of the clique and co-owners of the Albuquerque Evening Review, sold shares in their paper to ring members and moved it to Santa Fe as the New Mexican Review.²² In 1885 a Democratic territorial administration dismantled many of the politico

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owners of the New Mexican; they then left the territory, selling much of their stock to Max Frost. The Democratic administration also awarded territorial public printing to short-lived Democratic papers which sprang up. As a result ~~the~~ New Mexican survived with great difficulty until the Republicans returned to power in 1889.²⁴

1, 1881; Silver City Southwest Sentinel. January 7, 1882, June 13, 1883. The railway officials also owned the Tiempo Capitol.

²² See Chapter IV for information concerning the Santa Fe Ring and Max Frost's connection with it.

²⁴ Territorial officials, appointed by the president, rotated in office as national administrations changed. Thus, the inauguration of Democratic President Grover Cleveland in 1885 and 1893 and of Republican presidents Benjamin Harrison and William McKinley in 1889 and 1897 changed the control of New Mexico administrations.

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Santa Fe New Mexican Review, July 19, August 6, September 11, 1883; Santa Fe New Mexican, February 20, 1885, December 27, 1889. Frost later claimed to have gained control of the paper both in 1883 and in 1885, but after 1885 the masthead listed two others as publishers of the paper. In any case, after the death of James A. Spradling, in 1890, Frost assumed control of the paper, and comments of other editors indicate that from 1890 he was active in its management. However, it appears that Frost never owned all of the paper at any time. Democratic papers at Santa Fe in this decade are listed in Appendix I.

^^ ^^^ Mexican survived and remained politically powerful through the bleak nineties as a result of the efforts of Nax Frost, who became editor and publisher in 1889. Frost, an able editor and an astute politician, kept the New Mexican on a profitable basis while it competed with its greatest rival of these decades, the Democratic Santa Fe Sim.²⁵ When in 1893 Democrats again gained control of the territorial administration, the clever Frost leased the New Mexican to Democratic office holders. This group, which desired to use it as a propaganda medium, merged the New Mexican and Sun,²⁶ thereby eliminating for the New Mexican a rival that could have been tremendously strengthened by printing contracts it might have been awarded by Democrats. With the return to power in 1897 of the Republicans, Nax Frost again resumed control of the New Mexican.[^] Thus, despite Santa Fe's declining population, depression, Democratic administrations, and almost incessant competition, the New Mexican survived and remained the most politically influential of all territorial papers.

or
 • The Sun was published as a weekly from 1590 to 1840 and briefly later as a daily.

²⁶ J. H. Crist, owner and editor of the Sun, was rewarded with « political appointment rather than a princely contract.

²⁷ Santa Fe Journal 51 Journal 1, 1893, February 16-20, V-1; Socorro Journal: *11 October 15, November 1, 1893; Las Cruces Journal (Grande Republican, December 9, 1893; Las Vegas Daily Optic, January 29, 1894.

Albuquerque, unlike Santa Fe, grew rapidly in the new era, for it became a center for railway construction crews, railway *ahape*, and wholesale merchants. As a result, by 1900 Albuquerque had become the largest territorial town,²⁸ and many ambitious Journalists had been attracted there. Although Albuquerque had fewer different papers than Las Vegas, newspaper competition in the two towns was equally fierce. Between 1882 and 1900 two or more excellent dailies constantly battled for newspaper revenues at Albuquerque. During this heated contest many ambitious newsmen *were* left behind in the race to own or control the dominant daily in the town.

William McGulness, who since 1870 had endured poverty to maintain the Albuquerque Review in anticipation of a reward from a railway induced prosperity, evidently foresaw an intense rivalry when with bitter irony he invited others to share his bounty:

Now is the time for impecimious scribes, overwhelmed with a devouring ambition to acquire fame and fortune> to establish a score or more of papers in Albuquerque. We are getting rich . . . wont press the invitation further.²⁹

Soon his invitation was accepted and McGulness abandoned Journalism. In June, 1880, the Daily Golden Gate

²⁸ *" Thirteenth Census, Vol. III, D-n. 161-83.

²⁹ Albuquerque Review, February 14, 1880,

was launched and soon came under the control of J. A. Spradling. Financed by Albuquerque merchants,²⁰ Spradling bought a new plant and renamed the paper the Daily Journal.³¹ Thomas Hughes, who gained control of the paper the following year, made it the New Mexico Journal.[^] Meanwhile, W. H. Ballhaeche purchased the Review, and in February, 1882, added a daily issue as the Evening Review.³² This was the

³⁰ Albuquerque Daily Journal, October 14, 1880; March 1, 1881. Officers of the Albuquerque Publishing Company included Frenz Huning, A. Grunafeld, V. C. Hezeldine, and W. P. K. Wilson.

³¹ Albuquerque Review, June 5, July 15, 1880; Albuquerque Daily Journal, March 1, 2, 1881. J. A. Spradling, a native of Missouri, came to Albuquerque from the staff of the Santa Fe Daily New Mexican. After establishing the Albuquerque Daily Journal, he moved to Las Cruces where he founded the El Paso Grande Republican in 1881. However, he soon sold his equity in this paper and returned to Missouri. In 1886 he returned to New Mexico as the editor and publisher of the Santa Fe New Mexican, a post which he held until his death in 1889";

³² Albuquerque Daily Journal, February 8, 9, March 2, October 10, 1881. Thomas Hughes, reared and trained as a printer in Missouri, established a paper at Maryaville, Kansas, in 1872. After selling this paper in 1881 he became a co-owner of the Albuquerque Daily Journal. He left this paper to accept the Albuquerque postmastership in 1882, but retained an interest in the paper until 1885 when he once more briefly edited it. In 1886 Hughes published the weekly Albuquerque Opinion and was a co-owner and editor of the Albuquerque Daily Citizen from 1887 until his death in 1905. Meanwhile, Hughes was active in territorial politics and served four terms in the territorial Council.

³³ Albuquerque Daily Journal, March 1, 1881; Albuquerque Evening Review, February 20, 1882; Santa Fe New Mexican, March 9, 1882. W. H. Ballhaeche, a native of Illinois, served in the Union army quartermaster corps during the Civil War. After the War he was connected with a Springfield, Illinois, printing establishment. He came to

beginning of a keen rivalry which became sharper in September, 1882, when J. G. Albright moved his Daily Democrat from Santa Fe to Albuquerque.^{u4} The ensuing struggle soon forced the Review to move to Santa Fe and brought a rapid shifting of editor-managers[^] at the Itomini; Journal until it was suspended in December, 1886.[^]

Albuquerque In 1881, briefly managed the Daily Journal, and then purchased the View. later he was appointed to a position in the lanTOTTtce in Santa Fe. There he became friendly with N^x Frost, also employed there. Together they launched the Albuquerque Evening Review and later moved it to Santa Fe. In 1866 Bailhpcbe left Wet? Mexico for San Diego, Gallfomla, where he lived until his death in 1905. W. F. Saunders, editor of the Evening Review and a former Denver Tribune reporter, had been city editor of the Santa [^] Bew Mexican in 1881. He returned to Denver in 1883 and eventually moved to Saint Louis, Missouri, where he was employed in newspaper and public relations, work.

[^] Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 10, 1881; Albuquerque Evening Review, November 7, 1882.

[^] The most interesting of these editor-managers was W. S. Burke, a native of West Virginia, who had moved to Iowa as a lad. He became an apprentice printer at fifteen and later became an editor. After Union army service, he was discharged disabled as a captain. He then edited Iowa and Kansas newspapers before coming to New Mexico as superintendent of the Pacific Coal Company^{^^}. Bur^{!:}? was appointed United States collector of revenue in 1883 but held that position and his editorship simultaneously. Elected county superintendent of Bernalillo County schools in 1884, he left the Journal, but returned to Journalism in 1889 and worked for one of the Albuquerque papers until his death in 1910.

⁶ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican Review, June 12, 1884; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, March 11, June 2^k 1886, January 7, 1887; Silver City Enterprise, June 27, 1884, September 18, 1885; Las Vegas Weekly Optic, May 7, September 3, November 11, December 1, 1884 April 9, June 22, 1885; Albuquerque Journal, July 7, 1883. J. G. Albright purchased the plant and assets of the Morning Journal at a sheriff's

The demise of the Morning Journal did not bring the struggle to an end, for Albuquerque Republicans had already found a new champion, the Daily Citizen. Launched by C. L. Hubbe, the Citizen came under the control of Thomas Hughes and W. T. McCrelght in May, 1887. Competition from the Citizen and loss of the support of Democrats ipade Albright the next victor of the battle. His failure to support a Democratic delegate to Congress had alienated his fellow partisans. In turn encouraged the founding of a weekly, and later a daily. Times, depriving Albright of sorely needed support. The Times was suspended in 1894, but in less than one year Albright lost the Homing Democrat when T. B. Craton foreclosed a mortgage he held on its plant. Subsequently at a sheriff's auction the Democrat was purchased by A. A. Grant, Albuquerque capitalist. During

auction, and Morning Journal was then added in small letters to the flag of the Homing Democrat.

Albuquerque Daily Citizen, October 8, 1886, May 31, 1890; Union Democrat, June 1, 1887. W. T. McCrelght, a native of Kentucky, came to Albuquerque to work on the Daily Journal in 1880. He helped organize the first Albuquerque union and later published papers at Socorro and Albuquerque. McCrelght was a co-publisher of the Daily Citizen until 1893 but he remained in Albuquerque until the 1898.

Socorro Bulletin, January 3, 1886; Santa Fe leader. January 13. Union Democrat Fe weekly Sun, November 28, 1891 Albuquerque Union Democrat, April 23, 1893 Albuquerque Daily Citizen. January 1, 1893 and as quoted in La3 Cruces Independiente Democrat, April 25, 1891.

Albuquerque Journal, July 7, 1933. Las Vegas Daily Graphic. April 17, 1933: "In 1899 A. A. Grant changed the political policy of the paper to Republican and its name to the Journal-Penocrat."

the rest of the decade, the Citizen and Democrat appeared to be almost equal in strength and quality, thus, in 1900 these two dailies shared the Albuquerque Journalistic field with several small weeklies, for the rivalry had resulted in a draw.

For *M&tm* reasons not immediately apparent, the *mmr*[^] of Las Cruces, a relatively large town drawing on a populous irrigated area, gave meager support to their newspaper. The short lives of numerous journals and the troubled course of the Rio Grande Republican appear to confirm this. Seven months after J. A. Spradling and prominent local political figures began the Rio Grande Republican in Uey, 1881, Spradling sold his interest in the paper, stating that alone the paper was unprofitable "our pencil refuses to keep up to scratch,"⁴⁰ Meanwhile, in July, 1881, Newman's Semi-Weekly, which had been operating at a loss, moved to El Paso, Texas. The Rio Grande Republican continued, though with great difficulty, undergoing nine *changes* of management between 1882 and 1900.⁴¹ The fate of two small tabloid

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Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, May 21, July 30, September 10, December 10, 1881. Officers of the local company included W. L. Lynneon, S. B. Newcomb, William Dessauer, Aaron Shutz, and later A. J. Fountain was added to this group.

⁴¹ Ibid., July 1882, November 29, 1884, July 17, 1886. December 6, 27, 1888, March 18, 1892, April 12, August 11, 18, 1893, March 18 November 3, 1894, January 5, 1895. A rapid change of owners and managers indicates a troubled career, for profitable papers are more stable.

dailies founded in 1889 was even worse. One, the Daily Times lasted one month, and the other, the Daily News, survived ten months.⁴²

Lacking adequate merchant support. Las Cruces publishers relied heavily upon political rewards and were often politically motivated. The Mesilla Valley Democrat, for example* was launched in August, 1886, shortly before its owner announced himself as a candidate for the legislature. Eventually suspended in 1890, this paper was revived in 1892 as the Independent Democrat by A. B. Fall to advance his political career. It survived until 1899, perishing shortly before Fall became affiliated with the Republican party.⁴³ The numerous Spanish language papers serving this area were, with two exceptions, short-lived

^^ Las Cruces Daily Times. May 4, 14, 1889; Kingston⁴ Shaft. June 1, 1889; Las Cruces Daily News, March 5, October 14, November 23, 1889.

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 •^ Las Cruces Mesilla Valley Democrat, September 28, October 1, November 5, 1886, October 25, 1890; Ayer. American Newspaper Annual, 1890, p. 469, 1891, p. 46; Las Cruces Independent Democrat, February 3, March 2, 1892; Las Cruces Democrat, February 7, 1893; Socorro Chieftain, April 28, 1899, Albert Bacon Fall, formerly of Kentucky and Texas, first lived at Kingston in New Mexico and later at Las Cruces, where he became a Democratic leader. As a Democrat he served two terms as territorial councilman, district Judge, and solicitor general. During the Spanish-American War, Fall was an officer in the army, and early in the twentieth century he became a Republican. As a member of this party he was appointed territorial attorney general, served as a member of the constitutional convention, and was elected United States senator in 1912. During the administration of President W. G. Harding he served as secretary of Interior and became widely known for his involvement in the "Teapot Dome affair."

political campaign papers. The exception, El Tleu!K>, founded in 1882, and El Labrador, launched in 1886, survived with great hardship.⁴⁴ The papers at both Las Cruces and Santa Fe thus illustrate that the prosperity of the railway era was not evenly distributed upon the territorial Journalists.

Mineral development near Silver City was encouraged by the new cheap transportation and the town quickly gained population⁴⁵ and a flood of Journalists who founded eight new papers between 1879 and 1883. The Grant County Herald, menaced by a daily rival in March, 1880, began the Daily Southwest, only to suspend it in August, 1880. The weekly was enlarged in April, 1881, and renamed the New Southwest and Grant County Herald. Apparently this was an effort to combat two rivals, the Telegram and the Ninling Chronicle, both of which lapsed that year.⁴⁶ In 1882, however, a daily and four new weeklies arose to challenge the supremacy of the New Southwest. In March, 1883, four of the five

⁴⁴ Las Cruces Tiempo, November 9^{rtft} 1882; Las Cruces Labrador, September 8, 1897; November 1, 1900.

⁴⁵ Silver City population in 1880 was 1,800. See United States Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, Washington, 1883, p. 261, hereafter cited as Tenth Census.

⁴⁶ Silver City Daily Southwest, March 1, 1880; August 31, 1880; Santa Fe Weekly Mexican, April 13, 1880; Albuquerque Daily Journal, January 1, 1882; Silver City New Southwest and Brant County Herald, April 22, 1882; Las Cruces WLO Grande Publican, September 10, 1881.

Silver City papers were consolidated as the Southwest Sentinel, purportedly independent—but in fact Democratic in its politics. This left in opposition a Republican weekly, the Enterprise, founded October 24, 1882.⁴⁷

Both the Enterprise and the Southwest Sentinel dominated Silver City Journalism throughout the remainder of this era, for one new daily and several weeklies which were founded soon failed.⁴⁸ The Enterprise survived with few difficulties under two able publishers.⁴⁹ The career of the Southwest Sentinel was more troubled. There were frequent changes of publishers from 1883 until 1898, when W. B. Walton, son-in-law of S. N. Ashenfelter, became editor and publisher. During this period the Southwest Sentinel had been issued both as a daily and a semi-weekly for short intervals and in 1896 had been renamed the Independent.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, June 6, August 19, December 3, 1882; Grant County Herald, January 29, 1881; Silver City Southwest Sentinel, May 12, November 3, 1882, September 10, 1883; Silver City Enterprise, October 16, 1882.

⁴⁸ Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, July 7, September 9, 1883; Silver City Enterprise, January 25–August 2, October 26, 1894.

⁴⁹ W. A. Leonard from 1882 to 1893 and J. E. Sheridan from 1893 to 1899.

⁵⁰ Silver City Daily Southwest, March 1, 1880; Silver City Grant County Herald, January 29, 1881; Silver City Southwest Sentinel, May 12, November 3, 1882, September 10, 1883; Silver City Enterprise, December 19, 1882, June 6, 1886, June 7, 14, 1886; Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, October 1, 1886, April 26, October 1; Las Vegas Daily Optic, October 15–1891; Silver City Independent, July 1, 1896, December 31, 1911.

Since both major parties were represented by these two strong weeklies in the economically depressed era of the 1890's, there were few efforts to establish new papers at Silver City.

Deming, unlike Silver City, grew not from the development of mines, but railways. A division point on the Southern Pacific, the town also expected to be a division point or terminus on the Texas Pacific, on a Santa Fe line to Ouaymas in Mexico, and on a line to Arizona via Silver City. Anticipating a great growth for the town, J. E. Curren founded the weekly Headlight there in June, 1881,⁵¹ and soon other Journalists sought a share of the revenues of Deming. In response to the weekly Tribune launched by Charles W. Greene in October, 1883, Curren made the Headlight a daily.⁵² Curren soon left, but the Daily Headlight defeated

^^ Us Vegas Daily Gazette, June 14, 1881; Albuquerque Daily Journal, July 6, 1881. J. E. Curren was an unusual figure in New Mexico Journalism. It was common for small publishers to own several different papers before keeping one or leaving Journalism. Curren, however, published fourteen different New Mexico papers in addition to five others in Colorado and Texas. Curren apparently loved the excitement and boom times of new towns, for he established or bought newspapers in many such towns in New Mexico from 1881 until 1911, in both the miners' and homesteaders' press.

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Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, September 2?, 1883; Silver City Enterprise, October 5, 1883. Charles W. Greene, publisher of the Anthony (Kansas) Journal became manager and editor of the Santa Fe Daily New Mexican in February, 1880. After a year he left the New Mexican and launched the Lake Valley Herald and Kingston Tribune. These papers were moved to Deming as the Deming Tribune. In December, 1884, Greene moved this plant to El Paso to

the Tribune and again became a weekly before S. M. Ashenfelter bought it in September, 1889.⁵⁴ This paper then became a leading territorial Democratic Journal under the editorships of former governor E. G. Ross and W. B. Walton.⁵⁴

The failure of the Deming Headlight to become the great and profitable paper of which J. E. Curren had dreamed did not kill his high optimism. An exchange in 1884 of his Deming paper for the Kingston Clipper thrust him into the midst of the booming Sierra County mining camps. Curren now sought to make his fortune by establishing a chain of small papers in the towns of Kingstom, Hillsboro, and Lake

launch the El Paso Tribune. He was very successful with this paper and sold it for \$15,000. Greene then tried mining at Kingston but lost his profits. Later he became involved in the promotion of Pecos Valley irrigation.

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Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, August 23, September 20, November 15¹⁸⁸⁴; Silver City Enterprise, December 11, 1885; Santa Fe weekly New Mexican, June 6, 1886; Deming Headlight, September 7, 1889.

⁴ Albuquerque Daily Citizen, March 27, 1883; Silver City Enterprise, August 12, 1884. W. B. Walton, a native of Pennsylvania, was graduated from the South Jersey Institute at Bridgetown, New Jersey. After a few weeks' experience on an Altoona, Pennsylvania, paper, he moved to New Mexico as the business manager of the Deming Headlight in 1891. In 1893 he succeeded Ross as editor of the Headlight, a post he held until 1898. While acting as business manager he also read law in the offices of S. M. Ashenfelter and soon married one of his daughters. Walton was admitted to the bar and gained reputation as a lawyer. He also became involved in politics, winning the Grant County clerkship, a seat in the legislature, a seat in the constitutional convention, and became territorial Democratic chairman. During all of this time he continued as editor and publisher of either the Headlight or Silver City Independent.

Valley. Once a paper was well established Curren left it in the charge of others and moved on to found another. By 1887 his Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate and Kingston Shaft had subdued all rivals, but Curren apparently foresaw a bleak future for the area and sold out.⁵⁵

The fluctuating fortunes of mining affected the careers of Sierra County newspapers for a number of years. The Shaft, for example, passed from hand to hand until J. P. Ryland bought it in March, 1889. By late 1893 low silver prices had closed Kingston's mines and it was a dying town. Ryland then moved the Shaft to Rincon, where in January, 1895, he abandoned it.⁵⁶ The Sierra County Advocate was also briefly owned by a series of publishers before P. J. Bennett acquired it in 1891. He remained publisher until 1900 and then sold the paper to W. O. Thompson, a former

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Chloride Black Range, November 14, December 12, 1884, July 16, 1885; Kingston Sierra County Advocate, January 10, March 7, 1885; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, February 11, March 11, April 29, 1887; San Juan County Republican, March 14, 1885, April 17, May 22, July 17, 1886, May 21, 1887; Las Vegas Daily Optic, July 30, 1886, November 30, 1880.

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Las Vegas Daily Optic, March 12, 1889; Lordsburg Western Liberal as quoted in San Juan County Independent Democrat, January 18, 1894; Rincon Weekly, February 2, 1896. John O'Connor, postmaster at Marysville, Missouri, anticipating a discovery of his misuse of postal funds, fled to New Mexico in 1882 and took the name John P. Hylcmd. He became prominent in G. A. R. and Republican circles and led a volunteer cavalry troop against Geronimo. Recognized by a Missouri acquaintance in 1895, he fled again and was finally arrested in Kansas City, Missouri.

publisher of the Chloride Black Range.⁵⁷ This paper, which Thompson had edited from 1885 to 1897, was closed when he lost all hope for higher silver prices.⁵⁸ Competition was thus much less of a problem to the publishers of Sierra County papers than declining silver prices and dying towns.

White Oaks became a thriving mining camp after the discovery of gold nearby in 1880, and soon attracted a number of Journalists. The first paper of the town was the Golden Era founded in December, 1880. After a period of rapidly changing editor-publishers⁵⁹ it was moved in 1884 to nearby Lincoln.⁶⁰ The next stable paper at White Oaks was the Lincoln County Leader. Founded by Ue H. Ruidisille in October, 1882, it was sold to William Caffery in 1883. Published by Caffery until his death in 1893, the Leader was

⁵⁷ * Black Range was launched by V. B. Beckett in 1882 at Robinson and moved to Chloride in 1883*

⁵⁸ Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, April 24, 1851, April 27, 1851; Albuquerque Evening Review, March 76, 1882; Robinson Black Range, October 6, 1882; Silver City Enterprise, January 15, 1883; Chloride Black Range, June 5, 1885, August 6, 1897.

⁵⁹ * Albuquerque Daily Journal, March 1, 1881; White Golden Era, September 2, 1881; Las Vegas Daily Optic, December 1, 1881; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, July 1, 1884.

⁶⁰ J. J. Dolan, who earlier had been a leading figure in the Lincoln County War, bought the paper and soon renamed it the Lincoln Independent. This weekly was published intermittently after 1893 and lapsed early in the 1890's.

then suspended.⁶¹

J. E. Sligh,⁶² earlier an editor of the Golden Era, launched the New Mexico Interpreter in 1885, publishing it for two years before selling it to William Watson.⁶³ Watson retained an equity in the paper or its mortgage until it was sold in 1897 to S. M. Wharton and J. A. Haley. Meanwhile, it had been renamed successively Old Abe Eagle and

White Oaks Eagle.⁶⁴ With the depletion of its gold deposits White Oaks also began to die, leading to the suspension of the Eagle in 1902.

A much more attractive site for Journalists was the town of Raton, which rapidly gained population as a

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Us Cruces Rio Grande Republican, October 26, 1882, January 27, 1883; corro taileftain, December 15, 1893.

⁶²

J. E. Sligh came to White Oaks in 1881 and was one of the early editor-publishers of the Goldjro Era* Uter, he was paator of the Congregational church at white Oaks, but he again became a publisher with the launching of the New Mexico Interpreter. After he sold this paper in 1887, he founded the H6gal Af'lglt, which later was sold to the Lincoln County Farmerr* Alliance and was renamed the Liberty Banner.

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" William Watson, White Oaks realtor, lawyer, and miner as well es Journalist, wrs a co-owner of the rich Old Abe gold mine at that town. Other co-owners of the White ~~^^●^^ ?^^~~ xlco Interpreter or its successors and the Old Abe mine were the ^oyle brothers (A. B. and M. W.) and John Y. Hewitt.

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Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, July 25, 1885; Us Vegas Daily Optic, Hay 5, IBB? White Oaks New Mexico Interpreter, May 27, 1887. September 14, 2^ . 18887 January 5, Warch 27, Jufie 21, 1891; Kingston Shaft, October 5, 1^o9; White Oaks Old Abe Eagle. November 27, 1«^1, October 13. 189?; WhiteTEkTlBagle, Janiary 5, May 4, ir-^ \

railway division point, site of extensive coal mining, and center for a thriving cattle industry. The Comet, first paper of the town, was founded In January, 1881, by O. P. McNains. It was succeeded In September, 1881, by the Guard, evidently lasued from the same shop by different owners.[^] In October, 1881, George F. Canis and Thomas Henderson entered the field, moving "the Cimarron News and Press to Raton and renaming it the New Mexico News and Press. The two Raton papers, sharply divided in polittlca and other matters, competed vigorously. Then in July, 1882, McNains bought the Guard and renamed it the Comet. When later that year McNains became a candidate for territorial delegate to Congress, the New Mexico News and Press, now owned by Canis alone, atrongly opposed him. Because McNains was very popular at Raton, the biting editorials of Canis Infuriated many of his followers. This group then forced Canis to flee to Lac Vegas, where he Issued his paper until its suspension in November, 1882.⁶⁶ McNains soon sold the Comet, and

[^] Us Vegas [^]ily Optic, January 17, June 6, 1881; Raton Guard. November 1557TS51T

[^] Cl«.rron »«,. «». 1[^]... 8ept«nb.r 1.. 26. Oeteber 22, 1881; Baton HetTMexico News and Press, October 29, 1881; Nay 6, 1882; PiSion "guard.TSy TT: 7u3y^^ 1S82; Raton Conet, July 14, 1882; AlBuquerque Evening Review, Bovsmber ?, 1882. McNains was the leader of a group that was opposed to the confirmation of the Naxwell Lend Grant, a tremendous acreage in Colfax County upon which iuany of McNains' followers had established ranches. McMains wished to be elected to Congress to fight the Naxwell grant in Washington. Thus, many of the people in and near Raton

Raton Journalism became more placid. The Comet, renamed the Range in 1887, remained the leading paper of the town—especially during the editorship of T. W. Collier from 1891 to 1900.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, other Journalists eoag[^]ted for income at Baton. The dally and weekly Independents were published from 1883 until 1889.⁶⁸ In 1890 the weekly Reporter was launched by G. B. Berlinger. Before 1900 this paper became auccessslvely a tri-weekly, semi-weekly, and weekly again.⁶⁹ In addltiem, five less important weekliea were

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published at Raton in the 1890's. In summary, high income *fnm* industry and agariculture, aa well as sharp pollti* oal conflicts, made Raton Journalism more competitive than

ardently supported his candidacy and Canis became rather unpopular. *For mote* information on McNains and the Naxwell Grant see Chapter VII.

^^ Raton Comet, November 10, 1882, June 1, 1883, February 2ⁿ>, August 29, 1884, February 26, 1886; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, Narch 11, Dec«&ber 23, 1886; Raton Ranae, January 51, 1887, May 1, 1891, April 26, 1[^]oo. T. W. collier, an Ohio Journalist who had been a Uhlon army captain in the Civil War, leased the Santa Fe New Mexican in 1885 and 1886. In February, 1888, he became a co-publisher <5f the Range and in 1891 acquired all of it. In 16[^]7 he was appointed postmaster at Raton.

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Rston Daily Inder[^]e.[^]dent. July 7, iS'M[^], Raton Weekly Indenendent. fevemember 1b, It'n6> Us Vegss Daily Optic, September 2/0, i«89.

⁶⁹ Raton Reporter, April 22, 1890, J[^]ine 7, 1894, 23, 1897, January 1B, 1*[^].

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Santa Fe New Mexican Review, May 12, iS[^]^, Us Cruces Rio Grande ReoulSTlcan, January 2, 16<[^]1, Nay 2C, 1898; San[^]a Fe un, July 25* 1891j Raton Union, February 26, Septsmber 10, iW[^]; Ayer, American Newgpaner Annual, New Nexlco pages from iS[^]^n[^]o 1?oi.

that of the dying mining towns.

Springer had few of the advantages of Raton, but its location of the county seat soon brought it a newspaper, the Colfax County Stockman. Three years later, in 1865, this paper came into the possession of Henry W. Sturges and his son, P. F. Sturges. Upon the death of the elder Sturges in 1891, J. F. Hutchinson became and remained the principal owner of the paper into the new century.⁷¹

In western New Mexico exploitation of low grade coal deposits at Gallup led to its rapid growth in the late 1880's. After 1887 four weeklies competed there. The Oatette, Register, and News-Register were short-lived, but the Gleaner, founded in 1888, endured a competitive flurry and then remained unopposed for over a decade.⁷²

Gallup, like many of the older towns, was badly hurt economically by the depressed nineties. On the other hand, despite depression there was a new wave of immigration in the nineties to exploit northeastern New Mexico's dry

⁷¹ San Lorenzo Red River Chronicle, Nov 6, 1882; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican Review, June 18, 1885; ⁷² Vegas Daily Optic, January 19, 1891; Springer Colfax County Stockman, September 3, 1893, May 1, 1895.

Silver City Enterprise, October 10, 1887, Us Vegas Daily Optic, January 14, February 15, 1887, May 5, 1887; Gallup Chirister, July 1, 1888; Gallup Gleaner, August 11, 1888; Chirillos Rustler, November 18, 1888; Us Cruces Rio Grande Republican, December 2, 1888; Oclun News-Register, April 15, 1889, February 4, 1890; Kingston Shafter February 15, 1890; Ayer, American Newspaper Annual. 1891, p. 557

farming areas and the irrigation potential of the San Juan and Pecos river valleys. As a result such new towns as Roswell, Eddy, and Clayton were founded and new papers were launched, offsetting the decline in journalistic activity in the older towns. Without these new enterprises the number of territorial newspapers being published in the nineties would have been greatly reduced.

San Juan Irrigation, developed very slowly by a series of small projects, did not provide a great economic stimulus to the area and explains the fact that although six papers were launched in this era in the San Juan Valley, only two of them survived through the troubled years of the nineties. The Aztec San Juan County Index was founded in 1889 and continued under five publishers until 1900. The Junction City Times, founded in 1891, became the Farmington San Juan Times in 1893* and also frequently changed publishers before 1900. ⁷

The lower Pecos Valley irrigation district, unlike that of the San Juan Valley, was developed rapidly by large companies, which soon placed an extensive acreage under cultivation. As a result both Roswell and Eddy enjoyed a rapid growth, luring newsmen to these towns. The first paper of this region was the Roswell Pecos Valley Writer

⁷ 3 Albuquerque Daily Citizen, March 13, 1883; San Juan Times, San Juan County Index, June 15, 1884; Farmington San Juan Times, July 1, 1885, January 6, May 5, 1889, Ayer. American CMC T J J C T A l a l a l. New Mexico pages 1889 to 1901.

founded In November, 1888, by J. A. Erwin and L. O. Fullen. This Republican weekly was sold two yeers later and th<fi bec«te simply the Roswell Register. Before 1900 it had had six owners* The Panocratic weekly Boswell Record launched in 1091 had a more stable career. It was publihed until 18⁹¹ by J. D. Lea, who made Luciuia Dilla editor. Three sho3*t-llved weeklies also were establiashed at Roswell in this decade.⁷⁴

Further south along the Pecoa ^t Eddy, the first paper was the Republican weekly Aiyus, founded in I889 by the Pecos Irrigation and Development Company. Frotn ld95 to 1900 L. O. Fullen represented the irrigation company as its editor and publisher.⁷⁵ Five other papers were laimched at

⁷⁴ Roswell Pg^cos Valley Register, November 29, I888; White Oaks Hew MexlctTznterpreter, January 16, 1891; Rom/ell Register. August 20, OctoMr 30, 1895^ January 15, I896; rfully 2, 1897, August 12, 1898; Us Vegas Stock Grower and Fsrmer. August 17» I895* Us Vegss Pally Optic,niovi5iber 23, I099; Santa Fe New Mexican Review. August 2'?", 1898; Roawell Record. Januaryn57 February ^4, 1699.

^ Eddy Argus, Novsmber 16, I889, October 31, IC01; Us Cruces Rio GranJe Republican, November 25, December ?o, 1895, JanuarF'3, 1B9S; Santa Fe New Mexican, Nay 25, 1901. L. O. Fullen, who with his brother-in-law, J. A. Erwin, was ^ co-publisher of the Roswell Pecoa Valley Register and the Roswell Herald, beceme the shop forwnan of the feddy Argue In its early years and in I895 became its editor and pub-lisher. In 1897 he was appointed postmaster at Eddy, a posi-tion which he hel-f until 1905- Meanwhile, he had read law and waa admitted to the bar in 1905, becoming a law partner of A. H, Freeman. In I907 he accepted c !^osltion as dis-trict attorney t^nd realigned hia editorship. In later years <^"Tlen htfo a distinguished csreer as a lawyer at Pos'4:ell.

Eddy In this period, of which the most important was the Dallas Current. Established by W. H. Mullane in 1892 as the Daily Eddy Current, it retreated from its over ambitious beginning by becoming a semi-weekly in 1894 and a weekly in 1895.⁷ Here as at Roswell the chief competitors became two long-lived and stable papers representing the major political parties.

Farmers of a different type than those of the Pecos Valley were drawn into northeastern New Mexico. Construction of the Denver and Fort Worth railway into this area sped the immigration of dry farmers by providing access to markets. A number of small towns arose as trading centers and newspapers were established. The Clayton Enterprise, founded in May, 1888, led the parade of small weeklies launched in this region. J. E. Curren, who had published two small Colorado papers since leaving Sierra County, returned to New Mexico to establish the Folsom Iden in July, 1888. In 1890 Curren acquired the Clayton Enterprise and then followed practices similar to those he had used in Sierra County, publishing *as many as* three papers with editor-managers. Of ten papers founded in this area, the

⁷ Kingston Shaft. October 15, 1892; Eddy Current, December 31, 1892; Silver City Enterprise, December 11, 1891, July 14, 1893; American Newspaper Annual. 1894, p. 500, 1895, p. 504; Iden, p. 554. W. H. Mullane published papers at Frijoles, which later became Carlsbad, Hagerman, and Roswell, for most of the year from 1892 until 1912. During this period he became a leader in the Democratic party in southeastern New Mexico.

Enterprise was the most stable. Seven of the ten were published at Clayton, providing competition for the Enterprise almost continuously from 1893 until 1900.⁷⁷

From this survey of the founding of over 300 papers in the short period between 1879 and 1900, and in such a sparsely settled area as New Mexico, it may be seen that instability accompanied by intense competition was the most striking feature of territorial Journalism. More newspapers were founded in the years from 1879 to 1885 than in the period between 1886 and 1900. The earlier years were a time of marked instability because many over-optimistic but under-capitalized publishers failed in this period of harsh and incessant competition. In the later years this competition became more intense, for depression reduced available revenues and made the contest more heated. The fierceness of the battle can be seen by the fact that such able and entrenched publishers as Russell Kistler of the Las Vegas Daily Optic and J. O. Albright of the Albuquerque Morning Democrat failed. As depression raged and the field narrowed, the publishers, who found it difficult to maintain themselves solely on advertising and subscription revenues, became more dependent upon the support of the politicians,

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Clayton Enterprise. May 17, 1888; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, July 1, 1880; Folsom Idea, February 9, 1885; Las Vegas Daily Optic. July 1, 1881; Clayton Union County Democrat, July 7, 1881; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican Review. February 1, 1891; Ayer, American Newspaper Journal. History of New Mexico pages from 1881 to 1891.

who endeavored to maintain in most towns at least one paper favorable to their party.

This, then, was a period of transition in territorial Journalism, an era from the independent, opportunistic, frontier editors of the 1870's toward the subdued and controlled press of 1900 dominated by territorial political figures. In this transitional period the personal Journalism, warm fraternalism, and high self-esteem of the Journalists of the 1870's were considerably moderated. Thus, the fading of the frontier, intense competition, and harsh depression had robbed the press of the independence of the frontier editor, but had not yet given it the financial independence of the modern New Mexico press.

Independent and optimistic pioneer Journalists of the early 1880's founded dozens of papers in small New Mexico towns anticipating prosperous futures when the towns and territory were fully developed. They were sustained initially by an equally optimistic merchant group and Anglo-American population. The merchants at first advertised heavily to introduce their firm names and to encourage newspapers, believing they were community assets that would attract new capital and immigration to the town. And the Anglo-American immigrants, having a friendly interest in their new neighbors and homeland, generally became cash

subscribers to the newspapers. The large revenue resulting from advertising and circulation sustained a belief among newsmen of the eighties that most profits would come from commerce rather than from political subsidy.

Declining cattle, silver, and wool prices, as well as the general economic recession of the 1890's dampened the enthusiasm of territorial Journalists. The best evidence of this is the decline in the number of papers founded in the depression decade. In the eighties 168 new papers were established, while in the nineties only 115 were launched. However, pioneering continued in some areas, and 28 of the new papers of the nineties were founded in the Pecos or San Juan valleys, in new gold camps near Taos, or the new dry farming areas. Despite the fact that there were some pioneer Journalists in the 1890's, however, these bleak years robbed the territorial press corps of the frontiersman's optimism which was so characteristic of the Journalists of the early 1880's.

Reduced commercial income led territorial Journalists to seek, through politics, greater income from government posts or public printing. Illustrating this trend is the larger number of Journalist postmasters in the nineties. Only two active Journalists were postmasters in the 1880's: C. B. Hayward of the Santa Fe New Mexican

Review and Thomas Hughes of the Albuquerque Noming Journal.

On the other hand, six active Journalists were postmssters in the 1890's: T- W. Collier of the Raton Range, L. O.

Fullen of the Eddy Argus, A. N. Swan of the Gellup News-Register, George T. Gould of the Dally Optic at Us Vegas,

J. A. Carruth of the Pally Examiner at Las Vegas, and Don

H. Kedzie of the Lordsburg Western Liberal.⁷⁹ The duties of postmaaters were so light that the editors usually held both positions, and thus these subsidies were both rewards for past political support and bait for future cooperation.

The general territorial public printing subsidy was monopolized by the Senta Fe New Mexican, but at the county levels lesser Journalists competed for the public printing, which by the nineties hsd considerably increased in volume. In this decade counties published delinquent tsx lists, sometimes as many as twenty pages being published as legal notices, along with the minutes of meetings of the county commissioners. These legal notices, other printing, and office supply needs were purchased by the county commissioners from the polttlcsllly faithful newspapers.⁸⁰ In addition, by the nineties Journalists could

^^ White Oaks, Golden Era. April 24, 1884; Albuquerque Noming Journal, bctobeFTo, 1882| Santa Fe New Mexican. April 27. 1^op. May 25, 1001; Us Vegas DalTST optic. March 31, IB^4, February 9, 18<^8; San Marclal Bee, June 10, 1893.

Us Vegas Independiente, February 15, IQ00; Socorro Chieftain. February 5, 1097; both show the rewards for county printing and the contests for it.

be rewarded with printing contracts from the new territorial colleges. Newspapers in the depressed nineties, therefore, sought legislation to increase public printing and cooperated with the politicians to receive it, in the process becoming ever more subservient to their political benefactors.

Territorial political leaders increased their control of the press in several other ways. The number of campaign papers was increased from ten in the 1880's to twenty-five in the 1890's. Politicians also went beyond the campaign papers, becoming publishers in order to get long term newspaper support. Prominent examples of this latter trend were A. B. Fall's Us Cruces Independent Democrat, the purchase of Us Vegas Voz del Pueblo by Union People's party leader Felix Nartine⁸¹, the leasing of the Santa Fe New Mexican by Governor W. T. Thornton and Democratic office holders, and the attempt of Republican leader T. B. Catron to acquire the Albuquerque Noming Democrat through a mortgage foreclosure. Increased political control also was indicated by changes in party affiliations of newspapers. The total number of Republican papers published decreased from fifty-six in the 1880's to thirty-six in the 1890's. On the other hand. Democratic papers grew from thirty-eight to forty-five, and nine new People's party papers appeared.

The only Republican paper that became Democratic because of the silver issue was the Chloride Black Range. The change in ratio in favor of the Democrats was more the result of political subsidy. However, the Populist papers do represent the political turmoil of the 1890's.

No doubt, popular dissatisfaction with Republican policies led to an increase in Democratic and Populist propaganda, however control of public printing exercised by those parties in some counties also allowed them to subsidize papers. But in either case their survival was dependent upon adherence to the party line and shows an increase in political control of the press.

The political control of rural papers so characteristic of American Journalism in this period⁸² was a new trend in New Mexico. The pre-railway era Journalists had been political opportunists who used the press to advance personal political careers. Newsmen of the eighties had turned away from politics to commercial rewards for advancement. Then came the political subservience of editors during the nineties, which indicated, at least in part, the decline of frontier influence.

While the newsmen of this era were not independent opportunists in politics as had been the Journalists of the pre-railway era, their geographic origins had changed but slightly. The earlier editors came mainly from the northern seaboard states and, so far as could be determined, those of the latter era from the northern Midwest. Although no effort was made to investigate thoroughly the origins of all

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I. U. Irwin, "The Voice of a Generation,"
 Co. Miller's. July 29, 1911, as reprinted under the title
 "How far have we come? A view from 1911," Columbian Joqg-
nalism Review, II (Summer, 1933) p. 41^

Journalists of this era, of thirty-six Journalists? checked, *seven* were from Ohio, five from Illinois, six from Kansas, two from Iowa, one each from Nebraska and Colorado, *two* from Missouri, three of whom were Republicans and represent a northern Midwest attitude* From the eastern seaboard states, two Journalists came from Pennsylvania, and one from New York. The South was represented by three Kentuckians and two Texans. Foreign lands continued to be represented among the territorial Journalists with one each from Mexico, Austria, England, and Canada. Although these Journalists were diverse in origin it appears that they were predominantly from the northern Midwest.⁸³ The origins of Spanish language Journalists were more easily checked since there were few Spanish language papers. However, the Spanish Journalists, constituting only a small part of the press corps, were rather limited in their influence.

In the years after 1880 the prevalent bilingualism of the pre-railroad era papers gave way to a predominantly

⁸³ The small number of Journalists whose origins are known and have been considered above is inconclusive evidence of the origins of almost 50% of the newsmen of this period. But to check fully sectional influence upon New Mexico Journalism other factors than origin need to be considered. For instance, the importance and influence of the Journalists and the length of time in which they engaged in Journalism. Considering these factors and believing that the sampling above indicates a general trend, the writer contends that the cultural influence, attitudes, and ideology of the majority of Journalists in this era were those of people who were from the northern Midwest.

English language press. Only sixteen bilingual and thirteen Spanish language papers were published in the eighties. However, by the nineties a larger number of native New Mexicans were literate in the Spanish language, having been educated in that tongue by an increasing number of Catholic schools. As a result, thirty-five Spanish language and eleven bilingual papers were published in the nineties—a decade of reduced journalistic efforts.

Most of the Spanish language and bilingual papers were short-lived; many were only campaign papers. Nevertheless, there were several stable and well-edited papers being published in 1880. For example, El Tiempo of San Antonio was launched in 1882, at Santa Fe the Boletín Popular and El Nuevo Mexicano were founded in 1885 and 1890 respectively, and at Albuquerque the Nuevo Mundo and the Bandera Americana were established in 1897 and 1894 respectively.⁸⁴ The two best Spanish language journals were La Voz del Pueblo and El Independiente of Las Vegas, which were founded in 1888 and 1904. The quality of Las Vegas Spanish Journalism was a reflection of its able newsmen. Personnel of La Voz included Felix Martinez and Ezequiel Cabeza de Baca, both of whom were prominent territorial political figures, E. H. Salazar, founder and publisher of El Independiente, learned printing and Journalism from his step-father, E. H.

⁸⁴ *1931 American Newspaper Annual*, 1938, p. 528.

Manderfield of the Santa Fe Rev Mexican,⁸⁵ These able men gave a new prestige to the Spanish language press.

Most territorial editors of this period retained a high estimate of the position in society of capable Journalists. For example, the editor wrote: "The profession of Journalism is co-ordinate and co-equal with that of law, medicine or divinity. . . ." Later he wrote: "Quarrels between newspaperers are neither dignified nor profitable, and they impair the influence of the press as the great

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public mentor.' Other newsmen believed that mere participation in Journalism did not automatically entitle all Journalists to the respect due editors of Integrity and ability. Evidence of this was a resolution offered by T. W. Collier at the territorial press convention in 1891. He asked that a committee be established to Judge the fitness of any

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Journalist to be a member of the association. Thus, territorial Journalists moved toward a more moderate concept of their positions in society, a belief that Journalists should be judged individually rather than as a class, but

⁸⁶ Concerning E. H. Salazar see Southwestern New Mexican, February 11, August 6, 1902, January 23, 1903. Martinez was an influential political leader in both the Democratic and Union People's parties, and E. C. de Baca later became the second governor of the state of New Mexico.

⁸⁷ Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 1, 1881, May 27, 1880.

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Kingston Advertiser, January 25, 1880; see also Las Cruces El Gran Republicano, November 1, 1880. Las Cruces El Gran Republicano editorials: "Prune the Profes-

that the better Journalists were due the esteem accorded other professions.

This new practice of Judging editors individually rather than as a class was an element in the decline of Journalistic fraternalism. While editors of the early eighties shared the common *motivation* of establishing and publishing papers in a frontier area, their editorial columns often contained notes about *the* activities of other editors. But by 1880 editors infrequently noted the actions of other Journalists and then usually limited themselves to remarks about personnel of nearby papers, or comments by dailies about dailies and weeklies about weeklies. Fraternalism was becoming stratified in levels of power, wealth, or ability.

A survey of New Mexico Press Association activities shows the trends noted above. In 1881 pride of possession and fraternalism born of common experience led to the organization at Albuquerque of a press association. This spirit sustained the association through 1882, but only a small group attended the 1883 meeting. Until 1900 this small group, principally Albuquerque newsmen, continued to hold annual meetings each year during the territorial fair at Albuquerque. Then the territorial legislature passed a severe libel law; in the same period New Mexico entered an economic depression. Interest in repeal of the libel law and obtaining increases in public printing apparently led

to a revival of the press association, and meetings from 1890 through 1893 were well attended. In 1893 the libel law was repealed, and public printing at county levels had been greatly increased. Since the prime motives for maintaining the association were removed and Journalistic fraternalism had declined, the press association lapsed until 1900. Accounts of press association meetings tell of gay dinners with freely flowing liquor furnished by merchants of the host town and of the election of association officers. Editors mention little of actions with regard to the libel law or public printing, but such discussions may be deduced from pre-convention editorial comment. In short, fraternalism led to the founding of the New Mexico Press Association; common needs led to its revival; but division of interests and declining fraternalism again brought its lapse.⁸⁸

Coincidentally, fraternalism and personal Journalism reached a peak in the eighties. Nested exchanges between the editors in those years were often vulgar, obscene, and sometimes sacrilegious. One illustration of this

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Albuquerque Daily Journal, March 1, 1881; Silver City Southwest Sentinel, April 7, 1883; Las Vegas Daily Optic, October 1, 1880; IBB^A, March 4, April 16, September 15, October 1, 1880, January 18, 1880, January 13, 1891. January 20-25, 1892, January 18, 1893, September 1, 1883, January 16, 1887; Santa Fe Sun, January 13, 1881; Albuquerque Nomina Democrat, October 1, 1886; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, August 25, 1888, March 9, 1889; Santa Fe 1^A Mexican, March 4, 1886, January 18, 1889.

practice ia the attack of the Pally Optic at Us Vegas unon
the editor of the Santa Fe N^ Mexican headed "AN EDITORIAL
ASS":

The writer of ^e 8ec<md page of the Santa Fe New
Mexican has about as ouch idea of the courtesy due a
gsntltt^ian as an ass has of manners. . . . When the
fellow charges THE OPTIC with being an "ors«n of the
New Mexico boodlers,** and with having been bribed in
its utterances, . . . he lies in his throat." , . .
Booby Spradling, whose imbecility of mind is shown
by ^e silly paragraphs he pens, et the bidding of
his keepers, is painful evidence that he is a bound
slave to onanism, and therefore the time server should
not be held accountable for what he says or does.
Outside of his office he is a man whom God hates (a
sneaking coward) and in his office he is a blubbering
fool, who is to be pitied and not blamed for his un-
Joamallstlc utterances. . . •

^^ ^ow Mexican* s reply brought another Daily
Optic blast at the "syphil t^r nimbeferous Spradling maxuige-
ment . . . of the Santa Fe excuse for a newspaper . . . and
Its penitentiary deserving gan^ . . . "80

In competitive situations editors were particularly
sensitive, as the heated battle between the Gallup Gleaner
•" ^* Hews-Register indicated, W, T. Henderson of the
Gleaner wrote of News-Register editor A. M. Swan:

An evidence of the tinderhanded sneak, liar, ruf-
fian, the two faced scarecrow, whose whiskers are
leaking for need of n bath, ^ s :;iven in the last
issue of the hypenated bladder . . . it says we made
anarchist [etc) speeches to the striker? end several
other damphool [sic] statements.

***• Bewa-Reglater's renly waa in the form of a curse.

May fortune flee from him, and evil cling to him all of his days; may death rob him of family; friends forsake him; disease waste his flesh; ghosts of women haunt his sleep, and in the end poor, miserable, loathed of men and deapised by God may the wretch sink into the grave and hell receive his soul .^{QQ} ^

Violent editorial language sometimes brought physical violence in return, as the following item illustrates:

Newman carries a leaded cane, a speck of newspaper war is brewing at Las Vegas. There are traces of blood on the Journalistic moon at Socorro. Editor Sturges of the Springer Stockman wears a steel breastplate. Editor Uonard of the Silver City Enterprise licked a citizen last week. An Albuquerque woman has been after the city editor of the Democrat with a rawhide. Editor Hughes threatens to rattle editor Albright "with a pistol like a dog be gad!" . . . At Albuquerque editor Dunbar is slowly recovering from bruises received at the hands of editor Albright. ^^

In the nineties editorial comments became more moderate. An editorial of the Albuquerque Daily Citizen in 1893 shows the new trend: "Since in this newspaper is entirely too valuable to waste in wrangling with other newspapers. When we have anything to say about our genial contemporaries we say it in «• few words as possible."

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Gallup Oleaner, May 1, 1880; Gallup News-Register as quoted in Kings to Idaho, May 11, 1889.

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Chloride Black Rattle, January 20, 1886.

Ute in the decade comments became mart on the *Annals* of this Santa Fe New Mexican note of 1808: "A more or less esteemed contemporary over in Union County is barking at the NEW MEXICAN. A dog baying at the moon so as to

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speak." Thus, New Mexico editors belatedly followed national trends of decreasing personal Journalism. In this, as in other matters, the territorial press was losing its frontier character and approaching the norms of all American rural Journalism.

If one were to construct a composite of the most prominent characteristics of all territorial newsman in this transitional period, it would have been a profile of a man of the northern Midwest, who had abandoned the bilingual publication of his predecessors to issue an English language paper. In the 1880's he would have been an optimistic pioneer confident that he would receive most of his rewards from private business. By the 1890's, however, he would have lost his optimism and sought political rewards to supplement his meager income, becoming increasingly subservient to the territorial politicians. In addition, with the fading of the frontier he would have lost a fraternal

¹ Albuquerque Daily Citizen, January 6, 1893?
Santa Fe New Mexican, April 11, 1890.

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Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History, 1690-1960 (New York, 1962), p. 312 notes that personal Journalism began to decline in the 1850's among the New York papers. This work hereafter cited as Mott, American Journalism.

feeling held for fellow editors, but at the name there he would have been more moderate in personal Journalism. He also would have come to recognize that merely publishing or editing a newspaper did not entitle one to the respect due a Journalist of integrity and ability. Territorial Journalism still retained traces of frontier and Spanish tones in 1900, but it was fast approaching the norms of American rural Journalism.

Although not far behind other American country newsmen of that day, the style, writing, and news coverage of the territorial Journalists appear crude when compared to current practices. Editorials in the territorial papers were usually long, occupied a disproportionate space in the newspaper, and were less concerned with territorial problems than those of the earlier editors. Entertaining features, humor and poetry, were less used than in the 1870's and had been almost eliminated by 1890. On the other hand, there was some slight improvement in news coverage. Several of the dailies subscribed to the brief Associated Press telegram, and territorial news coverage improved with the increase in newspapers, since this news was obtained by clipping copy from other papers. Also in this era more space was devoted to local news, and it was perhaps here that the territorial Transients made the most progress.

With rare exceptions, the editorials of the territorial Journalists would be assessed unfavorably by modern

editors. First, editorials were unduly long, usually taking up all available space on one page. Furthermore, with hundreds of problems in the towns and in the territory deserving editorial comment, editorials were usually cluttered with topics of little interest to territorial readers. A comment in the Daily Optic at Las Vegas best described the general practice: "The Albuquerque Democrat; again bores its readers with a column and a half editorial read by no one except the fellow who wrote it and the unfortunate proof reader who probably went to sleep in the process of this narcotic exercise."⁹⁴ While the Santa Fe New Mexican used excessive space for its editorials, its editors at least concentrated upon territorial political matters which readers probably found more interesting than many of the topics used by other editors. Only two papers, the Albuquerque Evening Review and the Daily Optic, devoted a reasonable amount of space to editorials, limiting themselves to a single column of editorials which were generally short comments on local or territorial matters.

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Las Vegas Daily Optic, June 25, 1889; the Albuquerque Daily Citizen, July 12, 1890, charged the Morning Democrat with reprinting editorial material from the Louisville Courier-Journal. Albuquerque Morning Democrat, June 20, 1889, editorial, "Local vs. General Interests," provides an example of an editorial worthy of perhaps one-fourth the space devoted to it. For other illustrations of this practice see: Las Cruces Independent Democrat, February 17, May 18, 1890; Silver City Enterprise, June 29, 1889; Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, August 13, 1881.

The most effective and sound editorial technique of the era seemed to be that of W. F. Saunders, editor of the Albuquerque Evening Review. His handling of the local sanitation problem provides an illustration. In 1882 Albuquerque drainage was accomplished by an open irrigation canal extending along its main street. Townspeople threw slops, garbage, and refuse of all types into the canal rather than carry them to the garbage dump. The canal, as a result, soon became a nauseous evil. In his first weeks as editor Saunders called attention to the condition of the ditch and asked the county commissioners to correct it. Then almost daily he made a brief comment "Clean out that ditch gentlemen. It must be done." Eventually the ditch was cleaned, and Saunders credited this result to his brief but persistent reminders.⁵

Editorials also provided one of the few instances of the use of humor in the papers of this era. Personal Journalism, for example, was often intended to be amusing. A few editors in the frontier days of the early eighties saw humor in the suffering of others, particularly fellow editors, and filled their editorial columns with this type of wit. One of the most able of these editors was C. J. Hildreth of the Rio Grande Republican at Las Cruces. When the Silver City Watch Dog was launched, he quipped: "Its

⁵ Albuquerque Evening Review, February 20 to March 20, 1882, June 21, 1882.

bark commences with 'Our Bow.' It should have been 'Our Bow Wow.'" Uter he noted: "The Watch Do^ is enlarged, its growls are more ferocious than ever. Nay he never want for a bone and be long in reaching the sausage makers. '* When J. E. Curren boasted of improvements in his Doding Headlight and claimed to have started with the poorest town, press, and typea in the United States, Hildreth commented: "This reminds us of the fruit vendor who came to Chicago twenty years ago with all of his stock and trade in one basket and now he owns a handcart. «96

The most humorous paper in the territory in this ers was the Nanzano Gringo and Greaser, a tiny semi-monthly. It was edited by Charles L. Kusz, who was also postmaster, miner, stockman, and assayer at Nanzano. Since it had almost no advertising. It evidently wss intended for the personsl smusement of Kusz. The Gringo and Greaser, whoss title Insulted all of ita reeders, emphasized humorous anecdotes such as the following:

Dolores Sedillo is out of luck; he fell in love with s piece of Us Vegss calico, that is visiting here, but his love was spumed, he then skedaddl^d, taking with him a mule, the mule died on the plains snd left him on foot. The last seen of him, he was aaking a Jackaas of himself, being saddled up and trying to ride himself out of the country. A busted heart will raise hell with any man,97

²⁶ Us Cruces Rio Grande Republican, June 10, October 20, 1882, MarchT^, 1883.

⁹⁷ Nanzano Gringo and Greaser, February 15, 1884.

The use of humorous quips such as these declined with the fading of the frontier; instead, most territorial editors sought to entertain readers with better news coverage.

The space devoted to national and international news was increased during this period. For such copy daily papers continued to rely on a brief Associated Press telegram and stories clipped from Colorado and midwestern papers. The use of the Associated Press service was limited by its high cost, however, for press service and telegraphy charges were more than \$3,000 annually. Oils cost made the service too expensive for many short-lived dailies; even ^{^^^} Daily Optic used it only when threatened with competition.⁹⁸ The Albuquerque dailies and the New Mexican were consistent Associated Press subscribers after 1890, with the result that national and international news coverage generally increased in the daily press. The weekly press and a few dailies relied upon news clipped from exchanges, but by 1900 the weekly press was leaving national news to the dailies and devoting more space to local news.

Most territorial papers improved local news coverage and some made significant advances. The best examples were the Daily Optic and the Albuquerque Evening Review. In the early years of the Daily Optic, Russell Klstler was

unable to afford the Associated Press service; since the competing Las Vegas Daily Gazette did. However, Kistler sought to counter it by providing a superior local news coverage. In addition, Daily Optic reporters met every train and interviewed travelers, particularly prominent ones, for territorial news.⁹⁹ These methods enabled the Daily Optic to steal the subscribers of the Daily Gazette and eventually led to the suspension of that paper. The Evening Review also gave heavy emphasis to local news and was not an Associated Press subscriber. While most other papers confined themselves only to the most important local events, such coverage was gradually extended.

Space devoted to general territorial news was inferior even more than that given over to local news, for such matter was obtained easily from other territorial papers and was more extensive because of the increased size of the press. Occasionally the Daily Optic sent a reporter to the legislative session at Santa Fe, and the Albuquerque Morning Democrat assigned one to report the constitutional convention in 1887.¹⁰⁰ But most editors continued to rely upon exchanges for their territorial news.

^{^^} Ibid., January 8, March 7, 1880 et passim.

^{^^^} Ibid., January 1, 1884 to March 1, 1884; Albuquerque ^{^^^} Morning Democrat. September 1 to October 20, 1889.

Many New Mexico weeklies had non-territorial stories on pre-printed pages, often called patent pages or ready print, which were sold to them by such companies as A. N. Kellogg or Western Newspaper Union. National advertising sold by these companies was surrounded by feature stories and printed on half of the pages of newsprint sold to rural weeklies. This advertising paid part of the printing and newsprint costs and allowed the country publisher to offer his subscribers a larger paper. The first use of this service in New Mexico was noted by the Albuquerque Review with the following comment: "The New Mexico Co-operator is . . . , one of those emasculated humbugs, one
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half is printed in the states, the other half here. Other papers, short of printers, used boiler plate, that is, stereotyped news matter which could be inserted directly into the printing forms. Both of these devices were used by undercapitalized publishers, who frowned on them as makeshift or as avoidance of an editor's responsibilities and discontinued them as soon as possible.

101 Albuquerque Review, July 8, 1876. Copy used on pre-printed pages and boiler plate was not necessarily uninteresting, for it was like the modern feature story. However, this seemed a great waste of space in the small New Mexico papers which were unable to publish all of the local news and many important territorial news stories. For examples of this practice see: Los Cruces Rio Grande Republican in 1862 and Magdalene Mountain Mail, October and November, 1888,

The Journalistic styles and headlining practices of even the most conscientious editors would not have been pleasing to modern newspaper readers, for they were improved only slightly over practices of the pre-railway era. Most headlines were in small type and still one line and one column in width. However, for important news stories a few papers were using multi-deck or tiered headlines arranged in inverted pyramids. The need to conserve space evidently made the smaller headline mandatory, and under such conditions balance makeup was impractical. Generally, news stories were still written in a rambling, verbose style without lead paragraphs. The Albuquerque Evening Review and the Daily Optic at Las Vegas, however, used brief stories and thereby were able to publish a larger variety of accounts. For the general news, however, Journalistic styles developing in the farther eastern American cities left little imprint on New Mexico newspapers in this era.

Nevertheless, in the opinion of many New Mexico newsmen the quality of territorial dailies was equal to that of dailies in towns of the same size elsewhere in America. One editor believed there were no better dailies published in any United States territory than the Daily Citizen, Morning Democrat, and Las Vegas Optic. Another editor compared favorably the Albuquerque dailies with those of

Kansas City and Denver. No doubt, this last was an exaggeration. However, comparison of the territorial dailies with the general small town dailies of this era described by a leading authority on American Journalism leaves the impression that the New Mexico dailies were only slightly inferior in quality. -^

Even though territorial Journalism was not far behind general American rural Journalism, the practices of New Mexico newsmen were only slightly improved over those of the pre-railway era. National and foreign news was still limited to the brief daily Associated Press telegrams and borrowed stories. Editorial comment still occupied a disproportionate amount of available space. The coverage of local and territorial news was but slightly improved, and few advances in Journalistic style and headlining were made. Many of the poorer weeklies relied upon pre-printed pages and had little space for local news. Finally, the friendly humor in the editorial columns of the early 1880's declined, apparently as a consequence of the decline in frontier influence and the gloom of the 1890's. By the end of the century many of the territorial papers had lost their frontier vitality and had evolved into routine country weeklies.

102 Socorro Industrial Advertiser, August 17, 1889;
 ^ ^ ® ^ ^ Chieftain, June 14, 1885.

^^^ Nott, American Journalism, pp. 470-78.

Numerous problems faced by the Journalists heavily influenced the transition from a vital frontier press to a routine country press. First of all, crude methods of printing retarded the development of sound journalistic practices. Next, financial problems beset publishers. Newspaper incomes decreased with a general reduction in subscription rates. Nor was this reduced income offset by any considerable increase in circulation. In addition, subscribers were still reluctant to pay for subscriptions. A general reduction in advertising rates in this era also helped keep the income of the publishers small. A third general problem was the excessive competition, which placed a severe burden on most publishers. Fourth, a high illiteracy rate among Spanish-Americans apparently made publishing unprofitable in towns that were heavily Spanish-American in population. Finally, the free language of the editors apparently motivated the legislature to enact the severe but short-lived libel law of 1889. These manifold problems of the publishers contributed to the relatively slow progress of territorial journalism in the eighties and nineties.

Poor printing methods retarded all American journalism before the 1890's, but conditions were much worse in New Mexico. Since most territorial papers were undercapitalized they were launched with the crudest of equipment and improved very slowly. For instance, the Daily Optic was launched in 1879 with a small army press of the

same type used to found the Santa Fe Republican in 1847. The Albuquerque Daily Journal and the Evening Review were founded with Washington hand presses.¹⁰⁴ The Deming Hesdlight was launched with a small treadle-powered Job press, although it soon acquired a Washington hand press.¹⁰⁵ The dailies soon purchased cylinder presses, but continued to operate them at slow speed by hand power. By 1887 the Santa Fe New Mexican had replaced a water power motor with steam and by the end of the century was using an internal combustion engine. Other dailies soon followed the lead of the New Mexican; but on the other hand, many territorial weeklies in 1900 were still relying on the Washington hand press. Hand composition of type continued to be the rule for New Mexico weeklies, although in the late 1890's the dailies acquired linotypes, with the Albuquerque Noming Democrat in 1896 becoming the first territorial paper to own one of these mechanical type-setting machines.¹⁰⁶

Union relations never became any great problem for New Mexico publishers, although early in this era unions were formed and strikes occurred at the Noming Journal,

¹⁰⁴ The Las Vegas Daily Optic, May 4, October 2, 1882; Albuquerque Evening Review, November 7, 1883.

¹⁰⁵ C. N. Chase, The Editor's Run in New Mexico and Colorado (Kyndon, Vermont, 1952), pp. 195-7. See Los Angeles Mo Grande Republican, February 4, 1887.

¹⁰⁶ Santa Fe New Mexican, July 14, 1887, December 1, 1900; Los Angeles Mo Grande Republican, July 1, 1886.

New Mexican and Daily Gazette as a result of disputes over wages and working conditions. Other than these instances, labor and management relations appeared cordial. While unions were the rule for territorial dailies, this was not true of weeklies, probably because their printer-publishers could easily have broken strikes by doing their own work. Despite some crude practices, the mechanical methods and labor relations of the territorial press appeared to be almost abreast the contemporary American rural press as described by one authority on the development of American Journalism.¹⁰⁷

In the 1880's territorial newspapers developed several new revenue sources unavailable to American newspapers in general. In the territorial Southwest, legal notices concerning mining claims, and cattle brand advertisements provided additional revenue.¹⁰⁸ By contrast, papers of the northeastern part of the territory had a great deal more cattle brand advertising and legal notices

for homesteaders instead of miners' notices. Shortly before the drastic drop in cattle prices, three of the eight

¹⁰⁷ Albuquerque Evening Review, May 6, 7, 1882; Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 22, 1882; Las Vegas Daily Optic, April; 1882, May 24, 1884; Mott, American Journalism, p. 478.

¹⁰⁸ Cattle brand advertisements pictured a cow with the advertiser's brand placed upon it and usually required from one to one and one-half column inches of space.

¹⁰⁹ A legal notice, published three times, was required of a person who wished to file a claim on a mining

pages of the Raton Comet were devoted each week to cattle brand advertisements. ^ 1894 most revenue from cattle and mining sources had vanished. Merchant advertising was still largely of the single column type and for months was published unchanged. However, the full column length advertisements of the 1870's were rare. Apparently it was merchants' preference rather than publishers' rules that the one column practice continued, for multi-column advertisements were published occasionally.¹¹⁰ Although publishers were slow to adopt the larger size advertisements used in papers in the eastern part of the country, this was probably because New Mexico merchants did not want larger advertisements.

Published advertising rates were high in the early eighties but much lower in the nineties. Early in the former period published advertising rates of weeklies ranged from \$1.25 to \$2.00 per column inch per issue, but in 1890 the territorial press association asked a standard rate of \$1.00 and \$2.50 *per* column Inch per month for weeklies and

claim that had been abandoned. Homesteaders were required to publish a notice of filing of a claim with a description of the land, and at the end of the residence period they were required to publish an affidavit that they had complied with the residence requirements.

¹¹⁰ For examples of some larger advertisements in this period see Us Vegas Daily Optic, October 18, 1882; and Silver City Southwest Sentinel, November 8, 1884.

dailies respectively.¹¹¹ According to this, column inch rates would be less than 23 cents for weeklies and 10 cents for dailies. Few papers published rates in the nineties, and evidently prices were often settled by bargaining. Probably the rates asked by the press association were higher than current rates, which accounts for the poverty of some territorial dailies—despite their high percentage of advertising.

The circulation figures reported to N. W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual for territorial newspapers were quite low, indicating a small income from this source. Some papers made no report of circulation to Ayer and Son's Annual, probably neither wishing to reveal their deficiency nor to lie about it. Other publishers claimed much higher circulations than they truly had. For instance the Albuquerque Evening Democrat reported 2,500 in 1895 and the next year, under a new management, 700. After strenuous efforts by the new management, circulation had grown to 1,550 in 1899. The reported circulation of the Daily Citizen ranged from 1,100 to 1,900 in these years. The Daily Optic fell from a high of 1,930 in 1892 to a low of 900 in 1899.¹¹² Many of the circulation figures reported

¹¹¹ Los Angeles Times, April 10, 1891, p. 1081; Silver City Southwestern Sentinel, March 11, 1891; Kingston News, Jan. 1, 1891, p. 9.

¹¹² Ayer's American Newspaper Annual, New Mexico pages from 1889 to 1900.

by territorial papers to Ayer and Son's Annual should be discounted 30 to 50 per cent.

As an additional trouble for publishers, subscribers were still reluctant to pay for their papers, and in a few instances publishers even resorted to law suits to collect subscriptions. Prices of weekly subscriptions declined from the usual \$3.00 per year in the early eighties to about \$2.00 in 1900. Annual mail subscription rates of dailies declined from \$10.00 to \$8.00, but city carrier rates remained at 25 cents per week in this period. While circulation rates were lower than those of territorial papers of the 1870's, they were generally higher than rural papers

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elsewhere in America in this era, -^ Thus, small circulations and poor collections, more than subscription rates, restricted the circulation income of territorial papers.

One of the greatest troubles of the publishers of this era was the harsh and incessant competition. In the booming territorial towns of the 1880's, Socorro newspapers best illustrate this evil. Journalism began at Socorro in 1880 with the launching of the Sun. At the same time railway construction neared the town and intensive development of nearby mines was started. An ancient, sleepy Spanish-American village before 1880, Socorro by 1885 was

¹ ^ Us Vegas Daily Optic, December 31, 1891; Silver City Southwest Sentinel, November 14, 1883; Us Cruces Rio Grande Republican, July 20, 1889; Nott, American Journalism, p. 45.

the fourth largest town in New Mexico with a population of 1,049,¹⁴ rivaling Albuquerque and Las Vegas. However, during these years it never developed a daily newspaper. From 1880 until 1889, fifteen different papers were launched at Socorro, or twenty papers if variations in title and changes of frequency of publication are counted. Ten attempts to sustain dailies were made during those years. The Sun, after battling a series of rivals, lapsed in 1884. That year the Socorro Daily Chieftain was launched. By a strong effort this paper subdued its rivals until in 1889 only one competitor was left. Depression made daily publication impractical, but the Chieftain continued to overshadow its weekly rival, the Industrial Advertiser, which in 1899 left the dwindling town for Albuquerque.^{11*}

The early establishment of a daily paper at Socorro strong enough to become a community leader might have provided a guiding force to push for projected railway branches. If these had been completed, Socorro could have become a

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United States Census estimate as reported in Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, September 1892, 1035. A further indication of the rapid rise and fall of the population of Socorro is shown by the census figures of 1880 at 1,272 and 1890 at 2,295, United States Census Office, Compendium of the Twelfth Census: Part I—Population, (Bureau of the Census, 1892), p. 4. Compare this with population figures for Albuquerque, both old and new towns, which were 2,315 in 1880 and 5,118 in 1890, see Tenth Census, p. 163. Fifteenth Census, Vol. III, p. 161,

San Juan Crusade El Grande, July 20, 1889; Socorro Industrial Advertiser, January 30, November 30, 1880, September 1881,

distribution center rivaling Albuquerque and Las Vegas. But strong rivalry prevented any paper from gaining such a foothold, and this lack of strong editorial leadership crippled efforts of the town to expand its trade area. This was not the chief reason for Socorro's decline, but it constituted an important contributory factor. Albuquerque at one time had fewer assets than Socorro, Bernalillo, or Las Vegas, but it quickly gained two strong daily papers financed by local business groups. These papers provided leadership and coordinated community efforts and were important assets in making Albuquerque the largest town in New Mexico by 1900. Although competing newspapers provided contrasting views, they crippled efforts to provide strong leadership at crucial times during the development of some towns.

In sharp rivalry the most apparent competitive method of weeklies was to launch a daily paper, while among the long established dailies the chief method was an attempt to monopolize the Associated Press franchise. A weekly confronted with a new competitor, or perhaps the newcomer, often launched a daily to drive out the rival. This has been pointed out in several instances above and accounts for ten daily papers in less than ten years at Socorro. At Albuquerque the Morning Democrat fought the Daily Citizen by holding both morning and evening Associated Press franchises. Once while the Daily Gazette of Las Vegas

was suspended, its chief owner, banker Jefferson Reynolds, held the press franchise and paid its monthly charges, hoping to force the Daily Optic into a merger. The Daily Optic however, did not subscribe to the press service until a few years later and then only when faced with the prospect of a daily competitor, abandoning the service as soon as the threat had passed.¹¹⁶ There were no indications of competition by reductions in subscription or advertising rates, although the latter probably occurred, since in many cases rates seemed to be set by bargaining with advertisers. Daily publication and monopoly of Associated Press services apparently were thus the chief competitive tactics used by newspaper publishers.

Towns mainly Latin in population did not support newspapers nearly so well as Anglo-American towns of the same size. Probably the high illiteracy rate of the Spanish-Americans was responsible, for illiteracy limited circulation revenues. Furthermore, illiteracy limited advertising effectiveness, because unread advertisements did not produce results. Consequently merchants were reluctant to buy advertising. C. J. Hildreth, publisher of the Rio Grande Republican at Las Cruces, noted a lack of support for his paper and blamed the Latins:

¹¹⁶ ^» Vegas Daily Optic, February 1 to April 2, 1885, January 9, 1893; Albuquerque Evening Citizen, November 30, 1892.

. . . in this town there are nearly fifty firms and Individuals doing business who ou[^]t to advertise, and who, if they were In a live American town would advertise. Of this number our columns barely show ten or a dozen, three-fourths of %^hich sre small carda placed at our lowest rates.^{^^'^}

When J. G. Albright complained of a lack of support for his Santa Fe Deily Democrat, Hildreth advised him "to move to some young American city where his energy end perseverance would be appreciated,"¹¹⁹ Within a year after Albright hsd followed this advice, the Santa Fe Daily New Nexican was suspended. The success of the later New Nexican was the result of the ability of Max Frost to obtain territorial public printing contracts. The lease of ^{^^} a[^] Nexican to Democrats in 1894 by the ardently Republican Frost, who could foresee bankruptcy without public printing, confirms the conclusion that only political subsidy sustslned a daily paper at the populous territorial capital. Nor did Taos, another large town predomljiantly Spanish-American in population, support Journalism. Eight short-lived papers operated there from 187[^] to 1900.¹¹⁹ Here again a lack of aupport for lournalism seems to be explained by the high rate of illiteracy among the Utins.

^{^^7} Us Cruces Rio Grande Republican, June 16, 1883, By his terra "American town" the CKSitor meant a town predominantly Anglo-American in population. Hence, he blamed Spanish-Americans for his lack of advertisements.

^{^^®} Ibid., Narch k, ir82.

¹¹⁹ Ayer. American Newspaper /nnunl, New Nexlco pages 1880 toluol":

The discouraging conditions in areas of predominantly Spanish-American population apparently account for the relative lack of newspapers at Bernalillo, Helen, Espanola, and in Rio Arriba County in this era. Furthermore, many literate Utians were so only in the Spanish language, adding another handicap to the many already faced by the publishers.

In the 1880's, libel suits posed no particular problem for the territorial editors, for despite their use of abusive language, such suits were rare. Frontier jurists probably would not look harshly upon editorial abuse or poorly substantiated charges and were reluctant to award damages against newspapermen. Possibly the public attitude was that of a Colorado editor who apparently believed that the worst that could be written about New Mexico politicians would be milder than the truth, for he wrote; "New Mexico editors seem to court libel suits but know what they are about, for New Mexico's prominent men can't be libeled."¹²⁰ Such an attitude evidently motivated legislators to enact the libel law of 1880. That law made it a penal offense to publish news stories stating a candidate for office had committed a crime, a disgraceful act, or had any moral vice, physical or mental defect, or disease if such publication would bring public contempt to its subject. In such cases and in others

¹²⁰ Pueblo (Colorado) Merry World as quoted in Kingston Shaft, December 17, 1887

listed in the law, the truth of the story was not a defense

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against a charge of libel.

Friends of publishers in the legislature sought unsuccessfully to amend or defeat this bill. It was vetoed by Governor B. G. Ross, a former editor, but his veto was overridden. Except for the most loyal Republican editors, all of the territorial press vigorously attacked the Republican-dominated legislature. Most editors believed with Klstler of the Daily Optic that this was an attempt to gag the press, for

No doubt they have felt the lash of the press for their wrongdoings of the past, and have determined to bind, for the future^ the arm that wielded it. They have become wearied of paying certain venal members of the press for suppressing accounts of their nightly debauches, so they are determined that the sleepless watch dog of the people should be raur.yledi that the crtat conservator of morals should be silenced.^^^

Republican editors defended the law upon the following grounds: Texas had a similar law, publishers would be protected by the Jury trials guaranteed under the law, grand Juries would not indict a reputable newsman for reasonable statements, and the law was better than the previous common

^^^ Us Vegas Daily Optic, January 2k, 30, 18er.

^^^ Ibid., January 25, 28, 30. 1880; Chloride Black Range. February 22, 1889. Most territorial papers believed T.B. Catron responsible for the libel law as he was reputedly able to control the legislature. Signifl-oaatly, perhaps, Catron was not in the legislature in TP93 when it was repealed.

law rule that the greater *the* truth the greater the libel, ^{12*}_{-^}

When an attempt was made to repeal this law in 1891, territorial councilman T. B. Mills of Las Vegas proposed *en* ~~smmndmcent~~ "permitting Senator Catron, or any other aggrieved citizen, to go after the acrimonious editor, manager or writer with a cactus club."¹²⁴ The efforts of publiihert- to have the law repealed were successful in 1893.

One of the most notable libel cases of this period was *en* 1898 charge of criminal libel against George T. Gould of the Daily Optic for his attack upon y.p.r Frost. Under the ~~corawson~~ law concept that truth was no defense, admission of publication of the editorial by Gould was BUJfl- cient to convict him of breach of the peace, and he was fined \$300.-^^5

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Silver City Enterprise, February 8, 1889; Socorro Chieftain. Deming Head lights and Lordsburg Western Liberal as quoted in the Silver City Enterprise, February 15, 1895. The American common law rule on libel was of English derivation, and the English common law rule, the greater the truth the greater the libel, held until the Fox Libel Act was passed by Parliament in 1792. This act provided that the truth was a defense against the charge of libel, according to R. F. T. Plucknett, Thwssell-Ungmead's English Constitutional History (Boston, 1^0), pp. 110, b6€^^ the Fox Libel Act passed in 1792, thus, would have no effect upon the American common law. Mott, American Journalism, p. 1^ confirms this *end* states that despite the decision of the Tenger case in the colonial era. American states, and pre- sumably territories, in the absence of any libel law used the old common law rule that the truth was not a defense against the charge of libel.

^^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 9, 1891.

¹ ^ Ibid., August 30, 31, December 29, 1898; U? Cruces Rio Grande Republican, September 5, 1c^>8.

Newspapers' incomes reflected two sharply divergent trends in this period. The eighties were years of boom and prosperity. The nineties, on the other hand, were a decade of depression, with falling advertising and subscription rates. Circulation figures remained low despite lower rates and a reduced number of papers. Because of the low incomes resulting from all of these factors, most territorial papers in these years were unable to take advantage of the mechanical advances in the methods of printing. Thus the financial stability and printing mechanics of the territorial press lagged slightly behind the rural press of America.

For the territorial press the years 1879 to 1900 were an era of transition from a raw frontier press to a rather placid country Journalism. Publishers of the revitalized New Mexican frontier of the 1880's reflected its spirit with increased personal Journalism, intense competition, and optimistic confidence in the future prosperity of New Mexico. At the same time frontier friendliness continued to influence relationships between newsmen. In this spirit and with the increase of Journalists, the first territorial press association was organized. Frontier friendliness was also mirrored in the humorous exchanges between editors. This humor, vitality, and freshness of New Mexico Journalism faded with the economic collapse of the 1890's, and newsmen came to depend on the politicians to secure governmental subsidies. By 1900 the territorial

press, as was true of the general American rural press, was subservient to the politician. These newsmen^ who had lost the Independence, daring, and vitality of pioneers, moved through the 1890's without improving methods and techniques of Journalism or adopting the new styles being developed in the eastern American cities. This, by 1900 a large part of the New Mexico press had degenerated from a vigorous pioneer press to a stolid country Journalism. Yet, some larger papers adopted the new mechanical techniques making possible much better newspapers, and in the final territorial decade they led the New Mexico press toward an improved Journalism.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN NEW MEXICO

JOURNALISM, 1901-1912

Great economic, social, and technical changes after 1900 swept the territorial press toward a modern Journalism, vastly different from the weak, depression ridden, and politically subservient press of the 1890s. The twentieth century press became strong in a time of great economic prosperity, its vigor restored by many new professional newsmen. Improvements in printing, Journalism, and business techniques allowed it to exploit its new strength and a prosperous economy to become a free and modern press.

This was an era of growth, development, and Prosperity in New Mexico. The end of the national depression in the late 1890s brought a general improvement in the territorial economy. But more significant was the westward flow of eastern American capital to finance the building of railways. In less than a decade territorial railway mileage was more than doubled, and much of eastern New Mexico was made accessible by rail. Then thousands of homesteading dry farmers, promised a rail outlet for their products, pre-empted within a few years millions of acres of the public domain in this area. Dozens of towns sprang up to serve as trading points for the railway workers and farmers, and older towns, particularly Albuquerque, grew as distribution

centers to serve the ne\« population. Mainly as s result of the new immigration, the territorial population by 1<12 had Increased almost 70 *per cent*.

The new isnlgrants wrought several significant socisl changes. First, the Anglo-American portion of the popula-tion became almost one-half of the total. Next, this last wave of the American frontier was composed of vigorous, dar-ing, and enterprising people who reinvigorated New Mexican society. Finally, most of the newcomers were from the Mid-west, both north and south, the are.; of the greatest Populist discontent in the 1890'B. Accustomed to dissent and recog-nizing the necessity for reform, they heartily supported the contemporary nationwide Progressive movement. Joumalists of the *neme* nature, supported by this public attitude, beceme reformers and critical of the politicians who had ruled the press of the 1890*s.

Adventurous Joumalists of this type readily adapted themselves to dramatic changes occurring in Joumalism in these yeers. The perfection of the linotype and better presses left publishers free to increase easily the number of pages in their papers. This enabled them to make their Joumala more attractive and to offer more news and features, which in turn made possible larger circulations. In these years also, enterprising retailers of eastern New Mexico and Albuquerque discovered the effective use of advertising to increase ssles and began to use newspa^ier space on a scale

undreamed of by earlier publishers. For the newspapermen the key to capturing this new revenue was to provide the largest circulation, Uiereby cixntacting the most customers for the merchant. To gain subscribers the alert Joumalistp began to copy the innovations of gsneral American Joumalism of this era. Notable among these changes wei*e: more attractive front pages freed from advertising and with large display headlines and balanced makeupi improved content brought about by better reporting, greater use of Associated Press service, and special news featiires; but most important, a relatively Independent stcuice in politics. In this era a large part of the territorial press was revitalized and freed from its former political subservience.

Independent Joumalism, however, would have been impossible without the prosperity that had been sparked by railway construction. The Pecos Valley Northeastern, built in 1898 from Roswell to Amarillo, Texas, was the first of the new roads. Along this line arose the towns of Elide, Portales, and 'Pexico to serve as trading centers for homesteaders. Another railway launched in 1898, the El Paso Northeastern, sponsored the to\^ni of Alamogordo, Carri^ozo, Capitan, Vaughn, Santa Rosa, *end* Tucumcari. Failure of the Capitan mines to supply enough coking coal led to an extension of the line from Tucui carl to Dawson, near *in ton*. Then two lines of the Rock Inland from Dalhart and Ajiarlllo, Texas, were built to Tucumcari to make that town *! thriving*

railway center. After the railway originally named the El Paso Northeastern was extended westward to Douglas, Arizona, to carry Dawson coal to the copper smelters. In the territorial northwest a Denver and Rio Grande branch was built down the San Juan Valley to give a rail outlet to Irrigation farmers there. From Santa Fe the New Mexico Central pushed south to Estancia and Torrance, and to complete the era of railway construction the Santa Fe's New Mexico Eastern was built across the center of the territory from Belen to Mexico. Along these new lines towns arose around railway shops and division points, the development of irrigation was hastened by improved connections to markets, and in large sections of eastern and central New Mexico dry farming was made feasible by access to markets for farm production. Following the railway workers and farmers came enterprising merchants and Journalists to serve the new population.

In the areas developed or helped as a result of railway construction approximately 110 new papers were founded, many of them stable and long lived. Since in this decade a total of only 859 papers were published, many of them very briefly, the papers published in the areas of recent immigration represented a large portion of the territorial press corps. These publishers, like those of the early 1880's, anticipated greater profits from private enterprise than from government subsidy. They also had a characteristic of those earlier pioneers, intense optimism, leading

them to found papers in small villages. They hoped that these towns would soon grow into metropolises with the full developiMnt of the area.¹ Such was the character of the Journalists who founded the first papers at Portales.

Along with Bllda and Texico, Portalea was founded in 1898 as a railway conatruction town and survived as a cattle shipping and farmers' trading center. Here in 1901, John Flpea, a tuberculous printer, launched the first of the plains area papers, the Portales Progress.² This paper lasted less than six months, but it was succeeded by the Democratic Herald in 1902. The next year this par:er gained a Republican competitor, the Times,³ Evidently because partisan advantage had been pre-eiq>ted, no other papera were founded at Portales before 1912. Of the various editor-publishers of these papain, the most interesting were Nunsey Bull,⁴ W. C. Hawkins, and F. P. Alldredge. Times founder

¹ Many papers were launched at towns which no longer exist, such as Knowles, Ukewood, Ulande, Dayton, Obar, and Baxx! City. Others were founded at towns which have rmmained only small crossroads villages, such as Grady, Houae, Tolar, Tblban, fe&eeoo, Moriarty, and Willard.

^p Portales Progress, August 1, 1901; C. M. Dobbs, printers devil on the Portales Times, lette to the Portales Daily News. September -1, 1952.

[^] Portales Herald, May 7, 1^4; Portales Times, February 7> 1903.

^k Nunsey Bull, a native of Texas, spent his youth in #regon where he became a printer. He then worked on Cali-fornia and other ^ extern papers before coning to New Mexico In 1886. Bull, an excellent printer who did all of the

Bull was a representative of that fading breed of trawm printers who were capable of performing either as skilled printers or country editors. Hawkins,⁵ successor to Bull at the Times, was the owner of several pioneer country weeklies and apparently hoped that one of the towns he had chosen was a future metropolis. Alldredge, the most outstanding editor of the Herald, was a highly educated man of great vigor and enthusiasm unusual for a country editor.⁶ At the two other Roosevelt County towns. Elide and Texico, four other weeklies were launched. Notable among them were the Elide News and Texico Truipet, both of which were published from 1904 until 1918.

Close behind the founding of the Roosevelt County towns came that of Tucumcari. The town mushroomed as farmers' trading center, a Junction and division point for

mechanical and editorial work of the Times, represented a type of printer-publisher who would soon be made extinct by the advances in printing mechanics. Bull earlier had published the Bonwell Pecos Valley; stockman.

⁵ W. C. Hawkins came to New Mexico from Oklahoma where he was a weekly publisher. Later he owned New Mexico weeklies at Cuervo, Montoya, and Tucumcari.

⁶ E. P. Alldredge, of Dallas, Texas, Baptist Minister and Doctor of Divinity, came to New Mexico for his health. He was a Portales Baptist pastor who became a newspaper editor to supplement his meager church salary. Under his management the Herald developed one of the largest weekly circulations in New Mexico. Alldredge left the Herald in 1909 to devote his full time to Baptist church work throughout New Mexico.

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Portales Herald, March 19, April 16, 1918.

four railways,, and the site of railway shops. J. E. Curren, perennial pioneer editor, was attracted by the prospects of Tucumcari and founded there in February, 1902, the first paper in Quay County, the Pathfinder. Renamed the Quay County Democrat in 1903 it later became the Actual Settler. Curren's son, A. E. Curren, purchased the Republican Tucumcari Times in December, 1903,⁹ In a family effort to control all Tucumcari Journalism. However, there evidently was insufficient revenue to sustain both papers, and J. E. Curren in July, 1905, suspended the Actual Settler, moving its plant in

to Buthnsld« New Mexico. Then the prospect of Tucumcari's growth lured S. M. Wharton to found the Republican News there in October, 1905, A fifteen month battle ended with the purchase of the Times by the News in January, 1907. Within a year local Democrats sponsored the weekly Sun,

J. E. Curren, founder of the Deming Headlight, as well as Sierra County, and Union County papers, returned to the territory in 1903 after journalistic venture in the Texas Panhandle.

Hillsboro SioAk County Advocate, February 28, 1903; Tucumcari Quay Oom'y Dgaoerett, April 11, 1903; Tucumcari Actual Settler; January 7, July 19, 1907 Tucumcari Times. December 17, 1903. The Times was founded in April.

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¹¹ Santa Fe New Mexican, July 28, 1905.

¹¹ Tucumcari News, October 28, 1905. S. M. Wharton, H. R. May, and J. A. Haley were at various times owners of the White Oaks File. It was discontinued in 1903; its circulation was then given to the Progress, which the partners also owned; then the plant of the same was moved to Alamogordo to found the 'weekly and daily fourne. Unable to win in the competitive battle at Alamogordo, the plant was moved to Tucumcari to found the News.

which then coexisted with the News for the rest of the territorial era.¹² Fifteen other papers were launched in the nine small villages which arose in Quay County. Vigorous rivalry led to three mergers, but in January, 1912, there were still ten papers in the small town.

To the southwest of Tucumcari, the older Pecos Valley towns of Puerta de Luna and Fort Sumner were both off the railway routes. As a result, a new town, Santa Rosa, arose on the lines of the El Paso Northeastern opposite Puerta de Luna. At Santa Rosa five papers were published before 1912. Because of its predominantly Spanish-American population, three were Spanish language Journals. The most important newspaper of the town, the Santa Rosa Sun, was a bilingual publication.¹³ Fort Sumner, on the other hand, kept its old name when moved to the New Mexico Eastern lines, although for several years some inhabitants called it Sunnyside. Here late in 1905 J. E. Curren launched his Sunnyside Sun but soon moved to more promising Melrose. Three other papers were published at Fort Sumner before 1912. The most important, the Review, was founded in 1898 by A. Clausen.¹⁴

¹² Tucumcari News, January 19, 1907, January 4, 1912; Tucumcari Sun, September 20, 1907, January 5, 1912.

¹³ Santa Rosa Voz Publico, founded at Puerta de Luna in 1887, was the oldest paper there. Puerta Roca, The Santa Rosa Sw was established in 1904 by F. D. Morse, who earlier had published the Raton Range.

¹⁴ Arthur E. Curren, "Pioneer Editor," McMurry Magazine, XXXII (November, 1905), p. 37; Santa Rosa Sun, September 19, 1905; Fort Sumner Review, July 17, 1909. Clausen was a former co-publisher of both the Raton Range and the Raton Reporter.

East of Fort Sumner on the new Santa Fe line there grew up the small villages of Ulande, Tklban, and Tblar. In these towns four papers were founded, with three of them still in publication in 1912. Melrose, further to the east, became very attractive to Journalists, for the Santa Fe planned to make Melrose its main center in eastern New Mexico with extensive railway repair shops. A Santa Fe Gulf Coast line was to cross the New Mexico Eastern at Melrose, making it a division point on both lines. Enticed by such promise of prosperity, J. E. Curren launched the first paper at Melrose and gave it the name of his first New Mexico venture, the Maadlitt. Before 1912 three additional papers had been founded at Melrose.

Since Melrose lacked a suitable water supply, Clovis was the town which received all of the railway prizes. A. E. Curren, who had just sold his Tucumcari Times, learned that Clovis was to be both the shop site and a division point, and in May, 1907 he launched the Clovis News. Within six months five other papers had joined the News at Clovis. Of all these papers the Hewitt Journal were the most stable. During a period of intense competition all three of these papers issued short-lived dailies. Then in July, 1909, the First was bought by the owners of the Journal, and

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 "Santa Fe New Mexican, September 1, 1906; Portales Time, April 22, 1909. Currents first territorial paper was the Bern Headlight, founded in 1882.

soon this Democratic weekly alone faced the Republican News.
 which in 1912 still belonged to A. E. Curren.¹⁶ From 1900 >
 until 1912 Thomas J. Nabry published the Journal.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the New Mexico Central railway was built
 south from Santa Fe across the center of the territory to
 join the lines of the El Paso Northeastern. Estancia, which
 arose as a trading center for farmers settling in the region,
 became in 1905 the site of the area's first paper, the News.
 From April, 1911, to January, 1912, it was the daily Morning
News. Its chief rival was the Daily Herald, published from
 March, 1909, until June, 1911, when it became a weekly.¹⁸
 There were two other weeklies at Estancia in these years and
 nine weeklies at seven small nearby towns.

Most of the towns discussed above were founded along
 the new railways and grew as trading centers for dry farmers.

¹⁶ Arthur E. Curren article in the Clovis News-Journal, April 1, 1954; Portales Times, May 18, 1957; April 18, August 22, 1909; Clovis News, May 7, 28, 1909, January 4, July 11, 18, 1912; Portales Roosevelt County Herald, November 9, 1909; H. O. Norris, personal interview with the writer at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, August 10, 1963.

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Thomas J. Nabry served as a member of the New Mexico Constitutional Convention and was later a distinguished attorney, chief Justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court, and governor of New Mexico from 1947 to 1951.

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Estancia News, July 22, 1910; Estancia Morning News, April 5, 1911, January 22, 1912; Estancia Daily Herald, April 1, June 10, 1911; Santa Rosa Sun, November 3, 1951; Santa Fe New Mexican, January 23, December 8, 1909. The population of Estancia in 1910 was 517, see U. S. Bureau of Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. III, Population, 1910 (Washington, 1913), p. 153, hereafter cited as Thirteenth Census.

Along the lines of the El Paso Northeastern in south central New Mexico, however, two towns had risen outside the areas suitable for dry farming. Alamogordo began as a railroad division point and shop site and Carrizozo grew simply as a trading center for ranchers and miners in Lincoln County. This town gained its papers from less fortunate Lincoln County towns. One of these towns, Capitan, boomed as the result of the discovery of a seam of coking coal but soon declined, for the nature of the deposit prevented large scale operations. Four weeklies were published at Capitan, but after two mergers the News was the sole survivor. This Democratic Journal moved to Carrizozo in 1908 to become the Carrizozo News.¹⁹ The first paper at Carrizozo, however, was the Republican Outlook, moved there in 1906 from the dying town of White Oaks. Both these papers were still being published in 1912.²⁰

Alamogordo grew more rapidly than Carrizozo because of the extensive revenue it derived from railway employees. As a result, Alamogordo lured many journalists, and between

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Capitan Frorears, December 28, 1900; Capitan News, August 14, 1903; Carrizozo News, June 12, 1908.

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White Oaks Outlook, December 20, 1904; Santa Fe New Mexican, October 21, 1904; N. W. Ayer and Sons' American Newspaper Annual (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 158, hereafter cited as Ayer, American Newspaper Annual with the year of issue. The White Oaks Outlook was founded in 1894, about one year after the suspension of the White Oaks News. U. H. Ruidisille, founder of the Outlook, had established also the White Oaks Lincoln County Leader in 1882.

1900 and 1912 four weeklies and a tabloid daily battled each other there. Of them the Democratic weekly Otero County Advertiser and the Republican weekly News were the most important survivors. Five weeklies were established at other Otero County towns, but their sole survivor in 1912 was the

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Tularosa Valley Tribune. An initial wave of railway prosperity led to the founding of many weeklies in Otero County, but since the area had little future from irrigation or dry farming they rapidly faded.

Railroads brought great development, prosperity, and the founding of many towns in large areas of the territory. The most thriving towns of this region were those which had a railroad payroll. This income, provided by the train crews who lived at the division points and the workers in the railway shops, became the basis of a thriving retail business. In addition, these towns became regional trading centers. When the homestead areas of eastern and central New Mexico became heavily populated, rail centers such as Tucumcari or Clovis were provided with a large additional retail trade.²² Many smaller towns also arose and prospered in this region because with rail connections they benefited

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Ayer, American Newspaper Annual, 1901. pp. 554-59, 1094, pp. 555-6, 1901. pp. 588-b-; Alamo-gordo Nueva Epoca, December 30, 1901; Tularosa Valley Tribune, January 10, 1902.

* To illustrate the importance of railroads and homesteaders to town growth, consider that neither Tucumcari nor Clovis existed in 1909, but by 1910 their population were 2,526 and 3,255 respectively. See Thirteenth Census, Vol. III, pp. 161-83.

trading centers for homesteaders.

In northeastern New Mexico near Clayton there was an influx of homesteading dry farmers less influenced by railways. This area, which had obtained railways in 1888, had lost farmer population in the 1890's because of drought conditions and low agricultural prices. Better prices and a wet cycle in the first years of the twentieth century induced a new flow of immigration to the area. As a result new Journalistic ventures were launched. Six papers were founded at Clayton in this era, but only the Citizen and

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Enterprise were long-lived. Folsom, which had lost all of its papers in the late 1890's, had five short-lived weeklies in this decade. Along the new railway from Tucumcari to Dawson several small towns grew up. In these towns and others that served the homesteaders fifteen snail weeklies were founded. Most of these papers had very brief lives—including a revived Cimarron News and Press.²⁴ At nearby Springer, J. F. Hutchinson, publisher since 1891 of the Colfax County Stockman, suppressed three short-lived competitors and continued to dominate Springer Journalism until 1912.²⁵

²³ Clayton citizen. October 5, 1906; Clayton Enterprise, August 3, 1911; Ayer, American Newspaper Annual, 1912, p. 19.

²⁴ Cimarron News and Press, January 10, 1907; Raton Range, October 20, 1907.

²⁵ Springer Colfax County Stockman, January 6, 1900, December 20, 1911; Springer Sentinel, February 3, 1911; San Jon Sentinel, May 6, 1910; Estancia Daily Herald, May 2,

Immigration was encouraged in the irrigated farming areas by an improved rail access to markets. Just as it had been in the dry farming areas. The lower Pecos Valley profited from a direct rail connection to the markets of the northern Midwest. The San Juan Valley, which had no rail outlet earlier, could now easily transport its products to Pueblo, Denver, and midwestern points. Improved marketing conditions in turn encouraged the extension of irrigation in both areas. In the San Juan Valley several small projects diverted San Juan River waters to orchards and fields. In the lower Pecos Valley farmers began an extensive use of ground waters by pumping from a shallow stratum in some areas and by utilizing a deep stratum of artesian waters in others. These developments brought a new flood of pioneer farmers, closely followed by merchants, journalists, and others to share the wealth from the new irrigated farm production.

Roswell, the trading center of the Pecos Valley and its largest town, became the scene of several journalistic battles between 1900 and 1912. In August, 1902, C. E. Mason and R. F. M. Porter bought the weekly Record. The following December the weekly Journal was launched; thus, with the well established Register, three weeklies competed in Roswell. In March, 1903, each began to issue a tabloid daily. Mason and Bear²⁶ soon bought both rivals; then, encouraged by Lon

1911; Ayer. American Newspaper Annual, 1911, p. 59.

^{^^} C. E. Mason and H. F. V. [?] were brothers-in-law who came to New Mexico from Kansas. *Basr vit* a University

tens advertising contracts from Roswell merchants, they subscribed for the Associated Press service and continued the Democratic Daily Record. The partners maintained *eti* weeklies a Record and the Register—the latter as a Republican

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paper with Mason in charge.

In January, 1906, Roswell Republicanit. believing the Register was not truly Republican. inspired the launching of the weekly Tribune. Having failed to prevent the founding of a Republican paper, the Register had lost its usefulness and was sold to the Tribune. The result was the Register-Tribune. It endured as a Republican weekly until 1912. Most of these years B. F. Barlow was its business manager and the capable Will Robinson its editor. Apparently Nason's brand of Democracy did not please some Roswell

of Kansas graduate and had served as Wellington, Kansas, city superintendent of schools for eleven years. After he became Chaves County superintendent of schools. After Bear's death in 1905, Nason's full control of the Record and served as its editor from 1909 until the late 1930's.

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Socorro Chieftain, August 1903. Santa Fe New Mexican, January 16, March 17, July 1903; Roswell Daily Record, October 14, 28, 1903; October 3, 1904; Roswell Register, March 2, 1903. Roswell population grew from 2,144 in 1900 to 6,172 in 1910. See 1910 Census, Vol. III, pp. 161-33.

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Will Robinson became one of the best known of southeastern New Mexico townsmen. He first worked on the Detritat at Tecruer and then on the Kc. v.ell Record. the ferlv and the Ctalsbad Current. During many of these years he wrote a humorous editorial column, 'Impressions of "Ter-ei-foot," which appeared in many New Mexico weeklies. Robinson remained at Roswell as an editor until the 1940's and then moved to Albuquerque.

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Democrats, for prominent party members bought the Register-Tribune In August, 1911, and began issuing the Noming News.

The group continued the Republican Register-Tribune, however.*³⁰

Despite these competitors, the Daily Record remained the best paper in eastern New Mexico and a leader for its Democrats.

There were two other short-lived weeklies at Roswell and four at other Chaves County towns In these years.³¹

Discovery of a stratum of artesian water in southern Chaves and northern Eddy counties led to the founding and rapid growth of Artesia, which soon acquired newspapers. The Democratic Advocate, launched in August, 1903, preceded the Republican Pecos Valley News by three years. Both weeklies represented very well the territory's vigorous new Anglo-Saxon element until 1912.³²

Further south along the Pecos lay the town of Eddy, a town of 963 people which in 1900 adopted the name of the famous German spa, Carlsbad, hoping to exploit nearby mineral

²⁹ * Members of this group were L. K. McGaffey, J. W. Fltrockard, J. W. Poe, and J. P. White.

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Roswell Tribune, January 11 to February 22, 1906; Boswell Register-Tribune, March 6, 1906, August 4, 1911; Roswell Liberal News, August 15, 27, 30, December 30, 1911.

³¹ Included in this group were the Dexter News, the Hageman Messenger, the Lake Arthur Times, and the Kenna Record.

³² Artesia Advocate, August 29, 1903; Artesian Pecos Valley News, September 1, 1906; Ayer, American Newspaper Abstract, "TTT2, p. 5"

springs. Two stable and three short-lived weeklies competed in the increasingly prosperous town which by 1910 had a population of 1,736. W. H. Mullane, who had sold the Current in 1900, re-entered journalism in May, 1905, with the Hew Nexlco Sun. This paper merged with the Current in August, 1907, with Mullane functioning as editor and publisher until 1912. Opposed to these Democratic weeklies was the Republican Argus. L. O. Fullen, its editor since 1895, was succeeded by V. T. Reed in January, 1907. Reed, who had purchased the Piper in 1902, continued as editor and publisher until 1912.³³ Six other weeklies, most of them Democratic, were published in smaller Eddy County towns and added to the growing Democratic press representation in the territory.

The San Juan Valley, like the lower Pecos country, benefitted from improved marketing conditions resulting from railway construction. The prospects of greater profits hastened the development of Irrigation and the flow of immigrant farmers. At Farmington and Aztec, the largest towns of San Juan County, there was an increase in newspapers as a result of this new prosperity. At Farmington the Times gained a competitor in January, 1901, with the launching

¹ Santa Fe New Mexican, May 18, 1905; Carlsbad New Mexico Sun, January 5, December 28, 1900; Carlsbad Current^F ¹ld New Mexico Sun, August 28, 1907; Carlsbad Argus, January ¹» 1903; Santa Fe New Mexican, February 9, 191¹» Ayer, American Newspaper Manual, 1912, p. 589; Thirteenth Census, vol. m, pp. 101-85.—

^^ the Hustler.¹⁴ Two years later these weeklies were merged as the Democratic Times-Hustler. Peiocratic monopoly invited a Republican rival, and in 1905 Frank Staplin founded the Enterprise.³⁵ As late as 1912 the ensula³⁵ Journalistic battle was still being continued in the small town of about 800 population. At Aztec the San Juan Democrat was launched in 1906 to compete with the long established San Juan County Index both papers were still in publication in 1912."³⁵

The newspapers discussed to this point either arose to meet the needs of the new immigrant population or were influenced by it. This portion of the territorial press then had the characteristics of a pioneer press. On the whole, the editors of these areas were enterprising, daring, modern, and optimistic. Because of the nature of these Journalists and the people they served, the newspapers of these areas were more inclined to dissent, to support Progressive reforms, and to assert political independence.

³⁵ D. K. B. Sellers, editor of the Hustler, was a realtor, and the name Hustler typifies his journalism. A man of great vigor. Sellers later moved to Albuquerque where he became a very successful realtor.

³⁵ Frank Staplin, a former publisher of the Taos Crisis and a territorial legislator, while publisher of the Enterprise was also a United States court commissioner.

³⁵ Farmington Hustler, January 17, 24, 19¹¹; Farmington Times-Herald, September 10, 1903; Santa Fe New Mexican, May 24, 1905; Aztec San Juan Democrat, September 5, 1905; Los Alamos News, January 5, 1911; Ayer, American Newspaper Advertiser, 1912, p. 589; Thirteenth Sm³⁵ Vol. III, pp. 161-83.

Since more than one-third of the papers published in this era were in the regions of these twentieth century pioneers, territorial Journalism as a whole necessarily was reinvigorated and hastened toward modern Journalism.

Most territorial Journalists were aided by the revived prosperity of New Mexico, some benefitted from future prospects of irrigation projects, and the publishers of one mining district knew an unprecedented prosperity. Nevertheless, the central and western portions of New Mexico were much less influenced by the extensive Anglo-American immigration into the territory. For example, Belen in this era benefitted from railway construction, railway shops, and an irrigation project. Yet, its population remained predominantly Spanish-American; and despite its prosperity, Belen's Journalism exhibited little of the vigor of the eastern New Mexico papers. Of three papers founded, the Belen Tribune

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was the most stable and important.-^'

As at Belen, the prospects of increased irrigation waters increased journalistic activity in the Mesilla Valley, but support for newspapers regained scanty. At Lordsburg Cruces the Piocha County Republican was renamed the Progress in 1902, and two years later it was merged with the Rio Grande Republican. In February, 1911, O. A. and Josephine Foster purchased this paper and by September had made it a

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American Santa Fe New Mexican, January 24, 1907; Ayer, Newspaper Annual, 1911, p. 59.

semi-weekly. Lawrence Upoint, apparently the same man who founded the NeslU News and the Eco del Rio Grande at Las Cruces in the 1870's, launched the Citizen in 1902. From 1910 to 1912 his son, Will Upoint, published this paper.⁴⁰ In this decade six other weeklies were also issued at Las Cruces, which by 1910 had become a town with a population of 3,336.⁴¹

The general prosperity and prospects of a ground water Irrigation project boosted the population of Deming to 1,864 by 1910 and quickened the pace of Journalism, providing stable opponents for the Headlight. The most important editor of this Democratic weekly in this era was G. L. Shakespeare, who was also publisher from 1898 to 1911. A competing weekly Herald launched in 1900, was replaced in 1903 by the weekly Graphic, which was continued into the new era.⁴⁰ At Deming as with Belen and Las Cruces new immigration came late in this era and had only a very minor influence upon Journalism.

⁴⁰ Las Cruces Progress, February 22, 1902, January 4, 1904; Las Cruces Spanish Language, January 15, 1904; February 24, September 12, 1911; the rosters published the Raton Range from 1905 to 1919 and during that time owned or operated at Clayton, Maxwell, and Cimarron; Las Cruces Citizen, April 5, 1902, February 5, 1912.

⁴¹ Thirteenth Census, Vol. III, pp. 161-83. Four Las Cruces Spanish language volumes will be discussed below.

⁴⁰ Pending Headlight, January 5, 1911; Deming, Herald, April 4, 1901, February 24, 1903; Deming Graphic, March 24, 1903, January 5, 1912; thirteenth Census, Vol. III, pp. 161-83.

The economy of Raton Improved more than that of Deming or Los Cruces because of an increased demand for the high grade coking coal mined nearby. As a result of the town's greater prosperity and an increase in population from 3,540 in 1900 to 4,539 in 1910, Journalism was highly competitive. The Range, foremost paper of Raton, had several publishers before it was purchased by O. A. and Josephine Foster in 1905. In 1906 they briefly issued the daily Republican and in 1908 began the Daily Range to compete with three short-lived dailies launched in 1908 and 1909. The Fosters sold the Range publications in 1910, and in January, 1911, the Daily Range was discontinued. The weekly Reporter, which survived until the 1930's, was published by G. B. Berlinger from 1890 until 1910.⁴¹ There were four other weeklies at Raton in this era, all of which endured for relatively short periods.

Gallup mining activity declined in this decade, and as a result its population dropped from 2,296 in 1900 to 2,204 in 1910. Since the town did not experience the high prosperity of Raton, the pace of its Journalism continued to be slow. In 1902 W. T. Henderson sold the Gleaner to a Republican group, who renamed it the McKinley County Republican. In 1911 this paper gained a competitor, the

⁴¹ Raton Reporter, July 2, 1901; Fort Sumner Republican as quoted by the Visage News. October 7, 1910; Year, American Newspaper Annual, 1911, p. 593; Thirteenth gen8U87Vol. 111, pp. 1-11.

Independent,⁴² ancestor of Gallup's excellent present day daily.

The mining of silver, like that of low grade coal at Gallup, was not appreciably increased in the decade after 1900, and the economy of the silver mining towns was aided to only a small extent by higher beef and wool prices. The conditions for Journalism thus remained poor in these towns. At Socorro, which by 1910 had a population of only 1,560, the Chieftain was purchased in 1900 by local Republican businessmen who placed E. A. Drake, a New Mexico School of Mines professor, in charge as editor until 1912. A Democratic Spanish language weekly, the Defensor del Pueblo, competed with the Chieftain after 1905.⁴¹ At Silver City the Democratic Independent and the Republican Enterprise continued mutine existences. W. B. Walton⁴⁴ remained editor and publisher of the Independent, and Fred A. Bush edited the

⁴¹ Farmington Hustler, January 23, 1902; Silver City Enterprise, September 26, 1902; Gallup Independent, October 1, 1912; Thirteenth Census, Vol. III, pp. 161-63. There was less demand for the low grade Gallup coal than the coking coal mined at Raton.

⁴⁴ Socorro Chieftain, December 1, 8, 1900, January 6, 1912; Santa Fe New Mexican, October 15, 1900; Ayer, American Newspaper Annual 1905, p. 592, 1912, p. 5935 Thirteenth Census. Vol. in. pp. 161-89.

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W. B. Walton became very active politically in this period, being elected to the legislature in 1900, probate clerk of Grant County in 1902 and 1904, a member of the New Mexico Constitutional Convention, and serving as territorial Democratic chairman from 1908 to 1911. In addition, he became a prominent attorney in these years.

Bitemrie from 1901 to 1912.⁴⁵ At Hillsboro W. O. Thompson bought the Sierra County Advocate in 1900 and still published it in 1912. Apparently Hillsboro Democratic leaders wanted a more enthusiastic advocate for their party and launched the Sierra Tree Press in 1911.⁴⁶ In these towns that were little affected by the new prosperity, politics continued to have a strong influence on Journalism and newspaper competition.

Spanish language Journalism, unlike that of the quiet silver mining towns, was more affected by the trends of the new era, although it was also influenced by trends notable in the 1890's. First of all, there was a large increase in the number of Spanish language Journals. The increased literacy in the Spanish language noted in the 1890's probably was partially responsible. Apparently the generally improved territorial economic conditions also aided. But possibly the large and hostile Anglo-American immigration of this decade brought new urgency to the desire of the Mexicans to preserve their culture.⁴⁷ As in the past, however.

⁴⁵ Silver City ~~Independent~~, March 4, 1899; December 31, 1911; Silver City Enterprise, July 19, 1901, January 4, 1912.

⁴⁶ W. O. Thompson published the Chloride Black yuife from 1885 until 1897. Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate. April 13, 1900, December 12, 1911; Hillsboro Sierra Press fiass, April 27, 1911, January 8, 1912.

⁴⁷ Evidences of conflict between Spanish and Anglo cultures and the attitudes of the Spanish language press are given in Chapter V.

Spanish language Journalism faced very severe difficulties in some areas, with the only readily apparent reasons being the high rate of illiteracy and poverty among the Indians.

The northern counties of Taos, Rio Arriba, and Mora, which were predominantly Spanish-American in culture gave meager encouragement to Spanish language Journalism, but more than in the past. At Taos the only stable paper of the period was the Revista de Taos. Founded in 1899, this paper soon absorbed the older Crescets and was still in publication in 1912. In Rio Arriba County at Tierra Amarilla the bilingual lepublicano was published intermittently from 1901 until 1907, and El Nuevo Estado was issued from 1908 until 1912. In Mora County the Wagonmound Combate, published from 1903 until 1911, became in the latter year the bilingual ⁴⁸ Mora County Sentinel and El Combate.

In other areas there was in this decade a more notable increase of Spanish language Journalism. At Las Vegas El Pueblo was continued by Felix Martinez and E. C. de Baca, while El Independiente was issued by E. H. Salazar and others until 1912. ⁴⁹ At Los Cruces El Ubrador was

W Santa Fe Ner; Mexican, December 12, 1901, June 26, 1902; Wagonmound Combate, December 6, 1902; Wagonmound Mora County Sentinel and El Combate, May 26, 1911; Ayer, ⁵⁰ El Ubrador, ⁵¹ El Pueblo, ⁵² El Independiente, ⁵³ El Combate, ⁵⁴ El Ubrador, ⁵⁵ El Pueblo, ⁵⁶ El Independiente, ⁵⁷ El Combate, ⁵⁸ El Ubrador, ⁵⁹ El Pueblo, ⁶⁰ El Independiente, ⁶¹ El Combate, ⁶² El Ubrador, ⁶³ El Pueblo, ⁶⁴ El Independiente, ⁶⁵ El Combate, ⁶⁶ El Ubrador, ⁶⁷ El Pueblo, ⁶⁸ El Independiente, ⁶⁹ El Combate, ⁷⁰ El Ubrador, ⁷¹ El Pueblo, ⁷² El Independiente, ⁷³ El Combate, ⁷⁴ El Ubrador, ⁷⁵ El Pueblo, ⁷⁶ El Independiente, ⁷⁷ El Combate, ⁷⁸ El Ubrador, ⁷⁹ El Pueblo, ⁸⁰ El Independiente, ⁸¹ El Combate, ⁸² El Ubrador, ⁸³ El Pueblo, ⁸⁴ El Independiente, ⁸⁵ El Combate, ⁸⁶ El Ubrador, ⁸⁷ El Pueblo, ⁸⁸ El Independiente, ⁸⁹ El Combate, ⁹⁰ El Ubrador, ⁹¹ El Pueblo, ⁹² El Independiente, ⁹³ El Combate, ⁹⁴ El Ubrador, ⁹⁵ El Pueblo, ⁹⁶ El Independiente, ⁹⁷ El Combate, ⁹⁸ El Ubrador, ⁹⁹ El Pueblo, ¹⁰⁰ El Independiente, ¹⁰¹ 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continued through this period, and in 1905 the Eco del Valle was launched. After 1910 this paper was ably edited by Isadoro Amijo, Jr.,⁵⁰ and in 1911 it absorbed El Tiempo—

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the oldest Spanish language paper in New Mexico. At Albuquerque in 1901 JU Bandera Americana and El Nuevo Mundo were merged. Nestor Nontoya⁵¹ then edited this paper as Bandera Americana until 1912. Among several other Spanish language papers at Albuquerque, LA Opini^{on} Publica was the most important. Elf ego Baca⁵² became a co-publisher and, for a brief time, editor of this paper. In addition, the New Mexican Publishing Company continued El Nuevo Mexicano at Santa Fe. By 1912 territorial Spanish language weeklies had reached a peak, attaining a greater number and a higher quality than in all prior decades.

⁵⁰ Isadoro Amijo, Jr. earlier had edited the short-lived Los Cruces Flor del Valle in 1894 and had worked on a Trinidad, Colorado, paper. Amijo, a graduate of New Mexico Agricultural and Mechanical Arts College, was prominent in Republican politics, serving as a legislator, probate clerk of Dona Ana County, and member of the New Mexico Constitutional Convention.

⁵¹ Los Cruces Times. July 8, 1911; Los Cruces Eco del Valle. November 18, 1910; May 12, 1910; Santa Fe New Mexican. July 15, 1911; Los Cruces Undervisor, March 29, 1901; Ayer. American Newspaper Annual, 1911, p. 590.

⁵² Nestor Itontoye and E. H. Salaraz were the original publishers of La Voz del Pueblo, when it was founded at Santa Fe in 1887.

⁵³ Elfego Baca, former Socorro County sheriff and New Mexico attorney, has been immortalized by a Walt Disney Studios television series and Kyle S. Crichton's, Unsub and Order Limited. The Rousing Life of Elf ego Baca (Santa Fe 1951),⁵³

Santa Fe Journalism, as had the Spanish language press, benefitted from the general territorial prosperity despite the city's decrease in population from 5,603 to 5,072 between 1900 and 1910. In addition, prospects of statehood increased political activity and Santa Fe Journalistic enterprises as well, so that in these years four new and relatively stable weeklies were established there. The most Important of these was the Eagle, founded in 1906 by A. J. Loomis.⁵⁴ This paper absorbed 11 BoTetln Popul.^r in 1908⁵⁵ and continued into the new era. Despite a loss of its political subsidies in this decade, the New Mexican was enlarged and improved. Max Frost and his successor in 1909, P» A, F. Walter, continued to support the Republican party though patronage was withdrawn.⁵⁶

Just as Santa Fe had lost its wholesale and distribution business to Albuquerque and Las Vegas with the advent of railways, the second period of railroad building initiated an era of economic decline for Las Vegas and an ever mounting

54 Thirteenth Census, Vol. 111, pp. 161-83. A. J. Loomis was editor and publisher of the Deming Daily Herald in 1885 and 1886, the Silver City Daily Southwest Sentinel in 1887 and 1888, and the Silver City Eagle from 1890 to 1897 when it was suspended. The Eagle was revived briefly in 1900 by Loomis. From 1897 until 1900 Loomis served as a United States customs official.

55 Socorro Chieftain, March .94, 1904; Santa Fe Eagle, December 7, 1912; Ayer, American Newspaper Annual, 1906f; p. 561, 1907; p. 568, 1911, p. 735?

56 Santa Fe New Mexican, January 21, 1909, January 5, 1912.

ascendancy for Albuquerque. In the early 1880s the trade area of Las Vegas extended over large parts of central and eastern New Mexico, including White Oaks and Seven Rivers. As the most convenient rail connection for such a large region, the town was a major shipping point for cattle, wool, and hides. Each railroad constructed after this time, however, removed part of this trade area, and by 1908 it had been vastly reduced.

The resulting economic decline was very slight at first, so that with the general prosperity of this era and a population increase of the combined towns from 5,319 to 6,934 between 1900 and 1910 Las Vegas remained attractive to journalists. As in prior decades there was an intense newspaper rivalry here. The battle between the Daily Optic and the Daily Record, begun in 1900, terminated with a merger in 1903.⁵ But before this was consummated the Advertiser was launched. Beginning as a weekly, the Advertiser became a daily on May 1, 1903. Earl Kirona, its editor and publisher, obtained financial support from Jefferson Reynolds, Las Vegas banker and former principal owner of the early Daily Gazette. But Reynolds soon withdrew his support, and then in quick succession the Advertiser became a weekly and then

⁵ Las Vegas Daily Optic, March 18, May 18, May 4, 1903; Farmington Hustler, May 5, 1903; Thirteenth Census, vol. 11, pp. 161-163.

Upsed.⁵⁸

Despite the Advertiser's experience, the launching of new papers continued. In 1905 and 1906, Russell Kistler, former Pally Optic owner, published the weekly Hews. In 1909 Kistler began the Homesteader, which was very short-lived.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, during all of these years Las Vegas' two Spanish language weeklies, U. Voz del Pueblo and El Independiente, were well supported, absorbing a large part of available advertising and circulation funds. Thus, excessive competition continued to be an important facet of Las Vegas Journalism until 1912.

Whereas the new railroads diverted trade away from Las Vegas to Texas points or the new territorial towns, one road, the New Mexico Eastern, had by 1909 extended the Albuquerque trading zone across central New Mexico to the Texas line. By 1900 the town's enterprising businessmen had already made it the laziest territorial town with a population of 6,238, and in this era of general prosperity and territorial growth Albuquerque gained new trade and wealth, so that by 1910 its population had grown to 11,020.

⁵⁸ Las Vegas Advertiser, March 22, October 9, 1903; Las Vegas Daily Advertiser, May 3, June 10, 1903. The weekly Advertiser lapsed in October, 1903.

⁵⁹ Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, April 15, 1905; Las Vegas Daily Star and Homesteader, March 7, April 22, 1910; Ayer, American Newspaper Annual, 1906, p. 565, 1909, p. 55s:

As a result the prosperous town was the scene of the greatest newspaper competition of this era. Here between 1900 and 1912 six dailies and fifteen weeklies were published—with nine of the latter in the Spanish language. In addition to these general newspapers, there were seven specialized Journals, which drew all or part of their sustenance from the town. Towering above all of these papers were the Journal-Democrat and the Daily Citizen and its successors.⁶⁰

Initially the two Albuquerque dailies were evenly matched, but a vigorous new management for the Journal-Democrat and the death of Thomas Hughes changed the balance. Hitherto, since 1881 a leading Albuquerque Journalist, sold the Daily Citizen in 1905 because of ill health. Purchased by a group headed by banker W. S. Strickler, this Republican paper was continued until 1909*. At this time a Democratic group, which had purchased the Tribune a month earlier, bought the Daily Citizen and combined both of their papers as the Tribune-Citizen.^^ This group also suffered severe financial losses, and in 1911 sold the paper to Republican

⁶ Thirteenth Census, Vol. III, pp. 161-8?,

Albuquerque Daily Citizen. March 29, 1905 - Thomas Hughes died in June, 1905, following the sale of the paper the previous March. The Albuquerque Tribune was established with the plant of the defunct El Paso News on September 1, 1909. Felix Martinez of El Paso Voz del Pueblo of Las Vegas, who had published the News, was a shareholder in the concern along with prominent territorial Democrats A. A. Jones of Las Vegas, O. N. Marron and H. B. Ferguson both from Albuquerque.

leaders who renamed it the Bvmlng Herald.^^

^^ Journal-Democrat under an active new management was the chief soume of trouble for the Citizen. After the death of A. A. Grant, P. A. Nacpherson gained contml of the fonaer paper. Nacpherson was the nephew of Grant and the atbalnlstrator of his estate. In 1903 under the new management, W. S. Burke, an associate editor, was made editor-in-chief, within a few months the name of the paper was changed to the Noming Journal, and it began to move toward the improved twentieth centxury Jounaliem. The Utest reporting styles and headllnea gradually were adopted, and the full leased wire of the Associated Press soon was obtained. In politics the Journal became Independent Republican, which left it free to criticize everyone—which it frequently did. By 1912 the Journal, except for occasional Upses, was following modem Journalistic styles. In its business policies this paper also adopted the latest techniques. The purchase of a modem press made it possible to expand circulation, and between 1903 and VJ12 the number of subscribers was tripled.⁶² Apparently because of its

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Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen, January 3, March 6, 1911; Albuquerque Evening Herald, *nercn* 7, 1-11; Arteslc Atveeatf. Namh 11, 1911; Us cruces Rio Grande Republican, *^fme* 23, 1911. F. A. Hubbell, BemalTTTo County Renublican Chairman, was one of the principal owners of the paper as well as a co-owner of the Albuquerque Brjidcra Anerlnana,

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Ayer, American newspaper Annual. •903f r. 5^1, 1912, p, 5^0; Alhuquerque Journ<ijL-Democrat, March 6, 31, IQ^B; Albuquernue Morning jSum^?!, October 7, 19<^3. Associate

superior circulation, advertising sales climbed to new heights. Thus, the Journal editorially, Journalistically, and in business practices was a stable, modern newspaper. It became a near at hand example of the success of the new Journalism for other papers to admire and copy.

The greater stability shown by the Albuquerque Noming Journal In this era was a characteristic of the entire territorial press. The short-lived carapairai period papers had passed out of vogue, and most papers that were now founded, survived for at least a year or longer. One *example* of the greater stability of the press was the large number of papers in existence in 1912. At the beginning of the decade fifty-eight weeklies and five dailies were being published in the territory, while on the eve of statehood there were 115 weeklies and seven dailies. Nevertheless, newspaper failures and intense competition were as common as in the earlier period. To illustrate, in these few years 197 new papers were launched, compared to 252 founded in all of the years before 1901. The decade thus displays both the old trait of excessive competition as well as greater stability.

Just as the general territorial press exhibits traits of both the old and the new journalism, so too do

editors of the Noming Journal in this period were seen later noted New Mexicans as *the*, Dana Johnson and William A. Keleher.

the careers of individual editors and publishers. In this decade the trait of pioneer optimism recurs, but is coupled with a more practical attitude about newspaper business practices. And in politics the old and the new are also apparent, for the editors not only show some of the old subservience but some of the new spirit of Independence in politics. The origins and backgrounds of the newsmen also reflect great diversity. Furthermore, there was diversity in opinion and practice in editorial capability, pride of profession, journalistic fraternalism, and personal Journalism. Nevertheless, there was a clearly discernible trend away from the old ideas and practices toward twentieth century Journalism.

That pioneers were still to be found in the twentieth century may seem improbable to many, but such seemed to be the case in eastern New Mexico. There the homesteaders came to a new country, lived under very trying conditions while they broke the sod into fields, and were forced by the aridity of the area to learn new farming methods. The journalists who followed the farmers to the area were pioneers too, for many filed homestead claims which they worked while they published weekly newspapers. At any rate, the journalists adopted some of the characteristics of their pioneer neighbors, such as exceptional optimism and independence. At the same time in being enterprising and practical they displayed another pioneer trait. They took

advantage of the friendliness and curloalty of their pioneer neighbors to sell many newspaper subscriptions, with good circulations they had a tool suited for the use of enterprising, optlnistic, pioneer merchants, who followed the latest retail practices of Increasing sales through Urge advertisements.⁶⁴ Thus, as in the early iBdO's, many of the new publishers foresaw greater prospects of pmfits from private enterprise than *from* politics.

Althou^ the influence of politics on territorial Journalism was declining, its roU was still Important. Politicians still entered Journalism in order to use newspapers as political toole. One illustration of this was the founding of the Albuquerque Tribune by such political figures as A. A. Jones, H. B. Ferguson, Felix Nartinez, and O. N. Narron.⁶⁵ In another instance, the Roswell Noming Eews was founded by Roswell Democrats who were dissatisfied with the political policy of the Roswell Deily Record.⁶⁶

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The new twentieth century concepts of sdvertis-ling and circulation and territorial papers use of theci vlll be discussed below.

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A. A. Jones later became a United States senator, R* B. Ferguson was a former Democratic territorial delegate to Congress and a future New Nexlco congressman, Feli.r Nartinez and O. N. Narron were territorial Democratic leaders.

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Editor and publisher C. E. Nason apparently was suspect, for he had edited the Republican Rosvell Register for a time and refused to follow all terxdtorlal Democratic policies. W. H. Hutchinson in A BHF Cross Man; The L fe ind FaraonM Writiiig^s of Eugene'lCanlove JgTodes (Norman, ••boo), says that teswetT Democrats sou^t to havo ^odes •ade editor of the Daily Record so that the paper might

~~Some~~ publishers, as has been pointed out above, sought to prevent competition by providing a Journal for avid partisans of both major political parties. This was true of H. F. M. Bear and C. E. Nason at Roswell with their Democratic Record and Republican Register, and J. E. Curren, who with his son, A. E. Curren, duplicated this feat with

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politically opposed papers at Tucumcari and Clovis. In other cases publishers changed their politics to suit their opportunities. One example occurred when life-long Democrat P. J. Bennett launched the Republican Palm Springs Herald to compete with the Democratic Palm Springs Headlight, simply to gain local Republican support. Perhaps such cynicism as these instances show eventually helped to curtail the support which partisan had given papers simply because they had displayed a party label. At any rate, in this era a great many newspapers were founded to give a political voice to one party or another as was repeatedly shown earlier in this chapter.

Prospects of political spoils continued to lead to the launching of newspapers. Most of the Republican papers

have a truly Democratic editor. Rhodes, however, was turned down by Nason (pp. 79, 88, 90). In January, 1911, the Palm Springs Record refused to support the territorial Democratic Convention and of defeat for the proposed constitution, which probably was the reason for the launching of the Palm Springs News.

67 The Republican Tucumcari Times and Tucumcari Quay County Democrat and at Clovis the Republican News Journal and the Democrat were owned by Curren and his son.

founded In eastern New Mexico anticipated as their reward a monopoly of the legal notices required of homesteaders in their area.⁶⁸ And as In the past Republican publishers received political appointments as *reiverde* for their party loyalty. For example, Uroy Loomis of the Texico Trumpet, James Corry of the Springer Sentinel, and P. A. F. Walter of the Santa Fe New Mexican became postmasters. Wesley McCallister of the Lovington Leader. A. E. Curren of the ^B Mews, and W. C. Haidens of the Montoya Republican were appointed officials in the United States Land Office, and for his loyalty to the party Frank Staplin was rewarded with a post as United States court commissioner.⁶⁰ "

Republican Journals outnumbered Democratic papers 112 to 64 in this era, and several factors account for this resurgence in Republican strength. First, the dissent of Populists and silverites had faded with the prosperity of the twentieth century, and many former Republicans had returned to the party. But perhaps more important was the fact that territorial Republicans controlled political spoils because there was a national Republican administration in these years. As a result that party could reward

^{CO}
^{^^} Notices were required to be published in newspapers of general circulation and the Republican land officials arranged for them to be published in papers loyal to the Republican party,

[^] Portales Times. April 15, 1909; Santa Fe New
 York, December 3, 1901; Lovington Leader, January 1, 1912;
 Fort Sumner Review. February 25, 1911; "Montoya Republican,
 February 14, 1918) Farmington Rising, May 17, 1918.

Journalists with political appointments, territorial public printing contracts, and a monopoly of homesteaders' legal notices. This last was so profitable that there were almost as many Republican as Democratic papers in heavily Democratic eastern New Mexico. Nevertheless, Democratic total press strength also grew during the period, principally because of the heavily Democratic immigration into southeastern New Mexico.

Of great political import was the fact that newspapers in general were more independent in this era. Some papers chose to list themselves as affiliated with neither party; many of them perhaps awaiting the highest bid from the politicians, and others probably hoping to placate partisans of both parties. Among these, twenty-seven listed themselves as independent, thirty-eight as non-political; and Prohibitionists, Labor, and Socialists each had one

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Journalistic champion. However, many papers which were listed as affiliated with a major party rejected political entanglement and were relatively independent. Their income from circulation and advertising, as we have shown above, made publishers less dependent upon political income.⁷¹

⁷¹ This conclusion was made from the listings in the American Newspaper Annual, New Mexico pages from 1901 to 1917 and from the newspapers themselves and reflects changes of political affiliation under different owners.

⁷² This development is covered in greater detail in Chapter IV.

The political affiliations of newspapers perhaps reflect the diverse origins of the Journalist* of the 19th era, although no attempt was made to check the origins of all Journalists. The group which appears to have been most prominent was that of Anglo-American Journalists with a decade or more of residence in New Mexico. Newspapers of this type were to be found in all parts of the territory, but they were more numerous in the areas that had long been settled. Next most prominent were Southerners, who published and edited many of the papers of southeastern New Mexico. Next in line were the Spanish-American journalists of the enlarged Spanish Empire of this decade. Finally, the northern Midwestern continued to be well represented among the new men who immigrated to the territory in this era. Thus, four cultural elements were represented in the New Mexico press corps: Western, southern, northern midwestern, and the Spanish-American. As a result the territorial press was more cosmopolitan than at any earlier date,***

The cosmopolitan background of the new men have helped them gain a more realistic attitude concerning the position of the Journalist in society. While they believed

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No effort was made to check the origins and backgrounds of all Journalists, However, from the facts which came readily to hand the conditions outlined above appear to be true. The editorial and attitudes of the various Journalists, particularly those of importance, tend to confirm this opinion.

the position of the editor was very important, few of them any longer considered themselves great arbiters of public morals and affairs. Wrote one country editor ⁷⁴ "A newspaper is not such an important affair that it should turn a man's head. , . On the other hand, when Will Robinson of the Roswell Register-Tribune was offered the New Mexico governorship by a high official of the Interior Department, he rejected it with this comment 'I am a newspaperman and would rather work on a newspaper than be president of the United States.' ⁷⁴ On the whole, editors assumed a more reasonable view of the power and prestige of their position than in the earlier periods. However, this must be deduced more from a lack of boastful statements about the power of the press and editorial importance, so prevalent earlier, than from editorial comments denying the power of the press.

The quality of editorial personnel of this decade varied from the superior to the decidedly inferior, and, as a result of the large number of new weeklies, printer-trained editors were the most prominent. The superior qualifications of some newsmen are reflected by their distinguished later careers. For example, T. J. Nabry left the Clovis Journal to study law and eventually served as

⁷⁴ Fortales Times, February 3, 1904.

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⁷⁴ Albuquerque Morning Journal, November 7, 1909

both chief Justice of the Supreme Court and governor of the State of N^ Mexico. E. C. de Baca of U Vos del Pueblo of Us Vegas also served as a New Mexican governor. Vlll Keller, the noted Albuquerque Uwyer and New Nexlco historian, was a elty editor of the Albuquerque Morning Journal.⁷⁵ Boy Bedleheck, Texas author and naturalist, served briefly as editor of the Darning Headlisht.⁷⁶ E. Dana Johnson of the Albuquerque Nomlni; Journal and Will Robinson of the Roswell Re^ster-Trtbune continued distinguished careers in New Itoxlco Journalima.⁷⁷ In addition, the territorial preas corps was improved in this era by the larger number of college trained members. Among l^e college trained editors were such men as Isadoro Armljo of the Eco dfl Valle of Ua Crucea, H. F. N. Bear of the Roswell Record, O. N. McBride and E. P. Alldredge of the Portales Herald I B. A. Drake, editor of the Socorro Chieftain, was a fonaer college professor.⁷⁸ As a general rule the quality of editorial personnel of dallies and larger weeklies was

⁷⁵ Ibid., September 23, 1910.

⁷⁶ Demlng Headlight. January 1 to October 12, 1911.

⁷⁷ •^ Albuquerque Noming Journal, April 20 to JULY 1, 1910,

⁷⁸ Us Cruces Eco del Valle. September 23, 1911; Roswell Daily Record, February 1, 1905; Portales Roosevelt County Herald, December 19, 1908, February 26, June 18, 1909; ArldSdaa Argus as quoted in socorro cnierxain, January 10, 1900; Portales Daily Hews, Sept«aber 21, 1952. McBride left Portales to become president of a college at Canadian, *»xas.

improved, but among the smaller weeklies some editors were as bad as the worst of the past, probably because they had learned Journalism as apprentice printers and had little formal education.

The widening gap between the good and the poor Journalists quickened the decline in Journalistic fraternalism in New Mexico, but the opposite trend could be noted in eastern New Mexico where frontier friendliness prevailed and a spirit of fraternalism was encouraged by the common experiences and hardships shared by the pioneer newsmen. The contrast between the level of Journalistic fraternalism of the two areas was pointed up by press association activities. The New Mexico Press Association was reorganized for the third time in September, 1900, when it met at Albuquerque and elected as its president William S. Berger of the Santa Fe Capitol. The next February Tom Hughes of the Albuquerque Daily Citizen was elected president, and he evidently served through 1902. The association then seems to have disintegrated again. Although an effort was made to revive the organization in 1906, New Mexico had no general press association until 1912.^^ The activities of eastern New Mexico newsmen offer a contrasting picture. The Pecos Valley Press Association was organized in Roswell in August, 1907, with

Will Robinson of the Roswell Register-Tribune becoming first president. Subsequent meetings at southeastern New Mexico towns were well attended, and news accounts reflect the spirit of camaraderie of the conventions.⁸⁰

Spanish language Journalists, united upon a common cultural background, seemed to be exceptions to the decrease in fraternalism of the older New Mexican areas. Efforts to maintain a Spanish language press association in earlier periods evidently failed because of the small number of stable Spanish language papers. Such attempts were renewed in 1911, and an association was formed at Albuquerque. Nestor Nontoya of the Albuquerque Bandera Americana was elected president, and Elfego Baca of the Albuquerque

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Opinion Publica became treasurer. In 1912 this association in cooperation with eastern New Mexico weekly editors organized a newsmen's group which later became the present New Mexico Press Association.⁸²

The various press groups had no startling achievements to their credit. Probably their chief accomplishments were the discussion of common problems and their efforts to

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Portales Herald, August 28, 1907. Subsequent Pecos Valley Press Association presidents are listed in the Appendix.

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Santa Fe Sun as quoted in Mora Mosquito, February 18, 1908; Las Cruces Flor del Valle, March 24, 1911; Las Vegas Independiente, September 21, 1911.

^ H. O. Norris interview. August 3, 1963.

revive the fading Journalistic fraternalism.

The decrease in personal Journalism in this decade was partially a result of the decreasing fraternalism among territorial editors. Editors were less likely to abuse someone whom they believed to be too insignificant to be worthy of attention. Another characteristic of personal Journalism at this time was that the exchanges between editors were more often factual than the earlier unfounded abuse. Examples of factually based abuses were the Santa Fe New Mexican⁸ naming the Albuquerque Morning Journal "a rotten corporation sheet" because it belonged to the corporation owning Albuquerque public utilities. The Morning Journal's counter charge that the New Mexican was the organ of the Plunderbund⁸ and was the territorial administration almanac, were based upon its constant defense of Republican leaders and its refusal to adopt readily the new Journalistic styles. In other instances editors used clever editorials to ridicule their adversaries rather than countering with vile abuse. One example of this technique was a reply of Tom Hughes of the Albuquerque Daily Citizen to a charge of dishonesty by J. H. McCutcheon of the Albuquerque Industrial Advertiser.

⁸ Albuquerque Morning Journal, September 8, 1908; Santa Fe New Mexican. June 15, 1908. Plunderbund was the name given one group of Republican leaders by the Albuquerque Morning Journal.

The public la warned against Johnny NcCutcheon. He is not honest. We bought him last year for \$37.50 and he will not stay bought. Why we paid the extra \$37.00 for a maverick of Johnny's sort is aUost unexplainable. He came and insisted upon selling himself and the bargain counter instinct caused us to buy a chunk of living nmimage that ia really not worth thirty cents in Nexican money.

We had no earthly use for Johnny in any way whatever, but the opportunity to buy a Democratic editor at bargain aale rates led us to invest. The idea that we could tell the fellow to crawl in our vest pocket was probably worth fifty cents, but looking beck on the transaction we are ccm-vlnced that when we paid \$37.50 for such a snivel-ing, snarling, whining* deadbeat, we recklessly threw away good money. #4

Thus, it appears that while the era of personal Journalism was not finally ended, such persoial editorial exchanges were rarer and milder.

In addition to a milder personal Joumalism, the territorial press corps of this decade had several notable traits. New elements made it more cosmopolitan. Perhaps this helped to lessen the former dominance exerted by the politicians over the territorial press. The improved educational background and capability of many editorial personnel was another notable trait. Despite their better qualifications, however, territorial editors achieved n more reelistic and reasonable attitude toward the power and importance of their profession. In this more

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Albuquerque Dally Citizen as quoted in Socorro
aiaftaln, Narch 15, lo[^]i[^]T[^]

sophisticated press corps the spirit of friendliness and fraternity among editors declined, except among the pioneer newsmen of eastern New Mexico and the members of the Spanish language press. Fraternalism among the latter Journalists, born of shared attitudes and experiences, led to the founding of press associations more enduring than the New Mexico Press Association. In general, as the eve of statehood approached the press was increasingly sophisticated, cosmopolitan, independent, and impersonal.

With a more capable press corps in this era, substantial improvements were made in territorial Journalism, moving it along the road toward a more modern press for New Mexico.

Following national developments toward an improved press, territorial newsmen in this decade began to use the style and techniques developed by the "yellow Journalists." Some sought to exploit the sensationalism of this new Journalism. Others began to use large headlines, photography, balanced front page makeup, and other features to make their papers more interesting. At the same time, there was a general improvement in content brought about by more extensive use of Associated Press services. Territorial and local news coverages also were improved. While these innovations were being used to improve the dailies and better weeklies, however, many weeklies retreated into a routine country Journalism. In both cases the New Mexico press was

but following national trends.

The techniques of the yellow Journalists, already in use by the general American press, were used in this decade to modernize the territorial press. There seems to be a generally held concept that yellow journalism was altogether bad, but it was not without its redeeming features. The original yellow Journalists, W. R. Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, are remembered for stretching the truth and placing a heavy emphasis upon the sensational, particularly in dealing with sex and crime. But this is not the whole story. These men, realizing that large circulations are the key to newspaper profits, took advantage of the recent innovations in composition, presses, and paper to increase the circulations of their Journals. Along with sensationalism, other techniques were developed to attract readers. New composition methods provided almost unlimited newspaper space, making it possible to use many large headlines and photoengravings.⁸ Order was brought to front pages by excluding advertising and providing balanced makeup. Interesting additions were made, such as sports news, comics, and feature stories. newspapers gained a lively and

⑤ The linotype so simplified and reduced the time and cost of composition that many publishers enlarged their papers. In New Mexico, for example, in 1903 the regular four pages per day was replaced with an eight pages daily in each of the dailies at Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Los Angeles. Since it was no longer necessary to conserve space, publishers were free to use it to make their papers more attractive.

interesting appearance. In many ways newspapers were not a great deal more sensational than in the past, but the bUrlng headline, the skillfully written lead paragmph, and photography so increased the impact of the sensstional that the readers were impressed with it as never before. Sensationallam also was not an unmixed evil, for many of these stories were Infomative. A new interest in crime made the public awaz^ of its extent, opening the possibility of a demand for reform. Sensationalism was also used to expose Incompetent or corrupt offlclale. Generally the yellow Journalists backed the Progressive movement's demand for reform, and partially because it was sensational. Good or bad, sensationalism and the wider variety of news stories presented in the new manner made newspapers interesting, timely, and lively. As a result millions of new resders were attracted. Seeing the success of men like Hearst, American Joumalists began to adopt their methods.⁸⁶ Territorial newsmen were no exception and followed the trend toward modem Joumalism.

Only two territorial papers extensively used the yellow Journalist type of sensationalism. The most notable

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Frank Uther Nott, Aaierlean Journalism; A History. 1620-i960 (New York, 1902), pp. 573-77, CurTis D. ncDougal, 'Newsroom Pmblems and Policies (New York, 1947). pp. 438-39; John K. Vinkler, 'mTram Randolph Hearst: f^ jaw Appraisal (New York, 195&> PP- 1-5; John "KFTe, The Ofc end 0^3 Times of William Randolph Hearst (New York, 1^2), pp. 7b-7^\' Altuquerque Morning JouInel, January 9, 1909, illuetrates the usage ofp lead r>prrr^r^ph in this era.

user of sensationalism to increase circulation was the Advertiser of Us Vegas. From the inception of this paper, editor Earl Lyons sought to use the racial element of clashes between east and west Us Vegas for his benefit. Since west Us Vegas was an unincorporated town, its post office was merged in 1903 with that of the newer town, and a \$10,000 Carnegie Library grant for Us Vegas was accepted by the East Us Vegas City Council, which located *the* library in their town. Efforts were being made to combine the two towns, but some East Us Vegas residents objected to the incorporation of the older town's slum area?, Lyons charged or implied that discrimination against the predominantly Spanish-American population of West Us Vegas was a partial motivation for the actions of the leaders of the newer town. Successful exploitation of these issues helped the weekly Advertiser to grow. Then it gained financial support and launched a Daily Advertiser.

Having fully exploited the racial conflict, Lyons turned his attention to a grisly incident at the territorial Insane asylum at Us Vegas, a doctor at the asylum had taken the skeleton from the body of a deceased patient without family permission. These bones were placed in a barrel of lime water on the grounds, where they were found by an inmate who threw them over the asylum wall. Lyons learned of this, and, in a series of sensational stories and editorial comments, charged asylum officials with cruelty to

patients. Again his primary motive appeared to be to exploit the affair for circulation growth. Lyons lost his financial support, for his backer, banker J. S. Roynolds, was a member of the asylum board. The Advertiser then reverted to weekly publication and was soon suspended. Although all of these events were newsworthy and editorial comment was justified, Lyons' sensationalism and inclusion of the racial issue appeared to be designed primarily to advance his own fortunes.⁸⁷

Yellow Journalistic tactics of a more justifiable nature were used by the Albuquerque Noming Journal. In an editorial campaign extending over a period of several years, the Noming Journal sought to break the power of Albuquerque political boss F. A. Hubbell. Under this paper vigorously attacked the administration of territorial

⁸⁷ 1, 8 Vegas Advertiser, March 22 to October 1, 1913; Us Vegas Daily Tribune, May 1 to June 16, 1913. Although Lyons might appear to have sacrificed valuable financial backing for his principles, in reality he had little to lose and more to gain by continued sensationalism. He had practically no capital investment, and none in a plant, his paper was printed in the shop of El Independiente at Las Vegas. Lyons probably foresaw that without sensationalism he would never successfully compete with the established Us Vegas Daily Optic, and a successful paper without financial backing is better than an unsuccessful one with financial backing. In addition, we may judge that his sensationalism was distorted because the further his paper pursued these tactics, the greater his loss of advertising— even among the merchants of the older town. The asylum incident furnishes a further example. A bi-partisan commission of prominent territorial doctors investigated the asylum and cleared its officials of anything other than clerical license. Yet, Lyons refused to accept this, alleging this was merely a 'white-wash.'

Governor M. A. Otero and Republican leader H. O. Bursun.

Partially as a result of the campaign of the Noming Journal Hubbell's control of the Republican party at Albuquerque was curtailed, and the hold of the Otero-Bursun faction upon the territorial Republican party was loosened.⁸⁸ Certainly it is the business of a newspaper to point to the faults of public officials and party leaders, but never had a territorial newspaper carried forward such an extensive campaign in such a sensational manner. Thus, this again was a yellow Journalist tactic—but apparently Justifiable.

The use of the other techniques of yellow Journalism became more widespread. The changing style and size of headlines can be illustrated by noting the treatment of two major stories in 1901 and 1910. In 1901 the Santa Fe New Mexican related the assassination of President William McKinley under a small two column headline. By contrast, President W. H. Taft's signing of the New Mexico statehood bill produced banner headlines in almost every territorial paper, including the New Mexican.⁸⁹ The Albuquerque Morning Journal led the territorial press in the adoption of the new headlining styles. Even this paper, however, did not

[^] Albuquerque Noming Journal, March 1, 1901 to January 1, 1912, passim; see also Chapter IV, Nott, American Journalism, pp. 173-75 notes that cross-sections were a tactic of the yellow Journalists and a recognized tactic of newspaper promotion.

[^] [®] Santa Fe New Mexican. September 6, 13, 1901, January 20, 1910.

consistently follow the new practices and occasionally placed eight one column headlines of the same size and type face together at the top of its front page. For brief periods the Daily Optic of Las Vegas adopted the new styles but soon reverted to its old ways. Ute in this era the Albuquerque Tribune-Citizenⁱ and its successor, the Evening Herald, adopted the new practices.[^] By 1912 most dailies had recognized the new styles by using them occasionally.

Improvements in front page makeup were dependent upon the usage of the new headline styles, and hence the improved practices in makeup of eastern American papers was not being consistently used in New Mexico in 1912. The elimination of front page advertising aided the movement toward balanced front pages. Such leading papers as the Morning Journal and the Daily Optic began this practice early in the decade. Many weeklies also began to eliminate front *page* advertising, but few of them were consistently doing so in 1912.⁹¹ Thus, the trend toward a modern.

[^] These trends can be seen by scanning the front pages of the Albuquerque Morning Journal from 1903 to 1912, ^{^*} Daily Optic at Las Vegas during 1908, the Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen from 1909 until 1911, and the Albuquerque Evening Herald in 1911.

^{^1} The Santa Fe New Mexican had not fully eliminated front page advertising by 1912^{*} but it began to move toward this practice in 1910 and 1911; for weeklies which continued the use of front page advertising see Fort Sumner Review throughout 1909; Socorro Chieftain, 1908 to 1912; Mott, American Journalism, p. 59^{^^} states that front page advertising was still common in United States weeklies in 191[^].

balanced front page was well underway but not consistently followed by 1912.

photographs, which ease the problem of achieving a balanced page makeup, were not consistently used by territorial journals at this time. The Homing Journal, Daily Optic, and Tribune-Citizen at various times used news pictures furnished by national newspaper syndicates. As for local pictures, the Homing Journal made more use of them than did most papers, but the most consistent user of local photographs was the New Mexican. However, these were photos of leading legislators and pictures of buildings in various

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territorial towns rather than true news photographs.[^]

Many territorial weeklies also occasionally used photos of this variety. Here again, the territorial press had adopted one of the new techniques but was inconsistent in its use.

The territorial press improved newspaper content at the same time that it began the occasional use of the new techniques to make papers more attractive. Again the most notable improvement was in the Homing Journal. In 1903 this paper doubled its Associated Press service and in 1906 obtained the full leased wire. From this time on.

[^] Max Frost of the Santa Fe New Mexican published photos and flattering biographies of legislators for one of his tactics to capture territorial public printing. He also published photographs of buildings at various territorial towns. However, these engravings and copy had first been used by the New Mexican publishing company to print pamphlets for the New Mexico Bureau of Immigration. Thus, the use of photography here is *not* truly the new Journalism.

the Noming Journal had excellent coverage of national news, considering the fact that it was only a small town daily.

Until 1906 the Roswell Pally Record, New Mexican, Pally Optic, and Pally Citisen subscribed for a 500 word daily telegram from Associated Press; then the Ust thme of the Q1

above papers received a 1,000 word telegram. Before 1906 the New Mexican published the entire telegram as a single story—a daily news summary. But the New Mexican began to divide the longer telegram into brief stories, a practice the other papers had adopted earlier. Local news also gained a new prominence, with the most important stories being accorded treatment equal that of the interesting national news of the day. Local news briefs and social news were given more space and prominence than in the past.

Most territorial weeklies, on the other hand, began to concentrate upon reporting the news of their locality, following practices similar to those of small town weeklies of today. Possibly the efforts of the dailies to expand their circulations into rural areas forced weekly editors to improve local news coverage. Since they could compete with the dailies neither in freshness nor quantity of territorial and national news, they began a more detailed reporting of local events to entice the minority who wanted

^^ Albuquerque Noming Journal, October 1, 1906;
S^nU Fe New Mexican, January 1, 1906.

national news to subscribe also to their weeklies. Eastern New Mexico weeklies were the first to adopt this practice, publishing a large number of short local stories—many written by rural community correspondents. These news briefs dealt with routine matters: the coming and going of people, minor social affairs, births, marriages, *en*^{<^}. deaths of ordinary citizens.⁹⁴ Coverage of territorial political news *^ra* often limited to editorial comments or interpretation of events. Thus, by 1912 a trend which had begun in the 1890's was completed, and the weekly press of the territory became almost entirely a local press.

Both weeklies and dailies continued to rely on the news sources used in the past to obtain territorial news. Dailies made some use of the Associated Press for territorial news, but the exchange system provided fuller details almost as rapidly as that service. The dailies followed various practices in exchanging papers with weeklies, but the latter often limited their exchange of *^r*[^] to nearby weeklies.⁰⁵ Personal reporting of territorial news, on the other hand.

⁹⁴ The Cuervo Clipper's use of community correspondents from 1900 to 1912 is one of the better examples of this practice.

[^] The dailies often exchanged with the better territorial weeklies which might provide them with good sources for territorial news. Max Frost of the Santa Fe New Mexican, on the other hand, courted country publishers, particularly "publican ones, and exchanged with all territorial weeklies. For more amplification of the practice of Frost, see Chapter IV,

was increased only slightly, being limited for the most part to the Morning Journal's assignment of reporters to cover the legislative session and other events at the territorial

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capital. A one page summary of New Mexico news was included among the pre-printed pages sold by the Denver branch of the Western Newspaper Union, giving some poorer weeklies

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devoid but excellent territorial news coverage. These stories apparently were also obtained by the exchange system, which worked better than in the past because local news reporting had been improved. Nevertheless, by their continued use of the exchange system the territorial press lagged behind national progress in Journalism,

The territorial press also lagged behind the general development of Journalism in a great many other practices. For example, most editors continued to use personalized editorial columns. The New Mexican provides the best example of the dailies which followed this practice, and almost every territorial weekly continued to use personalized editorial columns.⁹⁸ Sports coverage was almost entirely limited to the Morning Journal, which with its full leased wire could easily follow this news. Feature stories, another development of the new Journalism, were rarely used by territorial

[^] Hillsboro Silver County Advocate, February 22, 1907.

[^] For an example see Santa Rosa Sun, October 22,

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[^] The Albuquerque Morning Journal contrary to the general trend had an editorial page very similar to the style it uses today. K. Mott, American Journalism, pp. 580-83 shows national trends in editorial pages and styles.

papers.⁹⁹ Although the transition to the modern press was not complete, few of the distinctive facets of a frontier press remained. The poetry and boisterous humor of an earlier day were no longer to be seen. One exception to this, however, was a humorous column by Will Robinson, "Impressions of a Tenderfoot," which appeared in several eastern New Mexico weeklies. But on the whole, the territorial press, still hampered by limited space, devoted little effort to formalized editorial pages, sports, feature stories, humor, or poetry. It had become a workaday, no-nonsense press striving to give as much of the local and territorial news as possible. Even so it was nearer to modern Journalism than the frontier press. Thus, by and large the territorial editors had moved far down the road toward modern Journalism by 1912.

The quickening pace of twentieth century American life made itself felt in territorial Journalism between 1900 and 1912. While the weeklies began to limit themselves to local news. New Mexico dailies met the challenges of the new century. Under the leadership of the Albuquerque Noming Journal, they increased their foreign and national news coverage and experimented with the latest innovations in makeup, headlines, and style. Thus, despite their adherence

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The Santa Fe New Mexican did publish general feature stories on territorial towns from 1866 to 1887. It did this, however, by using type composed by its commercial department to print pamphlets for the territorial Bureau of Migration, hence this cannot be considered a true feature story; see also note 92 of this chapter.

to some of the old ways, the territorial press by 1912 was nearing the modern practices of Journalism with regard to newspaper content and style.

The changes in American newspaper content and style during this period were closely related to the business policies adopted by newspapers, for the new Journalism might not have developed without the improved printing machinery and the new merchandising and advertising concepts accepted by American retailers. Until 1890 most retail advertising simply stated the firm name and the type of goods sold; then retailers began to advertise specific items, particularly in real estate. This new advertising listed, described, and gave the price of the goods for sale, requiring more space than the old style advertisement. The generally held concept—the bigger the advertisement, the bigger the bargain—helped even more to increase the size of advertisements.

Since the new advertising practice was expensive, most retailers were inclined to place their advertising in the paper with the most subscribers, because the more readers, the better the results. As a consequence a struggle for circulation began between the leading newspapers of each town. And at the same time publishers began to buy the new printing machinery, enabling them to compete more effectively for the new advertising and circulation. It was under these conditions that Hearst and Pulitzer began their all out

struggle for circulation and advertising, using every department of their papers. The news and editorial phase has been discussed above as yellow Journalism. The struggle for circulation led to reduced prices on subscriptions, special circulation promotions, and actual violent war for newsstand and street sales. With regard to advertising, the war was carried forward by keeping rates low, or at least not raising them in proportion to the increased circulation. Newspaper competition became even sharper than in the past, and many papers were forced out of business. At the same time, the large capital needed for the expensive new machinery reduced the number of new journalistic ventures. After 1910, under these conditions, the number of American newspapers had been reduced annually. This trend has been one of the significant features of modern Journalism.¹⁰⁰

The course of Journalism at the national level was broadly and partially repeated in New Mexico. First, many papers adopted the new printing machinery. Next, publishers sought to encourage the new larger advertisements, conducting extensive circulation campaigns as a part of that effort.

¹⁰⁰ Nott, American Journalism, pp. 596-99 says that between 1892 and 1914 advertising in American newspapers increased two-and-one-half times. The advertising of retail merchandise, particularly department stores, was chiefly responsible. Such advertising was very interesting to readers and helped to increase newspaper readers and subscribers, according to the general increase brought by the new Journalism. Robert P. Uihlein (ed.), A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago, 1917), pp. 80-85, states that the number of American newspapers had steadily decreased since 1910.

Finally, despite the attempts of political parties to increase their control of newspapers, a large portion of the territorial press followed the national trend toward political independence, *thus*, by 1912 a large part of the New Mexico press had adopted modern business practices.

While most territorial dailies had adopted modern printing techniques by 1900, many territorial weeklies lagged far behind national practices. From 1901 to 1912 these weeklies still were printed with Washington hand presses and handset type. The acquisition of a power press was a momentous event for most territorial weeklies and one which fellow editors noted with praise or envy. The purchase of a linotype was even rarer among the weeklies. The comments of Quay County weekly publishers about the marvelously unique and expensive linotype installed at the Tucumcari News shows the machines' rarity, and even the ancient Rio Grande Republican did not install a linotype until 1911.¹⁰¹ There appear to be several reasons for the delay in adoption of the new machinery by territorial weeklies. First, the incomes of many of the older papers were still very limited, and they were forced to continue with the old methods. Next, numerous pioneer weeklies were founded

¹⁰¹ Roswell Daily Record, October 10, 1903; House Plains News, March 26, 1909; Santa Fe New Mexican, May 3, 1906, April 22, July 1, 1909; Farmington Hustler, January 23, 1901; Obar Progress as quoted in Tucumcari News, June 12, 1909; Socorro File Train, July 5, 1902, September 1, 1906.

in small eastern New Mexico villages which could never support the expensive new Journalism. Since most of these publishers were undercapitalized, they purchased used equipment and continued the handicraft methods. The number of such struggling weeklies was increased by the policies of pre-print companies such as Western Newspaper Union. Such companies would sell entire plants on an installment repayment plan. Then they supplied the publisher with pre-printed pages, reducing his expenses and allowing him to hang on. This helps to account for an increased use of pre-printed pages in New Mexico, contrary to the national trend.¹⁹¹ By 1912, however, most territorial weeklies had power presses and many had linotypes. Nevertheless, weeklies lagged well behind dailies and the national trends in the

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use of power machinery. -

The lag in the acceptance of new machinery delayed the transition to the new advertising practices, but it was also delayed by some merchants. In Albuquerque and eastern New Mexico aggressive retailers used large merchandising advertisements, especially of sales. Thus, in papers of those areas such advertisements were common. For example after 1906 the Tucumcari News routinely published one, and

¹⁹¹ Fort Sumner Review, July 17, 1909* Western Newspaper Union pages in this paper had an advertisement offering newspaper plants in installment payment plans. See also Nott, American Journalism, p. 509.

¹⁹³ Nott, American Journalism, p. 601.

occasionally two and four, page advertisements.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, the transition to the new advertising was not delayed by a lack of aggressive merchants alone, but also by the advertising rates of some of the older weeklies. To illustrate, the rate per column inch of the weekly silver City Enterprise was \$1.00 for one week, \$2.00 for one month, and \$12.00 for one year; the copy apparently was to remain unchanged throughout the period the advertisement was to run. This policy encouraged the continued use of small advertisements, the old system, but discouraged the intermittent large advertisements in which the copy was always changed, because such advertising would be too costly at \$1.00 an inch. The eastern New Mexico weeklies, on the other hand, encouraged the new advertising system. The rate of the Tucumcari News, for example, was 15 cents per column inch for any advertisement. Most eastern New Mexico papers had similar rates. This practice helps to account for the large retail advertisements of that area, while the lack of such in the older weeklies is partially explained by their policies.^{^^}

^{^^} Tucumcari News, October 1, 1906, to May 1, 1907.

^{^^} Silver City Enterprise, October 31, 1902; Tucumcari News, February 16, 1909; see Jon Quay County Times, April 11, 1908; Namvisa New Mexican, January 3, 1909; Vaughn News, April 22, 1910. While few papers in the older areas published rates for advertising, most papers in the newer areas did so—probably hoping to encourage advertising with their low rates. The rates of the older towns encouraged only standing advertisements. This lowered production

Borne eaatem New Nexlco weeklies were additionally blessed with a Urge Income from homesteaders' legal notices. The Fortales Times, for *exemple*, at one time used 25 per cent of Its space for their publication. The advertising in the pre*printed pages of the eastern New Nexlco weeklies was alao of Interest. This advertising came usually from national firma and was principally for patent medicines such ss Pr. Vlllllama' Pink Pills for Pale People, Lydia Pinkham, Peruna, Buckingham'a Muatache Dye, and others. The advertisers favored testimonials and often sought to exploit famoue names. For example, Peruna advertised, "Admiral Schley «idorses PE-HU-NA," with this statement, "'Gentlmaen: I can cheerfully aay that *Urm.* Schley haa taken Pe-nm-na and I believe with good effect." Publlahers warn beginning to realize the falsity of some patent medicine advertising, but it was pmbably a lack of public maponse to such advertising-induced by "muekraker" exposum of its fslsity—rather than the efforts of country publishers that led to

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ite decline.

costs, but reduced advertising effectiveness and advertising sales. Thus, ultimate net pmfits wem nduced by the system.

^^ Fort Sumner Review, July 17, 1909; Artesia Advocate, January 21, 1909; Santa Fe New Mexican, Namh 14, 1901, April 20, 1905; Portales Times, "Tismh It», 1907; Taos Cresset, June 14, 1900; Mott, Amerlcan Jounalisra, p. 589,

Classified advertising, a large source of revenue for present day papers, was not common in the territorial press. It was not until 1903 that the dailies at Las Vegas, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe began classified sections,¹⁰⁷ and by 1912 they still had little of such business. Nevertheless, with the new advertising practices, homesteaders' legals, and other revenues, many territorial publishers were very prosperous.

Possibly the greater prosperity of newspapers lessened the former common criticism of towns and their merchants for insufficient support of newspapers, for it was rare during this period. However, the New Mexican was an exception. Santa Fe merchants continued to provide poor support for the paper, and when it began to lose its profitable territorial public printing the New Mexican began to appeal for support from the town and merchants. Most territorial editors, on the other hand, apparently adopted an attitude similar to that of Frank Staplin of the Farmington Enterprise. He maintained that the worst sort of advertising for a paper was that which was put in to "help the paper," The only advertising that pays the paper is that which is done for the purpose of bringing business to the advertiser, and no paper which believes in and is willing to give a

¹ Santa Fe New Mexican, August 1, 1895; Las Vegas Daily Optic, June 27, 1903; Albuquerque Morning Journal, WCSbirTr 1904.

The subscription prices of territorial weeklies varied widely in this em. Western and central New Mexico weeklies had rates ranging from \$3.00 to \$1.30, but eastern New Mexico weeklies favored a rate of \$1.00 per year. This was the rate of the Tucumcari News, Clovis News, Portales Roosevelt County Herald, and Clovis Journal, as well as many smaller weeklies. The rate of the Roswell Register-Tribune was \$1.50, but it had an annual promotional period when it sold for \$1.00 per year. The Clovis News, for a short time, was sold for 50 cents a year to attract new subscribers, .n. th. S« , «n^" S«Un^ ... sola for ^ c«>t. . y..r during its first six months of publication. The lower rates and vigorous efforts of these papers produced large circulations. For example, the Tucumcari News reached 1,900[^], the Portales Roosevelt County Herald 3,000, and the Roswell Register-Tribune 2,150.^{^^^}

Realizing the Importance of circulation, many New Mexico papers began to use promotional schemes in addition to the price inducements to obtain it. The Noming Journal

¹¹¹ San Jon is the correct spelling of this town name, but apparently this to a misnomer intended to be San Juan but spelled San Jon by early Anglo-American residents of the town.

^{^^^} Portales Daily News, September 21, 1959; Clovis News, February 24, 1910; Tucumcari News, June 19, 1909; Hawaii Register-Tribune, January 11, 1906; Ayer. American Newspaper Annual, 1912, pp. 589-90. All circulations claims must be discounted. Nevertheless, these figures offer some measure of the circulations of these papers.

employed a circulation solicitor to travel over the territory and sell subscriptions while he wrote news stories about the various territorial towns. The Tucumcari Sun promoted circulation sales by offering a \$400 piano to the Quay County woman who sold the most subscriptions to the Sun. The Fort Sumner Index offered half of its original subscription sales to any church named by its subscribers.¹ ^ Although lower newsprint prices in this period allowed lower circulation prices, the lower subscription rates and the special efforts to increase circulation show that publishers had a new awareness of the value of the larger circulation in increasing advertising sales and rates.¹¹⁴ The Albuquerque Morning Journal was the best example of this. By 191^ it was able to boast of advertising rates twice that of any other territorial paper and the largest annual advertising lineage ever published by any New Mexico paper to that time,^{11^} " Therefore, it appears that in this period the New Mexico press was introduced to the modern concept of newspaper management that urged circulations, even if in themselves less profitable, increased advertising sales and total profits.

^^^ Albuquerque Morning Journal, March 10, 1908; Tucumcari Sun, March 26, 1909; Fort Sumner Review, October 23, 1909.

¹¹⁴ Nott, American Journalism, pp. 60^-01.

¹¹⁵ Albuquerque Morning Journal, September 11, 1919.

Although *daily*, the key to greater advertising sales, became an important competitive weapon in this era, the resort to daily publication was still a widely used tactic in battles between weeklies. This was true at Estancia, where two dailies competed in a town of about 500 population. At Clovis four, and at Roswell three short-lived dailies were published in competitive flurries. The short-lived Texico Daily Trumpet and Alamogordo Daily Journal are other examples of the use of this competitive technique. All of these towns but Roswell were too small to support dailies, and they were soon forced to return to weekly publication.¹¹⁶ Evidently these publishers hoped either to frighten or to force out competitors and at the same time gain the support of subscribers and advertisers with an increased service.

Another striking fact about Journalistic competition in this era was that despite the larger number of papers the intensity of Journalistic battles decreased, except in the towns of great prospective growth. For example, at Clovis between 1907 and 1909 nine papers were launched, but by 1911 only two had survived. This represents the general trend.

¹¹⁶ Portales Times. August 24, 1907; Clovis News, May 7-28, 1907; Portales Roosevelt County Herald, November 9, 1909; Alamogordo Daily Journal, July 7, 1905. In 1910 the population of Texico was 49, see Thirteenth Census. Vol. III, pp. 161-83. Other examples of the population of these towns and other competitive struggles have been given earlier in the chapter.

In towns large enough to support more than one paper, usually competition soon was limited to two papers representing the major political parties.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, some small town publishers avoided political affiliation—eventually hoping to avoid politically motivated competition. Most Journalists became increasingly reluctant to start or maintain papers for political reasons, especially since advancing wages and the greater capital requirements of newspaper plants left potential printer-publishers unwilling to struggle to sustain unprofitable papers. Furthermore, newsmen were learning that some who urged them to start papers were insincere in their offers of support and only wished to harass opposition publishers. The following colorful editorial headed "OBITUARY" illustrates these points:

With this issue the PECOS VALLEY STOCKMAN ceases to be. It dies, peters out, alkalies, passes over the range,—anyway you prefer to put it.

.
The causes of this move are few and plain. Some months ago the STOCKMAN was about suspended and for sale under foreclosure, and by the advice of "friends" I bought it, hoping that by industry and economy in the Mechanical department—doing my own work—I could make it pay. Becoming convinced that I nor any man can do it, I take advantage of the best offer to sell the material, preferring to enjoy the position of an humble mechanic with three square meals a day and something coming on Saturday night to the proud position of a country editor without enough revenue to pay expenses. . . . To those who promised to

¹¹⁷ Portales, Artesia, and Carrizozo are examples of this. In other towns after a brief flurry of competition, two competing papers of opposite parties were left; Leticia, Alamogordo, and Estancia are examples here.

simport me and failed to deliver the goods, I have nothing to aay. They know their business and I knew *mine* well ttthough not to continueps paper that does not and cannot be made to pay,^^^

This reluctance to Uunch competing papers was a facet of modem Joumalism. The founding of new papers wss not only deterred by Increased capital requirements, but as well by the desire of laerchants to patronize the paper with the Urgeat circulation—whatever ita politics. Thus, in the last territorial era there was s preview of the present day, when the preference of the advertisers for the most efficient advertising medium has limited most New Mexico towns to only one newspaper.

Since the merits of the newspser ss an advertising medium were not Involved in Job work, the purchasers of such printing could feel free to patronize any paper. With business prosperity in twentieth centuiy New Mexico, Job work became a more important source of revenue. Even In the smaller towns enough Income was derived from this source to provide a modest living for the country publisher.¹¹⁹ Throughout the period the Urger papem continued to seek revenue from this soume, and a > * autintained a vigoroua fight for territorial public printing. In 1903 the Santa 'a Bew Nexican lost its dominance of this lucrative soume

^^^ Roswell Pecos Valley Stockman, November 11, 1902.

ll'-' Portales Times, February 13, 1994.

of revenue, for in that year the Republican governor and legislature assigned part of it to the Republican Las Vegas Daily Record. In 1907 under the administration of Governor R. A. Hageman, Max Frost was removed as secretary of the Bureau of Immigration, and the New Mexican lost its last hold on the territorial public printing. H. B. Renning, chief editor of the Albuquerque Evening Journal, replaced Frost, and the Evening Journal received the printing con-

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tract of the Bureau. Although until statehood the territorial public printing apparently continued to be awarded upon a political basis, it was no longer used to maintain the chief party organ at Santa Fe.

Exposure of political subsidization of newspapers at the county level apparently helped to bring an end to these practices soon after New Mexico became a state. One such exposure occurred in San Juan County. There Frank Staplin, publisher of the Farmington Enterprise, bid \$300 lower on a county printing contract than the Farmington Times-Hustler. Failing to receive the contract from the San Juan county commissioners, Staplin sought an injunction against payment to the Times-Hustler for this printing. Staplin lost his suit, for the Times-Hustler had

^^^ Santa Fe New Mexican, March 1-3, May 15, 1901, July 22, 1905, August 7, 1907; Las Vegas Daily Record, June 25, 1907. Governor Hageman was generally believed to be a member of the Progressive wing of the Republican party and made a determined effort to cleanse New Mexico politics.

arranged for the public notices to be published in all San Juan County Democratic papers. The court ruled that this greater circulation justified a higher price. Nevertheless, soon after statehood was granted such useless and wasteful practices as the publication of county commission minutes and delinquent tax notices were discontinued, probably because of exposures such as the above during an era when Progressive reformers closely watched government.¹²¹

The loss of political subsidy was still in the future, for in this decade newspaper revenue from politically controlled sources was increased—mainly because of the legal notices of homesteaders. Nevertheless, there was a strong trend toward political independence, because the readers demanded it. Since greater revenue from the new retail advertising depended upon having the most subscribers, readers became more important than politicians. In this era of Progressive reformism the public was suspicious of politicians, wished to see them questioned and exposed if they were corrupt, and subscribed to the paper which did so. Evidently the owners of the Albuquerque Morning Journal correctly assessed this new attitude and made their paper politically independent. One measure of the vigor of their attack upon the politicians was the numerous libel suits filed against them by the territorial politicians. Prospects of libel suits in this decade were

¹²¹ Aztec San Juan County Index, March 7-2P, 1907; Farmington Enterprise, August 13, 1906.

increased when the legislature of 1885 enacted the harsh libel law of 1889. Under its provisions the Morning Journal was not only indicted for libel but was sued for \$50,000 in damages by members of the ruling Republican group which had secured passage of the law. The Morning Journal fought a determined action against the criminal charges and damage suit, and apparently escaped with a very light fine

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and little or no penalty for damages.

The career of the Albuquerque Morning Journal tells the story of the advances of territorial journalism. In this decade in 1900 the territorial press was captive of the politicians. In content and style its journalism was that of the 1890's, lagging behind the development of the general American press. Its mechanical and business practices likewise lagged. But in this decade there was introduced into the territory a vigorous new population which demanded more of its newspapers. A new group of journalists also arrived, suffered through a brief competitive flurry reminiscent of earlier pioneer periods, and then began to follow the lead

¹²³ Albuquerque Morning Journal, January 15, 16, 1905; March 1-31, 1906. July 1-31, 1897, August 1-31, 1908; Santa Fe New Mexican, February 17, 20, March 22, April 3, 1905 August 1, 1906. A small fine and light damage awards seem to be indicated by the absence of a news story about these cases and their dispositions in either the Morning Journal or the New Mexican. A complete acquittal or heavy fine would have been necessary, but light fines and light damage awards are neither victory nor defeat and both sides apparently aimed at ignominy. Apparently the Morning Journal feared assured of no more than light fines or damages, for it continued its attacks. See also Chapter IV.

of the Nomini[^] Journal toward aK>dem Journalism. And the Albuquerque paper did provide this leadership. It was first to adopt the new machinery, first to improve content and style. In so doing it made l&rgie gains in cimuUtlon, enabling it to monopolize the profitable new retail advertising at AlbuqueiH)ue. Then, dependent not cm politicians but readers, the Noming Journal becaaie politically Independent. The new«nen of the areas of the vigorous new population wem not long In following the lead of the Morning Journal, so that by 1912 a great part of the territorial press had become a modem press.

By 1912 the territorial prese had trsveled a long road since 1834, going through three stages of development. From 1834 to I879 New Nexlco was an IsoUted and impoverished area. Its Journalism was c<>iducted with obsolete autchlnerly and lagged behind eastern American practices. Because of the poverty of the area, opportunists hoping to use newspapers to gain political power or spoils wem the chief ones attracted to Journalism. Nevertheless, they were far above the average in education, fiemely individualistic, and politically independent, and their papers wem well edited and Interesting;. The second stage of Joumelistic development in the territory from I880 to I900 was a period of transition. Economic prosperity in the early 1880's led to the founding of rjmy new papers whose editors looked for income from business rather than politics. Then the collapse

of the boom. In the mining and livestock industries and the advent of a general depression formed the Journalists into political subservience and caused *them* to lag in acceptance of new printing and Journalistic techniques. These editors had neither the aggressiveness nor the education characteristic of the earlier editors, and their papers were therefore not as well edited, were more routine, and were obsessed with politics. In the final phase of territorial press development, from 1900 to 1912, the pioneer period of the 1880s was re-enacted in some portions of the territory, but in the territory as a whole a strong element of political control remained. Then, inspired by national developments in Journalism, the editors adopted new styles, improved the contents of their newspapers, and purchased the new machinery that allowed them to serve an expanding circulation and capture the profitable new retail advertisements. By doing these things the press was freed from the control of the politicians and accepted as its policy the fact that only by serving the desires and demands of its readers could it have the large circulations that made newspapers desirable and profitable advertising mediums. Thus, by 1912 the territorial press had become a modern press to serve the new state.

CHAPTER IV

THE TERRITORIAL PRESS AND THE POLITICIANS

The territorial press, as has been shown earlier, went through several phases in its relations with the politicians. Until 1879 the press and the politicians were closely aligned, with most of the Journalists being opportunists who hoped to use their profession to attain political ends. From 1880 until 1888 some newsmen rejected political domination, so that the press was partially both controlled and free. Then until about 1908 the press was generally under the influence of the politicians. But by 1912 it was rapidly becoming freed from manipulation by politicians. Thus, most of the territorial press throughout the whole period was controlled by political leaders. This subservience of the press was not unusual, for, as has been shown, much of the American rural press was dominated by politicians. On the other hand, the final freeing of the press from political control occurred under the stimuli of the Progressive movement and the new concepts of American journalism. Thus, generally the territorial press merely followed the same trends as the national rural press. The purpose here is to show in greater detail how the territorial press was controlled by the politicians, for what purposes, and how this influence was unbalanced.

Polittica, national or territorial, during this period was mther mesninglees, with little real difference In the policies of the two nati<»ruil parties. Both avoided the chief issues of American life and in their politticel campaigns spealed *tor* the support of the voters with such shibboleths as the "bloody shirt/' party loyalty, and loyalty to the South. Possibly the most fundamental issue of that ers wss who should get the rapidly Increasing wealth brought by induatrialization and national expanelon. But the politticoe of the two major parties, following the widely held concept that the only duty of the atate was to be a referee in auch a contest, generally avoided this issue even though it wae thrust at them time and again by Oreenbeckers. Grangers, Populists, silverltes, and labor unions. The Progressives made a deeper impression on the major parties, but their chief aeeomplishBMnt waa to insure that the state became a fairer referee in the contest for wealth. If national politics was e meaningless Jumble without real issues, territorial politties wss even more so. There was little prospect that New Mexlcane could solve their problems through politics, "or thiy neither had full self-government, nor could their delegete to Congress vote and effectively influence national policy *tor* New Nexlco, Thus, there wae little likelihood that territorial campaigns for congressional delegate, legls-Utive seats, and county offices would be fought over real issues.

It is the contention of Harold P. Usswell in POLITICS: Who Gets What, When, How that all politics is a battle between competing political elites for power and wealth. In which symbols rather than real issues are used to win popular support.¹ One of the first steps in the political contest is to gain effective control of communications media in order to be better able to present the symbols which would muster popular support for the elites. Since Usswell's ideas appear particularly suited to a study of territorial politics, it is proposed to show how the political elite gained control of the press, to identify the elites. Illustrate the scope and appeal of the symbols they used, and show how these symbols were used to win elections.

Although it would seem impossible to keep several hundred frontier editors under control, these political leaders were able to do so, with rare exceptions, through patronage in offices and public printing, outright purchase of the loyalty of opposition papers, introduction of campaign

¹ The term political elite: is borrowed from Harold D. Usswell, POLITICS Who Gets what. When, How (Cleveland, 1958), p. 13 passim. Usswell defines "political elite" as the group that is influential in politics, and as the group receiving for their political participation most of the basic values—defence, safety, and income. Other terms used to describe political leadership groups, such as political elite, are intended to be roughly synonymous to the term political elite as used by Usswell. The writer has borrowed heavily from the ideas of Usswell's book in his efforts to analyze the political role of the territorial press.

papem, encouraging coopetition for opposition party papers, direct entry into the newspaper business, and by using the loyalty of party member subscribers and advertisers to reward or punish publishers. During most of the territorial era, party ties were so strong that merchants, attorneys, and newspapers were patronized or shunned because of their party allegiance.^p As a result of this, newspapers were tightly bound to the party and were expected to support candidates of the party without regard for their qualifications. A statement of J. H. Sturges, publisher of the Springer Colfax County Stockman, at the 189*[^] territorial press convention indicates the extent and limitations of this concept*

When a candidate comes up for office with the party endorsement, the paper of that party is very properly expected to give him an unpurchased support, but if no party lines are drawn we hold that no candidate has a right to expect the paper to boost him into office without an adequate consideration.³

Territorial papers were expected to publish at their mastheads the names of party candidates for president, delegate in Congress, legislative seats, and county offices from the time they were nominated until the election was over. The complete territorial party platform was also

² Arthur Thomas Hannett, *?February Lawyer (New York, 1964), p. 46. Hannett, governor of New Mexico 1925-27. notes this characteristic as late as 1912.

[^] Us Vegas Daily Optic, January 20, 1890

published. Shortly before the election the paper was expected to endorse editorially all party candidate and to list their qualifications for office—whether or not the editor believed they had any such qualifications. Parties did not pay for such services but did reward the leading party paper in each county with a contract to print the election ballots.⁴

Additional bait to keep editors and publishers loyal to the party was the prospect of appointment to governmental positions under party control, such as postmasterships or land office positions. Another form of patronage was the awarding of public printing contracts. Although the Santa Fe New Mexican usually acquired the territorial public printing, lesser papers were held to the party line with prospects of county printing contracts. In the homestead areas, the printing of legal notices, as part of the process of acquiring public lands, was reserved for papers loyal to the party in control of the national government.⁵

* md . . September 9. 1890.

⁵ Journalists obtained postmasterships at Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Us Vega, Carlsbad, Lordsburg, Gallup, and in a host of other towns as political patronage. Often they continued to be editors as well as postmaster—see Chapter II and Chapter III above. The Socorro Chieftain, February 5, 1897, provides an example of the rewards and competition for county printing contracts. The Portales Be raid, May 14, 1904, furnishes an example of the use of homeeader legal notices for n'>iittc?.

Failing to obtain support from an established paper, politicians often resorted to publishing their own papers for the duration of the campaign. Papers of this type diverted subscriptions and advertising of loyal party followers from established papers and held out the threat that the campaign paper might endure as a post-election competitor. Politicians, by owning a party paper in their town, sometimes became publishers but more often encouraged the founding of a paper to reflect their partisan attitudes. Thus, the threat of loss of revenue to campaign paper and the risk of acquiring new competition made publishers hesitate to adopt an independent attitude or support opposition candidates⁶ even if they were of superior ability and qualifications.

The course of New Mexico Journalism in this era provides an example of the way politics robbed editors of political independence by increasing the harshness and prevalence of competition. From the founding of the Daily Optic in 1879 until 1912, forty different papers, eight of them

⁶ New Mexico Voz del Pueblo was an example of a campaign paper that existed for many years, as was the New Mexico Thirty-Four. Political purchase of newspapers was shown by the purchase of the Daily Optic in 1878 by such men as Felix Martinez; A. A. Jones, later a United States Senator; and F. A. Manrriques, a former territorial congressional delegate. These men changed the political affiliation of the paper from Republican to Democratic. The Albuquerque Tribune was founded by Martinez; A. / Jones; H. B. Ferguson, a former congressional delegate and future congressman; and O. N. Morrison, prominent Albuquerque Democrat.

dailies, were published at Las Vegas, which in this period grew from a village of less than 1,500 people to a town with a population of 7,000. Nine of these papers, three of them dailies, were directly sponsored or encouraged by politicians. In addition, politicians indirectly brought it and sustained other competitors. Some Las Vegas newspapers were officially charged with selling their editorial opinions.⁷ Three of the town's Journalists were postmasters, and other posts were used to reward or motivate publishers. Eventually one Las Vegas paper was even awarded part of the territorial public printing, traditionally reserved for the New Mexican, to insure that a Republican daily survived in the town. Although from 1879 to 1904 the Daily Optic was the best territorial paper, editorially, in circulation, and in advertising, it had a very difficult time. It twice narrowly averted mortgage foreclosures, and twice was forced into mergers. The first merger, in 1898, forced Russell Kistler, one of the best of the territorial editors, to relinquish control of the paper.⁸ Thus, politics, by encouraging

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Pinch: use of editorial opinion was frequent in the 1880's according to the Albuquerque Daily Citizen, October 30, 1886. The Daily Optic of Las Vegas changed sides in political campaigns at least twice for monetary awards according to current observers who have been cited above.

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Las Vegas Daily Optic, October 2, 1886, February 9, 1886, 11, 17, 1886; Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 83, 1886; Las Cruces El Comodoro Republicano, October 1886; Santa Fe New Mexican, October 17, 1900, March 14, 1901; Farrington Bulletin, May 5, 1893.

excessive, unreasonable competition, prevented the development of a potentially great newspaper, damaging both Us Vegas and the territory, Under competitive conditions of this type political independence was very difficult.

Thus, the politicians through custom, patronage used as bait, campaign papers, encouragement of competition, and outright purchase of favorable editorial opinions induced Journalists to present unrealistic symbols to the reading and voting public. The net effect was to rob territorial editors of the Independence necessary to present the true issues of New Mexico politics or to compare the qualifications of candidates for office.

What sort of men were the political leaders who so tightly controlled the political policies of the territory? They were men of varied occupations, most prominent of which were the federally appointed officials of the territory who were in a sense resident agents of the national party in power at the time. But in addition, they were lawyers, land owners, ranchers, merchants, and Journalists. In most instances they were those who could control newspaper publishers or gain alliance with them, which helped them to become leaders of the territorial political groups.

In the first years of American rule there arose two groups who sought to control the politics of the territory. The nucleus of one of them was a group of federal officials who allied themselves with prominent members of the

Spanish-American community. Some of the federal officers founded and alternated as publishers of the Santa Fe Weekly Oezette. Opposed to this group was another led by Jose M. Osilegos, a former priest who was somewhat hostile to American rule. Allied with him was Ephraim N. Baird, a former Texan and Uwyer. Baird briefly published the Santa Fe Aylgo del Pais (and the Democrat to provide propaganda organs for his clique during political campaigns. With the coming of the Civil War, Baird returned to Texas and Gallagher joined the opposition elite. However, a new group quickly developed led by J. F. Chaves. He allied himself with one portion of the federal office holders and the publishers of the recently founded New Mexican. By 1869 the Chaves group had gained the ascendancy. It is impossible to label the two groups along party lines, because until 1869 both claimed to represent whatever party was in power nationally. But in 1869 the Chaves clique became widely recognized as the leader of the New Mexico Republican party. Early in the 1870s two lawyers, S. B. Elkins and T. B. Catron, joined this group and soon dominated it. This clique, composed of federal officials, prominent Spanish-American, and the publishers of the New Mexican, became known as the Santa Fe Ring and until 1878 dominated both the Republican party and territorial politics.

- ^ Santa Fe Weekly Oai^tt^. Vol 4, 1877, May 22, 1858, February 11, March ^, Ta^t 5, September 16,

Altho\2gh memberr. of l^e Xlklna-Catron group denied there was imy Santa Fe clique or ring, most territorial editors atrongly maintained that such a group existed. To illustrate, the Bordemr of Us Cruces charged the New Mexican with being the aiouthpiece of a corrupt clique of political demagogues.¹⁰ The silver City Hemld reprinted a New Yor|^ S\m editorial naming S. B. Elkins and T B Catron as leadem of a Santa Fe clique and charged that Elkins eigpeeted a senatorship from the impending state of New Nexlco as reward.¹¹ The Herald also quoted a st, Louis Republican statement that a Republican ring was able to induce the lew Nexlco legislature to do its bidding with small amounts of cash.¹² After S, N. Ashenfelter became editor of this paper, he confirmed the existence of a Santa Fe Ring which he held responsible for his dismissal as United States attorney in 1869. He contended the Ring aanipulated the legislatum by rewarding northem Spanish-American counties at the expense of southern Anglo-.American • ^ Democratic counties.¹³

.....^r 25, 1-65, February 2, 14. June 15, September 7, 1867; Santa Pe H-r Me^dcnn r^hrj^ory 25, April ::3, 1865, Jenuary 11, iFyT^July n^, 1873i Cimarron News and Press, November 20, 27, 17; ^^liver City IndepeiidSt, January ;^, May 22, 1900.

^^ Us Cruces Borderer, Febmery 28, 1 "r .

^^ Silver City HerrVl, April 1. 1876.

^^ :.'Uver City Grant County Herald, October 26, 1878.

^^ Ibid., March 8, i*>r9-

Territorial Democrats, following national precedents of the era, sought to imply the Santa Fe Ring was an organization similar to the St. Louis "whiskey ring" and blamed this organization for all of the evils which beset the territory. William Breedon, territorial Republican chairman, countered by asking Democrats for more specific charges upon which territorial officials could take legal action. The Santa Fe New Mexican Insisted there was no ring:

The word "ring" has of late years grown into very common use, and it is applied very generally and liberally. It is used generally to designate any combination or association of men for any and whatever purposes. It is a favorite word with disappointed aspirants for political favor, sore heads, unsuccessful place seekers, chronic mischief makers and fault finders and noisy demagogues. It is especially a pet word with ambitious outcasts who are impatient to get in, and above all with fellows who, having lately held office, have been found incompetent or unworthy and been kicked out. It has been the fashion for the classes above named, and even of a more reputable class of Democratic politicians, to talk a great deal of what they term a "Santa Fe Ring" . . . which has no existence except in the distempered brain of fussy demagogues and place hunters ^^

S. M. Ashenfelter continued to maintain there was
 • ring, but believed Democrats in power would act similarly.

During the last eight or ten years many and grievous complaints have been made throughout the territory of the acts of oppression by which that combination of individuals known as the Santa Fe

^^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, October 17, 1876.
 'or the statement of William Breedon noted above, see issue of September 14, 1878.

ring has maintained its ascendancy. It is generally understood that this ring is made up of government officials whose interests are not identified with those of the Territory, but who have come out from the east, because in the division of political spoils, an office in New Mexico fell their lot. Does anyone doubt that in case the Democratic party won in the next national contest, a new set of cormorants would be foisted upon our people, and that a new ring would be organized in Santa Fe? Does anyone believe that such a ring would hold the welfare of the people in higher esteem than the gratification of their own selfish ends?

Probably the sins of the Santa Fe Ring were exaggerated, for a later Democratic administration secured criminal indictments against many Ring members but convicted none of them. However, it appears such a group as the Santa Fe Ring existed, if the definition of a political group used by modern political scientists is accepted.

When railways came to New Mexico, a large Anglo-American Republican immigration and additional newspapers brought possibilities of change in territorial politics.

^^ Silver City Grant County Herald, September 21, 1878,

16 The behavior of the school of political science defines a political group as those with shared attitudes or activities. Arthur F. Bentley, The Process of Government (Bloomington, 1908), p. 11; T. E. Tynan, "The Governmental Process (New York, 1951), pp. 13-24, A recent book, Victor Westphal, The Public Domain in New Mexico (Albuquerque, 1965), which sets out in detail the manipulation of private land grants and the public domain by the Santa Fe Ring, tends to confirm the existence of a Santa Fe Ring and some of the territorial editor's estimate of this group. See "Book Reviews." The Journal of American History, 61 (June, 1966), pp. 138-39.

In 1882 the ring candidate *for* delegate in Congress, Tranquillna Luna, was challenged for the Republican nomination by 1^ B. Prince. Only with unfair methods were ring members able to get the nomination for *hune*. *Ae* a result, three Beyubllean papers, the Chloride Black Range, Ua Vegaa Pmilly Gasette, and Socorro Sun refused to support Luna in the election.¹⁷ In 1884 party dissension brought two MsFttbUean candidates into the campaign for congressional delegate, and the Hepubllican press again divided its support. In 1886 and I888 most Republican papers supported the party nmalnee. By 1888 T. B. Catron, ring leader, had regained complete control of the party.

^^ New Mexican renminded faithful to the Santa Fe Ring during the period of poUtloal tumult in the 1880's. This foremost spokesman for New Mexico lepubllcanlam, sold by its fonaer owners in I880, during these years had several owners and aumagem. In I889 Nax Fmst, who had bought a large internet in *the* New Nexlco Printing Company, was made editor and publisher of the paper.¹⁶ From I885

^^ Albuquerque Noming Journal, October 6, 1882; Ua Vegas Dally Optic. October 11, 12, "1, November 18, 1882.

^® Nax Fmst, a native of Vleima, Austria, at fir:t fava as his origin lew York (Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, aaptember 19, 1876) and later claimed Hew Orleans as his blrtlmUce. Frost came to New Mexico as a sergeant in the Amy Signal Service; and in thl.^ period he traveled extensively over the territory, making friends in all parts of •aw Mexico. With the aid of hia friends he was appointed to a position in the terrltorisl land office. As s

to 1889, while Democrat Grover Cleveland was president. New Mexico was controlled by a Democratic administration. A New Mexican then lost the territorial public printing it had monopolized and suffered competition from a series of Democratic papers in Santa Fe. This Democratic administration almost bankrupted the paper; and when Cleveland was re-elected in 1892, Frost was determined to avoid the repetition of such a bleak period. Thus from 1884 until 1897, the New Mexican was leased to a combination of Democratic officials headed by Governor W. T. Thorton. It was *then* merged with the aggressive Democratic Santa Fe Sun; and a competitor, which would have been tremendously strengthened by Democratic patronage, was eliminated. In 1897 the Democrats gladly relinquished the paper to Frost.¹⁹ He then allied himself with the new governor and territorial Republican party leader, N. A. Otem, and again monopolized territorial public printing.² In addition.

territorial official Frost soon became a member of the Santa Fe Ring and secretary of the territorial Republican party. A free lance Journalist when he came to New Mexico, Frost became a stockholder in the Albuquerque Evening Review in 1882. The Evening Review replaced the New Mexican at Santa Fe in 1883." From time to time Frost eventually increased his holdings in the publishing company and in 1889 assumed complete direction of the paper.

^^ Santa Fe New Mexican, December 31, 1893, January 11 1894, February 1894; US Census Rio Grande Republican. December 9, 1892; US Vegas Democrat, January 15, 25, 29, 1897.

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1900. Silver City Independent, January 13» May 22,

Frost enjoyed patronage as secretary of the Bureau of Immigration.

The Santa Fe newspapers, first the Weekly Gazette from 1893 to 1869, and then the New Mexican from 1869 to 1912, were a central element of the generally dominant territorial political elites. Before 1880 they were the most important media for influencing public opinion. After 1880, when the number of territorial papers increased, the New Mexican became a spokesman which many other Republican papers closely followed. Frost continued to lead smaller Republican papers from 1894 to 1897 by writing editorials which were distributed among these papers. Thus, Frost, who also served many years as secretary of the territorial Republican party, used his prestige as a Journalist and party leader to help the Santa Fe Ring keep a tight control over a portion of the territorial press.²¹ The Santa Fe Journalists, for a reward of public printing and offices, became important tools of the dominant and centralized elites of Santa Fe.

Opposition leaders, lacking centralized control made possible by political patronage, consisted of the chiefs of various dissident groups. In the 1850's southern New Mexico became unhappy with the rule of Santa Fe and the

²¹ Norton Dargatzis, "New Mexico's Fight for statehood (1895-1912)," New Mexico Historical Review, XIV (1989), p. 15; see also Las Vegas Daily Optic, January 26, 1917.

northern counties. Anglo-American immigrants, mostly miners, then led a movement to make southern New Mexico a new territory, Arizona. The Mesa Times became a spokesman for this group, which took Arizona for a short time into the Confederacy.²² In the post-Civil War era, more Anglo-Americans came to develop mines and ranches, and again there was dissatisfaction with Santa Fe rule. The Bennetts, miners and merchants of Los Cruces and Silver City, became the leaders of a Democratic group opposed to Santa Fe domination. Apparently it was to represent this group that N. V. Bennett launched the Borderer at Los Cruces in 1871. Meanwhile, the followers of J. N. Oallegos²¹ resumed the *native* Democrat and in 1871 ran him for congressional delegate. The Bennetts, through the Borderer, rallied southern New Mexico Democrats to help elect

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Oallegos. This victory revived the territorial Democratic party, but gave it a divided leadership. As a result, until 1912 party control was vested in strong leaders of dissident groups in various parts of the territory. Under these conditions several newspapers became important to Democratic chieftains.

²² Mesa Times, October 18, 1862, to January 15, 1862, passim; see also Chapter I.

²¹ Los Cruces Borderer, March 16, 1871, to September 20, 1871; Silver City Herald, February 27, 1876; Los Cruces Rio Grande Republican, April 8, 1882.

the Bennett family, probably because it uniquely controlled a newspaper, remained leaders of southwestern New Mexico Penocrats until 1912. N. V. Bennett suspended the Borderer shortly before his death in 1876. However, the Bennetts soon again controlled a paper through S. M. Ashenfelter, son-in-law of Cornelius Bennett. Ashenfelter became editor of the Silver City Grant County Herald in 1877 and was connected with this paper until the mid-eighties.^{ok} In this period he became a leader of southern New Mexico Democrats. E. G. Ross, another son-in-law of Cornelius Bennett was a family member, was named governor of New Mexico in 1885 by President Grover Cleveland. At the

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Silver City Herald, February 27, 1876; Silver City Grant County Herald, August 25, 1877; Us Cmces Borderer, December 21, 1877; Silver City Southwest Sentinel, September 20, 1884.

25

Edmund Gibbs Ross, born in Ashland, Ohio, in 1826, entered a printshop as a lad of eleven and worked in his youth on Ohio and Wisconsin papers. In 1855 Ross moved to Kansas and obtained his first editorial position on the Lawrence Tribune. Later he founded the Kansas State Record. After three years' Union Army Service, Major Ross was appointed United States Senator from Kansas. Senator Ross was one of the few Republicans who refused to vote to convict President Andrew Johnson when he was tried under impeachment charges by the Senate. As a result he lost his citizenship and was expelled from the Republican party. He then became an ardent Democrat and leader of that party in Kansas. He remained a newspaperman, and in 1882 he came to Albuquerque where he worked on the Daily Democrat and the Morning Journal until 1885. Ross was governor of New Mexico from 1885 to 1889 and held a minor territorial governmental position from 1893 to 1917. He then lived at Albuquerque until his death in 1907.

end of his term In 1889 Ross became editor of the Pemlng Headlight, which had been purchased by Ashenfelter. The Headlight then became a apokesman for territorial Democrats until Ross waa succeeded in 1893 by W. B- Walton, a son-in-law of Ashenfelter. Walton, later an editor of the Silver City Iji^^^^ndent and prominent In Grant County politics, was territorial PeiKicratic chairman from 1898 imtll 1911.²⁶ The Bennett family thus gsljied it's political power in a large aieasure by publishing newspapers.

Albert Bacon Fall, another southern New Mexico D^mo- cratic leader, also saw the utility of Journal'' TI. Fall served several terms in the Icgislr.tvrc and as a district Judge in the second CleveV-^nd acteiinistration. He founded tba Indi^>endent Pewtocrat at Us Cruces in 1892 to aid his political career. Aithouc^h Fall supposedly sold this peper in 1894, some territorial editors believed he ctlll controlled it in 1899.^ Fall, one of the most influential territorial Pemocrats of the 1890's, found a Mc>.#8paper to be an essential element of political power.

On occasion political support was purehesed by :ub- •idizlng pmpers or by the outright buying of editorlnl

^ Peminp, Headlight, September 7, 1889; Albuquerque Bally Citlren, Mamh ^, 1803; Santa Fe New Mexican, Hn xch 13, W)^; Silver Ci ^ Independent, October 1^i, November 11, 1902, December 31* 191Tr^*

²⁷ See Chapter II, note 44 for a brief backgmund of Albert Bacon Fall.

opinion. There were the method*? of Anthony Joseph,²⁸ the leading territorial Democrat of these decades. New Mexico delegate to Congress from 1885 to 1895, Joseph sponsored free circulation campaign weeklies at Santa Fe. Among them were Le Aumm in 1884, El Quia in 1886, and U Voz del Pueblo in 1888.[^] According to contemporary observers, Joseph purchased the support of the Republican UG Vegas Pally Optic in the campaign of 1886, but lost the allegiance of the Albuquerque Morning Democrat, which supported the Republican candidate for a cash reward.[^] J. O. Albright, the politically ambitious publisher of the Morning Democrat, believed that the lack of support from Joseph in 1885 had

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Boi-n Antonio Joseph de Treviz and of Portuguese extraction, his father was a "mountain man" and brappei-friend of Kit Carson and Crtrm St. Vraln. Joseph was educated in the school of Padre J. A. Martinez at Los, St. Michaels at Santa Fe, and a St. Louis, Missouri, business college. Joseph apparently Anglicized his name to ; > M-^ to Anglo-American voters. His five terms as Territorial congressional delegate from a predominantly Republican territory *r^^l.^r>tc hip skill^ as a politician. However, Joseph was aided by Republican internal disension in 1885 and 1886, national Republican rejection in 1888 of New Mexican statehood because of its predominantly Spanish-American population, silverite and Populist dissatisfaction in 1890 and 1892. He was beaten in 1892 by T. B. Catron when silverite and Populists turned away from the Democratic Party. See Ug Vegas Pally On tic, June 9, 1886; Albuquerque Morning Democrat ar. quoted in Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican Review, October 21, 1886; Narlon Dargan New Mexico's Fight for Statehood (1846-1912) New Mexico Historical Review, XV (1940), p. 136.

*" Albuquerque Morning Journal. October 23, 1886.

[^] [^] [^] Albuquerque Daily Citizen. October 30, 1886. July 1890 Santa Fe Aumm. [^] [^] [^] U Voz del Pueblo, October 1888, to November 11, 1889.

cost him the New Mexico governorship. Until this time Albright had sought to make his paper as Important to Democrats as the New Mexican was to Republicans. But after his desertion of the party in 1886, the Influence of the Nominat Democrat declined.

Other Democratic leaders acquired newspapers to use for political purposes. For example, W. T. Thornton, governor of New Mexico from 1893 to 1897, leased the New Mexican and made it the official party paper, hoping to use it to build a political machine. The efforts of the New Mexican to increase his political prestige apparently were futile because after Thornton left office he was never again a figure of political importance, in so far as the press was concerned. And far from having a strong political machine, the territorial Democrats were weak and disorganized. Felix Martinez, very Important in Democratic party circles, was a leader of the Union People's party³¹ in the 1890's. He purchased the Santa Fe Voz del pueblo in 1890 and moved it to Las Vegas, where it became • spokesman for the Union People's party. This paper, Martinez, had become staunchly Democratic by 1900. Also prominent, but less influential than the above, were H. B.

³¹ This was a Spanish-American party active in northeastern New Mexico, principally in San Miguel and Mora counties. It consistently supported Democratic candidates for congressional delegate. Despite the similarity of names it had no connection to the Populist party.

Forguscm of Albuquerque and George Curry³² of Roswell. Curry never controlled a paper, and Fern^uson was only briefly a co-owner of the Albuquerque Trtbune-Cltlren. Possibly this partially explains why neither developed a strong, cohesive faction like Fall's.

The Democratic leadership consisted of several strong factions and figures; consequently its press representation followed a similar pattern, with five papers playing key roles. Democrats failed in numerous efforts to sustain a key paper, similar to the low Mexican, at the territorial capital. The Republicans depended upon one key paper at Santa Fe and a large number of well established subordinate papers. Republicans, controlling patronage, were able to provide more income for newspaper sustenance, and Republican papers generally outnumbered and were more long-lived than Democratic papers. Thus, for most of the territorial period six papers played key roles and several hundred others echoed the key papers in their presentation of the symbols and appeals of the parties.

The most important and real issues of New Mexican life rarely were used, and never became the chief points in

George Curry left the Democratic party about 1900 and was soon appointed sheriff for the recently organized county of Otero. In 1901 he was appointed governor of New Mexico and in 1902 was elected as a Republican to the United States House of Representatives from New Mexico.

political campaigns, possibly because political leaders held the preas in tight control. These politicians usually neglected such things as education, irrigation, settlement of the titles of Spanish and Mexican land grants, pacification of the Indians, and a logical and valid basis for a division of the public domain that protected water and grazing rights of all New Mexicans. Although these points were discussed by some editors outside the campaign periods, the candidates avoided them. Instead, they based their appeals for popular support *on* false issues or, as Usswell termed it, symbols.¹¹ Fundamental among them were appeals for loyalty to Spanish heritage, race, and religion; loyalty to the United States; and loyalty to the Republican and Democratic parties. Other issues which were more valid, but which were not true issues because of the nature of their usage, were the corruption of opposition partisans and free •liver. Perhaps the most valid issues of the New Mexico campaigns were those involving statehood and the tariff on wool. Few of these symbols called for a program of action

¹¹ Usswell, POLITICS. pp. 13-20, maintains that the basic values for which the political elites contend are deference, safety, and income. Deference, safety, and income were involved in the true issues listed above. Usswell contends, however, that the political elites do not appeal on the basic values but use symbols, violence, goods, and practices to manipulate the masses to gain these basic values for themselves. Since the use of newspapers as political propaganda media is alone considered here, the present study seeks to identify and illustrate the symbols presented through the press to win the adherence of the masses.

by the politicians, but Instead appealed to the prejudices of the voters.

The appeal for loyalty to the Spanish heritage; which often sought to imply prejudice on the part of the qnKMilti<m party, was a popular symbol during the idiole of the territorial era. An early e>:rample of this appeal provided the strange situation of an Anglo-American candidate for congressional delegate, S. N. Baird, ^ asking for Utin votea on this basis, when In 1857 he unsuccessfully repre-

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sented the Gallegos faction. "hili there am no newspaper fil}; to show its usage, it may be Inferred from a ^^^^ ^^^ Weekly Gazette protest of the use of such an anti-American appeal!

We want to demonstrate to Judge Baird and the country that the native citizens of the Territory

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Spruce M. Baird came to Hew Nexlco in 1848 as the reprasentative of the atate of Texas to claim the ama east of the Rio Grande and to Incorporate it into Texas as Santa Be Oootty. Peeplte his failum in this mission, Baird elected to remain 'n New Mexico where he established a law practice. Purlng the Civil I'ar Baird sought to take Nev Msxico into the Confederacy. Palling in this, he left New Mexico when the Confederate troops ratmated from the terri-toiy in 1862. In the poct-Ci 'l War em, R-^i^rd pmcticed law at Ti*lnidad, Colorado, until hlc death in 1872 at Cimarron, lew Mexico, ^siliere hm 'jas attendlnc court.

^ Joe Manual Oallegos was a Catholic priest at Albuquerque until unfrocked by Archbishop Lamy In 1852. Oallegos then turned to politico, appealing to the loyalty of Spanish-Americans to the old regime both in mile ton •nd uolitle,-. Gallesos was elected delegate to Congrass Jn^lBSS and I871. He was an unsuccessful candidate in 1855, W63, and 1'^^^.

scorn and repudiate his low appeal to their national prejudices in order to array them against the Institution and its friends of their adoption. 05

The appeal to Antillean heritage might be resorted to even though both candidates were Spanish-Americans, as happened in 1880. M. A. Otero, who defeated Baird in 1857, returned to the territory after a long absence and became a candidate for congressional delegate against Tranquillino Luna. The New Mexican and Luna sought to deny Otero Spanish-American votes by labeling him a blue-eyed American, noting his long absence from New Mexico, and referring to his "American" wife. The Daily Optic condemned Luna for introducing the racial issue into the campaign and asked for votes for Otero as the man who would represent all New Mexicans.[^]

Even as late as 1908 Democratic congressional delegate candidate O. A. Uraso used this symbol by contending that the Republican party was prejudiced against Spanish-Americans and rarely nominated one as a candidate for congressional delegate. The New Mexican replied by citing the long list of Republican Spanish-American

[^] Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, May 22, 1880. Although there is no explicit evidence of Baird's appeal to the loyalty of Spanish-Americans to their heritage, it appears likely that this is true, for Baird was the candidate of the Gallegos faction, which were anti-American.

[^] Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 21, 1881.

congressional delegates and candidate for delegate.¹⁸ As these examples show, an appeal to racial prejudice carried with it the risk of a counter reaction from the other ethnic group in New Mexico, nevertheless, the appeal, which had nothing to do with a candidate's qualifications or the protection of the Mexicans' rights, was used repeatedly in the press, enabling the politicians to avoid valid issues.

A counter appeal to the racial issue was loyalty to the United States and to the Union. The use of this symbol was increased during the war and Reconstruction period, from 1863 until 1870, but it was seldom used afterward. The item cited above concerning S. N. Baird shows an early use of this appeal. In 1865 the New Mexican was publishing political opponents "Copperheads,"¹⁹ but in 1867 it was called upon to defend its candidate for congressional delegate, J. F. Chaves, against charges of disloyalty.

. . . it has been charged by the enemies of Col. Chaves that he is anti-American and anti-military, by which we are to understand that he would be glad, were it in his power, to expel the Americans and the military from the country. . . . These charges are false and absurd in every particular.²⁰

¹⁸ Santa Fe New Mexican as quoted in Las Vegas Daily Optic. September 25 > 1867

¹⁹ Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, June 3, 1865.

²⁰ Santa Fe New Mexican, June 8, 1867.

Of course, loyalty to the government in which a candidate is seeking office is a first requirement, but in most instances where the use of this charge was noted in the press there was no true question of loyalty involved. Hence, again a subterfuge was used and valid issues were avoided.

Equally beside the point were the appeals through the press for party loyalty, which were usually made in the last weeks of the campaign to rally the solid support of party members. This attitude was shown by an 1867 admonition of the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette: "Vote for the straight ticket on Monday and nothing but the straight ticket, for such is the kingdom of heaven.** In 1884 the Albuquerque Morning Journal appealed for party loyalty in the face of party division. "Our best efforts are at the command of the party, in behalf of republican unity and republican victory. . . ." Just minute appeals to party loyalty were still common in the 1890's as indicated by a Socorro Chieftain demand: "Vote for the entire Republican ticket.*" The concept of strict party loyalty continued into the twentieth century, particularly among militant southern Democrats of eastern New Mexico. "The Herald *has* never wavered in its support of the Grand Old Democratic party, and never will so long as there is time to set and a press to run."⁴¹

^{*} Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, August 31, 1867; Albuquerque Morning Journal, August 29, 1884; Socorro Chieftain, October 26, 1884; Portales Herald, June 21, 1890.

Since there was so little real difference in the two major parties, such appeals amounted to little more than demands that citizens continue their past voting habits.

Another common campaign maneuver, the charge that an opposition candidate was *corrupt*, might seem a valid issue for it brought into question the qualifications of the candidate. Furthermore, this is not a question of ethics alone. By raiding the treasury a corrupt official may cause an increase in taxes, taking the income of the electorate or he may lower the standards of public services and protection, so that the safety of citizens is endan-

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gered. Nevertheless, for several reasons this most consistently used appeal of this era lacks validity and appears to have been principally a propaganda technique. First, the press of both parties used the technique against the opposition elite, but rarely turned upon their own partisans, no matter how guilty they might be of malfeasance. Second, reform was not intended, for editorials on corruption were usually dropped at the end of the campaign and rarely used again until the next campaign. Next, the best territorial administration suffered almost as much abuse as the worst. Finally, editors answered charges against their own partisans, not with refutation, but with countercharges against opposition leaders or an attack upon the

*^ Usswell, POLITICS, pp. 13-20.

paper printing the charge. Newspaper attacks upon corruption, however, did prevent a few blatant frauds. In the end, editors and politicians realized that campaigning upon an opponent's demerits rather than one's own merits was a negative approach and began to moderate their attacks.

Democrats, rarely in office and with the example of national party precedents, were the most consistent users of an appeal against official corruption. The concept of the Santa Fe Ring shown above was an early example of this approach. However, when Democrats were in office. Republicans used a similar technique. The best example of this was their treatment of E. G. Ross, who appeared to be the most honest of all territorial governors. Determined to end many of the evils plaguing the territory. Ross conceived of himself as "the man for whom the people of New Mexico had been looking for 300 years." He sought to settle the land title question,⁴⁴ to end fraudulent

[^] Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, November 26, 1885; Santa Fe New Mexican. January 22, 1900.

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[^] Many land grants in New Mexico originally had been made by the Spanish crown to a community of persons, and as their descendants increased there were many co-owners of the grant. Under the early primitive conditions the land had never been divided, each family using as much of it as it needed. Santa Fe Ring members would induce one co-owner to appeal to the courts for a division of the grant. Since this was extremely difficult, the courts usually ordered the grant sold and the proceeds divided among the claimants. Credit was very restricted in New Mexico, and the time between the order of sale and the sale was short. Ring Speculators, thus, could buy the

practices in the cashing of territorial warrants,⁴⁵ and to have Santa Fe Ring members indicted for past crimes. Ross was hampered in his reform efforts by incumbent Republican officials and a Republican legal system.⁴⁶ There were no notable convictions from 300 indictments against Santa Fe Ring members.⁴⁷ Perhaps partially as a result of the

grant very cheaply. Most of these grants were unsurveyed; although the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided that the United States would survey them and convey a valid title to their owners, little action was taken in this matter. Many grantees applied to Congress, which then would grant a title to the land by special act. Most of these were approved without any investigation. Under such practices many grants were tremendously enlarged and took areas which homesteaders and our citizens had already occupied and often had improved.

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Santa Fe Ring members and treasury officials had an arrangement under which some ring members were notified when there were funds in the territorial treasury to redeem territorial warrants. Warrants then were redeemed and the treasury was drained so that other warrant holders upon presenting their warrants found that the treasury had no funds for their warrants. Ring members then bought these warrants at about sixty-five cents on the dollar. Consequently all bids on goods and services for the territory were increased proportionately and territorial expenses were tremendously increased. See Las Vegas Daily Optic, October 20, 26, November 26, December 5, 1887.

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The territorial attorney general, district attorneys, treasurer, and other officials had been appointed for four year terms the year before Ross took office and refused to comply with the order of Ross to vacate their offices. The territorial courts upheld them. Justice S. M. Ashenfelter, whom Ross had appointed a district attorney, appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and the territorial courts were reversed late in the Ross term.

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Max Frost's trial amused great public interest. He reputedly had made a fortune through land office work when he was an official in the land office. He was charged with accepting a \$30 extra fee from Abraham R. Taab

efforts of Ross, however, Congress established in 1890 a court to settle land grant titles, and the legislature acted in 1889 to end the warrant frauds.⁴⁸

Despite the obvious good intentions of Ross, the New Mexican editors became his implacable enemies and harangued against him throughout his term. This paper charged Ross with corruption in connection with the construction of the territorial prison and its administration.*^ Many of the charges of the New Mexican were echoed by the Albuquerque Daily Citizen,⁴⁹ and the SF Grande Republic charged the Ross administration with conducting

to register a mining entry. Frost contended the \$30 was given to R. E. Twitchell, noted New Mexico historian, to retain him as an attorney for state in connection with the entry. In the first Frost trial the jury divided eleven to one for acquittal; his second trial resulted in a conviction, with Frost receiving a one year prison sentence. Upon appeal the territorial Supreme Court ordered a new trial. Before the third trial, part of the evidence was lost or destroyed, and Frost was acquitted. During much of this time the Republican prosecutive officials were still in office. See Albuquerque Daily Citizen as quoted in Gallup Register, August 28, 1888; Silver City Enterprise, August 24, 1888; San Marcial Reporter as quoted in Tanque New Mexican Review, September 6, 1888; Santa Fe SSL Mexican Telegraph, October 11, 1884.

⁴⁹ R. E. Twitchell, The Uprising Facts of New Mexican History (Cedar Rapids, Iowa 1915), p. 107 note 1.

⁴ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, December 3, 1885, January 7, 1886; Las Vegas Daily Optic, March 5, 1886.

⁴⁴ Las Vegas Daily Optic, May 4, October 12, 1887; Albuquerque Daily Citizen as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican, April 21, 1887.

a pardon brokerage .^^ But unlike the Santa Fe Ring Kosfi had many defenders smong opposition editors. And there appatently was no true question about his honesty, for the succeeding Republican administration made no move to Indict him.⁵²

Often the territorial editora made no attempt to rafute or answer charges againat their party leaders and replied by rebuking the other editor or with a counter charge against opposition leaders. For example, the li^demendmnt Democrat of Us Cruces launched what seemed to be a devastating attack on T. B. Catron with thia editorial comment:

Looking over the old files of the Territorial newspapers, one discovers that the reputation of Hon. Thomas B. Catron has been besmirched by charges of bribery, subometion of perjury, brutal defiance of law, man made and ethical-charges never disproved. In every campaign, lerlillative session, criminal trial, land or mining deal that he has been concerned in since he came to New Nexlco, that unfortunate reputation has been be-emimhed with such diligence and painful regularity that it has become like s printing office towel-so dirty that it stands alone.

¹ tee Cruces Rio Grande Republican as quoted in Santa Fe New Nexican Review, Au^;aa^t 30, 1888.

² Socorro Chieftain aa quoted in Santa Fe New Maxlcan Review, December 13* 1886, March 3, 1887; liaiPVe;ni³ Jgpy Optic. April 8, 11, July 25, 1887. Yeera later Nax ^TfOBt, ijuplacable enemy of Ross while he was govemor, jrote of Roes, "he was personally honest," Santa Fe Nev ~~***~~loan. Febmary 16, 1905-

^^ Pally Optic made no attempt to refute the charges,
but Instead rolled:

Editor Kelly forgot that neither by law, mason or logic is a man to prove a negative. The Uw pmsumes every aian la innocent until he is proven guilty; hence, the accuser amat prove and the accused is not required to disprove.53

The Albuquerque Noming Democrat alao attacked
Catnms

Catron's prominence is principally due to the moral obtuseness of our people. . . . We have lacked courage as a people, we have fallen so low that we am satiafied to be filthy. . . . It la bitter to aclmowledge it, but none the less true, that the mass of the people of New Nexlco care nothing about Catron's moral character and are too languid to sustain those who do cam. . . . A few individuals or a few newspapers can only mak^ spasmodic efforts, they must be sustained by popular opinion and popular opinion must express itself unhesitatingly, otherwise the courage and energy of these will flag and expire and we shall all fall into the ditch together.

The Socorro Chieftain replied with a counter charge:

It is a pity about our "general moral obtuseness," We think we have heard that before from some of the mongrel college bred Eastern ducks who have :?3~ tened themselves upon us.

^^ Us Cruces Independent Democrat as quoted and •nswerad in Us Vegas Pally Op€IF, 1^tember 9, 1895. The editor of the Optic was right that by law and by logic ^•tron had to prove nothing. Nevertheleas, failum to ra- 'ate, or at least to den^ such charges was damaging, for Jt is a widely held American concept that public officials •bould be above mproach.

The editor then began a long diatribe about the corruption of the current Democratic administration of Governor W. T. Thornton.⁵⁴ In essence such a reply is no more than the small boy's retort of "you're a bigger one." Probably these charges against Catron, like those against Rosa, had little basis,⁵⁵ and they show again that the maligning of political opponents by partisan editors was a political technique rather than a meaningful attempt at reform or a genuine political issue.

Even when the territory was threatened with an open and evident fraud, many newspapers defended, excused, or ignored the corrupt actions of their fellow partisans. The reaction of Republican papers to an editorial in the Democratic Santa Fe Daily Sun furnishes an example. The editorial, headed "CORRUPTION FUND," told of the discovery of a plot by Abraham Staab, who apparently was a member of

⁵⁴ Albuquerque Evening Democrat as quoted and answered in Socorro Chileño, November 1, 1895.

⁵⁵ T. B. Catron, as far as the records reveal, was convicted upon only one of the many charges leveled against him. In a civil suit he was made to pay for a large quantity of brick he had ordered from the territorial prison, and in this case there was no clear intent to defraud. Thus, though Catron was much maligned there was no clear evidence of his guilt. It should, however, be noted that Ross, unlike Catron, had many defections among opposition party papers. The incident which provoked the editorial cited above was a charge of professional misconduct as a lawyer. Catron was acquitted, and while the trial was in progress he was elected president of the New Mexico Bar Association. ¹ Albuquerque Daily Citizen, October 1 to November 1, 1895, passim; Las Vegas Daily Optic, October 1 to November 1, 1895, passim.

the Santa Fe Ung, to gather funds to bribe the leglslatum
to redeem fraudulent warrants!'ⁱ⁶

The following letter was found *an* the street yesterday where It evidently had been dropped. It was a most fortunate thing for the people of New Nexlco as its publication will probably nip in the bud the most gigantic corruption schm[^]ie in the history of the leglslatiim.

Pear Sir

It la believed that fo^otii!\ can be done this legieUture regarding the old nilitla warrants. The interested parties have come to the understanding that before the matter is taken into hand, all owners of the warrants shall deposit 25 *per* cent of theae outstanding warrants to defray expenses •
. . If a fondii[^] act is passed convey[^]ing these warrants into 4 per cent territorial bonds without having to account to the former owner. If no act ia paased they shall be returned to their raapective owners.

"TV.eae warmnta were iseucd under authority of •n act of the territorial legialatura of 1867 and wera to pay for the services of te[^]-ritoria:[^] militiamen called into federal service to fight Indians in New Nexlco. Impoverished lew Mexico was too poor to pay the militiamen, end the legislative act specified that lew Mexico was *nerer* to pay them. They were givwi in hopes that the federal gov- ernmient nl[^]ht be induced to redeem them, but Congress m- fused to do ao. Territorial officials issued many lile- Sally« it waa charged, *n addition to those given in lieu of military pay so that rh[^]ut \$y[^],oo[^]) in warrants were issued. One soume considered \$[^]''' »<>0[^]' and another \$250,000 lagitinate, SpecuUtors pumhased the warrants at a frac- tion of their face value, hoping that a territorial or •tate legislature ad|dit be induced to redeem them in Inter- aat bearing: honds. frforts wera still being made to radeem these as late as 1[^]12, The Inplleatlon of the Staab letter was that a bribery fttrnd of "[^]o[^][^]a than \$5,000 a lcr;Ulator *m8 to be ral::?ed to •nduco p?r>sage of a funding act, [^]ee Santa Fe New Mexican, July P[^], 1906; Santa Fo New Mexican teioM, fSShiery 2, 1.8 n; Us Vegas Dally Optic, January 9, IS[^]1; see also Marion Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for State- hood, (189[^]-1/12)," Neu Nfo-ico Historical Kove-r XV (194o), P. 175.

Time is passing and action must at once be taken. If you are willing to go into this in order to ask anything out of your warrants, you may send me the 25 per cent deposit of your holdings and I will send my Individual receipt for the same.

Awaiting your reply, I am truly yours

A. Staab.5*^

The Staab letter aroused varied responses from the territorial press, mainly along partisan lines. The Democratic press was general in its denunciation, and Republican papers ranged from condonation to condemnation. The Silver City Enterprise held that there was nothing wrong with the Staab letter except that it fell into wrong hands, and the New Mexican took a similar attitude.*⁵⁸ The Daily Optic censured the Santa Fe Ring for this attempt to raid the treasury and maintained that this was merely the latest of many attempts to fund the warrants:

. . . New Mexico has not had a legislative session in years, which has not been disturbed by some effort on the part of the holders of these fraudulent warrants^ seeking to get good money for their worthless paper.⁵⁹

5^ Santa Fe Daily Sun, January 1, 1891,

^^ Ibid., January 11, 1891, and as quoted in Us Vegas Daily Optic, January 14, 1891.

59 Us Vegas Daily Optic, January 7, 8, 9, 1891.

As the above instances show, press attitude on corruption usually depended on whose party was involved, which must have left the public confused and imcert&in of the weight to give such churges. Overuse of this technique probbrbly reduced Its effectiveness. At any rate, by 1900 sueh editorials wera ramr, which had the healthful effect of rendering charges of corruption mora credible. In addition, politicians and editora wera cceOng to malize mora votes could be won by stating a candidate's qualifica-tions. The Rio Grandje Bepubllican showed its approval of the new trend by printing an editorial outlining the new technique and heading it "A SOUND ARGUMENT":

The Neadll^t believea that the newspapers which have the most polltlcalty [sic] Influence are those which seek to win in political elections by pre--aentlng the merits of their candidates and prin-ciples, rather than by villlfyng the opposition, which is now considered an adnission of weakness. It is no longer possible to convince the members ef any one party that all of those who fail to sxibscribe to their doctrines ere necessarily scoundrels, and the newspaper that attempts it will loce prestige.^

Since fme and unlimited coinage of silver would have helped the economy of Nev Nexlco, this like the corruption issue seemed to be a valid basis upon which a can-^date for delegate to Congress could ask for votes. Beither national party followed a consistent policy with

60 Las Cmces Rio Grande Republican, April 24, 1896.

regard to silver coinage until 1896, and territorial political leaders and newspapers of both parties thus were left free to adopt a pro-silver attitude.⁶¹ Newspaper papers in the mining *country* were particularly strong supporters of free silver. For example, the Socorro Chieftain reminded its readers that "the agitation for free silver must be kept up," and later maintained that "the recommitment of silver will come when the Republican party returns to

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power. . . ." The Chloride Black Range was equally enthusiastic for the cause of silver, and Republican papers outside the silver mining areas, such as the Albuquerque Daily Citizen and the Daily Optic of Las Vegas were also consistent advocates of free silver.⁶² When confronted with their party's gold standard platform in 1896, territorial Republican papers followed three courses: approval, avoidance of the issue in the campaign, and repudiation of the platform. The Albuquerque Daily Citizen adopted the

⁶¹ Before 1896 the Albuquerque Morning Democrat was the only territorial paper consistently to oppose free coinage of silver according to the Independent Democrat of Las Cruces issue of August 23, 1893. "The Rio Grande Republican of Las Cruces for a few months opposed free silver, mainly on the ground that it was inflationary. However, the owners of the paper forced the editor-lessee to relinquish his lease and changed this editorial policy. See Issues of Rio Grande Republican, February 3 & 24, May 19, August 4, 11, 1893." THq.

⁶² See Socorro Chieftain issues of September 1, 1893, and April 19, 1895.

⁶³ For editorial attitudes of these papers see Chloride Black Range, May 20, June 3, July 22, 1892, August 9, 1895; Do Venas Daily Optic, June 23, September 1, 1895; Albuquerque Daily Citizen as quoted in Las Cruces Independent Democrat. August 23, 1893.

first policy and maintained that "if Republicans of this territory cannot endorse the Republican platform, the best ever made by the Republican party in national convention assembled, then the party in this territory will deserve defeat."⁶⁴ Republican papers of the silver mining areas chose the second alternative. To illustrate, the Socorro Chieftain Ignored the silver issue and Instead asked for votes for Republican candidates because of the party's tariff policy and by using slogans such as "all law abiding citizens should vote the Republican ticket," and "those who wish progress should vote for Catron."⁶⁵ The Rio Grande Republican eventually adopted a very similar attitude. Early in 1896 it repeatedly called upon Republicans to support free silver, and when the gold standard was made party policy it at first refused to endorse that platform. But by September it had changed, agreeing with the Palm Springs Citizen that:

the Republican pledge, to bring about the free coinage of silver by international agreement, is all that the intelligent advocates of bi-metalism ask for. . . . They know the Republican pledge can be counted on and that McKinley will do all that the platform has promised.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Albuquerque Weekly Citizen as quoted in Las Vegas Palm Springs, August 8, 1906.

⁶⁵ Socorro Chieftain, October 30, 1896.

⁶⁶ For the attitude of the Rio Grande Republican of Las Cruces early in 1896 see issues of May 29, June 12, July 24, 1896; for the changed attitude of this paper see issue of September 4, 1896.

Only two Republican papers absolutely refused to support the Republican party in 1896. One of them, the Chloride Black Range, called *upon* all freedom loving citizens to cast aside partisanship and rally around the silver standard.⁶⁷ The other, the Daily Optic also bolted the

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party and supported the Democrats at all levels. Nevertheless, an overwhelming majority of the Republican papers chose to ignore the valid silver issue which they had used earlier and to follow party dictates. In most cases party loyalty thus seemed to outweigh other considerations so far as editorial stands on the money question were concerned.

The tariff question presented a case very similar to that of the silver issue. Tariff became an area of party contention in New Mexico between 1883 and 1898 and was important chiefly because of tariff protection for raw wool. The Santa Fe New Mexican Review introduced the question in November, 1883, shortly before a Democratic United States House of Representatives was expected to propose tariff reductions. This leading Republican paper set the party policy for other Republican papers with this statement:

⁶⁷ Chloride Black Range, June 26, 1896.

⁶⁸ Las Vegas Daily Optic, September 30 to November 1, 1896. _____*_____

The people of this territory believe in a protective tariff. They demand protection for their wool and stock interests and mineral products.^{o9}

This did not become an important issue in territorial politics, however, until President Grover Cleveland asked Congress for a general tariff reduction, evidently intending to make this an issue in the campaign of 1888. Democratic proposals for tariff reductions doubtless led the Republican Gallup Register to protest that reduction of the tariff on coal would allow Californians to import foreign coal and would cost the Gallup mines their principal outlet. This in turn brought a rebuke from the Republican Daily Optic of Las Vegas:

It is wise policy, and according to the principles on which the government of this country is founded, that the many shall suffer for the benefit of the few, that in order for Gallup to sell her coal at a higher rate than coal can be mined in Australia and then brought to this country, all southern California must be heavily taxed upon this article of prime necessity.⁷⁰

Possibly this was not an honest conviction and was merely a bid for Democratic money by this paper, which in 1886 had supported the Democrats for a monetary reward. Perhaps by mid-summer 1888 the Daily Optic had made

[^] Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican Review, November 22, 1883.

Gallup Register as quoted and answered by the Las Vegas Daily Optic, March 10, 1888.

satisfactory arrangements with the Republicans—st any rate it had fully adopted their policy and was contending:

To put iron and coal *on* the *free* list would result in closing every iron and coal mine in the country, unless American miners would work for the starvation wages paid such laborers in Great Britain⁷¹

In the campaign of 1888 Democratic and Republican papers aligned themselves on opposite sides in this question. Possibly their arguments were based upon honest convictions, but it seems more likely that they were rationalizations in defense of party policy. Again the Daily Optic furnishes an example. Just before the election in 1888 this paper contended: "Free wool and cheap lead would be the most damaging condition of affairs that could be imagined in New Mexico." A few months later the Daily Optic recanted concerning lead, and complained that shutting off cheap Mexican lead ores, which were used as flux in the smelting of silver, would close New Mexico smelters and force New Mexico silver miners to ship their ores to Colorado for smelting.⁷²

From 1890 to 1896 the tariff issue was subordinate to the much more important and appealing silver question. But in 1898 it again became important enough that Democrats,

⁷¹ Us Vegas Daily Optic, November 1, 1888.

⁷² Ibid., September 28, 1889,

courting the votes of sheepmen, chose to oppose national Democratic policy by Including in ^e territorial platform an endorsement of the tariff on wool. Democratic papers, apparently unwilling to recant old arguments in 1898 and adopt them again in 1900 to *e4iree* with national party policy, chose to resuinn aUost silent on this Issue. To Illustrate, in 1893 the *Mddy* Current boldly steted:

What if wool is low? Why should laborers, stockmen and grain fanaers pay tariff in the form of high prices for flannels for their little ones to enrich the sheepment . . . No other clsss of men In the United States have made as much money in the past few years as the sheeпаien and there is i^ reason for robbing the poor to give to the rich.⁷³

Yet, In the campaign of i898 the Current chose to ignora the tariff issue,⁷⁴ It seeras, therefora, that in the case of both the terlff and silver Issues party loyalty was the *primery* concem of most territorial editors and thst basically their use of these issues was to gamer votes for the party rather than bring about desirable reforms.

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^ Eddy Current as quoted in Santa Fe lew Mexican Review, July 20, 1593.

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Eddy Current, July 1 to October 29, I698. A survey of other Democratic papers with extant files for this period reveals alao the attitude of avoiding the tariff iesue. See Springer Colfax County Stockman, Silver ^ty Independent. Roswell Record.

For sixty years statehood was an important political question in New Mexico, but like the silver and tariff issues it was often used as a symbol rather than sought as a legitimate goal. For the politicians statehood offered such prizes as sanatoriums, state offices, and patrimony in addition to the prospect of booty from unsettled land grants, fraudulent militia warrants, and graft that could no longer be vetoed by a watchful Congress. The Republicans, usually believing the prizes would be theirs, hid these baser objectives and held out as bait the prospect that statehood would bring new capital and immigration, thus enriching New Mexico. Democrats, on the contrary, rarely hoped to control the new state and usually insisted that statehood had not greatly aided the economy of Nevada and other Western states, was besides that too expensive, and that the Republican politicians might realize their true aim. In the rare instances when the prospects of the parties were reversed their stands also were reversed.

Before 1890 members of the political elite generally ignored the major factors of the statehood question, the unwillingness of the Spanish-American majority to learn readily the English language and to accept free, non-sectarian schools. Until this was changed, there existed no prospect of congressional and popular approval of New Mexico statehood. Until Catholic objection in 1890 to a constitution providing free, non-sectarian schools

increased the reluctance of Congress to grant statehood, stalling for over a decade any serious consideration of the matter. During this interlude, the leaders of both political parties fomed upon the Utins free non-sectarian schools eoftducted in the Siglish language, and the territory received a large lamilgration of Anglo-Americans. Since a great majority of the newcomers were Democrsts, that party's chances of eontrollng a state government were Improved. The ever Increasing flood of loadLgrants were hostile toward the Spanish-Americans, who began to fear that Net; Nexlco might soon have an Anglo-American oAjority. This led many Utins to push for statehood idille they still had a majority and would be able to Insure that their rights would be protected In the constitution of the new state. Thus, ctfter 1900 the objections of Congress, the Utins, and the Ds)"ocrats began to aielt away. Then the politicians and the press be^^an a long darive, with thousands of speeches, maneuvers, end editorials, that ultl-aately brought statehood in 10ir.

Since the ststehood question was the most Important •nd valid issue of territorial politics, it most tmly ra-flectr the political status of the prass. Ar shown in earlier chapters, the press was relstlvely frae until 1386, •nd editorial attitudes in this period did not always follow party policy. From 18^6 to 19^4, the press was held tightly captive; this again was confirmed by editorial

policies in the debates over statehood. After 1904 the press was increasingly freed; and the nearer statehood approached, the greater the divergence of editorial attitudes from the straight party lines.

The drive to make New Mexico a state began shortly after annexation, when Anglo-American politicians manipulated the native population into a futile bid for statehood. Almost every session of Congress thereafter until 1910 saw a bill or memorial for New Mexican statehood. In the 1860's the question became the subject of editorial debate, with the captive Santa Fe *pepere* echoing the policies of the elites they represented. The Weekly Gazette held that few wanted statehood:

Our information in regard to the state movement is that it meets with a cool reception from the people of the territory. None except those who expect to be rewarded by office, and the immediate friends of such, take any particular interest in the matter.⁷⁵

^« San Mexican replied that those who opposed statehood, did so for selfish reasons:

There are two classes that oppose the state movement. . . . The first of these . . . imagine that any change . . . would be ruinous to their future desires of property. . . . The other class, more numerous than the first, but not so honest, are a set of hungry demagogues, who think that by

"^ Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, February 17, 1866.

opposing the state movement, they can establish themselves in the confidence of the people. To

Apparently the view of the Weekly Gazette was correct, for when delegates to a constitutional convention were elected, only thirty-three of seventy-eight met to write the document, and the effort was abandoned.⁷⁷

In the early 1870's, New Mexicans again showed an un readiness for statehood. In 1870 the legislature wrote a constitution sans convention. When submitted to a vote in 1872, it was overwhelmingly defeated. Meanwhile, statehood was hotly debated by a few territorial papers. The Albuquerque Republican Review, citing the market value of territorial warrants at twenty-five cents on the dollar, maintained New Mexico resources were inadequate to support a state government. H. V. Bennett of the Borderer at Las Cruces held that a people so poor they could not pay taxes and faced with the necessity of subsidizing railways to come to the area could not afford the luxury of a state government.⁸ The New Mexican, still a staunch statehood advocate, discussed the question in frequent editorials and concluded that New Mexico needed the political power of a state:

⁶ Santa Fe New Mexican, March 2, 1866.

⁷⁸ *[^] Ibid., May 4, 1866.

⁸ Albuquerque Republican Review, December 31, 1870; Santa Fe Borderer, March 23, 1871.

This increased political power will attract attention. We shall become known and the pastoral and adneral resoumes of the territory will induce new immigration, and this will infuse new enterprise and vigor into our present population. We shall have diversified industry, increaaed popu-
Ution and greater proeperity. . . .

Qy becoming a state we shall secure the liberal concessions usually made by the United States in favor of public schools and internal improvements. One hundred and twenty thousand people, an area of 77,000 square ad.les and settlements and villages aiore than a ccmtury old and not a public school house nor a mile of railroad. Need more be said to indicate our great need in this direction. Ut us have a voice in the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, with grants for public and normal schools and internal im-
provements, and there will be an end of this la-
aientable atate of thinga. By becoming a atate we control our own affairs—MC shall perhaps make mistakes and blunders. The child falls often in leaming to walk, but gains strength and experi-
ence by the effort. The best school for liberty is liberty itself.⁷⁹

The attitude of the press reflected the independ-
ence of the editors of that era, for only the three above
papera of eight then being publiahed In New Nexlco took
auch Interest in the matter.⁸⁰ The people also wem un-
willing, for only 5,000 of a usual 12,000 and a potential
30,000 votea were cast. T^e maneuvers of the politicians

^{1^^} Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican. April 16. 1B72.

⁸⁰ There am no extant copies of the other five territorial papers published in this period, but a lack of interast may be deduced because none of the papera %rhose files era available quote them concerning statehood. And, on the other hand, they often cited them in ralation to other matters.

and the editorials of [^]e New Mexican had been in vain, and a later generation should have been forewarned to expect a similar result.

Despite defeat in 1872, the skilled politician S. B. Elkins led New Mexicans and Congress to consider statehood seriously in the mid-seventies. Only two editors remained hostile to statehood. Louis Hoaaael of the Gazette at Las Vegas predicted tax increases and ring control for such a state, and Bennett of the Borderer held the chief objective of the movement was to make Elkins a senator. However, the amiable congressional delegate was more successful with other editors. The Republican Review swung into line, and the Nesilla News hesitated but soon joined in. The strongest advocate of the cause, other than the captive New Mexican, was the Silver City Mining Life. It argued that taxes would be only slightly higher. Lack of experience of the native people was not a crippling factor, editor O. L. Scott wrote, for if the federal government could enfranchise four million Negroes, why not New Mexicans. Furthermore, the speediest way to educate people in self-government was to impose upon them its duties and responsibilities. Elkins also was skillful in maneuvering Congress, and at one time its approval

[^] ^{^^} Silver City Mining Life. April 11, 18, May 2, 1874; Nesilla News. November 1[^]7[^] > December 6, 1874.

seemed assured, which led to premature Jubilation on the part of the Neslly laws:

Hip! Hurrah! Whoop U!

Hurrah for a State!

lumber Thirty-Nine!

Now

RAILROADS!

Telegraphs! Capital!!

Elkins for one Senator

Southern New Mexlco should have the other.

The glorlous news has reached us thst the Senate has passed the enabling act as amended that the House had previously passed. We can enter the Union in time to vote for president in 1876. How New Mexlco will reap the rewards, will no longer be the Rip Van Winkle Territory.^^

Altlioui^ Elkins apparently convinced e majority of the editors and Anglo-American population, in view of the

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Meslly News. March 13, 1875- The House of Representatives did not pass the bill as amended by the Senate in either 1875 or 1876. The astute Elkins had at first won the friendship of southern and western Democrats. They aided his efforts until he congratulated Michigan Representative J. C. Burrows at the end of a bitter partisan speech supporting the Force Bill. Elkins, who had just come on to the floor of the House, was unaware of the nature of the speech and joined others in congratulating Burrows. Southern Democrats then in revenge delayed action on the New Mexico enabling act in 1875 and prevented its passage in 1876. See Silver City Herald, May 5, 1876; R. E. Twitchell, The Leading Facts of New Mexican History (Cedar Rapids, *loc.* 1912), II, p. 453.

defeat of the constitutions in 1872 and later in 1890 it is doubtful that few Mexicans would have accepted statehood in 1876. But near passage of the enabling act aroused among many eastern American editors an active opposition to the admission of backward, Spanish speaking. Catholic New Mexico as a state. Doubtless this opposition was harmful to later statehood efforts, for as the Silver City Herald editor noted: "The reputation which New Mexico is gaining from the many articles . . . is sadly detrimental to her future welfare." ⁸¹

Further statehood efforts in the 1870's aroused little editorial comment; but with the advent of railways and a tremendously enlarged population editors renewed their interest in the matter. Most of the new editors, with the enthusiasm of pioneers, favored statehood, but their stands do not appear to have been influenced by political leaders. The opinion of Russell Kistler of the Daily Optic was that of many newsmen, "New Mexico must be admitted to the Union within a year—The many newcomers this summer will demand it and our population will more than justify it." ⁸⁴ While Louis Hommel of the San Lorenzo Red River Chronicle dropped an earlier hostility to statehood.

⁸¹ Silver City Herald, April 22, 1876; see also Warren A. Beck, New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries (Albuquerque, 1962), pp. 75-76.

⁸⁴

Las Vegas Daily Optic, April 27, 1880.

J. G. Albright of the Santa Fe Peacocrat gave the movement his active support. Thomas Hughes of the Albuquerque Daily Journal at first believed there was no need for haste, but later that year when a bill for New Mexico statehood was introduced in Congress, he wrote, "The JOURNAL favors the idea of a state government for New Mexico."⁸⁵ *The* Raton New Mexico News and Press, on the other hand, adopted a hostile attitude, asserting: "No state for us please. We enjoy living in a territory, and so does every man who realizes that our admission as a state means anarchy and glory for three men, increased taxation for all."⁸⁶ The Bennetts, Peacocratic leaders of southern New Mexico, continued their opposition in the 1880's. For example, Cornelius Bennett of the Silver City Daily Southwest stated, "few if any voters in New Mexico favor a state movement, except those who expect to divide the loaves and fishes."⁸⁷ And S. M. Ashenfelter, who later became editor of the Silver City New Southwest, retained the policy of Cornelius Bennett:

Statehood has been the pet scheme of the Santa Fe Ring for years and that fact alone is injurious

⁸⁵ Albuquerque Daily Journal, May 4, December 2, 1881.

⁸⁶ Raton New Mexico News and Press, December 17, 1881.

⁸⁷

Silver City Daily Southwest, August 16, 1880.

to induce every thinking man in this territory to view it with suspicion.⁸⁸

The Santa Fe Ring, despite the enthusiasm of the new editor, would not for several years be interested in statehood, for it was engaged in a fight for control of the territorial Republican party and wanted no state that it could not control. The Albuquerque Evening Review, owned by lesser ring members, displayed the ring's attitude toward statehood when it commented that New Mexico was unready for statehood, for it could be too easily controlled by corrupt politicians and lacked sufficient taxable property.⁸⁹ The attitude of the new Republicans seeking to end ring rule was very similar as was shown by a comment from editor W. S. Burke of the Albuquerque Morning Journal: "New Mexico, if made a state, would be run by unscrupulous political charlatans through fraud and bribery."⁹⁰ Continued ring hostility was reflected in 1884 by a Santa Fe New Mexican Review statement that "the people of this territory do not as yet desire [state government]."⁹¹

⁸⁸

Silver City New Southwest, October 15, 1881.

⁸⁹

Albuquerque Evening Review, December 22, 1882; at this time W. H. Ballhaugh and Max Frost, Santa Fe Ring members, owned a controlling interest in this paper.

⁹⁰

Albuquerque Morning Journal, November 23, 1882.

⁹¹

Santa Fe New Mexican Review, January 17, 1884.

While the Santa Fe Ring remained hostile to statehood, Pemocrats, after winning territorial and national victories, became more interested. Republican intra-party strife had given victory to Democratic congressional delegate candidates in 1882 and 1884. National Pemocratic victory and the inauguration of a Pemocratic governor gave further encouragement. In addition, the enthusiasm of the independent new Pemocratic editors probably moved the party toward the new policy. For example, J. G. Albright of the Albuquerque Noming Democrat wrote in 1883: "The State of New Mexico! there's music in the name."[^] In 1885 the Pemocratic Silver City Southwest Sentinel followed the lead of Albright:

The day when New Mexico will add one more shining star to our national escutcheon is very close at hand. This fossils [sic] and moss covered idea that we are too poor is a "barren idealism." A State! A State! It is bound to come."³

By 1886 Pemocratic leaders, perhaps influenced by these attitudes, had begun to work actively for statehood. "^{^^} Pally Optic held that Governor E. G. Ross did so in hopes of reward:

It seems to be generally agreed that Governor Rosa is doing all in his power to secure admission

[^] Albuquerque Noming Democrat, June 1st, 1883.

^{^^} Silver City Southwest Sentinel, March 14, 1885.

of New Mexico as a state in the Thilon, and when the event is accomplished he will be an ardent candidate for the United States Senate.^^

Ross, however, failed at first to receive the support of the press for his efforts. Even Albright, temporarily alienated from the Democratic party, refused to support the movement.^{0*5} Republican papers also refused to work for statehood. They were by this time coming under the control of the ring, which did not want to create a state in an era of Democratic strength. Again the New Mexican displayed the ring attitude:

New Mexico is not yet prepared for statehood, and the schemes to become a state for the purpose of gratifying the political ambitions of a few small callow democratic statesmen will die abomin'.90

A year later in December, 1887, however, the New Mexican began to work for statehood. It sent out

^ Us Vegas Daily Optic, April 26, 1886.

^ Albuquerque Morning Democrat as quoted in Us Vegas Daily Optic, January 3, 1887 - 3⁰. Albright, Homin^{an}mocrat publisher, believed himself wronged by I. O. Ross and Anthony Joseph, for the congressional delegate had supported Ross for the governorship which Albright believed rightfully should have been his.

⁶ ^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, November 25, 1886. There is further evidence of the attitude of the New Mexican in its issue of December 2, 1886. Marlott D. Frick, Texas's Fight for Statehood (1845-1890), "New Mexico Historical Review, XIV (1934), p. 136 contends that the New Mexican converted Governor Ross to statehood. The evidence presented here refutes that contention, for the acceptance of statehood by Ross antedates that of the New Mexican.

questionnaires asking the opinions of prominent citizens of the territory on statehood and, although the opinions were divided, began to support the movement.[^] There appear to be several possible reasons for the changed policy. By this time the Santa Fe Ring had re-established its control of the party, and the party schism was healed. Furthermore, the ring probably feared another national Democratic victory and four more years of Ross rule. Thus, the quickest way to regain full political control was through statehood. This line of thinking seems to be indicated by a New Mexico editorial in March, 1888:

The people of New Mexico are tired of this thing of having a set of irresponsible men sent here to govern them. Under the present system the people have no right which the administration respects. Under Republican administration matters in that line were not so bad, but during the last three years they have sadly grown almost unbearable, and the taxpayers and citizens of New Mexico want a change,⁹⁰

[^]® El Grande Republicano quickly accepted the new policy,[^] but the Diary Optic, still hostile, held that:

The very strongest argument against statehood is that Santa Fe so earnestly urges it. . . . The

^{^^} Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, December 22, 1887, January 19, 1888.

⁹⁸ Ibid., March 29, 1888.

[^] Los Cruces Rio Grande Republican, January 7, 1888.

members of its ring are crying out that all who oppose New Mexico's admission are enemies of the territory.^^^

In April, 1888, statehood gained almost unanimous support as the result of a report of the Committee on Territories of the United States House of Representatives. Although the Democratic majority report recommended statehood for New Mexico, the Republican minority report opposed it. The latter report included excerpts from El Gringo, written thirty years earlier by a territorial attorney general, which held that Santa Fe inhabitants were of low moral standards, intensely superstitious, and priest ridden. The minority report acknowledged its source was thirty years old but stated that New Mexico "cannot reasonably be expected to have changed for the better, nor that the most rapid progress will be made in the future."¹⁰¹

Almost every territorial paper protested that the minority report was filled with falsehoods and maintained that New Mexico was well qualified for statehood. For example, the Daily Optic listed the Republican committee members and stated that "these men should be held in unforgetfulness by every man, woman and child in New Mexico,"¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Las Vegas Daily Optic, March 2, 1888.

¹⁰²

Santa Fe Herald, April 7, 1888, In the Congress Democrats had a majority in the House of Representatives while Republicans controlled the Senate.

^^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic, April 7, 1888.

El Boletin Popular of Santa Fe protested "las escritas son un llbello . . . una calumna, ni mas, ni menos." ^ The Socorro Chieftain held it "a gmes libel upon ^e people of this territory and it deserves the censure of every fair minded man regardless of politics." According to the Santa Fe Herald, "The newspapers of New Mexico condemn it as an insult and an outrage, especially to the native people. . . ." ¹⁰⁴ The Morning Democrat, which had been fighting stat^hood, then began to sxxport it, as did almost

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all other lew Mexican newspapers. However, the minority report also raiaed a atom of objections to Hew Mexican statelihood in the eestem part of the United States, which probably encouraged Senate deletion of Hew Mexico from the omnibus bill granting statehood to several Western territories in 1889. Thus, statehood was halted at^rvarently by the hostility toward the pmdominantly Utin, Catholic, and illiterate population of New Mexico—a pmspect forseen by some territorial editors as early as 1876, New Mexicans then began to malize that external hostility might do more to prevent statehood than intem-1 division.

Iftidoubtedly it was to answer the hostile criticism which held that New Nexicans did not want and had not asked

^^5 Santa Fe Boletin ro^uigr, April 5» 1888.

^^^ Socorm Chieftain as quoted in Santc Fe Herald, April 7, 1888; Santa fe He'mTd, April 7, 1888.

^^ Santa Fe lew Nexican Review, April 19, 1888.

for statehXXkl which led to the writing of a ccmstituticm in 1889. Lincoln County residents moved to correct this misbelief in January, 1889, by calling for a constitutional convention. The legislature then authorized a convention, specifying tlmt each county delegation would be twice the number of its legislative represeitaticm. Southern lew Nexlco counties, which were Democratic, believed legislative apportionment did not consider their recent ^,pin> in popuUtion. Furthermore, Democrats, having elected their delegate candidate in the last three elections, did not believe the predominantly Bepubllican legislstures would have been elected if apportionment was fair. Since convention delegates would be elected from the same districts, alert Pemocrats aaked for a ncm-partlsan convention. At a Joint meeting of the central committees of the two parties, the Republicans demanded a majority of the convention seats; and Democrats decided to sabotage the whole affair by neither praaenting candidates nor voting.¹⁰⁶

the oft repeated admonition of the Noming Democrat, 'fairness or no state, "^^^ sums up the attitude of the Democratic prass. The Dally Optic *eypreeed* the general snswer of the Republican papera;

^^ Us Vegas Daily Optic, January 1, 1889; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, January 26, 1889; Silver city jfetemrise, February 15, 1^69.

^^7 Albuquerque Morning Der.-ocrat, June 15. 21, 'uly 7, 1889.

The Pemocrats, with their usual stupid obstinacy, have forced the fight, and the result will be that there will be a straight party issue in the selection of delegates to the constitutional convention which meets in Santa Fe in September, New Mexico is Republican by a decided majority; and there will be a majority of Republicans in the constitutional convention. !^

Since BU>st DenK>crats did not participate in the election, an almost solidly Republican convention was elected; but Republican editors found a new worry. What sort of a constitution would be written by a convention dominated by T. B. Catron and Pedro Perea, who had killed a public school bill in the legislative session of 1889. Most New Mexico editors agreed with the idea expressed editorially by Russell Kistler when he opposed statehood early in 1886. Kistler believed that education and public schools should come before statehood because New Mexico had a peculiar case:

In fact, so peculiar that it cannot be ertu^ated by the general rule. According to the census of 1880, out of a population of 119,565, 57,156, or nearly *one* half, being those who could not sign their names. Of the other half, being those who can sign their names, a very large proportion cannot write, read or speak the English language. These are a quiet inoffensive people, with as little activity in development and progressive ideas as they have in wrong doing. Ignorant of the English language, they are no more Americanized than the day the country was wrested from old Mexico. They know not the Independence of thought and rational canon to the American voter. They are led by a few old and wealthy families, and any movement these l-^ders

^{1,0} Us Vegas Daily Optic, July 5, 1889.

may agree on will be sure of Memring a majority of the votes cast. These few leaders will have the destiny of New Nexlco in their hands.109

Editorial concem for a desirable constitution increased when Ca^iolic Archbishop Salpoints .?sked that the constitutional conventicm not establish a systea of public schools, lew Nexlco %>e»i^-Americans of the convention under the leadership of M. S. Otero, rejected the Archbishop's plea and approved a public school system by a unanimous vote. Nost editors agreed with the Rio Grande Republican:

Those who oppose the educational clause must necessarily oppose statehood, since it is well known that no [sic] territory that does not favor a non-sectarian school system will ever find sufficient favor amons the states to be received into the oisterhood.1^^

Schools, however, became one of the lesser issuee in the great debate that began between Democratic and Republican papers. These wem the yeers when the political elites were consolidating their control of the prass, and all papers began to follow party policies closely. Territorial Democratic papers led by E. G. Ross, then editor of the Doming Headlight, reversed their earlier stands on statehood and asked for its defeat on several bases:

^^^ Ibid., April 26, 1886.

^^'^ Lee Cruces Rio Grande Republican, September n, 1880.

present apportionment of the legislature would leave the new state in the hands of the Santa Fe Ring; statehood would increase taxes, and under the control of the Santa Fe Ring, taxation would be ruinous; the ring leaders would use their power to fund the fraudulent militia warrants, additionally burdening New Mexico taxpayers; although a public school system was included in the constitution, how could New Mexico depend upon its implementation by the leadership responsible for the defeat of a public school law in the legislative session of 1889.¹¹¹ The editor of the Headlight agreed that he would approve statehood under an enabling act which guaranteed a fair legislative apportionment and a thoroughly American public school system.¹¹²

Republican leadership pushed for ratification of the constitution of 1889, for they believed Congress would grant statehood if presented with a suitable constitution. To meet mounting criticism of the constitution, the convention was recalled and questionable sections were rewritten before its ratification was asked in an election in October, 1890.¹¹¹ Republican papers sought to discredit the opposition of Rosa as partisan by reminding the public that not

¹¹¹ Doming Headlight, September 7, 1889.

¹¹²

Ibid., November 3, 1889.

¹ • Lrs Vegas Daily Oklahoman, August 19, 1900; Albuquerque Daily Citizen, June 11, 1900.

many months ago, Ross of the Headlight, was lobbying for statehood. Now he is devoting his paper to defeat the

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move." To win acceptance of the constitution Republican editors sought to convince the voters of the desirability of statehood and the hazard of rejecting it. The following statements are representative of their appeals. "If *the* constitution is defeated it will be many years before New Mexico is a state. Voters which do you prefer?"

"Statehood for New Mexico is the battle cry." *Director of New Mexico: statehood, free schools, and more railroads.* ¹¹⁵

In the election the constitution was rejected overwhelmingly. Apparently the major reason for this Republican defeat was the hostility of Spanish-Americans to the free, non-sectarian school provisions in the constitution. ¹¹⁶ The Republican leaders had ignored for decades the valid issue of free public schools as opposed to sectarian control of schools. Hence, they had failed to convince Spanish-Americans of *the* necessity of non-sectarian schools conducted in the English language in order to win general American approval of statehood for New Mexico. The rejection of a constitution incorporating free, non-sectarian schools

^^^ *Los Comites de Grande Republica*, December 7, 1880.

^^^ *Albuquerque Daily Citizen*, June 24, August 2, 1890.

^^^ See footnote 127, Chapter V.

deepened the hostility of the American public to New Mexican statehood and delayed it for two more decades. Apparently the Republican political leaders realized their error, for in the next legislative session free, public, non-sectarian schools conducted in the English language were imposed upon the predominantly Spanish speaking people of the Territory. The delay in the achievement of statehood had cost the politicians the grand prizes they might have gained from statehood.

These Republican political leaders, however, did not despair, and from 1890 until 1903 the congressional delegates introduced bills for New Mexican statehood at each session of Congress. The territorial press followed these bills with news stories and editorials, but they retained their partisan attitudes. Democrats generally doubted the value of statehood but cheered the efforts of their delegates to achieve it, and Republican editors in each instance usually adopted the opposing attitude. There was less interest in the question than there had been from 1887 to 1891, or would be from 1903 to 1910. Nevertheless, editors paid sufficient attention to statehood so that it was kept before the public as a question of importance to New Mexico.

117 g Chapter V,

118 Beck, NEW MEXICO, p. 234 maintains that many newspapers were indifferent upon the question of statehood

In addition to using the prospects of self-rule and economic rewards to appeal to New Mexicans to vote for statehood, the politicians and their editorial spokesmen used the statehood issue to appeal for votes in regular campaigns. To illustrate, in 1894 the Republican Chieftain attacked the Democratic candidate for congressional delegate, maintaining that he told "American" voters at Boswell he favored statehood and "Mexican" voters at Abiqui that he opposed it.^^^ Republican candidates for congressional delegate between 1898 and 1908 often asked for votes upon the basis that a Republican congressional delegate could best obtain statehood from a Republican president and Congress.^^ Thus we see that in regular and special campaigns from 1850 to 1902 the political leaders used the statehood issue, often appealing to prejudice

for New Mexico prior to 1902. Newspaper editors pick editorial topics keyed to the current news, and since the territories could set little more than peremptory rejection for their statehood efforts in Congress from 1892 to 1892, there were few editorials. Compare this with the congressional session in 1904 when almost one-third of the Congressional Record is devoted to the debates over the admission of the territories. Considering the congressional reception of New Mexican statehood bids in the 1890's, interest was high and general throughout the territorial press when there was anything noteworthy occurring, but certainly not as high as it was from 1886 to 1891 and from 1903 to 1904,

^^^ Bocorn Chieftain, October 25, 1894.

^^ For examples of the use of this appeal see Santa Fe New Mexican, May 5, 1894; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate. Nov. 30, 1900, March 1, 1901, October 24, 1902; Socorro Chieftain. October 1, 1900, August 2, 9, 1894; Silver City Enterprise, March 29, 1901.

rather than reassembling, in asking for votes for congressional delegates.

Despite the importance and apparent validity of the statehood question, it seems that it was not a *true* issue before 1900. Before 1900 New Mexico was not ready for statehood, therefore political leaders who held out as bait territorial economic advancement and self-rule as the results of statehood were not presenting a true issue. Probably they desired statehood because it promised rewards for themselves and ignored the possibility that it might prove disastrous for New Mexico. It seems statehood was impractical for New Mexico before 1900 because, first, its predominantly Spanish-American population was not ready to accept the conditions Congress would have imposed for granting statehood, as the vote on the constitution in 1890 indicated. Second, the economy of New Mexico was not strong enough to provide sufficient taxable wealth to support state government, nor were New Mexicans willing to pay the exceptionally high taxes that would thus have been necessary. Finally, the experiences of states such as Nevada show that statehood did not greatly aid economic development. Furthermore, it appears that many of the territorial political leaders realized this. For example, the leading territorial Republican in 1901 acknowledged that: "Prior to the advent of the railroads and the introduction and maintenance of a public school system it is an

admitted fact that New Mexico was not prepared for statehood.¹²¹ Since the arguments advanced above are precisely those used by Democratic leaders such as E. G. Ross, it would seem that the Democrats were presenting the true issue. And this would be so if Democratic leaders had been consistent in their opposition to statehood. But these men favored statehood when it appeared they would have the opportunity to reap the spoils or needed it as an appeal to gain votes. Thus, It appears that for the most part leaders of both parties used it as a symbol, as did the editors in presenting their arguments to the public.

By 1903, however, New Mexico was ready for statehood, and this became an important and valid issue, except on a few occasions when facets of the question were used to maneuver the voters not toward statehood but another objective. Statehood seemed assured in 1900, for the platforms of both national political parties included statehood for the territories. Even Democrats, formerly hostile,

¹²¹ Territorial Governor M. A. Otem as quoted in Merlon Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood (1805-1912)," New Mexico Historical Review, XIV (1939), p. 121, When statehood came a decade later, hundreds of miles of new railway had been constructed, millions of acres of range land had been transformed into dryland and irrigated farms, and the population of the territory had almost doubled. Nevertheless, in the early years after admission as a state taxes were exceptionally high, for that era, Yet the new state provided only minimal services, and its educational system lagged far behind national standards. And it was only after an intense drive for statehood that Mexicans were willing to accept the high taxes necessary to support state government.

sought it because growing Democratic strength improved their chances of controlling that state. In 1903, New Mexico's capable congressional delegate, B. S. Rodey, adopted new tactics. Convinced that the major impediment was the reluctance of eastern seaboard states to give two senators to sparsely populated Arizona and New Mexico, Rodey began to advocate joining the two territories as one state. The idea was well accepted in Congress and by New Mexico Democrats. Since Arizona was heavily Democratic, they anticipated the joint state would be Democratic. Territorial Republican leaders relished neither the prospects of loss of control to Democrats nor the necessity of splitting the spoils with Arizona Republicans. These politicians then sought to scotch the movement by defeating Rodey's bid for renomination in 1904. Congress, however, approved joint statehood, and the two territories were asked to vote on the matter. Defeat in either would kill the measure. The plan, overwhelmingly approved in New Mexico, was defeated by Arizona. However, it was only a matter of four years until single statehood was given to both. Then the questions of importance were the constitution and the first elections of the new state.

Naturally, statehood and the constitution became important matters to the press and were in this period the most frequent political topics of its editorials. These journals by their interest, shown in thousands of news

stories and editorials, created an overwhelming demand for statehood among New Mexicans. This interest not only helped to produce overwhelming acceptance of the Joint Statehood Act; but it kept the issue alive past this defeat, strengthening the resolve of the political leaders for statehood. Thus the press, by helping to inspire the popularity of statehood, made a great contribution toward its achievement.

At the same time the statehood movement made a significant contribution to the development of territorial Journalism. First, newspapers, without regard for their politics, accepted statehood as a desirable goal. This elevated the question above politics and gave the press a somewhat nonpartisan attitude in a political matter, moving most territorial editors nearer to political independence. But more significant, the importance of statehood led Journalists to defy political leaders in intra-party disputes. As has been noted earlier, it was in this era that the Albuquerque Noming Journal became politically independent, and slowly eastern New Mexico Democratic papers and others began to follow this lead. The trend began with intra-party disputes over Joint statehood.

The Albuquerque Noming Journal at first took no notice of the Joint statehood plan, but a great many other papers became intensely interested. The Albuquerque Daily

Citizen was a staunch advocate from the first;¹²² and the New Mexican was not especially hostile to the plan until September, 1903, when it began to oppose it strenuously. Most of the smaller Republican weeklies quickly adopted the stance of the New Mexican,¹²³ but some of the larger Republican papers remained loyal to Joint statehood. For example, the Daily Optic, Rio Grande Republican, and Silver City Enterprise continued to endorse it in the first months of 1904. The Morning Journal also accepted the plan in March, 1904, possibly because it hoped that the more centrally located Albuquerque would be the capital of the Joint state.¹²⁴ Probably the major reason for the New Mexican's policy was that Governor M. A. Otero opposed joining the two territories as a state because Rodey's continued advocacy of the plan threatened his leadership

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Albuquerque Daily Citizen, February 1 to September 1, 1903, *passim*; Santa Fe New Mexican, May 23, August 20, September 1, 3, 1903, March 5, 12, 14, 1904; Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, February 12, 1904; Ute Daily Optic, January 25, February 2, 1904.

^^^ Santa Fe New Mexican, February 6, September 1, 3, 1903, March 8, 9, 1904; Socorro Chieftain, August 22, 1903; January 2, 1904; Portales Times, September 5, 1903, January 25, 1904; Dargatzis, *op. cit.*, p. 134, states that Max Frost so well controlled some of the smaller Republican weeklies that he sent them editorials to print, which he then cited in the New Mexican as representative of the attitude of the press.

^^^ Ute Daily Optic, January 25, 1904; Silver City Enterprise, March 4, 1904; Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, February 12, 1904; Santa Fe New Mexican, March 12, 14, 1904;

of the Republican party. Then the Governor and his henchmen, in a well concealed but extensive plot, defeated Rodey's bid for renomination, giving the position instead to W. H. Andrews and having the convention endorse single

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statehood. The capable and popular Rodey, with the encouragement of the Mojoming Journal and the Daily Citizen, entered the campaign as an Independent candidate for congressional delegate favoring Joint statehood.¹²⁶ The re-

mainder of the Republican papers fell obediently into line behind the New Mexican.¹²⁷ Meanwhile, the territorial

Democrats endorsed Joint statehood, and the Democratic press followed the lead of the Roswell Daily Record in ac-

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cepting this party policy. Thus, most of the territorial press in the campaign of 1904 showed that it was still subservient to the territorial political elites. W. H. Andrews was ultimately the victor in the campaign, and the New

¹ ^ Hillsbom Sierra County Advocate, August 25, 1904; Los Cruces Rio Grande Republican, September 23, 1904; Santa Fe New Mexican, September 6, ^, 12, 15, 1904. B. S. Rodey contended that Max Frost had a major part in engineering his defeat. See Santa Fe New Mexican, November 11, 1904.

126 Santa Fe New Mexican, October 14, -^1, 1 >^4; Las Vegas Daily Optic, October 11, 13, 1^'^? Hillsbom Sierra County Advocate, October 21, 1904; Albuquerque Morning Journal, September 15 to November 15, 1^^; Albuquerque Daily Citizen. September 15 to November 15, 19^.

^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic, October 11, 14, 1904; Silver City Enterprise October 14, 21, 28, 1904; Los Cruces Rio Grande Republican, October 21, 28, 19^4.

^^ Santa Fe New Mexican, April 4, 16, June 28, ^^ 2, August 11, HovSbe7T7T>r>4.

Mexican hailed it as a victory also for single statehood.^^

After Congress in June, 1906, authorized a vote on the Joint statehood question, Max Frost, editor of the New Mexican, changed his policies. He often had indicated that Joint statehood under the right conditions would be acceptable. Doubtless the terms were right, for Frost in an editorial headed "NOW FOR STATEHOOD" enthusiastically approved Joining Arizona:

To refuse the gift, the greatest gift that can be bestowed upon any people, would be nothing short of folly. The New Mexican, which has taken the patriotic stand for New Mexico under its present name until the last ditch, is now ready to lend its voice and influence for the acceptance of Joint statehood for New Mexico and Arizona under the conditions of the Hamilton Bill just passed. This bill, with its generous provisions, grants New Mexico and Arizona all they have ever asked in connection with statehood and even more.¹³⁰

The Republican satellite weeklies adopted the new policy; and since almost other Republican and Democratic papers by this time favored Joint statehood, almost the entire territorial press began a campaign for its acceptance. Probably as a result of this intense press effort.

^^^ Ibid., November 28, 1904.

^^^^ Ibid., December 10, 1904, March 1, April 6, B, 9, 13, 1904. February 7, October 28, December 5, 1905, January 2, 4, May 1, June 15, 1906. The enabling act guaranteed the payment of about \$1,000,000 in indebtedness of Santa Fe County and guaranteed that the capital would be left at Santa Fe for at least ten years.

victory in New Mexlco soon seemed assured. There was, however, an almost equal assurance of defeat in Arizona. Under these conditions the editors began to worry that voter apathy might lead to its defeat also in New Mexlco.

^* Pally <^tic took a stand that New Mexlco should sprove Joint statehood for even "should the proposition fall in Arizona, the people of New Mexlco will be in str<»nger and better shape than ever to demand recognition of their rights and privileges."¹ Uter the New Mexican warned of ovemonfidence; "This is no time to sleep st the oars."¹ ^ The Silver City Entemrise also was concerned:

Everywhere in the territory Joint ststehood papera are sounding a note of warning that is very timely and sensible. . . . Many Joint statehood advocates are confident thUt the current of public opinion will land the Joint statehood craft aafe in the harbor of victory. But . . . there is a strong under current of feeling against the proposition by the native people who resent the insults flung at them by the unprincipled and liys-terlcal opponents of Jolntura in Arizona and who hope to ratalliate by showing that they no more deslra to be Joined with Arizona than does Arizona with New Mexlco.³³

Despite these admonitiens, editorials diminished
•s victory was all but assurad; however, they were frequent

^^^ Ur> Vegas Daily Optic as quoted in Santa Fe Us* Mexican, Jime 18, 100b.

^^ Santa Fe New Mexican, August 11, 1906.

^33 Silver City Entemrise, August 24, 19^6.

enough to keep the issue alive. The Daily Optic sought to convert those still desiring single statehood by contending "New Mexico can strike no more effective blow at separate statehood than by voting against Joint statehood."¹³⁵ The Carlsbad Argus maintained: "It is well known that New Mexico will vote strongly in favor of [Joint] statehood in hopes that Congress may be Impressed and give us statehood."¹³⁵ The Tucumcari Herald believed that "if Arizona turns it down, then we will be in a position to put our

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hands alone. * * * In the summer the New Mexico press presented a barrage of editorials for Joint statehood. Then, convinced that Arizona would defeat it. New Mexico editors argued in the return that approval of Joint statehood was the quickest way of obtaining the desired blessing.

Arizona newspapers, waging an intense fight to defeat Joint statehood, argued against the plan because of New Mexico's large Latin population. This quickly brought retaliation from the English language press¹ of New Mexico, yet did not disturb the steadfast approval of Joint statehood by the Spanish language press. For example, the

¹³⁵ UP Vegas Daily Optic as quoted in Doming Graphic, October 5, 1906,

¹³⁵ Carlsbad Argus, October 26, 1906.

¹ Tucumcari News, September 6, 1906,

¹ For examples see Silver City Enterprise, August 3, 1906; Socorro Chieftain, September 1, 1906; Santa Fe New Mexican, September 15, 1905.

Albuquerque Opinion Publica believed statehood would improve the conditions of all.¹³⁸ El Ubrador of Us Cruces thought it would be wise *tor* Spanish-Americans to vote for Joint statehood, for wLUi Spanish-Zmericens of Arizona they would still have a large enouch vote to Insure that their rights would be protected by the constitutlcm of the new etate. However, if stat^nood were delayed for a number of yeara, Anglo-Aauiricans were moving into New Nexlco so rapidly that their rights mi^^t be endangered in a constitution written far In the future. ^^^ El Independiente of Ue Vegae counseled that a great deal of work would be necessary to counter growing opposition in northem New Nexlco counties:

Nos comunican de Rio Arriba y Taos, que esta fuerte U oposicion de la gente alia al estado consolidado, que se necesitara mucho trabaja para hacerla desistir de su hostllidad.i^"

The steadfast and tolerant policy of the Sp-nish language papers and the heated defense of Spanish-Americans by the Ihgllsh language press brou^t new unity to New Mexicans and Improved relations between the two peoples. It eontributed to the reconciling of their dlfferances in the constitution later written in 1910, and in 1906 it

^{^38} Albuquerque Opinion Publica, June 14, 1906.

^{^^} Us Cmces Ubrador, August 1^, 19 6.

^{^^} Us Vegas Independiente, October 18, 1906.

held to return an overwhelming vote, almost two to one, for Joint statehood in New Mexico.¹⁴¹ Although both ethnic groups and both parties strongly favored Joint statehood, a great deal of the credit for the large favorable margin must be assigned to the press. Most editors steadfastly advocated statehood; and when combined statehood was offered, they worked diligently for it, advancing innumerable reasons for its approval. The huge majority rolled up for Joint statehood in 1906 served to hasten the granting of single statehood. Thus, it seems that the press made a great contribution to the eventual entrance of New Mexico into the Union.

The campaign from 1903 to 1906 for Joint statehood had also served to focus the attention of the public and press upon this important issue. As a result, many papers, increasingly less dependent on political income, broke sharply with the political elite when it sought to use this important question as a means of political maneuver. The statehood question thus served to free the territorial press from political control. The Albuquerque Homing Journal, alienated from the Republican leadership because of its refusal to accept Joint statehood in 1904, was the first paper to adopt this policy consistently. Then during the framing of the constitution, its ratification, and the

^^^ Santa Fe New Mexican, November 7 to December 15, 1906, passim.

first state elections more papers rejected the dictates of the political parties and became politically independent.

Political independence was adopted by the Morning Journal in 1903, soon after D. A. Macpherscm assiaaed control of its management. He announced that the paper was to be Independent Republican and soon launched a fight to end boss rule exercised In Bernalillo County politics by Republican County Chairman F, A. Hubbell. The real test of this policy, however, came in 1904, when both B. S. Rodey and Joint statehood were rejected by the Republican party. The Morning Journal editors believed that both had been discarded because they threatened the control of the party by M. A. Otero and his colleagues. As a result this paper then launched a drive to cleense terrltorisl politics by exposing corruption within the Republican political elite. The awarding of territorial public printing as political patronage was attacked, and the New Mexican lost its political subsidy.^ ^ Congressional Delegate W, H. Andrews proved to be a liability to the Republican leaders. His past connectlcms with the Natthew Quay and Bois Penrose political machine in Pennsylvania together with certain earlier indiscretions were so effectively exposed that Andrews was not seriously considered in 1912

for the United States senatorship he so coveted.¹⁴¹ The charges of the Morning Journal were echoed by many of the New Mexico weeklies, and as a partial result Governor M. A. O'Connell was replaced by Herbert Hageman. Then the progressive Hageman, with the support of the Morning Journal, began a cleansing of territorial politics.^{^^^} H. O. Bursimi, territorial Republican chairman and new leader of the Republican elite, was dismissed as warden of the territorial prison. The Morning Journal published a two page reproduction of an audit of his prison accounts, showing them to be 15,000 short. Free reprints of this audit were offered to New Mexico weeklies for distribution, and at least one such paper accepted.¹ Although the Republican politicians

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Santa Fe New Mexican, February 17, November 20, 1905, March 27, 1911; Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 16, November 1-7, 1905; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, November 3, 10, 1905.

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Albuquerque Morning Journal, January 1, P, 3, September 6, 1906, January 7, 23, 25, 26, February 1, 6, 12, March 10, April 11, 1907; Santa Fe New Mexican, January 4, 1906; Aztec San Juan County Index, December 14, 1906, April 5, 1907.¹ Herbert Hageman was the son of J. J. Hageman, the irrigation and railway pioneer of the Pecos Valley.

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*[^] Albuquerque Morning Journal, September 1-5, 1906; Farmington Times-Hustler, September 7, 1906; Santa Fe New Mexican, September 10, 1906. It must be said in extenuation of H. O. Bursimi that he later convinced the territorial courts that instead of being short in his accounts at the prison the territory owed him a large sum. However, newspaper accounts reveal that he had taken part of the prison records with him when he left office and had burned other prison records when he left office.

secured the removal of Governor Hagerman,¹⁴⁶ the Homing Journal continued its effective attack upon Bursum and Andrews at every opportunity.¹⁴⁷ The Noming Journal, thus, had become a truly Independent paper uncontrolled by the politicians.

In the final stages of achieving statehood, other territorial papers began to adopt an editorial stance independent of political control. When the enabling act in 1910 authorized the framing of a constitution, the territorial press became very interested. A majority of papers advocated a constitution which reflected the spirit of Progressivism, but they were frustrated by the Republican politicians. The weekly press, particularly that of the homestead areas, demanded a liberal constitution. The Estancia News, for example, called for the initiative, referendum, and recall.¹⁴⁸ The Rio Grande Republican asked

^^ Albuquerque Morning Journal, April 1907; Aztec San Juan County Index, April 26, 1907; Aztec San Juan County Democrat, May 25, 1907. Hagerman did not appear to be guilty of any real malfeasance in office by which benefits accrued to him. He had, however, blundered in one instance, which was used by enemies to ask President Roosevelt to remove him. It appears, however, that the real reason that he was removed was that he seemed to be splitting the territorial Republican party. The Morning Journal charged that this was the true reason that President Roosevelt asked for his resignation.

*** Albuquerque Morning Journal, July 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 26, 1900, September 1, September 10, 1911; Partington Times-Hustler, July 19, 1906; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, November 16, 1906.

^^^ Estancia News, August 10, 1910.

for the adoption of the advanced ideas being used in Oregon.¹⁴⁰ The Fort Sumner Sunnyside Republican admonished the people that they owed no debt to the old bosses who had brought statehood and should vote for men who would write the best constitution.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, the Republican dailies, the New Mexican, Daily Optic, and Morning Journal, called for a conservative constitution, since President V. H. Taft had indicated that this was the only kind he and Congress would approve.¹⁵¹ However, the Morning Journal also urged that there should be neither political boss nor corporation control of the convention. A Republican convention called for a conservative constitution, and a Democratic convention called for a Progressive one.¹⁵²

When the constitutional convention met, it soon became apparent that it was controlled by the politicians and would not write a liberal constitution. Its most

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' Us Cruces Rio Grande Republican, August 5, 1910

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Fort Sumner Sunnyside Republican, August 20, 1910. Residents of the villages of Fort Sumner and Sunnyside both moved to the present site of Fort Sumner when the New Mexico Eastern (Santa Fe) railway made it a station. For a time disputing townsmen gave it both names. The Republican was a proponent of Sunnyside.

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Us Vegas Daily Optic, July 5, 1910; Albuquerque Morning Journal, July 10, 27, 1910; Santa Fe New Mexican, June 29, 1910; Roswell Record, July 5, August 2, 1910.

¹⁵² Albuquerque Morning Journal, August ? to September 20, 1910, passim

prominent members were T. B. Catron, A. B. Fall, and H. O. Bursum. These men were able to get the Republican majority of the convention to agree to follow the wishes of a Republican caucus on all questions. Despite the fact that liberal Democrats and a minority of liberal Republicans could have controlled the convention, the Republican caucus ruled inured that the constitution would be conservative. The liberal weeklies protested. The Tucumcari Sun complained that "the old Republican gang is in the saddle."¹⁵⁴ The Bard City News warned that "a spring housecleaning throughout the country is coming, let New Mexico prepare for it before she is made to take it." The Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen, now a Democratic party organ, campaigned vigorously for the initiative and referendum,¹⁵⁴ and the Democratic press followed its lead. Despite the objections of Liberals, the Democratic party, and a large portion of the territorial press, the Republican majority, with its caucus rule, wrote a conservative document, but one which apparently was not intolerable. The Silver City Enterprise defended it by quoting an editorial of the Christian Science Monitor, which lauded its protection of the voting and school privileges of Spanish-Americans and concluded that

¹⁵⁰ "The Tucumcari Sun as quoted in Bard City News, October 10, 1910.

¹⁵⁴ Bard City News, October 10, 1910 »; Los Cruces Grande Republican, September 9, 1910.

"the constitution of New Mexico seems to have been framed with intelligence and discretion."^^ Nevertheless, a territorial Democratic convention denounced its lack of initiative, recall, and the direct primary and asked the voters to reject it. 116

It was at this point that the press took another step toward independence, for many Democratic papers defied party policy and supported the ratification of the constitution. Probably these editors, reviewing more than two decades of blasted hopes, believed it was wise to seize the opportunity presented. Over 100 papers supported ratification, while only about 16 asked for its defeat. 117

Many liberal Democratic papers remained silent or adopted the attitude of the Roswell Daily Record:

"The rejection of statehood by a very narrow margin would be a fatal error for New Mexico. It would be a setback it would require years to overcome, and the ground lost would not be regained in time to benefit thousands now living in this country. . . . The Record wants statehood because we want the privilege of adding our own business."^^

^^^ El Liver City Enterprise. December 31, 1911.

116 Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, January 6, 1911. 117

118 * Santa Fe New Mexican as quoted and commented about by Estancia News (December 16, 1911). The New Mexican claimed that 16 territorial papers favored and 4 opposed ratification. The Estancia News named 12 papers opposed, and there were at least four more than those named by the News. Thus, it appears that the ratio was about 110 to 10.

^^^ Roswell Daily Record, January 13, 1911. 118

Enabling act provided that if the constitution was defeated

low New Mexico voters overwhelmingly approved the constitution in January, 1911, and Democratic leaders, helping eventually to liberalize it, sought to make it easier to amend.¹⁵⁹ An appeal to congressional Democrats obtained the enactment of the Flood Resolution allowing low New Mexico voters to simplify the amending process in the first state elections in November, 1911. Submitted to the voters as a constitutional amendment requiring only the acceptance of a simple majority, it became known as the "Blue Ballot Amendment" from the color of its separate ballot. The Republican state convention, led by T. B. Catron, opposed the amendment. Spanish-Americans, guaranteed equal voting and educational rights in the constitution, opposed any easing of the amendment process.¹⁶⁰

the convention would be recalled to rewrite it. However, the editor of the Record apparently believed that this would lead to a fight between parties and conservatives and liberals and that in the end it would lead to defeat of statehood or a worse constitution.

¹⁵⁹ The provisions for amendment of the original constitution were so stringent that it was actually impossible to extend it. These stringent restrictions were left intact with regard to voter qualifications and certain school sections to insure that Spanish-Americans' voting rights would be protected and that the races would never be separated in public schools. Repeated recent attempts to amend the portion of the constitution regarding voting rights to provide for absentee balloting have all failed, despite the fact that there was practically no opposition to them. In view of this, it seems that the original constitution would have been impossible to amend.

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Although the Flood Resolution left intact the amending process of the original constitution with regard to voting rights and education rights, many Spanish-Americans believed themselves endangered by the Blue Ballot Amendment and opposed it.

The press then took a third step toward independence, and this time it was liberal Republican weeklies which defied party policy by supporting or refusing to attack the "Blue Ballot Amendment." The New Mexican and Pally Optic, as loyal Republican papers, vigorously attacked the amendment, but the Nomler Journal adopted a rather non-committal attitude...¹⁶¹ Spanish language Republican papers vigorously opposed the blue ballot with editorials and the publication of a letter from the Catholic Archbishop recommending its defeat.¹⁶² Panocratic papers could now easily follow party policy and most took the position of the Roswell Pally Record: "Don't forget that Blue Ballot! Vote yes, and have a constitution that can be made to protect all of the interests of the people, as well as those of the favored few."¹⁶³ One significant development, however, was that several Republican weeklies defied party policy and supported the "Blue Ballot Amendment." The Rio Grande Republican was notable among the

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Santa Fe New Mexican, September 23, 1911; Pally Optic, September 29, October 1, 1911; Archbishop's Morning Journal, October 17, 1911.

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The Archbishop, out of the territory when the letter was written and released, repudiated it on the eve of the election. Of the Spanish language papers, Mjr Combate (see issue of November 3, 1911) was the most militant. Other examples of opposition to the Blue Ballot Amendment were shown by Us Cruces Labrador, November 3, 1911; Us Vegas Independiente, October 26, 1911.

163 Roswell Record, October 30, 1911.

older papers in giving its support, and the Nam Visa lew
Nexican Wd Register and other homestead area papers alao
 adopted such a position."¹⁶⁴ Thus, with the daily press
 divided and the weekly press predominantly for the amend-
 ment it was adopted by a safe auirgin.

The preas became increasingly free from political
 eontrol in these last political campaigns of the territorial
 era. Having worked hard to Inspire the people to demand
 statehood, many Democratic editors refused to risk its loss
 by raccnHMmdlng the defeat of the constitution. Whether
 or not these Joumalists were Justified is less important
 than the fact that they refused to follow blindly the sym-
 bol of party loyalty. The refusal of some Republican edi-
 tora to ask for defeat of the Blue Ballot AmendaMnt was a
 similar display of Independence. Th\is, by 1911 a large
 portion of the territorial press had asserted its political
 independence.

Another significant development to manifest itself
 in the campaign of 1911 was the braakd&wn of the Republican
 political elite. Political aiachlnes are based upon their
 ability to raward followers with patronage, offices and
 •polls. In the election of 1911» H. O. Bursum, leader of
 the Republican elite and gubernatorial candidate, was

defeated, a result to which the Noming Journal and its weekly iarf.tators had ccmtributed. The extended efforts of th* M^niing Jounal had already undemined the popularity of Bursum, and during the campaign of 1911 it again exposed questionable aspects of Bursum's past record, ^^ charges which were echoed in the Democratic weekly press. Despite the electicm of Republicans to moat state offices, and to

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a majority of seats in the legislature, Bursum was defeated. Several tliilngs account for Democratic success in this instance, but the attitude of the press was influential. Defeat of Bursum and loss of the governor's office with its control of patronage helped to break down centralised ccmtrl of the party. The Republican party then divided into several factions following strong leaders who subsequently contested for power within the party. ' ^g ^ y^^ suit the party which had so long dominated Hew Nexlco was weakened and forced to alternate in power with the Democrats in the first two decades of statehood. Since electicm

¹ ^ Albuquerque Morning Journal, August 1 to November 10, 1911, passim.

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Democrats and Republicans npllt the two congressional seats awarded New Mexico, but Spenlsh-Americans nepublcsns charged v/ith some Justification that one of the Hepublcan candidates, Elfego Baca,, had been denied Anglo-American Republican votea in some -^reas, costing him the •lection (see Chapter V), Had It not been for Incidents •uch as this, the Republican victory might have been a clean •weep—except for Bursum.

⁶ ^ ^ Beck, NEW MEXICO, pp. 30-03.

results were no longer certain, there seemed to be a greater prospect that in the new era they would be fought over legitimate issues than by an appeal to symbols. Thus, the Noming Journal by its efforts to defeat Bursum aided another contribution toward freeing the press from political control—particularly by limiting the ability of Republicans to reward the politically faithful papers.

In any evaluation of the political role of the territorial press. Journalistic conditions of the area and era must be considered. First of all, political subservience of the rural press was apparently general throughout the United States as late as 1911.¹⁶⁸ Since weekly newspapers could be started with as little as \$100 during most of the territorial period, this was an era of intense newspaper competition, robbing editors of profits by which political independence could be attained. The low initial cost of establishing a newspaper made it easier for political leaders to hold editors in line, or bring them in line, by threatening to establish competition which the party faithful would patronize. Economic and cultural conditions in territorial New Mexico as shown earlier, increased the severity of threats to political Independence. '^^'^^ ^^

^^ Will Irwin, "The Voice of a Generation," Oelii^yia, July 29, 1911, as reprinted under the title of "Vw Kr Have We Come? A View from 1911." Columbia Journalism Review, II (Summer, 1963), p. 2.

territorial press, its profits and potential profits curtailed, was even more subject to political inducements and in need of political revenue than the rural press elsewhere.

Under territorial political custom and economic conditions it was relatively easy for political leadership groups to maintain control over the territorial press. To exercise this control, the Republican political leaders allied themselves with the Santa Fe New Mexican; and the Democratic political elite established several different newspapers subject to the control of area or factional chiefs. These key papers furnished journalistic example and leadership for the subordinate press, which was held to the party line through patronage, purchase of loyalty, or threats of competition. Through this control of the principal means of communication, the press, the politicians were able to avoid discussion of the true issue of territorial politics and appeal rather to the prejudices of voters than to their reason.

Near the end of the territorial era, the New Mexico press began to shed its political shackles, and increasing education and prosperity in New Mexico aided its efforts. Almost simultaneously, there arose a commercially, rather than a politically, sustained Democratic weekly press in ••stem No.: Mexico and an independent Republican paper at Albuquerque. The Moml..^ Jcumo-1 provided proof that

political Independence could be profitable.¹⁶ⁿ Many of these papers were not misled by the symbols with which the political class influenced territorial voters. They refused to be the means by which these symbols were presented to the voters and asked the voters to consider instead the true issues about statehood and the constitution. In addition, a long campaign by the Morning Journal helped to break down the cohesion of the dominant Republican political elite, robbing it of control of patronage with which faithful newspapers could be rewarded. Thus, by 1912 the territorial press, freed from monetary dependence on the politicians and more alert to the needs of New Mexico, was moving toward political independence.

169 See Chapter III.

CHAPTER V

THE TERRITORIAL PRESS AND NEW MEXICO'S

CONFLICTING CULTURES

Three distinct cultures—Indian, Spanish, and Anglo—live peacefully and cooperatively in modern New Mexico, but behind present peacefulness lie centuries of heated and often bloody conflict. In the early years of the territorial era several nomadic Indian tribes lived on the fringes of New Mexico. For centuries these tribes had gained much of their sustenance by predatory raids upon the people and property of their more settled neighbors, who often had retaliated with punitive raids. Eventually the civilized people demanded of the American government that the wild tribes be fully pacified. Conflict between the Spanish and Anglo cultures, on the other hand, was not so harsh. It arose over ethnic differences, desires for political dominance, and conflicting religious views, particularly in the sphere of education.

The role of the press in the reconciliation of these conflicting cultures was that of establishing the basis upon which a compromise could be achieved, with regard to the Indians, the editor asked at first for protection and then that the Indians be placed upon reservations. When this failed to pacify the Apaches, the Journalists demanded either their extermination or removal

from the Southwest. Eventually all Indians were pacified and forced to abandon their raiding. In the Spanish and Anglo conflict the contribution of the editors was to reveal the minimum demands of the two peoples in a series of debates over race relations, civil rights, politics, religion, and schools. Once the minimum demands of both sides were known, reasonable men of the two groups could begin to work toward a compromise. This was finally achieved in the constitution of the new state. By its terms Anglo-Americans could look forward to the complete Americanization of the Spanish, and the Spanish-Americans were assured that they would have the right to preserve their language and that their civil and political rights would be protected.

Conflicts with the Indians overshadowed disputes between the Spanish and Anglos in the early years of American rule, with the major objective of both being the pacification of the Indians. Before the American conquest, the Spanish in New Mexico had waged war upon the Indians for 250 years. Yet the war had left slight impact upon the customs of the nomadic Navajos and Apaches, who had survived for centuries by raiding their more peaceful neighbors and stealing their grain, livestock, and possessions and enslaving captives. The Spanish were *never* strong enough to subdue the Indians, but smart enough to restrain them by punitive counter raids in which they regained their

possessions and also took slaves. Early American policy was a continuation of the punitive expeditions, but in 1863 it was proposed that the Indians be pacified by placing them on reservations. In the case of the Navajos this policy was successful. But harsher measures were required for the more nomadic and warlike Apaches, and it was not until the 1890's that they were subjugated.

In the first stage of the struggle with the Indians, the editors did not ask for subjugation but simply for protection against them. Protection against the Indians seemed so necessary that when a rumor became prevalent in 1848 that almost all American troops were to be withdrawn, the Santa Fe Republican was provoked into commenting:

Can it be possible . . . that the troops are to be withdrawn from this territory, with the exception of three companies of regulars? Can it be possible that . . . after paying some fifteen million dollars of money . . . acknowledging the citizens as citizens of the United States [the country] is to be left unprotected [against] . . . twenty thousand savage Indians who have never ceased their hostilities during their occupation by a large force of our troops.[^]

When he was placed in command of the military department in 1863, General J. H. Carleton replaced this policy of protection with one of pacification, Carleton proposed that all of the territorial Indians be either

[^] Santa Fe Republican, August 7, 1848.

exterminated or placed upon reservations. New Mexico editors hailed this policy enthusiastically, urging fellow citizens to "all go to work with a will to aid his efforts."² But when Carleton succeeded in placing *awst* of the lava Joe *on* a reservation at Fort Sumner,³ the Albuquerque [^]* Mio Abajo Weekly Press began to question the plan. A few months later the Santa Fe New Mexican also began to object to this policy. The Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, on the other hand, consistently supported Carleton. The reservation policy soon became an election issue with all three newspapers using it as a point in campaign propaganda, [^]ha New Mexican editorialized under a heading "THE ELECTION":

On Monday next is of more significance than many suppose. It involves the question, . . . shall the

² "Albuquerque Mio Abajo Weekly Press, February 1, April 14, June 23, 30, September 22, 29, December 1, 1863; Santa Fe New Mexican, December 12, 1863; Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, December 31, 1864.

³ The homeland of the Navajos was a mountainous and desert area in northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico. The area around Fort Sumner, on the other hand, is an open country characteristic of the Great Plains, vastly different from the Navajo homeland. At Fort Sumner the Navajos dug irrigation canals and cleared fields almost with their bare hands but had very poor success with their farming. As a result they subsisted upon emigrants to which they were unaccustomed. They also believed themselves menaced by the very warlike Comanches who often ranged that far west. Because of all of the above and their close confinement, the Navajos were very unhappy at Fort Sumner despite the fact that it is a better farming and grazing country than their homeland.

lavajoes and other tribes foreign to our territory be imported and located here, or shall they be left in their countrj*^?

There are two parties in the field asking your suffrages. The ticket at the head of the LEW NIXICAL la ccepoaed of men who era in favor of the White *men* and his rights against the rad man. The opposition party favors the benefitting of the lazy thieving Indian at the expense of the honest and Industrious white man. , . . We hold that the people, *the* farmers and stockgrowers should not be erowed off their lands for the benefit of a pack *ot* thieving redskins. • . . We urge the removal of those already at the Bosque Redcmdo to their own tribe, and believe the interests of the territory deaand it.^

The Itew Nexican and the Weekly Gazette, as *expan--*ents of opposition groupps, battled over Carleton's reservation policy for the next several years, and the groups themselves sought directly to Influence federal policy. J. F. Chaves, who was elected territorial delegate to Congress in 18^, used the Fort Simmer reservation as a major campaign issue. In Congress his protests againat Carleton's policies led to investigations by the Interior and War departments. Eventually C^rleton was transferrad, and General W. T. Sherman accepted the petition of the Navajo chiefe that they be allowed to ratum their tribe to their homeland,*^

⁴ Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, March 22, May 3, 1864; Santa 'Pe | ^ Texan, September 2, 1864.

^ Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, February 4, July 22, Oacember 23, 1865, Hoveraler 1?, 1866, Nay 23, 1868; Santa ' ^ New Nexican, July 14, October 27, 1866, June 9, 1868.

The lavmjos evidently were raformed as a rasult of the affair, for in the yeara after I867 they made few war-like moves. There appear to be two aytjor reascms for this change. Firat, the lavajoa, thoroughly defeated and held captive 400 miles from their homeland in the strange plains eountry, did not cara to risk such punishment again.

Secondly, the lew Nexicans were forced to halt slave raids upon the Havajos.⁶ After ^e lavajos *eurra^ndered* in 1864, Oeieral Carletcm ordered the govemor to publish a procU-aatlon forbidding fur^er raids upcm the Navajos to take slaves. In I867 Senator Charles Sumzuir, who had been in-terasted in the questicm of Indian sUvery since 1864, in-spired a Senate Judiciary Committee investigatlcm of peon-age and Indian fsUvery in lew Nexlco. A resultant congrassional act of 1867 forbade the practice of peonage.

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For aiany years New Nexicans had raided the npva-Jos, taking captives as slaves. This practice was con-tinued in the American era, and between I858 and 1%3 un-der authority of a legislative act himdrads of Navajos were captured and sold Into slaveri%. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, August 12, 1865, January 19, February 2, April 20, inbj; Santa Fe Nev Mexican, Januair 19, February 9\$ I867; Wermn A. Beck, BR? H'^IOTF A History of Four Centuries (Heraan, 1962), pp7T7'-g7, 1-1-^", gIVer~ bHel^TtC^TTi^round of the lew Nexlco Indians and a history of this .•^trur^le. He also notes the practice of Indlf\n slavery and sinyr tl.^t- a healthy Indian brought up to \$3 ^ at slave auctions in Santa Fe. Maurice Garland Fulton and Paul Morgan, New Mexico's Own Chronicle (Dalian, 1 37). p 164 stateiThat acme northWestem New Mexico villagers made contracts v;ith the Rio Grande settlements to furnish Havajo girls as slaves at \$500 a head and then would gather men for an expedition into Ravajo country to capture women and children.

and the territorial administration began to enforce this act along with the Thirteenth Amendment.⁷ Thus, the Navajos not only feared the consequences of resuming their earlier practice of raiding the New Mexicans, but they no longer had the motive of retaliating for slave raids carried out by the New Mexicans against them.

Press contribution to the pacification of the Navajos took two forms, encouragement of the reservation policy, and exposure of the practice of Indian slavery. The Santa Fe Weekly Gazette consistently supported the reservation policy, and the New Mexican did not oppose reservation, but only the policy of locating the Navajos in 1863 New Mexico—as the following editorial excerpt illustrates:

While we believe the reservation policy the correct one, and the only one outside of extermination that will give us permanent peace, we further believe that each tribe should be permanently located upon its own Territory . . . , and we doubt the wisdom, however good the intention, that would take the fairest portion of our land and make it an asylum for Indians.

The New Mexican and the Weekly Gazette helped to curtail Indian slavery by identifying prominent opposition party members as slave owners. The Weekly Gazette noted

⁷ Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, January 19, February 2, April 20, 1867; New Mexican, January 19, February 9, 1867.

⁸ Santa Fe New Mexican, August 19, 1867.

that PeUgate Chaves himaelf was involved with the practice;

Hia immediate family—that of hia aK>ther, with w!iom he stays while in the territory—has beyond the shadow of a doubt, the most numerous lot of Mexican pecms and Indian slaves of any one family in lew Mexico.

^® 22?. Mexican countered by Identlfyii^ as slave ownera severe? awaabers of the political facticm represented hy the Weekly Gazette.^ Thus, •n a part of the political •truggUs in Net/ Mexico the contending newspaper held up to light the practlticmers of Indian slavery, nade public the penalties for sUve ownership, and therefora helped to bring an end to t^e practice. WhiU the primary intent of these newspaper was the advancer.ent of their own political interests, their editorial comments encouraged the subjugation of the lavajos and their confinement to a reservaticm, and removed the irritation of slave ratdds, all of %rt\lch contributed to an almost permanent peace with that tribe.

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After the subjugation of the Navajos, General Carlton began fdmlng other Indian tribes upon raservatlons. Although the Apaches located in southwestern New Mexico and eastem A izcma were placed upon reservations, they

^ Ibid., February 2, 1867, May 26, 1868; Santa Fe Weekly Gezette. Nay 23, 30, 1868.

^^ T^is incident fumisheu *en exsnpie* of one of the J^latively few times that heated competition of t-fo territorial newspapers in the same tovn produced a beneficial reeult for society.

were still very troublesome, for while most of the tribes remained on the reservations small war parties from 1870 to 1890 intermittently marauded upon civilized New Mexicans. In these years an extensive silver mining and cattle industry grew up near these reservations, providing loot which encouraged the Apaches to revert to centuries-old practices of robbing and killing weaker neighbors.

During these periods of hostilities, the territorial editors asked for extermination of the Apaches or their removal from the Southwest. In times of war they were bitterly critical of both pacifists and the army for not quickly subduing the Indians. In times of peace the editors asked that the Indian be subject to the White man's rules of Justice but that he be properly fed. Otherwise, the Minimalists took scant interest in integrating Indians into New Mexican society.

When Indian wars raged and atrocities were fresh in mind, the expanding territorial press of the 1880's was less interested in accommodation than annihilaticm and thus adopted a harsh and uncompromising attitude toward all Indians. Under such conditions their minimum demand was "war, relentless, merciless war, till the savage devils are content to promise good behavior [and] abide by their promises."^^ As conditions became worse editors became more

^^ Santa Fe New Mexican, September 1, 1868.

extreme in their demands: "exterminate them from branch to root as you would rattlesnakes."¹² When United States Army efforts were not immediately successful the editors encouraged the use of other methods. "The citizens of Silver City have subscribed \$2,000 which they will cheerfully pay out at the rate of \$100 per head for every Indian killed and brought in. There is a royalty for wolf scalps and why not for Indian scalps," asked the Us Vegas Daily Optic.¹¹ Under warlike conditions these editors often recommended extermination as an economy measure, for as they pointed out, "a live Indian cost the government twenty dollars a head *per annum*; a dead one nothing. Sabe?"¹⁴ When Geronimo was perpetrating his most vicious acts, most territorial editors believed "it would be Justice to slaughter all of the bucks in Geronimo's little band of Apaches, when they are captured. The Indian tribes must be abolished and this is an opportunity to get rid of them."¹⁵ Even after hostilities had abated, some territorial editors demanded death for the Apaches: "let them be hunted to death. . . . We kill mad dogs and mountain lions on sight.

[^] Silver City Herald, September 22, 1877-

^{^^} Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 4, 1881.

¹⁴ Ibid., December 3, 1881-

^{^^} Las Vegas Chronicle as quoted in Silver City Enterprise. June 5, 1885

Of the beaat and the Indian Which is the worst?¹⁶ Other New Mexicans believed ^lera was little hope for any policy but sueh exterminaticm, for as cme wrote: "the experience of the Uet ten years proves conclusively that the cmly sura ymy to civilize the average Indian is to shoot nis system full of holes. A dead Indian can alwaya be counted as rallably good."¹⁷ WhiU these editors mcognized that their attitude was unhumanltarian, they believed they were Justified, maintaining that "New Nexlco has had quite enough of simpering philanthropy, Ut the clolsterad humanitarian exchange places with the ranchmen in the valleys and the miners in the mountains in the neighborhood of the Apache raservaticm."¹⁸ Thus, in periods of Ixvlian war most editors usually were ready to recommend extemination of the Indians rather than reccmciliaticm with them.

A lees drastic proposal which most territorial editors also supported was the removal of the Apachec froi/i the Southwest. Since the Southwest was a sparsely populated araa with mes^d texrain, with which the Apache was more f•miliar than the intruding peoples, it was easy for the Indian to remain at large after he fled the raservation. The Santa Fe New Mexican sought to show the validity of

^^ Hillsbom Sierra County Advocate, Mamh 2, 1889.

^^ "Bits from Bippus," Albuquerque Dally Citizen, June 25, 1890.

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Santa Fe New Mexican Review, June 4, 1885.

such a suggesticm:

It Is unreasonable to expect that they will adapt themselves to civilized customs so long as they are permitted to live in their own wild country, and retain their arms and horses. The temptation is before them every day of their livee to indulge in their natural pastimes of hunting, stealing, murdering and scalping.— But place them where they will be surrounded by dvilizaticm, deprive them of their arms, and then the process of civilization can go cm interruptedly and with some effect. Set them down on a small reservation in New Ehgland and the middle states, and give the sentimentalists of the Indian question of these sections a chance to labor for their reformation and the salvation of their souls.—and while they are educating and civilizing these barbarians, the Indian philanthropiets of the East will necessarily become educated themselves as to the true character of these people. , , A9

Suggestions that the Apaches be transplnted to eastem areas delighted the territorial editors, and they raected with Jeers when those areas rejected such plans. One editor suggested that the government "establish a reser-
vation somewhere near classic Boston. . . . There would be another Boston massacre, and all eentlmental ideas would vanish with the last red devil on the raservation.²⁰ New Mexico editora gleefully reported that "the govemor of Rorth Carolina objects to the placing of Geronimo's band within that state. . . . [and] suggests that Vermont would be e good place for the Apeches." At other times the

^^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, November 11, 1879.

^^ Socorro Industrial Advertiser, Febmary 21, 1880.

editors started and promoted petitions asking for the removal of the Apaches, and when the dreaded Chiricahue Apaches were removed they wrote: "et last the 'great father' at Washington has answered the prayers of the long suffering and persecuted people of the far West."²¹ The desire for the removal of the Apachee from the Southwest was general among the territorial editors; like the suggestion that the Indians be exterminated this approach demanded elimination of the tribes rather than reconciliation with them.

Territorial editors had a more reasonable attitude in the intervals between the spasmodic Indian wars and were among the first to object when the government did not provide sufficient funds to feed its charges properly. An example of this attitude was shown by the editor of the New Mexican, who, after noting that the recently pacified Navajo were in need of help, wrote:

. . . we therefore urge upon Congress the absolute necessity of an immediate appropriation of money for providing food for the Navajoes. They are in a starving condition, in a country where there is but little game, and no wild fruits or berries.²²

^^ Silver City Enterprise, May 29, June 26, July 17, 31, 1885, September 17, 1885; November 9, 1885; Santa Fe New Mexican Review, June 4, 1885; Chloride Black Range.
JUIr>7T8857

^^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, August 13, 1872. An example of similar editorial attitude see: Silver City Herald, June 24, 1876; Silver City Grant County Herald,

While the territorial editors thus demanded Justice for the Indians who had lost some of their ability to sustain themselves when they were placed upon reservations, at the same time they asked for Justice of another type, one that the Indians found less appealing. In the aftermath of Indian wars the editors asked that known Indian murderers be arrested and that New Mexico grand Juries bring criminal indictments against such criminals. Thus, while the territorial press in time of war asked for extermination or exile for the Indians, in time of peace they asked for fair treatment of them and that they be placed under a system of Justice with which they must abide if there ever were to be a reconciliation of the two cultures.

The territorial press was generally hostile toward anyone who would stop short of subjugation and the imposition of white standards of Justice upon Indians. Since a great many of the Indian agents were so inclined, the press was generally antagonistic toward them. The Silver City Herald voiced the general sentiment: "we will publish the death notices of sanctimonious Indian agents free of charge."^^ A similar attitude was reflected when Vincent

August 19, 1877; Las Vegas Daily Optic, September 21, 1887; Albuquerque Evening Review, May 31, June 28, 1882; Silver City Enterprise, October 23, 1885; Farmington Sutler. January 22, 1902.

^5 Silver City Herald, September 8, 1877; Silver City Enterprise, August 5, 1884, November 4, 1887, June 8, 1889; see also Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, August 13, 1881; Albuquerque Daily Democrat, April 18, 1883.

Colyer, the pacifist Quaker, resigned from the Indian Peace Commission: "New Mexico and Arizona can well snare hU."²⁴ Since most of these agents were employees of the Interior Department which reflected the more lenient attitude of the pacifists, the territorial press generally endorsed the proposal that the Indians be placed under the control of the War Department. The usual attitude among editors was that "the Interior Department has had a fair trial in the management of the war-like Indian tribes of New Mexico—let us see the result of placing them in the hands of the War Department."²⁵

The army, on the other hand, did not escape the wrath of the territorial editors when, as so often happened, it failed promptly to subdue the Apaches. From 1879 until 1883 New Mexico was almost constantly harassed by small bands of raiding Apaches, and Colonel Edward Hatch, in command of the military department of New Mexico, was continually censured by most editors.²⁶ During most

^{^^} Santa Fe Weekly the Mexican, March 12, 1872.

[^] Los Cruces Rio Grande Republican, June 27, 1885, March 26, 1887; Santa Fe Weekly the Review, July 20, August 13, 1885; Santa Fe Weekly the Teaser, August 22, 1885. On the other hand, W. H. H. Llewellyn, agent at the Navajo Apache Indian Reservation, was conceded to be an excellent Indian agent by many New Mexico papers, who several times noted his realistically firm but kind attitude toward his charges.

^{^^} It should be noted in extension of Colonel Hatch that in the early phases of this Apache trouble, some New Mexico troops were involved in the Lincoln County War and that part of the time Hatch and many of the troops

of these years Hatch was defended only by the new Mexican and the Albuquerque Golden Gate.²⁷ In this period Hatch and his subordinates were repeatedly accused of cowardice,²⁸ incompetence,²⁹ and lying to their superiors about the situation in new Mexico.³⁰ As Indian atrocities mounted the editors continued a campaign of denigration and exaggeration. For example, one claimed that "Victorio has Hatch on the reservation."³¹ Another suggested, "Let us ask Victorio what terms he will give."³² And the Daily Optic at Las Vegas contended: "The government would gain a chip or two by discharging Hatch and hiring Victorio to command the troops in new Mexico. Anything for economy,"³³

under his command were in Colorado to aid in a war against the Ute Indians. It was during this latter period that the Apache Indians began their period of most intense raiding.

^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican. October 4, 1879, July 12, 1880.

^^ Silver City Daily Southwest. Nov 3, 1880; Las Vegas Daily Optic, May 3, 1881; Albuquerque Daily Territorial August 15, 1881; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, December 1, 1879-

^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic. May 5, 1880; Silver City Daily Southwest, November 19, June 7, 1880; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, April 12, 1880.

^^ Silver City Daily Southwest, November 20, 25, June 9, 25, July 16, 1880; Las Vegas Daily Optic, April 2, 1880.

^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic, June 4, 1880.

^^ Silver City Daily Southwest, April 15, 1880.

^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic, March 1, 1880.

Editorial discontent with the army was tremendously increased by the fact that these terrible Apache bands were small, usually numbering only 50 to 100 warriors. The editors did not appreciate the difficulty of capturing the slippery Apache in desert and mountainous country with which he was more familiar than the army. The territorial press, exerting its utmost energies to advance New Mexico, was disgusted with the course of events, for as the editor of the Silver City Daily Southwest commented: "We are dreaming of a golden age and a future empire—and fifty dirty, lousy Indians have us in a state of siege."¹⁴ Nor had higher ranking military officers, who were unfamiliar with the area, a much better concept of the problem. General Phillip Sheridan was sent to New Mexico to investigate Hatch's campaign and was reported by one editor to have stated that if the troops at *head* had done their duty the Apaches would have been squelched.¹⁵ On the other hand, the Santa Fe New Mexican, a consistent supporter of Hatch, contended:

General Hatch should be reinforced with four times the amount of troops now commanded by him. The most brilliant military maneuvers and well studied strategical movements must fail of their effect when not sufficiently supported by numbers.¹⁶

¹⁴ Silver City Daily Southwest, March 27, 1880.

¹⁵ Lee Cruces Thirty-Four as quoted in Ua Vegas jingming; 1880. February 5. H. 1.

¹⁶ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, May 10, 1880.

Eventually other editors supported the contentions of the New Mexican and spearheaded drives for petitions asking more federal troops for New Mexico.¹⁷ At the same time, however, they asked that local strength be utilized, and Governors Lew Wallace and Lionel Sheldon were repeatedly asked to organize volunteers and militia units to combat the Indians. The War Department doubted the efficiency of using volunteers. In an effort to prove the contrary the Daily Southwest joined other papers in citing instances of successful use of volunteers in New Mexico:

Those people who cheapen the effectiveness of volunteers evidently do not know the history of Indian wars in New Mexico.

In 1851 the Utes . . . [and] about a year later the Mescaleros made war . . . volunteers soon reduced them.

During the Rebellion, the Navajos commenced . . . war, and . . . volunteers, in a short time conquered a peace that has endured to this day.

In point of fact there have been no successful wars against the New Mexico Indians except where volunteers were employed. This is history. No one can gainsay it.^{3^}

³⁷ Ibid., May 24. ¹⁸⁸⁰; Silver City Daily Southwest, May 7, 11, June 7, 1880; Albuquerque Daily Journal, August 15, 1881.

^{^^} Silver City Daily Southwest, March 26, 1880. Other calls for the use of volunteers were made in by the Las Vegas Daily Optic, May 5, 1880; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, April 17, 1880; Albuquerque Daily Journal, September 2, 1881.

In 1861 the pleas of the New Mexico editors were answered. Colonel Hatch was repulsed with Colonel Ranald S. MacKenzie, famous conqueror of the Comanches; a large number of militia companies were organized; and federal reinforcements were brought into the territory.³⁹ Very probably the clamor of the territorial editors had aided in bringing about all of these changes, which in turn contributed to a sharp decline in Apache raids in New Mexico.⁴⁰ Thus, the territorial editors quite possibly were responsible in part for the subjugation of the Apaches—s necessary first step in the reconciliation of these conflicting cultures.

By 1890 the pacification of the New Mexico Indians was completed, but even before this a few editors had intrusted themselves in efforts to help the Indian adapt himself to a new way of life. The Rio Grande Republican of Las Cruces favored the plan introduced in Congress in 1884 to give each Indian 160 acres of land and implements for farming.⁴¹ However, this paper and the New Mexican were intrigued chiefly by the fact that a great deal of

³⁹ Silver City New Southwest, May 14, 1881, Las Cruces Daily Optic, September 12, 13, 1881; Albuquerque Journal, May 3, 1882.

⁴⁰ The Apaches continued intermittent raiding, particularly in Arizona, until about 1890.

⁴¹ Las Cruces New Mexican, May 3, 1884.

reservation land would thus be opened to white settlement.^{^^}
 On the other hand, the New Mexican, more than any other paper, interested itself in efforts to teach the Indians ways to improve themselves. This paper noted with pleasure the reception of a sawmill, axes, and spinning wheels, commenting:

Surely this is educating the Indian to some purpose and is in addition to the building of acequias [irrigation works] and bringing of land under cultivation and other pursuits of which we have heretofore taken occasion to speak. . . . We are always glad to notice such efficiency and progress in the treatment of the Indian as affording something of substantial benefit to him. . . .^{^j}

In addition, the New Mexican praised the progress of the territorial Indian schools and supported efforts to secure more money to educate Indian children. Although on rare occasions other editors praised such efforts, the New Mexican was a much more consistent supporter and in this way contributed to the reconciliation of the Indian and European cultures.⁴⁴

Early in the twentieth century some New Mexicans saw the value of preserving some of the picturesque Indian

^{^^} Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, July 14, 1887; Santa Fe New Mexican Review, December 13, 1888; Santa Fe Maxican, May 29, August 31, 1906; Los Cruces Rio Grande publication: August 13, 1887, December 22, 1888.

^{^^} Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, June 15, 1875.

^{^*} Santa Fe New Mexican, May 21, June 6, July 31, September 10, 1903, March 26, May 25, 1904.

customs as tcmrlst attractions. D, K. B. Sellers, editor of the Farailngton Hustler, took some of the Navajos to Albuquerque to perform some of their colorful tribal dances, and an Albuquerque Noming Joumal news story indicated the tourist value of such performances:

. . . as in former years four blocks of the street were roped off and great bonfires built at intervals along the Avenue which lit up the buildings and great throngs of people with a fitful and lurid glare. The Indians dressed in fanciful and fantastic barbaric costumes gathered around the leaping flames and made the strange aionotcmous movements of the fire dance accoamanying it with the peculiar intoning chant, varied by shrieks and groans which never fail to send at least a few chills over the paleface observer, even him who has heard the blood curdling sounds before.

The mounted Indians went throiaugh various evolutions. . . . and the blanket fight especially created a sensation. The Indians try to unhorse each other by swiping each other in a forcible manner with blankets, making a scene of pandemonium and dust and ccmfusion which is hard to describe. Thera was some wild riding when the whole mob of lavajos rushed et top speed down the length of the four blocks, each one straining every *nerve* to raach goal ahead of his dusky companions. All of which of course was accompanied by shrieks and war whoops, such as only an Indian from the southwest can give utterance to.

The long straet was lined with crowds of people, faces illuminated by the blazing bonfires, the wild yelling Indians, the furious riding pell mell back and forth *vno* the dances all combined to make r scene which was the most novel and picturasque sight which the delayed Santa Fi tourists have seen in many a day.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Albuquerque Morning Journal as quoted in Farmington Times-Hustler, October 20, 190a.

This event was probably an ancestor of the present day Galiñ Indian Ceremonials and foreshadowed the future role the New Mexico press would play in encouraging the presentation of the native culture as a tourist attraction to the common advantage of all New Mexicans.

Since the efforts of the press to improve the lot of the subjugated Indians was rather feeble, its chief contribution appears to have been that of the removal of a threat to the two other cultures of New Mexico, hastening the development of the territory. Removal of the Indian menace was a common desire of all New Mexicans. The press, however, provided a necessary leadership and amplified the voices of New Mexicans until this became a matter of national concern, and the federal government was then compelled to take the necessary steps to subdue the Indians.

The press took an active interest in all matters concerning the relations of the varied peoples of New Mexico and by its presentation of the demands of the conflicting groups hastened progress toward harmony. Reconciliation of Spanish and Anglo cultures was more rapid and extensive than that of the Indian and European cultures. Nevertheless, complete reconciliation of Spanish and Anglo cultures was difficult for a variety of reasons arising from conflicts over ethnic differences, economic advantages, religion, educational practices, language, disputes over political prerogative, political rights, and civil rights. In

the instances where the press became involved in these conflicts it was divided roughly into three groups: papers representing predominantly Anglo-American areas or interests, the Spanish language press, and Journals serving both population groups*. In general the papers of the first two groups became advocates of the Anglo and Spanish peoples respectively, while the *if^{at} group* of papers urged a course of moderation. Usually Anglo editors were most hostile toward the Mexicans when they first came to the territory and became more moderate as time passed. Most Mexican editors, on the other hand, were moderate in their demands and often were apologetic when questions of ethnic differences were raised.

The assimilation of Spanish-Americans was eased by their quick acceptance of United States citizenship and the American political system. But their final assimilation was slowed because their numerical superiority in New Mexico encouraged their continued use of the Spanish language and the old customs. Had this small number of Mexicans been scattered over the United States assimilation would have been rapid. In any case, there was little evidence of the bitterness of a conquered minority such as manifested itself in the case of the Poles or the people of Alsace-Lorraine.

Despite general progress in reconciliation of the conflicting culturas, Spanish and Anglo race relations became intermittently worse until the final territorial year. Evidence of the good relations between the two peoples in the 1850's and 1860's was the large number of mixed marriages—considering the small number of Anglo-Americans in New Mexico.⁴⁷ With the influx of Anglo-American miners into southwestern New Mexico in the 1870's an element hostile to the Spanish-Americans was introduced, but here again there were a great many mixed marriages,⁴⁸ A new and larger wave of Anglo-Americans came with the construction of the railways. As a result, both their predominance in the territorial Southwest and their numbers in the larger towns greatly increased. Then in the next few

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The terms Spanish-American and Anglo-American were not generally used by the press in this period. Persons of Spanish and Indo-Spanish descent were generally referred to as Mexicans in the press, while immigrants from the Eastern states were called Americans. Early in the twentieth century these so called Mexicans, most of whom were native born Americans, began to call themselves, and asked others to call them, Spanish-Americans. Since their New Mexico ancestors had a history of over 200 years of Spanish rule compared to a period of only twenty-five years of Mexican rule the term Spanish-American rather than Mexican-American seemed justified. For convenience the writer has lumped all of the Spanish speaking people under the term Spanish-American and the English speaking under the term Anglo-American.

⁴⁷ For example, (monitors; the early editors, H. S. Johnson, W. H. Manderfield, William McGuinness, Louis Tinsdale, and A. J. Fountain did so.

⁴⁸ See Silver City Mining Life December 27, 1873, to October 31, 1874 passim.

years ethnic conflict also increased but had declined again by the 1890's in most of these areas. During the nineties and in the early twentieth century¹, however, a new Anglo-American group came to New Mexico, settling principally in its southeastern portion. This group, primarily from the South, was more hostile toward the Mexicans than prior Anglo-Americans, and the clash between the two cultures became more heated than at any period of the territorial years. Yet, in the aftermath of these attacks and the counter attacks of the Spanish language and English language press of the older towns an understanding, was reached and incorporated in the constitution and early laws of the state of New Mexico so that relations between the two ethnic groups began to improve in the new state.

Editorial attitudes toward race relations usually reflected the attitude of the majority of the people of their section of the territory. This seemed to be the case of the Silver City Herald, which supported an effort of the people of Grant County to annex that county to Arizona upon the basis that they would be better represented by an American legislature.² This movement of the 1870's was unsuccessful but in 1886 continued hostility toward the Anglo-Americans by the people of this area was shown by the attitude of the Rillsboro Sierra County Advocate with the

¹ Silver City Herald. September 16, October 7, November 2, 1877.
² Movement of the 1870's was unsuccessful.

statement: "It is a pity if the Republican party is still
afraid to put forward a White man [as a candidate for con-
gressional delegate]." In 1889 the effort to join south-

western New Mexico to Arizona was renewed, and again the
motive appeared to be to escape the domination of the
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northern New Mexico Spanish-American counties.

Meanwhile, beginning in 1879 a large number of
Anglo-Americans began moving into many northern New Mexico
counties. Although this element was initially hostile
toward Spanish-Americans, the attitudes of the editors of
this area were divided. This division was shown in press
reaction to one of the few instances of inter-racial vio-
lence in New Mexico. The incident began with the murder of
A. M. Conklin, editor of the Socorro Sun, by three Baca
brothers. Anglo-Americans at Socorro demanded that the
Spanish-American sheriff fire on the Bacas. Upon his re-
fusal to do so, Anglo-American vigilantes seized eight
Spanish-Americans as hostages, offering to exchange them
for the Baca brothers. The Spanish-Americans at Socorro
then formed a group and threatened counter violence. As a
result the out-numbered Anglo-Americans telegraphed for

5^ Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, March 13, 1886.

5^ Ibid., March 26, April 2, 16, 1889; Los Cruces
^0 Grande Independiente, March 3, 31, 1889. For other ex-
amples of the hostility of editors of this area for Spanish-
Americans see Santa Fe New Mexican, February 16, 1888,
Domingo Headlight, April 17, August 16, 1880; Las Vegas
Siglo diecinueve, October 27, 1888.

help, and Anglo-Americans of nearby towns rushed to Socorro. At the same time federal troops were sent to the town and required the sheriff to arrest the Bacas. Subsequently they escaped from the Socorro jail. One was killed in the Jail break! another was quickly recaptured and hanged by the vigilantes, while the third was recaptured months later and brought to trial. At this trial important witnesses were absent, and a Spanish-American, a freed Beecher, who quickly fled Socorro before the Anglo-American vigilantes could act. The vigilantes then escorted prosecutor attorney J. F. Chaves to the train and forbade him ever to return to Socorro. The Anglo-American press reported these episodes, including the mutual hostility of Latin and Anglo groups, but *ut* reluctant to comment editorially upon that hostility.⁵² The Albuquerque Daily Journal, however, was an exception, and concerning the mob treatment of Chaves its editor wrote: "The people of Socorro may think they are doing wisely- but we wish to tell them that they are disgracing their town and rendering the native American obnoxious."⁵³ The Daily Citizen of Las Vegas then began a defense of the Socorro mob. Although this newspaper did not openly approve

⁵² Las Vegas Daily Optic, December 28, 29, 1880, March 8, 31, November 5, 10, 1881; Albuquerque New-Urban Journal, March 3, November 8, 13, 20, 1881; Rocky Mountain Sun, January 1, 1881; Silver City Grant County Herald, January 1, 1881. J. F. Chaves was the former territorial delegate to Congress.

⁵³ Albuquerque Daily Journal, November 6, 1881,

of the antagonism toward Spanish-Americans that the mob displayed, such would seem to be implied:

The people of Socorro . . . found their only safety in the organisation of a committee of safety to reject themselves and their families. They carry with them the sympathy of the good citizens of all Mexico, and should they ever need assistance and protection against paid assassins or others, they will find their ranks increased by thousands of good citizens, ever ready to afford protection to this weak minority,54

Editorial comments of the Socorro Miner and the Socorro Sun also expressed approval of the actions of the vigilantes but ignored the ethnic element of these clashes. Although the fact was ignored editorially, complete approval of vigilante actions implied hostility toward Utians on the part of an element of the Anglo-American press, since the action of the Anglo-American mob was directed against a Spanish-American sheriff, prosecuting attorney, and community.⁵⁵

This hostility by some editors in the counties of mixed populations continued for several years in the 1880's. The attitude of the Palm Springs provides an example of this hostility. In 1879 this paper asserted that the Anglo-American "East Us Vegas is an American town and will be

⁴ Ur. Vegas Palm Springs, November 10, 1881.

⁵⁵ Socorro Sun and Socorro Miner as quoted in Albuquerque Daily Journal, November 20. *ibid.*

governed by Americans only.⁵⁶ This hostile attitude of the Pally Optic continued; for example, in 1884 this comment appeared: "It is hoped that San Niguel County will elect an American sheriff this fall."⁵⁷ The Mo Grande Republican of Los Cruces also harbored hostility toward the Utes with comments such as this one: "A Mexican Jury! The Court Our court is doing its utmost to strengthen the hands of Judge Zane."⁵⁸ On the other hand. The Albuquerque Daily Journal criticized the hostility of the newcomers toward Spanish-Americans:

There is a disposition in this territory on the part of a few, to stir up discord between the American and Mexican population. . . . If you do not like the Mexicans, there is room in a hundred lands where you will never see them.⁵⁹

While it is apparent that many Anglo-American editors were hostile toward the Utes, this attitude changed sharply in the late 1880's as a result of external attacks upon the Spanish-Americans. The minority report of the Committee on Territories of the United States House of Representatives attacked the fitness of New Mexico to become a state because of its predominantly Spanish-American

⁵⁶ Los Vegas Pally Optic, November 20, 1879.

⁵⁷ Ibid., April 11, 1884,

⁵⁸ Los Cruces Blo Grande Republican, September 16, 1882.

⁵⁹ Albuquerque Daily Journal, March 4, 1881.

population. This report ^larged the Utins with low morals, rallglous bigotry, and backwardness. As a result the en-tira terntonal press sprang to the defense of the Spanlsh-Amencana.⁶⁰ l^spapers in the eaatem Ifriited states also opposed the adadsai^n of lew Mexico becauae of ita pre-^milnantly Spanlah-American populatlcm. For example, the ^ ^ ^ * ^ ^ Pflbune maintained that since "A Nexican Aztec In-dian is not now and never has been eligible to Amencan eltlsenahlp by process of naturalisation, . . . it would be prepostercms to allow 125,000 of them to come in and ecmstitute a state cm the level with the more proapercms end enlightened commcmwealths." To this the D-^lly Optic, now a militant defender of the Utins, answered that these people were not Indians and that they had been granted full United States citizenship by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.⁶¹ In subsequent years the attacks of enntem American papers ccmtinued, and Spanlsh-Amencana were de-fended by most of the tern torial prass.⁶² The rasult of these external attacks was that in seeking to defend Hew Mexico the editora found many admirable qualitiee of the Utlif to cite in their defense, which led to an improvement

^' See Chapter IV for full details.

^^ Us Vegas Daily Optic, December 19, 1^8.

^^ Santa Fe lew Nexican Review. Namh '2\ |rr.i;
 ^•nta Fo fle^^^ McxicanTT^^ber g, 1^ September 5, 1905;
 Ue Vegag'Tinlly Optic, February 17, "i^90, September⁰⁰,
 1^1^; Ua Cruces CTTTren, September 2, 1905.

in reUticms between the two cultures in s large portion of the tern tory.

This new attitude of the press was fortunate, for after 1889 there was a new outbreak of violence with an ethnic background. In this period Spanish-Americans rebelled against the loss of ancient rights as the result of injustices perpetrated by some land grant owners⁶³ and by the Anglo-American cattleman's fencing of the public domain. Under a name borrowed from a secret society active in the eastern United States, the White Caps, the Utians sought to halt these abuses. This organization became quite strong in San Miguel County, where 300 hooded White Caps once openly paraded upon the Las Vegas streets. Unsuccessful efforts were made to organize White Cap groups in Santa Fe, Bernalillo, and Dona Ana counties. When fences put up by land grant owners or by cattlemen on the public domain barred the right of way or access to wood or water, the White Caps cut ties. This secret society also took action to help strikers in a strike by Spanish-American railway track workers and destroyed ties purchased by the Santa Fe railway after it had reduced the pay per tie of

^^ Land grant titles were being granted by congressional acts in this period, and other grant owners anticipating future confirmation of their titles. Both types of grant owners began fencing lands that they claimed--lands commonly believed to be public domain. These fences barred the roads to wood, water, and grazing lands used for many years by other New Mexicans.

Spanish-American tie cutters. While most territorial papers were hostile toward the White Caps, two disapproved of their methods but admitted the justice of their cause.

^^ ^Q Grande Republic reflected the attitude of most papers: "White Caps . . . are entirely out of place in the progress of the West.*^ In an editorial headed "Let Us Reason Together" the Daily Optic called for them to work for their ends openly:

We are all American citizens now no matter what our former place of birth or prior or present race origin. We are all amenable to the same laws and alike subject to punishment for their violation. Upon a proper observance of the law and a compliance with its mandates, you and we must alike depend for the safety of life, the protection of property and the security of our homes. Some of the laws are bad but we must repeal them by the same methods by which they were enacted. It will not do to trample even a bad law underfoot simply because it is bad, . . . The OPTIC knows, and as many of our citizens know, you are among the worthy and well meaning citizens of this country. You should go about the streets in broad daylight, disseminate your doctrines under the midday sun, circulate your documents in the ordinary manner of men in a holy and worthy cause, and this will secure for you the respect and esteem of your neighbors and other citizens, and aid you in getting their sympathy to help right any real wrong of which you may complain. Besides, you and the people whose suffering you are working to relieve are largely in the majority. . . .

^ Us Vegaa Daily Optic, December 19, 1889, 10th 12, April 4, 8, September 13, November 1, 1890. January 21, 1891; Us Cmces Mo Grande Republican, March 15, May 24, August 9, 1900, April 15, 1889; Albuquerque Daily Citizen, August 12, 1896.

^ Us Cruces Rio Grande Republican, November 9, 1889.

How easy to remedy *your* wrongs through the peaceful and honorable channel of the ballot box.⁶⁵

Yet, the Daily Optic left little doubt that it favored the ends if not the means of the White Caps: "Land grabbers who have fenced miles and miles, to which they have no earthly color of title, . . . need not look to the OPTIC for sympathy and help in their grabbing schemes."⁶⁷ Ultimately, however, the Daily Optic, as did most New Mexico papers, concluded that, "The White Cap way of settling things is worse than the original wrong."⁶⁸ Spanish language papers appeared to be divided upon the question, for the Mesilla Defensor del Pueblo congratulated the White Caps for effecting a successful organization in San Miguel County, while the Las Vegas Señal de Nayo held that in the end the White Caps would prove to be the enemies of the people.⁶⁹ The only English language paper to defend them fully was the Gallup Oleaner which contended: "The White Caps, as they are called in New Mexico, are the progressive men in the territory, . . . men who are opposed to allow[ing] a man,

⁶⁵ Las Vegas Daily Optic, March 12, 1890.

⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ Ibid., April 4, 1890.

⁶⁸ Ibid., April 7, 1890.

⁶⁹ Mesilla Defensor del Pueblo as quoted in Ira Cruce's Rio Grande Republican, 1890; Las Vegas Signal, May 1, 1891.

of 'land grabber*' to control the affalra of Hew Nexlco."⁷⁰
 Thus, most terntonal editors, whether Anglo or Utin, dis-
 approved of violent methods, but some racognized the Justice
 of the White Caps' ends and sought to persuade then to use
 methods that would lead to reconcillatlcm rather than con-
 flict between the ethnic groiq>s.

However, the White Cap movement also represented a
 new leaderehlp element among Spanish-toericana. Until this
 penod most Spaniah-Amencana had been content to follow
 the lead of the neher meabers of their group such as J. F.
 Chaves, M. S. Otero, Pedro Perea, and Trancjulllno I«une, who
 wera generally Urge land gmnt owners and had allied them-
 eelvaa with the Republican Sciita Fe Ring. After 1879, how-
 ever, the White Caps and the Partido Pueblo Unido arose to
 contest these older leadera. In addltiem, the increased
 educaticm of Spanish-Americans oncour? fcd the founding of
 Spanish language newspapers by Spaniel-Aaerlcans, and theee
 papera also assimfied a leadership role. One of their fore-
 most demands was for an Increase in political mwards for
 Spanifdi-Amencans. For exaiaple, the Mora Mosquito in 18^r
 endoraed statehood upcm the basis that native none instead
 of "cwrpetbaggers" would command the higher political of-
 fices of New Mexico, 'A●' and in 1894 KL Independiente of Us

⁷⁰ Gallup Gleaner as quoted in Uo Cruces Independent
Djmocrot. April 11T" " ^ " ^

^A Mora Mosquito, JUNE 12, 1302.

Vegas complained of the lack of federal appointments for Spanish-Americans.⁷² Apparently the demands of this new leadership influenced territorial Republican policies, for in 1897 N. A. Otero, Jr. was appointed territorial governor and soon gained control of the New Mexico Republican party. El Independiente hailed Otero's appointment as a turning point in New Mexico politics.⁷³

Soon after the Utes had achieved greater political power, however. El Independiente recognized a new threat to Spanish-Americans from the flow of Anglo-American settlers into eastern New Mexico. In 1903 El Independiente noted that Spanish-Americans had welcomed all immigration to the territory, believing that the newcomers would hasten the development of the territory to the benefit of all. But the editor warned that despite this excellent attitude of the Spanish-Americans:

Poco a poco los enemigos del pueblo native? de Nuevo Mexico lo van despojando de todo de sus derechos y sujetandolo a una especie de esclavitud semejante a lo que sufrieron los Israelitas en Egipto.⁷⁴

A large percentage of the newcomers, whom El Independiente feared, were from the south, introducing a

⁷² *^ Us Vegas Independiente as quoted in Lad Cruces DefPocrata, August 4, 1898.*.

^ Us Vegas Independiente, February 1, 1898.

^* Ibid., May 7, 1903; see also August 8, 1904.

fourth cultural element into the already confused New Mexican population. These Southerners brought with them a prejudice that was to further complicate ethnic relations in N^e Mexico. The editor of the New Mexican contended: "It has been demonstrated repeatedly that the Peacrats of southeastern *UexLeo*, like their brethren in Texas, hate the early white settlers of Spanish descent in New Mexico."⁷⁷ The press of the territorial southeast readily confirmed this hostility. For example, the Hagerman Messenger asserted:

The "greaser" is doomed; he is too lazy to keep up; and smells too badly to be endured. You should take a trip to other parts of New Mexico. Piledated old adobe buildings, chili and the smell of garlic were everywhere very much in evidence. How different in the towns of the Pecos Valley! Everything is new here, neat and trim. The magic wand of the Anglo-Saxon is over it, and that means development, enlightenment, progress and power."

Evidence of the attitudes of other editors of this era was shown by the Portales Times, which referred to the southeast as the "whiteman's [sic] division of New Mexico,"⁷⁷ and the Anesia Advocate, which displayed a venomous type

⁷⁷ Santa Fe New Mexican, March 3^d, 1905. other sources indicating the southern background of the southeastern New Mexico immigration were: Santa Fe New Mexican, January 16, 1903; Socorro Chieftain, February 14th 1903; Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 4, 1907.

⁷⁸ Hagerman Messenger as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican, May 3^d, 1905.

⁷⁹ Portales Times, October 14, 1905.

of racial prejudices

Among the intelligent people of this valley he [the Spanish American] falls into the niche that God Almighty intended when he put on the impress of color. It was Texas men and Texas money that brought forth the gushing fountains and made this the fairest vale in New Mexico. If a single native had ever spent a dollar in developing this great world, we have never heard of it.⁷⁸

The press of southeastern New Mexico, deeming their culture progressive, energetic, and generally superior, seemed determined to end Spanish-American dominance of politics—at least as far as their area was concerned. At first, like the Anglo-Americans of southwestern New Mexico earlier, they hoped to annex themselves to a nearby Anglo dominated area, in this instance Texas.⁷⁰ After they sought to use the same methods to disfranchise Spanish-Americans. In an attempt to warn native New Mexicans that their voting rights were in danger, El Independiente cited the example of South Texas counties, which had eliminated the Mexican vote with the all white primary.^{So} Then, in 1906 the Eddy County Democratic Central Committee instituted this type of primary in their county. El Independiente denounced this policy but maintained that it was only natural for the party

⁷⁸ Artesia Advocate as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican, May 18, 1905.

⁷⁰ Santa Fe New Mexican, January 16, 1903, March 30, 1905.

^{So} Las Vegas Independiente, July 1, 1904.

of slavery to seek to deprive Spanish-American citizens of their rights and to seek to put upon them the stigma of infamy.⁸¹ El Fenix of Clayton labeled this "un-American, unprincipled and cowardly! Without doubt such action has resulted from the prejudice of some of the floating, no account Texans, who drift hither and thither and everywhere distinguishing themselves for their hatred of everythng K. K. K. Th. only Southeastern Mexico Democratic paper to oppose the action of the Eddy County Democratic Central Committee was the Carlsbad Sun, but only on the basis that it would invite retaliation from the Spanish-American dominated areas.⁸¹ Democratic papers in other parts of the territory disapproved of the white primary. For example, the Alamogordo Otero County Advertiser maintained that: "this is un-American, poor politics and unwarranted by any possible condition that may exist,"⁸⁴ While the Santa Fe New Mexican appeared to be consistently in favor of preserving the rights of Spanish-Americans, the Journalistic measures for Republicanism did not hesitate to use the incident to alienate Spanish-American

⁸¹ Ibid. March 29, 1906.

⁸² Irvington Fenix, as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican, April 13, 1906.

⁸³ Carlsbad Sun, March 9, 1906.

⁸⁴ Alamogordo Otero County Advertiser as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican, June 4, 1906.

voters from the Democratic party:

The Boswell Daily Record, the Carlsbad Current, the Carlsbad Sun, the Artesia Advocate, the Hagerman Messenger and other Democratic papers of the Pecos Valley do not like the stand the Daily New Mexican is taking in defense of the native citizens of the Territory*. The Democratic leaders and papers in the southeastern part of New Mexico are determined to disfranchise the native people because the majority of them are wise enough to be Republicans, although there is nevertheless a minority of 14,000 of them who vote the Democratic ticket.⁵

Apparently because of the tremendous furor raised throughout the territory, the Eddy County Democratic Convention overruled its central committee and discarded its all-white primary. Meanwhile, southeastern New Mexico editors had explored other means of curtailing the votes of Spanish-Americans. The Roswell Tribune asked for a poll

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tax law similar to that in effect in Texas, and the Roswell Record maintained that educational qualifications for

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voting should be imposed. The New Mexican held that although the schools needed the poll tax revenue, the tax at the moment should not be made a prerequisite for voting. Concerning educational qualifications, the New Mexican

⁵ Santa Fe New Mexican, June 6, 1906.

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Roswell Tribune as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican, February 24, 1906.

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The Roswell Record and the Carlsbad Sun both favored educational requirements for voting—pr. note in Santa Fe New Mexican, March 6, 1906.

maintained that this was a southern practice which should not be Imposed upon New Mexico.⁸⁸ These challenges to their voting rights doubtless left the Spanish-Americans ill at ease. Apparently for this reason El Ubrador of New Mexico and Arizona voters that year, upon the basis that it would be better to accept the Joint state while Spanish-Americans had enough strength to insist upon clauses in the constitution protecting their rights. At current rates of Anglo-American immigration. El Ubrador maintained, they would soon be outnumbered and might lose their rights.⁸⁹

During these same years Spanish-Americans were fearful of the loss of another right because of their lack of proficiency in the English language. In 1905 a proposed constitutional act excluded anyone from Jury duty in the United States courts who was not proficient in the English language. The Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate favored the bill, believing that if it were enacted it would rapidly advance education in New Mexico.⁹⁰ The Daily Optic of New

⁸⁸ Santa Fe New Mexican. February 6, 1906. New Mexico had a poll tax requirement for voting in the election of 1892 but abandoned it in 1893, for apparently the tax was passed on to the vote buying politicians and this raised campaign expenses excessively. See Santa Fe New Mexican. January 5. 12, 19, 1893; New Mexico Republican. September 21. 11; New Mexico Daily Optic, November 16, 1892.

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New Mexico Ubrador, August 10, 1906.

⁹⁰ Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, March 1, 1905.

Vegas claimed that this practice was already in effect in some few New Mexico courts but maintained that the time had not yet come when such a practice should be extended throughout the territory. The New Mexican did not recommend that the policy be adopted but held that if it should be there were enough Spanish-Americans proficient in the English language in every community so that no jury need be formed without a Spanish-American member. ^^

Perhaps even more disturbing to Spanish-Americans was the stigma of separate schools, the establishment of which apparently became a practice in some predominantly Anglo-American communities in the twentieth century. El Independiente stated that such a policy was in effect in 1903 at Canby, Silver City, Roswell, Carlsbad, and Raton, and resented the implication that the Spanish-American students were not good enough to rub elbows with the Anglo-American children.^^ In 1906 the New Mexican noted this practice at Carlsbad and maintained that:

All Mexican children can attend the regular schools if they so desire. Under the New Mexico statutes there is absolutely no distinction provided, expected or recognized and none should be had; if the present statutes in this respect are not strong enough, they should be made so. •

^^ Us Vegas Intelligencer as quoted and answered in El New Mexican, March 2, 1906.

^^ Us Vegas Independiente, October 1, 1903.

^3 El Intelligencer, May 29, 1906.

Concerning separate schools the Carlsbad Current

wrote:

No power^ no government on earth can enforce racial association against the desires of either race in question. The whole power of the greatest government on earth, was once bent toward that end and failed utterly.⁹⁴

Although the Spanish-Americans at Carlsbad and Domingue were reported to prefer separate schools for their children,^{or} such trends as this and the threat to voting rights evidently alienated most Whites to a potential danger. Thus, when the New Mexico Constitution was written in 1910 it provided guarantees against racial discrimination in voting and education. The congressional enabling act stipulated that the constitution must provide that all state business be conducted in the English language. Although the convention honored this stipulation, it also provided that this portion of the constitution could be changed by a simple legislative act, and the first state legislature placed the Spanish and English languages on an equal basis for the conduct of the state's business.⁹⁶ While it appears

^^ Carlsbad Current as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican. June 20, 1906. The Current further contended that the parents of the Spanish-American children wished the schools to remain segregated, for the children, because of language difficulty, made faster progress in segregated schools.

^{or} Ibid., April 16, 1906.

^^ Beck, New Mexico, p. 299; Santa Fe New Mexican, November 21, 1906; U. S. Farge, Santa Fe: The Autobiography of a Southwestern Town (Ibman; 1957) pp. 202-03.

that the Spanish language and many Spanish customs will survive for aevmrml generations, their fomed curtailment envisioned by the enabling act min^t have kept them alive indefinitely, aa exampUa in central Europe show. On the other hand^ the meeting of the children of the two cultures in public schooU from early ages will serve to increase mutual respect and understanding. Thus, tiie editonal comments and demands helped to a U n the Spwiish-Amencans to dangers to their rights and shaped public opinlcm for the aeeeptanee of a conatitution wlilch dealt Justly with each of these ccmflicting cultures.

Althoui^ ccmflicts between Spanish and Anglo culturas based upcm ethnical antagonism and the struggle for the preservation of the Spenlsh-Amencan'a civil and political rights raged until 1912, conflict over rallglous differences of the two cultures had subsided *msaeh* earlier. In fact, so far as the press mveals thera was little ccmflict over raligioua doctrine directly, but a graat deal over the question of public non-sectanan scschools aa opposed to subsidised church schools. This question became prominent in the 1870's, but no final decislcm was raached. Then in 1890 militant Spanlah-Amencra antholics defeated a proposed constitutlcm which had incorporated the principle of non-
•ectanan public schools. The legisUtura, which net in 1891 shortly after the defeat of this constitution, iras hounded Ijy the entire territonal prass to enact a law

providing adequate public non-sectarian schools. Such a law was enacted and for the next three years the editors campaigned successfully for *the* voting of bonds to erect school buildings. Most of them then lost interest in the BChM as a newsworthy subject for discussion. The provisions of the law of 1891 that the schools be non-sectarian and be conducted only in the English language were major steps toward the reconciliation of the two conflicting cultures, and a method had been provided for the gradual absorption of Spanish-Americans into the Anglo-American culture.

Initially the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico were led to expect difficulty with the Anglo-Americans in religious matters, but after some brief flurry in 1848 this topic was generally avoided by the press until the 1870's. Mexican officials had predicted that New Mexicans' freedom of worship would be endangered under American rule—propaganda which was probably very effective because of the centuries of conflict between Anglo Protestants and Spanish Catholics.⁹⁷ Thus, the Anglo-American press first sought to allay the suspicions of Spanish-Americans that their new government would tamper with their religion. In January, 1848, a letter, probably written by the editor or an official of the military government, appeared in the Santa Fe

⁹⁷ Beck, New Mexico, pp. 125, 111.

R^wmbllcan. explaining that them was rallglous freedom in the United States. However, this same letter asked that the UgiaUtura enact a law legalizing civil marnage, which ifould tend to loosen the *hold ot* the Catholic Church on the people.⁹⁸ Two weeks Uter an editonal in the same paper bitterly attacked the Catholic pnesthood In lew Nexlco and Intlaiated that conditions would Improve rapidly when the lew Mexico cUrgy came under the control of Amen-can Catholic offlcUU.⁹⁹ After this early display of ill will, the preas retained good relations with the Catholic clergy until the 1870's—deaplte the fact that the editors vera predcminantly Anglo-Amencan Proteatants.

These Protestant editora noted with pleasure the establishment of Froteatant churches.¹⁰⁰ For *exemple*, the fbunding of a Presbytenan congregation at Santa Fe brought this comment from the Weekly Gazette; "All who love the welfara of Santa Fe, will rajolce that another chumh is added to those alraady in place." Similarly, at Silver City *^ Mining Life noted that the town was several years old and had no churches. Evidently this editonal provoked action, for socm three Protestant denorainaticms were

9^ Senta Fe Republican, January I, 1848.

^^ Ibid., January 15, 18^.

^^ Perhaps the enthusiasm of these editom for 'toUatant chumhea was not solely because of a Protctant bias, but because churches brought cimizaticm and stability which encouraged further immigration.

petitioned to establish churches at Silver City. The Methodists were the first to take action, which led the Mining Life to comment "We congratulate our citizens upon this expected addition to our society."^^^

Despite their approval of the founding of churches, the editors did not hesitate to criticize any overzealous Protestant churchman who was believed to have exaggerated about conditions of New Mexico life in order to obtain funds for his church work in the territory. Thus, when a Santa Fe minister was reported to have told a national Presbyterian conference that his congregation did not dare to attend evening services without a guard of soldiers to protect them from Catholics, the Santa Fe New Mexican stated: "The effect which such a speech must have on people cannot for a moment be doubted, and we publish it more in sorrow than in anger, though abundant reason exists for gross indignation."^^^ Similar incidents at later dates also aroused the ire of the territorial press.^^^ It thus appears that

^^^ Silver City Mining Life, August 30, October 18, 1873*

^^^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, August 18, 1876. It was later revealed, however, that the minister had been misquoted.

^^^ Albuquerque Republican Review, March 11, 1876; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, March 14, 1876; Mesilla Valley Independent, April 13, 1878; Silver City Grant County Herald, April 27, 1878; Las Vegas Daily Advertiser, May 2, 30, 1903. A close examination of the general newspaper files throughout the territorial era revealed few instances of hostility toward Catholicism by Anglo Protestant editors except in relation to schools and the Jesuit order.

the New Mexico press generally adopted an impanial attitude in most religious mattera, for it welcoc^d all chumhes while raeudning very cntical of the actions of any sect that threatened harm to lew Mexico.

Since the Anglo«Anmincan prass was not hostile toward Catholic doctnne, the chief area of conflict was the dispute between Spanish-American Catholicc and Anglo-Amencan Protestants over public schools. In the 1870's there wera few public schools in the terntory, and the praaa fought two battles—to gain funds for public schools snd to keep public ediaeatlon free from sectarian control. New Mexico's educational shortcomings were graphically revealed by the census of 1870. Of a p<>pulation of 51,000 over 10 years of age, 49,000 ccml d not write and 48,:>00 could not read. There wem only 5,000 school pupils out of 30,000 of school age.^ ^ *The pres-s* made efforts to correct this poor showing in several ways. For example, the Santa Pa Post called upon the legialatura of I872 to enact a aoapr^enslve school Uw. The legisUture, however, nemly authonsed counties to levy only a very small tax for •Chools.¹⁰⁷ Thus, in 1073 public taxation pro^/idcd but •792.71 for achooU in Grant County. In order that Silver City might have public achools, the Mining Ufe sponsordd

^ ^ Santa Pe Weekly lew Nexican, February 23, 1^7c.

^ ^ Santa Fe Mjekly Post, Decenber 16, I87I, ^ ^ mh
^ 1872.

a public subscription to add to this tax money.¹⁰⁶ A year later the New Mexican urged a drive to raise funds to build a public school house at Santa Fe. The efforts of the public, the press, and the churches had by 1875 brought a small improvement, for it was reported that New Mexico had 131 public and 28 private schools with a total enrollment of 6,578.¹⁰⁷

The growing school enrollment led to the first major conflicts about sectarian influence in public schools. In 1875 the Jesuit order sought to sell to territorial public schools the text books it was printing for church schools. The Jesuit paper, Las Vegas Revista Católica, and the Albuquerque Republican Review, edited by the Irish Catholic William McKinnon, strongly supported this proposal, while the New Mexican's W. H. Netherfield, also a Catholic, joined other territorial editors in opposing it. Nevertheless, such books were used in some public schools.¹⁰⁸ Defeat in this matter was probably responsible for the New Mexican's appeal to the legislature to enact a school law which increased tax support and safeguarded the schools

¹⁰⁶ Silver City Mining Life, July 26, August 10, November 22, 1873.

¹⁰⁷ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, August 25, September 8, 29, 1874, March 5, 30, 1875.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., January 19, 1875, March 14, 1876; New Mexico Republican Review, January 2, 9, 23, 1875; March 14, 1876; Silver City Mining Life, January 30, 1875.

against sectarian Influence. When such a bill was introduced the Republican Review and Revista Catolica immediately opposed it, charging that its Intent was to destroy the influence of the Catholic Church in New Mexico. These papers asked instead that tax money be divided upon the basis of church membership, allowing each sect to control its own schools.¹⁰⁹ The answer of the New Mexican, recommending the American system as the best means of protecting Spanish-American rights, foretold the ultimate course of events in New Mexico:

The Review says ninety-nine of a hundred of the children of this territory are Roman Catholics. Suppose it was the reverse, would the Catholics desire, even if they were but one in a hundred, that their children should be taught the New England Catechism? Is it honorable because you are powerful to force your peculiar religious dogmas upon the weak? If the minority pay taxes shall they not be protected in enjoying equal rights? There are some districts now in this Territory where the Protestants outnumber the Catholics ten to one; would it not be prudent as well as just for the Catholics now in power in the whole Territory to provide in all cases no sectarianism shall be taught! So that in case they should ever be in the minority they can point with pride to the fact that in the day of their power they were both just and liberal, Besides this is according to the Constitution of the United States which is binding upon all of us. . . . Let us unite in good faith to establish the doctrine and practice of religious toleration.

. . .¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, December 14, 1875; Albuquerque Republican Review, January 1, 8, 15, February 12, 1876. —[^]—

¹¹⁰ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, January 4, 1876.

Those in favor of sectarian control were strong enough to defeat this bill, but the two papers debated the question for months and even introduced it into the political campaign of 1876. The New Mexican stated that territorial Republicans favored free, non-sectarian public schools, and the Review challenged that party to put such a plank into its platform. The New Mexican retorted that the Republicans had done so. But, in fact, the party had neatly straddled the issue by declaring for freedom of conscience in one plank and free public schools in another—but said nothing about non-sectarian schools.^^^ Meanwhile, New Mexico public schools made little progress, and there was a growing hostility between Anglo-American Protestant and Spanish-American Catholic partisans.

In the legislative session of 1878 new fire was added to this partisan hostility over religion. In this session Donato Gasparri, a Jesuit leader in New Mexico, succeeded in lobbying a bill through the legislature characterizing the Jesuit order in New Mexico as a tax free corporation. Governor S. S. Axtell vetoed the bill, and the legislature promptly overrode his veto. All New Mexico papers except the Review and Revista Catolica approved of

111 Albuquerque Review, June 17, September 17, 1876, October 17, December 8, 1877; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, August 15, September 26, 1876.

the veto of the Governor.¹¹² The MeBilla Valley Independent immediately began a campaign against the Jesuits which lasted several months. At length the Silver City Grant County Herald condemned the Independent, stating that it had extended its attack so far that it had become an attack upon Catholics in general.¹¹³ However, the high point of the Jesuit controversy was an editorial in Revista Catolica admonishing Spanish-American legislators to combine as a solid Spanish-American party in order to control territorial politics:

Ut old quarrel then disappear. What is there about Pemocrete and Republicans? BE MEXICANS! ••••• But we may be MEXICANS; that is to say let your policy be union in all that which may be necessary for the preservation and development of the inherent interests of the country. So long as you shall be united you will govern; divided you will be governed; and governed not alone by the American portion in the territory, but also by a few adventurers that over you and over the Americans will extend their usurping hand.-*^^*

This attempt to unite native New Mexicans into an ethnocentric block was attacked by the Ncf Mexican in a bellicose and flag-saving editorial addressed to the Jesuites

11² Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, January 26, 1878. Ultimately this legislative "bill" was revoked by an act of the United States Congress.

¹ MeBilla Valley Independent, January 19, 26, February 0, 23, March 1, April 1, 1878; Silver City Grant County Herald, July 13, 1878.

11³ Las Vegas Revista Catolica as translated and quoted by Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, February 2, 1878.

The attempt of the Italian refugees. who have sought and obtained shelter under our flag, to create disturbances between the citizens of the United States resident in New Mexico on account of nationality , . . deserves a severe reprimand. . . . We call ourselves, for want of a better term, Americans, the citizens of Mexico call themselves Mexicans. Under which flag, cunning priests, do you desire to live? Not Mexico, for they would not permit you to live there an hour; they have had too bitter a taste of your mischievous teachings. Then if you intend to become a citizen of the United States by adoption, why do you teach these young men to sink all party ties and bind themselves together as Mexicans against Americans? Whose flag floats over the building in which they sit? Whose money pays for their valuable services? Whose Army guards your seditious heads from violence? and New Mexico from border raids and Indian massacres? Mexico? Bah! Treacherous Jesuit, this is America, United States—Uncle Sam's country—Yankeeland. If you don't like it you can leave it. We came to stay—to introduce for our use and benefit our common schools, our railroads, and our laws and language. ^5

The chief Influence of the Jesuit incorporation bill and the Jesuit attempt to form an ethnic party was to unite most of the territorial press against the Jesuits in a demand for free, non-sectarian public schools. Of fifteen papers being published in the territory in February, 1879, thirteen favored non-sectarian *free* public schools. Two of these papers were edited by Spanish-Americans, indicating that the Jesuits had been unable to form a solid block of Spanish-Americans. Thirty-four of our citizens enthusiastically hailed this wide approval of public schools and predicted it would continue to grow:

^^5 Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, February 2, 1878.

It is & fii^* cf better tim<?8 when Itoxlcan editors, who have been bred under the old regime, come gallantly forward to combnt the old ide^s. 1^ the time the next leglslatura meets, thera will be such a demand for n good public school law . . . that body will hardly dare return to its constituency with that duty neglected.^1^

Despite the optimistic pradiction of Thirty-Four, the next legislature passed no such law, prasegling bleak yeara for educaticm in New Mexico tiiroughCHit the 1880's. With the advent of railways in 1879, the prass became deeply interasted in the eccmomlc developaMnt of New Mexico and Ust some of Its ccmcem over schools. This new attitude was raflected by the Hew Nexican in Febmary, 1880:

The !IEW NEXICAN la sorry for nothing in its past attitude toward the Jesuits, and has nothing to retract. It neither attacks or defends the Jesuits at the present time, for the reason that the time has come when a newspaper can d<*vote itself with more profit to the material advancement of our territory than to religious disc\issicm.117

Editorial interest In the econcamic rather than the cultural development of New Mexico ccmtinued during most of the 1880's. In 188k the legislature passed a new school bill which raised school taxes from two-and-cme-half to thrae mills per dollar of assessed valuaticm, but there was practically no newspaper agit;tion for an increaase in

^^^ Ibid., Febmary 8, 187^,

^~7 Ibid... Aprtl 19, 1880.

school taxes at this time.¹¹⁸ An 1887 law requiring three months of school attendance annually for all children was also preceeded by little editorial effort to inspire such a law. Since assessed valuations for all of the territory were but \$11,363,406 in 1885, school taxes from this source for that year amounted to only about \$34,000. And the territorial poll tax dedicated to schools returned a very small revenue, for the payment of the tax was not a voting prerequisite. The Daily Optic called the attention of New Mexicans to the fact that they were lagging far behind in educational matters. Yet only three months before it had boasted that taxation was lower in New Mexico than in any western territory, for the rates in the most heavily taxed county were only 1 1/4 per cent. In Arizona, on the other hand, tax rates were as high as 4 per cent of assessed valuation. Doubtless the low income of the schools derived from tax revenues was responsible for there being no schools operating at all in Socorro or Rio Arriba counties in 1883, or for the fact that in 1886 there was only one month of school in Sierra County.¹¹⁹ Despite the appalling condition of education in the face of the increased wealth and population of the territory in the 1880's, until 1889 there was

^^® Ibid., February 8, 1884; Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 21, 1885.

^^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic, April 11, 1884, April 1, 17, 1885, March 28, 1887; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, January 15, 1887; Santa Fe weekly New Mexican, October 26, 1886.

little agitation by the press for improvements in education.

The increased demand for schools in 1889 arose as a by-product of the demand for statehood. In 1888 it seemed possible that Congress would grant statehood to New Mexico along with most of the other western territories. Then the strong attack contained in the minority report by the Committee on Territories of the United States House of Representatives probably made many Anglo-American editors realize that the territory must be made more acceptable to

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the American public before it could gain admission.

Thus, in 1889 the Anglo-American editors seized upon the desire of the native New Mexicans for statehood to demand as a *prior or* concurrent condition an amply supported public, non-sectarian school system. By way of illustration, the San Narcial Reporter opposed statehood unless the legislature of 1889 provided a better school system, and the Chlotde Black Range commented: 'New Mexico needs school houses and teachers and fewer statehood 'blatlierskites.' The Albuquerque Daily Citizen supported a measure introduced by W. D. Kistler which provided for a general school levy of ten mills and allowed any district to vote an

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This minority report of the United States House of Representatives Committee on Territories is covered in detail along with press reaction to it in Chapter IV.

additional mill for building purposes.^^^ When the Kistler school bill was defeated, the territorial press in general held T. B. Catron responsible. While the record showed that Catron had voted for the bill, his critics claimed he really opposed it. These critics believed Catron opposed the bill because he was one of the largest property owners in the territory and was an attorney for other large property owners. These editors then contended that although Catron had kept his record clean, he had killed the bill by appealing to the prejudices of the Spanish-American majority in the legislature.¹²²

In addition, the Daily Optic and others noted the hostility shown to the bill by the Spanish-American political leaders and large land grant owners, Pedro Perea and J. F. Govee. In the final vote on the measure Spanish-Americans had opposed and

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Anglo-Americans had favored it almost unanimously. -^ Thus,

^^ San Marcial Reporter as quoted in Las Vegas Daily Optic, January 15, 1889; Black Range, February 22, 1889; Albuquerque Daily Citizen as quoted in Las Vegas Daily Optic, January 17, 1889; Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 7, 1889. Ten mills equal taxes of one per cent of assessed valuation.

^^ Silver City Interpretse, March 22, 1889, Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 21, 1889; Dealing Headlight, September 7, 1889. The other two papers listed above were Republican papers, which lends credence to this contention. W. D. Kistler, author of the Kistler school bill, was the brother of editor Russell Kistler of the Daily Optic, W. D. Kistler was once business manager and a co-owner of the Ally Optic.

^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic, April 23, 1889; Silver City Interpretse, September 26, 1889; Dealing Headlight, October 15, 1889.

the efforts of the Anglo-American editors to assure amply supported public, non-sectarian schools were defeated, but the matter was soon to be revived in conjunction with efforts to obtain statehood for New Mexico.

The same legislative session that brought defeat of the Kistler school bill authorized the calling of a constitutional convention. When this body met in September, 1889, it was dominated by T. B. Catron, J. F. Chaves, and Pedro Perea, and some editors were concerned about the attitude that the convention would take toward public schools. The prospect that the constitution might provide for sectarianism in schools arose when Archbishop J. B. Salpointe asked that any system of public education provided by the constitution authorize religious instruction for students by the church selected by their parents. The convention rejected the plea of the Archbishop and provided for non-sectarian schools supported by a mandatory tax of two-and-one-half mills per dollar of assessed valuation. In addition, voters of each county were to be allowed to impose an additional two-and-one-half mills to support schools. However, implementation of both provisions was to be dependent upon the legislature of the new state.¹²⁴ It thus appears that the agitation of the editors for Improvements in

¹²⁴ Las Vegas Daily Optic, August 31, 1889; Silver City Herald, September 26, 1890; Deming Headlight, October 12, 1889.

education and the establishment of non-sectarian schools was instrumental in wringing some concessions from the alien who had defeated the Klstler school bill.

Meanwhile, other efforts were being made to secure better schools for New Mexico. Almost as soon as the legislature defeated the Klstler bill, some editors asked that Congress be petitioned to enact a school law for the territory. In 1890 such a bill, almost an exact duplicate of the Klstler school bill, was introduced in Congress. At the instigation of the Daily Optic a mass meeting was called in Las Vegas to express approval of this proposed legislation. The Albuquerque Morning Democrat, Reuben Range, and Kingston Shaft approved the proposed act, but the Santa Fe BE Mexican, then closely aligned with T. B. Catron, opposed it, ^ ^ Perhaps as much to forestall action by Congress as to answer complaints of Democrats and school proponents that the constitution did not provide enough tax support for schools!; the constitutional convention reconvened and changed the school *provision* to allot counties to vote school levies as high as 5 per cent of the assessed valuation.¹²⁶

^ Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, March 15, 1889; Socorro Industrial Review, March 9, 1889; Las Vegas Daily Optic, May 11, 1889, July 10, 10. 23, 1890; Kingston STT uiy 19, August 2, 16, 1890,

^^^ Silver City Enterprise, September 26, 1890, Although this would appear to answer all complaints of taxes too low to support schools, it did not, for apparently implementation was left in the hands of the legislature. The

Thus, ardent opposition to the constitution by the Democratic press and the demands of the Republican press apparently fomed the territorial political leaders to make another concession concerning schools. However, in an election on October 7, 1890, the constitution was soundly defeated, indicating that while the press might induce the convention to place a non-sectarian school provision in the constitution, it could not force the predominantly Spanish-American Catholic voters of New Mexico to accept it.

The religious background of Spanish-American hostility to the constitution was revealed through the press. When the convention rejected the suggestion of the Archbishop concerning public schools, the Daily Optic foresaw active Catholic opposition to the adoption of the constitution:

Deming Beadlight, as quoted in Las Vegas Daily Optic, October 7, 1890, had claimed earlier that Spanish-American leaders were won over to the non-sectarian school provision by a guarantee of cooperation to prevent its implementation. In any case, the measure was apparently designed to placate Anglo-Americans, but large land grant owners such as T. L. Catron, M. S. Otero, J. F. Chaves, and Pedro Perera probably felt secure in the face of it, counting on their ability to defeat such a high tax through their political control of the school districts in which their land grants lay. On the other hand, the move could have been motivated by the congressional threat to impose many supported non-sectarian schools upon the territory. Such a move would probably have been pieced beyond the control of local bosses. Thus, the 5 percent proposal would have the effect of halting congressional action, yet could have left school taxes in the hands of the bosses if the constitution were accepted and New Mexico became a state.

Amhbishop Sslpointe, although he failed to convince the late ccmstituticmal convention that his views cm the school question were good, will by no means consider himself a defeated man on the main issue . . . when the constitution is submitted to the pecyple for ratification,^^

A few weeks later the Dsily Optic reported that the Sente Fe clergy had started denouncing the constitution.^{12Q} In the post-election pertod the Hew Mexlcen began a denunciation of the Catholic Church for its work in defecting the constitution. The Church denied an officisl policy of opposition to the constitution, and the Revlsta Catollca of Us Vegas, the Spanish language Jesuit *peper*, gently reminded the New Mexican that prtests enjoyed freedcmi of apeech under United States laws and that numerous non-CetholiCB had contrtributed to constitutional defeat. At the same time the Revlsta Catollca implied that Spanish-Aaericans had defied their old political leaders of their own race to defeat the ccmstltution.^{12Q}

The lack of an official church policy opposing the constitution seems to be indicated by a Silver City lutemrtse report that "at Us Cruces where the prtest ad-dreeed the people in favor of statehood, the people walked

^^ *Leti Vegas* Daily Optic, September 24, 1889.

^^^ Ibid., October 2, 1890.

^^ Us Vegae Revlsta Catollca, Hovember 30, 1890.

off end left him with Jeers and laughter." A Spanish-American element, uncontrolled by ecclesiastic leaders, defied Spanish-American political leaders such as M. S. Otero and J. F. Chaves and defeated the constitution in the name of Catholicism. This group showered the territory with pamphlets printed in Spanish and English, directed especially toward "Mexican" voters.

It is the intention of some to incorporate in the organic law of the new state [that] which will deny your children all kinds of education except that of the world. You will be required by law to support with taxation public schools [to] which you cannot conscientiously send your children. No faithful son of the church or of the Mexican caste will submit to this, . . . What they call progress is progress to perdition.³¹

Although there were several causes for the defeat of the constitution, the hostility of Spanish-American Catholics seems to have been the decisive factor. From the foregoing. It appears that the constitution was neither opposed nor favored officially by the Archbishop, His hostility toward its school provisions, however, probably induced many Catholics to vote against the constitution. Perhaps even more conducive was the unofficial Catholic group, whose pamphlet was cited above. The weight of these two influences probably was sufficient to convince

^^^ Silver City Enterprise, October 10, 1890.

^^^ Lee Comtee Rio Grande Republican, October 4, 1890.

Spanish-American Catholics to vote against the constitution despite the fact that prominent Catholics and Spanish-American political leaders favored it.¹³²

^{1,2} Marten Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XV (104¹), pp. 133-187¹. The Ute Professor Bergen stated that there were various causes for the defeat of the constitution. Among these were Democratic opposition, tax provisions favorable to land grant owners, prospects of the funding of the fraudulent millitary warrants, Anglo-American fear that the new state government would be dominated by Spanish-Americans, and Catholic dislike of the non-sectarian public school provision. Professor Dargan, however, did not assess any of these as the principal cause of the defeat of the constitution. The writer, on the other hand, agrees with an observer of that day that: "The constitution was not defeated by any defects of the instrument, but solely upon the clause providing for free and non-sectarian public schools," (Silver City Enterprise, October 10, 1890). This appears to be the principal cause for various reasons. Only two counties approved the constitution. Grant and Valencia. The population of Valencia county was predominantly Spanish-American Catholic, but it was the private political domain of J. F. Chaves and the scene of numerous earlier election frauds reflecting the desire of Chaves. He so ardently supported the constitution that he threatened if the Church kept up its opposition to the constitution that he would invoke against the Catholic Church the federal statute forbidding any church to own more than \$50,000 in property in any territory (Doming Headlight, August 23, 1890). Grant County on the other hand was the leading Democratic Anglo-American county of the territory. Thus, while Democrats no doubt helped to defeat the constitution, they must not have been too influential since they did not carry Grant County. Furthermore, it was in Grant County that Anglo-Americans had most consistently objected to Spanish-American rule in the past. Thus, the fear of Anglo-Americans that Spanish-Americans would dominate the government of the new state does not appear to have been a key cause for the defeat of the constitution. The heavy vote against the constitution in most of the predominantly Spanish-American counties also discredits the concept that fear of Spanish-American rule was an important reason for constitutional defeat and at the same time shows the measure of Democratic influence in those counties. For example, in the predominantly Democratic counties of Mora and Taos the constitution

The defeat of the constitution in 1890 apparently brought a greater disunity to Spanish-Americans. Although Spanish-American legislators of both parties had united to defeat a non-sectarian public school proposal in 1889, a similar measure was passed two years later by a predominantly Spanish-American legislature. Perhaps ardent advocates of statehood believed Catholic hostility toward non-sectarian schools responsible for defeat of the constitution and vengefully retaliated by supporting enactment of a law creating such schools. Doubtless some of the richer Spanish-American leaders, who had strongly supported the constitution, resented the challenge to their leadership of Spanish-American Republicans. Possibly these same *men*, most of them large property owners, believed it was wiser to enact a territorial school law with lower tax rates than

were opposed by 85 and 83 per cent of the voters, respectively. In Rio Arriba County, which was consistently Republican, the constitution was opposed by 75 *per* cent of the voters. Thus, Democratic opposition apparently accounted for only about 14 per cent of the votes against the constitution. If this was true, it was insufficient to defeat the constitution which was rejected by 70 per cent of the voters. It appears thus that the non-sectarian school clause of the constitution was the key factor in its defeat. This appears to be sustained also by the action of T. B. Catron on the eve of the election, for, as Dargan writes, he had « tried in Congress to introduce a bill that threatened to curtail jury service of non-English speaking citizens of the United States territories to coerce Spanish-Americans to vote for statehood to avoid the effects of this law. This great influential political leader of the era in New Mexico took this risky action only because he had learned of the Spanish-American opposition to the constitution. See also Chapter IV.

to risk a congressionally imposed school system with higher tax rates. Probably the ardent proponents of statehood believed that only after the enactment of such a law would New Mexico again be considered for statehood. Evidently all of these things contributed to break the front of the Spanish-Americans, for although this group still controlled a majority of legislative seats in the session of 1891, a comprehensive non-sectarian public school law was enacted.

As had been the case in 1889, the press in 1891 closely followed legislative action with regard to schools and constantly urged enactment of an improved school law. For example, the Santa Fe Sun reminded those who had "murdered the Kistler bill" that the public eye was upon them,¹⁴ and the Daily Optic reminded T. B. Catron that "no man will ever reach the Senate of the United States from this Territory who stands in the way of enactment of an efficient school law opening our schools nine months of the year."¹⁴ The Rio Grande Republican of the Combes urged action: "... a good school law is the crying need of this territory and should be passed at once. . . . Don't waste any more time gentlemen introducing new bills, but pass something."¹³⁵ The chief contribution of the press

¹³ Santa Fe Daily Sun, January 16, 1891.

¹³* Las Vegas Daily Optic, January 19, 1891.

¹⁴ The Combes Rio Grande Republican, January 3, 1891.

was that of making it clear that a large majority of the Anglo-American Protestant population of New Mexico and the nation demanded a substantially supported public, non-sectarian school system. In the face of this clear demand and dissension in their ranks, enough of the Spanish-American legislators supported the Paulin school law of 1891 to secure its enactment.

This law provided for large tax increases to support non-sectarian public schools conducted in the English language. A general tax levy of three mills per dollar of valuation was made mandatory, and school districts were authorized to levy an additional five mills. In addition, the Paulin law allowed school districts to vote bonds for school construction and made the payment of a poll tax a requirement for voting, reallocating to schools revenue derived from it. Moreover, by this date fines for violation of liquor and gambling laws had been assigned to schools.¹³⁶ The provisions of this law presented several threats to the efforts of the Spanish-Americans to preserve their culture. The poll tax threatened to curtail their political influence,¹ the English language provision assured that the assimilation of their children into the Anglo-American

^{^^} White Oaks New Mexico Interpreter, February 2[^], 1891; Ue Vegas Daily Optic. February 6, 1891.

^{^^} The poll tax provision was soon repealed, see footnote 88 above.

culture would be hastened, and the non-sectarian provision threatened to curtail the Influence of the Catholic Church upon their children. The emphatic demand of the English language press for such a law, presented at a time of Spanish-American disunity, helped to secure this territory for the Anglo-American culture.

In order to make effective their territory, the next step of the press was to demand the construction of public school buildings under the bonding provisions of the law. There was great need for action here, for there were practically no public school houses in the territory. Almost as soon as the Pauline Law was passed the Albuquerque Daily Citizen demanded that bonds be voted immediately in order that a school house would be ready for the fall session.¹³⁹ The Rio Grande Republican asked for similar action at Las Cruces: "If Albuquerque can vote \$60,000, Las Vegas \$15,000, Socorro \$15,000, Deming \$12,500, Springer \$10,000, it would seem Las Cruces possessing every natural and many artificial advantage ought to do at least as well as Springer,"¹⁴⁰ Here again the press was influential in insuring the ultimate domination of the Anglo-American culture.

138 Previously most New Mexico schools owned neither their buildings nor a great deal of equipment, but leased both. See Santa Fe New Mexican Review, January 12, 1893.

^^^ Albuquerque Daily Citizen, February 27, 1891.

^^^ Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, July 17, 1891.

political leader, also urged Spanish-Americans to learn the English language.¹⁴³ The Spanish language press, for the most part, also urged this course. El Combate of Nora urged that local school boards hire only those teachers competent in the English language and even that militant defender of the Spanish-American culture. El Independiente of Las Vegas, maintained that while Spanish-Americans should retain their Spanish language they should learn English—the language of government, law, and business.¹⁴⁴

Apparently prejudices concerning ethnic differences are inherent, for it is a natural trait for men to prefer the familiar and dislike the strange. Thus, when contrasting cultures are drawn into close proximity, conflict is inevitable. The role of the press in conciliating the different cultures in New Mexico was that of presenting repeatedly a few basic and minimum demands. and thus establishing a basis from which a gradual movement toward full reconciliation could begin. The territorial ethnic conflicts reached peaks of intensity in three instances, the first coming during the series of Indian wars which culminated in the 1880's. The continual and insistent demands of the press that the southwestern Indians be rendered peaceful

^^^ Santa Fe New Mexican, October 9, 1904.

^^^ More Combate, August 15, 29, December 31, 1904; Las Vegas Independiente as edited by Ue Cruces Labrador, December 31, 1904, ^e also Socorro Defensor del Pueblo as Quoted in Socorro Chieftain, June 4, 1904.

helped to arouse the people of the territory and the nation, and their petitions forced the federal government to set. The second high point of dissension concerned the reconciliation of the Spanish and Anglo cultures and was reached about 1880. It appeared then that the religion, language, and ethnic backgrounds of a majority of New Mexicans were unsatisfactory to the general American public, which delayed statehood for two decades. To counter this animosity the press waged a successful campaign for free, public non-sectarian schools, which would hasten the Americanization of the native peoples. Such schools when inaugurated sped the reconciliation of the two cultures. The final phase of conflict came about 1906, after a heavy immigration of Anglo-Americans prefigured their future predominance in New Mexico. The editors representing the newcomers showed their hostility to the Spanish culture, which was defended by the Spanish language press and by Anglo-American editors who, after years of residence in New Mexico, had come to admire and were tolerant concerning the Spanish-Americans. Alerted by this hostility, the Spanish-Americans with the help of Anglo-Americans of sound will and good sense insured that the rights of both ethnic groups would be protected under the constitution and laws of the new state. In each of the three instances cited, the press by revealing the minimum demands of the conflicting groups had hastened progress toward ultimate reconciliation.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRESS TO TERRITORIAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

When New Mexico became a United States Territory, it was a depressed area and underdeveloped economically. Most of its farms were very small, and its farmers, using the crudest of equipment, raised little more than enough to feed their families. Although the territorial prairies supported large herds of sheep, sheep raising was relatively unprofitable because of the continuing Indian raids and the scarcity of the animals. Furthermore, strenuous efforts to improve agricultural methods and livestock seemed pointless since New Mexico was so remote from any market. Thus, one of the first concerns of the territorial editors was the inducement of railway construction, which became the most important economic topic throughout the whole territorial era. Agitation for railroads continued for years, for New Mexico was so vast that many railways were needed for its development. Consequently the editors appeared indefatigable in their appetite for railroads. Once rail connections to markets were obtained, the press devoted more attention to the promotion of mining, irrigation, dry farming, and the livestock industry as a means of increasing New Mexican prosperity and population. With the characteristic enthusiasm and optimism of the frontier men, these

editors often exaggerated the prospects of New Mexico industries. Doubtless some persons who were led to make investments or to immigrate to New Mexico were harmed by this, but the press, on the whole, provided a worthwhile service with its attempt to improve the territorial economy.

New Mexico editors began promotion of the territorial economy in the 1850's by hopefully circulating plans for a Pacific railway. Such a railway was sure to come through New Mexico, they thought, since it had the advantages of more population, milder winters, and lower mountain ranges than other proposed routes. However, the Pacific railroad was to be influenced more by political developments than these considerations, so New Mexico waited until December, 1878, for its first railway. Then others quickly followed until in 1882 there were four major railroads: the Santa Fe, extending from Santa Fe to El Paso and Deming; the Southern Pacific, crossing the southwestern corner of the territory; the Atlantic and Pacific, joining Albuquerque to California; and the Denver and Rio Grande, stretching out from Colorado to Española. New Mexico gained no new lines until 1888 when the Fort Worth and Denver City crossed the northeastern corner of the territory. More railway construction followed in the 1890's, and before 1912 New Mexico had four new major lines. The Pecos Valley Northeastern was completed from Pecos to Amarillo, Texas, via the Pecos Valley. The El Paso Northeastern was built from El Paso to

Tucumcart and from there north to Dawson. In addition, other lines were constructed from Dalhart and Amarillo, Texas, to Tucumcart. The Santa Fe Central was built south from Santa Fe to Torrance via Estancia, and a new Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe line extended from Belen to Mexico. By 1912 New Mexico had an adequate, if not complete, rail network.

The territorial press was intensely concerned about all of these railways and dozens more that were never built. Press interest went through three stages. First, there was anticipation. Here each railway was followed from first rumors until actual construction began or the route was abandoned. Second, there was encouragement. In this stage the press aided in the selling of stock and the raising of money to insure that a line was launched and came by the editor's town. Finally, there were editorial complaints about high rates and bad practices that threatened to rob New Mexico of part of the fruits of the golden dreams these newspapers had nourished.

These golden dreams first became credible in 1857 with the chartering of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe railway by the Kansas legislature. In subsequent years they were fed by the advance of this and other lines toward New Mexico. Hopes were quickened by a congressional act of 1863 granting the state of Kansas twenty sections of township for each mile of track completed by the Santa Fe

railway.¹ Althou[^] construction of the Santa Fe line was delayed, editorial dreams were renewed by the interest of the Union Pacific in New Mexico. This company surveyed a route south from Wyoming to New Mexico and from there along the thirty-fifth and thirty-second parallels to the Pacific Coast.² Simultaneously a Union Pacific official came to New Mexico to talk to territorial leaders and to secure information about resources that could be exploited with rail transportation, which would provide revenues for such a route.³ At about this same time the Kansas Pacific contemplated a road to New Mexico, and the Texas Pacific was organized and planned to build its lines across southern New Mexico. The press noted these developments, with their collective attitude seemingly in accord with that of the Santa Fe New Mexican:

With these inspiring prospects in view, so far as our railroad prospects are concerned, we think we will discover a splendid earner for New Mexico in the near future.[^]

[^] Albuquerque Daily Democrat, December 22, 1882; Albuquerque Rio Abajo Times, October 13, 1863.

[^] Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, October 19, 1867. A War Department survey in the 1850's recommended four rail routes to the Pacific Coast, two of them through New Mexico. These two routes were often designated as the thirty-second and thirty-fifth parallel routes because their westward track was approximately along those latitudes,

[^] Santa Fe New Mexican, October 5, 1867.

[^] Ibid., May 25, 1867.

Prospects for a rail connection seemed even brighter in the early aeventies. The Santa Fe began construction of the eastern portion of its lines. The Denver and Rio Grande and Atlantic and Padrtc both planned lines which would pees thrcmgh lew Nexlco. The Albuquerque Republlcen Review noted the anxiety of Niseecnirtans and Calif omians for the comple-ticm of the latter line and commented:

If the people of the cities at the ends of the line are anxious for its ccxapletlcm. we *ere* certain that they are no more so than the people o:' Art zona and New Mexico.-^

Southem New Mexicans also had high hopes when firat work began upon the Texas and Pacific in 1873. At this time the Silver City Mining Life noted the presence of strangers in the area seeking ways to profit from this new transportation, and predicted: "It is evident from these 'signs of the times* that thia frontier la about to awake from its lethargy and bound forward in the career of progress. Ut the car roll cm.'" ⁶ However, the national de-prassion which began in 1873 forced New Mexicans to wait for aeveral years for the realization of their dreame, and not until 1878 did the anticipation of twenty years becoroe reelitiee. In that year the first rails ccn^sed the New

^ Ibid.. November 7. 1871; Albuquerque Republican Renew. PelcSEer 17, 1870, October 21, 1871.

⁶ Silver City Mining Ufe, June 7, 1873.

Nertco border and brought forth an enthueiastic greetinfr
 from the Ner.in<^ News: "HOOPLA! Railroad in Hew Merlco.
 We ara Joined to the world by Iron R#>ils. Three cheera and
 a 'Tiger.''^

Once the railways rcachd Hew Mexico, the editora
 began to dream of mora lines. They had ample precedent for
 this, for most other westezn editors had defie the same.
 And having seen as a result of proeK>tlonal efforts that
 some towns grew miraculously, editortal *pen*^ projected
 branches in every direction, with each editor hoping that
 his town would become a rail and trading center. The Albu-
 querque Pally Joumal looked forward to the time when Albu-
 querque would gain its third railway, the Denver and Rio
 Orande.⁸ In I882 the Albuquerque Daily Democrat predicted
 four new rail lines would eoon enter the city frxa the eaet.
 Thle optimistic building of psper railways by the terrltorisl
 editors continued for many years. The claims of the Albuquer.
 que editors became so extreme that a nearby newepeper Jested:
 "According to the Albuquerque Democrat, that city is about
 to experience the greatest railroad boom of modem times.
 Seven new roads are now being built on paper into the home
 of Munchausen's worthy successor.'⁹ The New Mexican was

^ Mesllla Hews, Dcceniber 4, I878,

^ Albuquerque Daily Joumal, November 30, 1880.
 A good source of information on railroads and town growth
 in the Southwest is Im B. Clark, Then Came the Railroadfr
 (Norman, 1:58).

^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, December 2, 1"86,

almost as bad, for that paper boasted in 1886 that "Santa Fe is destined to be a railroad center. Nearly all of the projected north and south lines take in this city as one of the points to be considered,"¹⁰ Uter editortels in a SimiUr vein apparently led the Albuquerque Daily Citizen to remark: "THE NEW MEXICAN has the happy faculty of cor- ralling all of the railroads and running them right into Santa Fe and deserves the gratitude of everybody at the capital."¹¹ These claims led the Daily Optic of Las Vegas to counterclaim that despite:

the boom in railroad making by our sister cities . . . we make this prediction and let our friends and enemies mark it; Las Vegas will be the first city in the territory to have a railroad connection to the east.¹²

This paper railway building continued until the end of the territorial era as a Tucumcari Tirade editorial shows:

Railroads continue to be built in New Mexico on paper. Several have sprung up in the past week and if the newspapers could only build the railroads as they *map* them out every town in New Mexico would have a dozen or more,¹³

¹⁰ Ibid., November 18, 1886.

¹¹ Albuquerque Daily Citizen as quoted in the Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, July 11, 1887.

¹² Las Vegas Daily Optic, January 17, 1887.

¹³ Tucumcari Tirade, September 3, 1887.

Along with their antlciipaticm of mora railways the editora painted brtght pictures of the rewarde to be gained from them. From first to last we find optimistic claiais that the railways would "swell our population, increase our wealth, and develop our vast internal rasoumes."¹⁴ One editor noted benefits accruing to Colorado from railroads:

Capital, labor, aiachinery knock at her door for admittance, manufactortes are being eetablished, . . . almost daily pleesure seekers spend their time and aKmey at her springe. . . . with railroads cmr future proeperity is assured, without them all our efforts will be failures.¹⁵

Editors continued to laake similar predictions until the twentieth century. For example, the Silver City Grant County Herald pradicted that 'If the Texae Pacific railroad bill passes the people of silver City will advance the prtce of their real estate about 500 per cent. . . .'¹⁶ The Albuquerque Review contended: "Thera will be such a rush to the territory as was only witnessed during the flush times in Califomia, . . . [with] Albuquerque being the center of the territory and the Junction of thme railroads . . . is not the futura bright for our flourishing little city."¹⁷ Even in the twentieth century this

¹⁴* Santa Fe New Mexican, October 5, 1867.

¹⁵ Us Vegas Omrette ae quoted in Santa Fe Weekly Sew Mexican, Decenber 15, 187¹.

¹⁶ Silver City Grant County Herald. Nay 11, 1878.

¹⁷ Albuquerque Review, December 4, 18P¹.

expectation that prosperity followed the building of railways can be seen, for in 1880 the Santa Fe New Mexican predicted: "When all of these projected railroads are built in New Mexico the territory will soon catch up to Colorado, and some day to Texas as far as population and wealth are concerned."¹⁸ Such editorial anticipations of railways to be built and a resultant expansion of the New Mexican economy whetted the appetite of the territorial public for these developments and prepared it for the next stage, direct aid and inducement to railways.

The main forms of aid and inducement encouraged by the editors were bonuses to the railways to insure that the lines would pass through or send branches to the established towns. As early as 1878 the people of Santa Fe learned that they might have to pay heavily to be on the railway lines. That year the Denver and Rio Grande sent officials to Santa Fe to demand of the town a \$200,000 cash bonus, right of way across Santa Fe County, and twenty acres in the city for a station and yard site. The city countered with an offer of \$92,000 in 6 per cent bonds—all that it could legally give them under federal statutes. Perhaps the attitude of the officials of Santa Fe was stiffened by the promise of an officer of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, then present in the capital city, that within a year his

¹⁸ Santa Fe New Mexican, July 27, 1900.

Mllimy would run It. track. Into th. town. The Itaw Kexlewi believed that the offer of \$92,000 was ample but apparently hoped that negotiations would not be broken off for it added:

The citizens of Santa Fe are prudent for long years of adversity have made them so, but we feel satisfied that they will not be outdone in liberality; and if these railroads pursue a noble and generous course toward them, they will respond in like spirit.¹⁹

The Denver and Rio Grande never built into Santa Fe, and the people of that town soon realized what would be required of them to enjoy rail connections, for the Santa Fe railway gave them an example with its treatment of Us Vegas. Before coming to Us Vegas the railway demanded of the town a bonus of \$10,000, right of way through the Us Vegas grant, 20 acres for a depot and yard, and 400 acres for a townsite. The Gazette of Us Vegas objected to the plan: "We favor giving the company all asked for except the U.S. proposition. That is the dead fly in the ointment. It is suicidal to the town."²⁰ The New Mexican also was hostile to the proposal:

The exorbitant demands of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe road upon the people of Us Vegas as a condition of establishing a depot near the town.

¹⁹ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, June 15, 1878.

²⁰ Us Vegas Gazette as quoted in Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican. March 29, 1878.

is denounced generally by the territorial press, and will result in the outgrowth of feeling not at all favorable to the road and its managers. The proposition smacks too much of the highwayman's "stand and deliver," to meet with favor anywhere; and the citizens of Las Vegas we think are hardly the kind to be bullied into impoverishing themselves for the benefit of a grasping corporation.

The people of Las Vegas gave the railway most of the concessions demanded, so that the new town of Las Vegas grew up on the stipulated townsite between the original town and the railway station. Other New Mexico towns, therefore, knew well in advance that might be required of them to enjoy rail connections.²² Santa Fe, however, had an even more difficult problem with which to deal. Because of the steep grades into the capital city, the railroad decided to pass by the town. Realizing that this might mean the ultimate extinction of Santa Fe, the New Mexican sought to induce the city to vote for bonds with which to pay part of the cost of building a branch line into Santa Fe:

The extra cost of making Santa Fe a station is indeed a *proper* subject of consideration; and no doubt there is justice in Santa Fe considering the equity of bearing a portion of the extra cost. As Santa Fe interests would be specifically benefitted . . . there would be good business sense in fairly

²² Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, April 5, 1877 \

Albuquerque was similarly divided into old and new towns. Mesilla refused to pay the price for rail connections and the station was placed at Las Cruces. Today Mesilla is but a historic landmark, but Las Cruces is a thriving metropolis.

meeting the logic of the situation.^

Other territorial editors, realizing the danger to Santa Fe, also approved of the bond issue:

The 4th day of October next will decide whether Santa Fe will have a railroad or not. Only \$150,000 in bonds are required for the building of the road and assuring the prosperity of the Holy City. It is hinted, however, that the bonds will meet considerable opposition, but we can hardly give credence to such a report. The people are too intelligent to commit such a fault knowing it would be the destruction of the city.^

Even before this branch line was completed, Santa Fe learned that it was not to be on the line of the Denver and Rio Grande, for that line had made an agreement with the Atchafalaya, Topeka, and Santa Fe to build no farther south in New Mexico than Espanola. However, the citizens of Santa Fe, undaunted by this began the organization of a company, the Texas, Santa Fe, and Northern, to build a line to connect their city with the Denver and Rio Grande and

^ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, September 21, October 4, 1877. L. L. Waters. Feel Rails to Santa Fe (Lawrence, Kansas, 1880), pp. 56-57, states that Santa Fe County voted a bond issue to aid the building of a line into Santa Fe. Waters makes no mention of the Santa Fe railway's demanding town sites at Las Vegas and Albuquerque. But he notes (pp. 247-48) that a Santa Fe subsidiary, the Arkansas Valley Town and Land Company, between 1870 and 1886 selected sites and claimed more than 100 towns along the Santa Fe lines. Therefore it appears that the territorial reports' accounts of the demands of the railway at Las Vegas and Albuquerque are reasonably near the truth of the matter,

^^ U. S. Cruces Thirty-Four as quoted in Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, October 1877.

hoped eventually to extend this line acmth to Uredo, T^xas, Santa Fa County was again asked to vote bonds, but Bhis tiire the measure was defeated. The Hew Nertcan opposed this bcmd issue, probably because the paper was now the property of major atockholdera of the Santa Fe railway. Uter, however, ^^ Wcw Mexican Rertew, under a new ownership, endorsed the issuance of \$250,000 in bcmds for this project, and the votera approved. Albuquerqueiue was the next c>bjectlve of the Texas, Santa Fe, and Northern, and the Albuquerque papers endorsed the raising of money and voting of bonds to sid in ccmstruction of the line.²⁶

Throughout the territortal era newspapers ccmtinued to support bond issues and subsidies for railroads to induce them to come to their towns. For example, in 1909, when a line from Fbrt Worth to Albuquerque was planned, Lubbock, Heraford, and Roswell offerad \$100,00^ each to the railway to build through their towns. The Portales Roosevelt County Herald asked fellow townsmen to make a aimilar offer:

^ Santa Fe Weekly lew Mexican, May 10, June 16, August P^, 1880, July 7^ iBBg.

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Albuquerque Evcnlnp^ Review, July 27, 1^82; Albuquerque Noming Journal ar. quoted in Santa Fe Weekly lew Mexican. February Vi, "lol^4. Tjie?o bonds, however, were never Issued since the line which was eventuelly built stop- ped at Santa Fo. Santa Fe County defaulted on both sets of railway bonds as did Grant County for the bonds issued to build a line connecting Silver C*ty with the Santa Fe and Southem Pecific at Doming. However, the Enabling Act of 1910 prortded, that the new state of Hew Nexlco assume the 6bt8 of iti counties, and ^t was by this means that about 6.000,000 was paid to settle for the bonds and delinquent interest.

" . . . why may not Portales have the new road? We can do it if we will, but will we? Other towns are acting, shall we not do something and do it now?"²⁷ Thus, it can be seen that the territorial press quickly turned from dreams of railway-induced prosperity to the practical reality of insuring that this prosperity would flow into their towns. In so doing the editors were wise, for the railroads, knowing that they had the power to destroy or insure the prosperity of these small towns, sought to gain for themselves or their stockholders part of the increased real estate values accruing to rail centers. Consequently the editors resolutely fought for the railway bonuses, for the alternative was eventual ruin for their towns.

While the territorial press cooperated fully in securing bonuses for railway construction, it was an unrelenting critic of other unjust railway practices. For example, when the legislature in 1878 sought to encourage the building of railroads into New Mexico by establishing maximum rates of ten cents *per* mile for passengers and fifteen cents per mile *per* ton of freight, some papers immediately attacked the policy. The Mesilla Valley Independent commented that this rate was exceptionally high since in most states maximum passenger rates were three cents a mile.²⁸ In 1882 the Santa Fe Democrat urged the legislature

²⁷ Portales Roosevelt County Herald, July 2, 1900.

²⁸ Mesilla Valley Independent, February 2, 1878.

to lower these rates to: "rtd the Terrttory of the monopoly, thraldom, and unjust discrtmination of our railroads. "^^ Psssen^er rates were ertdently lowered to six cents per mile st this time, for two yeara later efforts wera raade to further reduce thea to three eentr. The Daily Optic of Us Vegas approved: "We think the Santa Fe c^M^pany can new effort to earry passengers for three cents '> mile."³⁰ The legislature never approved of the tiiree cent rtite, but one railway had not yet comm^ed with the six cent rate several yeara later. In 1888 the Daily Optic noted: "The Southem Pacific Railjroad pays no attentlcm to the Terrttortal statute but ccmtinues to charge T^ cents per nile in New Mexico. The road ought to be cc>npelled to observe the raquireaents of the law."³¹ At length the Santa Fe voluntartly reduced its rates to four cents *per r^assender* mile, and the New Mexican called upon the other carrters serrtng the territory to follow sult.^ Press crtticism here appears to have been of some aid in reducing unjust rail rates.

Other unfair practice^i, such as higher rates for short hauls tbrn lone hauls, .?lso were attacked by the ter-ritortal press. The Lord-^hur- Aivsnc^ noted thi-n policy of

^^^ Santa Fe Democrat as cuoted In Lis Cmces Kio Grande Republican, FeVru'cry -i, 1882.

³⁰ Us Ve^as Daily Optic, M^rch 1, 1884.

³¹ "^^ Ibid., June 11, 1888.

³² Santa Fe Weekly Nev; Mexican Review, June 7, 1888.

the San Antonio Pacific and told its readers that they could have freight from the east consigned to someone in California and reshipped to them for less than the rate from the east into Urburg.³³ Because three lines competed for freight shipments to El Paso, it cost less to ship to that point than to the New Mexico towns. The Rio Grande Republican of San Cruces called attention to this and conducted a campaign to lower the rate between *here* Cruces and El Paso. At length this paper boasted: "Truly the RIO GRANDE REPUBLICAN is accomplishing much for shippers here. It is but a short time since we had the rates from El Paso reduced 800 per cent (from \$2.70 to 33¢). . . ." ³⁴ Other New Mexico papers noted the much higher cost of shipping freight east than west. As an illustration, the Albuquerque Journal reported that: "It cost \$33 a ton to ship hay to Albuquerque from San Cruces, while it can be brought from Kansas for \$12." ^{OCX} Although a few unfair practices of the Santa Fe railway may have been corrected, there were still abuses on some lines as late as 1886. In that year, for example, the Santa Rosa Star cited instances of lower rates from Chicago to El Paso than for the shorter

³³ Urburg Advance as quoted in Silver City Interpreter, January 9, 1886.

³⁴ San Cruces Rio Grande Republican, May 28, 1886,

³⁵ Albuquerque Journal as quoted in San Cruces Rio Grande Republican, February 18, 1882.

distance from Chicago to Santa Rosa.³⁶ Since discriminatory rates still prevailed in 1908, apparently the chief contribution of the territorial press was that of adding its voice to the general clamor of the American press, which led to the strengthening of the Interstate Commerce Commission to combat such practices.

Other editorial criticism affecting the railways voiced the objection of some editors to the special tax advantages extended to railroads in 1878. The legislature in that year voted to exempt railways from taxation for the first six years after they were completed, apparently hoping to induce lines to build into New Mexico. The Mesilla Valley Independent noted this bill was being considered and admonished the legislature to reject it, contending that if railways could not make a profit in New Mexico they should not come.³⁷ The Silver City Grant County Herald agreed with this and maintained also that such legislation would not induce a railway to build into New Mexico that had not already intended to do so. This paper also charged that a railroad lobby must have secured the enactment of this law, but this proved to be only partially true.³⁸ In 1883 and

³⁶ Santa Rosa Sun, May 8, 1908.

³⁷ Mesilla Valley Independent, January 19, 26, 1878.

³⁸ Silver City Grant County Herald as quoted in Mesilla Valley Independent March 2, 1878. The Independent, however, stated that the railway lobby arrived only after the bill favorable to railways was passed. It was later

1884 Santa Fe and Grant counties sought, despite the law of 1878, to collect taxes from the railways, maintaining that the act of 1878 was void because a congressional act of 1867 forbade territories to give railways special privileges. The papers of both counties thoroughly approved of this action of the county officials, but the territorial courts upheld the act of 1878 upon the basis that it was a contract

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and that tax exemption was not a special privilege. Despite the protests of the press, consequently, the railroads were given the benefit of the law of 1878. This law was repealed in 1887 at the instigation of the press, but a similar act was passed in 1893 and evidently remained in effect until statehood.⁴⁰ The New Mexican strongly favored the re-enactment of the law, and there was little apparent objection from the rest of the territory to railroad press.⁴¹ Since

revealed in a congressional investigation (see Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 2, March 17, 1884), that C. P. Huntington had secured the appointment of Governor R. B. Axtell, and he, acting in Huntington's behalf, encouraged the legislature to enact the law, and apparently the law authorizing the exceptionally high rates noted above, Axtell was soon removed as New Mexico governor for his actions in the Lincoln County War. However, in 1881 Huntington was able to have him appointed territorial chief Justice. Axtell then favored Huntington again by upholding the tax exemption law in a test case. See below,

3[^] Convent City Enterprise, June 2[^], July 6, 188[^]; Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, December 27, 18[^]3, February 7, 1884; Silver City Flouringmill Sentinel, January 1[^]. li[^] 4. See also note 33 above.

4[^] Santa Fe New Mexican Review, February 16, 18[^]3; Santa Rose Sun, December 1, 18[^]3, notes that railway built "even year" earlier in Guadalupe County would pay their first taxes that year.

5[^] Santa Fe New Mexican Review, January-12, February, 18[^]3.

New Mexico was in a period of economic depression in 1893, the editors probably were ready to agree to any move that might bring a measure of economic relief to the territory. Possibly the New Mexican was right in favoring this, since three large railways were subsequently built by promoters who had very little capital.⁴² This act may have helped them to acquire needed capital and hastened railway construction in New Mexico. Perhaps the editors were right in both cases, for it does not appear that the special tax advantage induced the Santa Fe, Southern Pacific, and Atlantic and Pacific to build in New Mexico--other considerations had motivated them more and earlier. On the other hand, since most of the railways constructed after 1893 were started by small independent companies, this law may have been instrumental in speeding their construction.

The contribution of the press to this phase of the economic development of New Mexico appears to have been significant, for railways gave a great impetus to territorial growth. Thus, any aid the press could give toward obtaining them was worthwhile, similarly. In favoring bonuses for railroads for putting the stations near the established towns, the press took a realistic attitude, preventing the extinction of these towns and great losses to their citizens. Finally, editorial criticism of unjust

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and Santa Fe Central. Pecos Valley Northeastern, El Paso Northeastern,

rates and practices probably helped to bring some immediate relief to New Mexico and became a part of the general clamor of the American press and thus served to impress the federal government with the necessity of action. While press action concerning railways may not always have been beneficial to the public at large, it did help to speed the economic development of New Mexico which benefitted all of the public.

The introduction of rail transportation hastened the development of mining, one of New Mexico's major industries in the territorial years. The lure of mineral wealth has played an important part in the history of New Mexico, bringing first, Spanish explorers, and finally in 1598, its first permanent settlers. Mining operations in the Spanish and Mexican periods failed to produce great riches, but there was enough evidence of precious metals that the earliest Anglo-American inhabitants saw this as the principal route for the development of New Mexico. The first mining camp opened in the American era apparently was that at Pinos Altos, on the Gila River northwest of present day Silver City. While mining there was halted by the Civil War and the Indian wars that followed, territorial mining was rapidly expanded in the post-war period. Operations were resumed at Pinos Altos, and in 1866 a gold strike in the Mogono Valley led to the founding of Elizabethtown. A few years later silver was discovered in southwestern

New Nertco, which led to the founding of towns at Ralston, 1869, Silver City, 1870, and Oeorgeton, 1874. When railways came to the territory, a large number of new miners came into this area. As a result, intensive development of mines near Socorro began in 1880, and before 1884 new discoveries had led to the opening of camps at Robinson, Uke Valley, Kingston, Chlortde, and Hillsboro. Although this area, the Chlortde Plstrtct, produced a great deal of silver throughout the territorial era, its greatest production came before the decline in silver prices. Meanwhile, gold mines were discovered at White Oaks. After the initial discovery there in 1879, the camp soon attracted over 2,000 people. During these same years following the construction of the railways, many other discoveries were made in northern New Mexico at Hell's Canon, Cerfilloa, San Pedro, Wallace, Golden, Amizett, Ubelle, Hed River, and Tecolote.

While these discoveries of precious metals were being exploited, minerals of a different type were being developed. The need of the railways for coal led to the exploitation of New Mexico's ample resources, first at Raton, then at Cerrillos, Gallup, and Carthage, to the southeast of Socorro. Even in the territorial era the people of the San Juan Valley expected the huge coal resources of their area to be developed, but a lack of transportation prevented this. However, the needs of Arizona copper mines for coking coal led to the opening of mines at Capitan and Dawson.

But dances of another common fuel, oil, were discovered quite early, for in 1882 newsmen noted its presence in small quantities at Coolidge. However, lack of markets held back the development of this resource in northwestern New Mexico, and the first extensive oil development began near Artesia only in 1909. Meanwhile, the mining of precious metals had almost come to an end without New Mexico's ever having enjoyed a great boom such as that which had brought a flood of population into California or Colorado. Nevertheless, New Mexicans in 1912 were optimistic that the development of the mineral fuels would provide the major industry which the state needed for its prosperity.

The role of the press in aiding the growth of the territorial mining industry took three forms. The first, and earliest, was the effort to induce someone to *COIPC* into New Mexico to open mines. The second stage was the announcement of exciting mineral discoveries, which, through the system of newspaper exchange, spread the news far and wide and brought a mass of miners into New Mexico. Finally, the *Press*, encouraged importation of capital for the full development of the mines. This took the form of routine reporting of the general mining news of their areas to induce capitalists to invest in New Mexico mines, and the encouragement of the building of smelters, exhibits at mineral fairs, and government geological surveys, all of which would aid the mining industry. It was in this last stage that the press

made its most valuable contribution, and at some sacrifice, for where the first two stages presented news copy of great and general interest, the last stage included a great deal of dull and routine reporting uninteresting to the general reader.

The first stage of press participation in the development of territorial mineral resources began with the initial issue of the first English language newspaper of New Mexico. The editor of the Santa Fe Republican held out the prospect of a rapid advance for New Mexico from mining development:

It is admitted by all that this country is rich in mineral wealth, and it is equally admitted fact that large districts, rich not only in the precious metals, but Iron, coal and other productions, have been neglected and suffered to retain their hidden treasures on account of the Indian tribes that infest the country.—If peace be restored . . . then the wealth of New Mexico can begin to show itself. . . . Obtain scientific miners from the United States, let some old miners come here and but make a commencement. and we will soon have more prosperity in New Mexico than in any state subject to the rule of Santa Ana.^^

Almost twenty years later the Santa Fe New Mexican noted that extensive prospecting for minerals had begun, and as a result the immigration which all territorial editors desired would begin to pour into New Mexico, for:

^^ Santa Fe Republican, October 10, 1847. Similar «stories appeared in later issues of this paper.

New discoveries of mineral wealth during the past year . . . when fully developed will almost surpass human credibility. A new empire of wealth west of the Rio Grande is springing into the knowledge of the people and will add an additional encouragement to an enterprising immigration to settle in New Mexico. . . . These mines are equally, if not more, valuable than the mines of California and Colorado, and far more easily worked.[^]

In 1866 also mining began at Elizabethtown, although the great impetus to territorial mining actually came in southwestern New Mexico. With the dissemination of the news of the rich mines at Silver City, the long awaited immigration began to flow into the territory. The enthusiastic reports of the Silver City mines in the Borderer of Los Cruces probably helped to spread this news. This paper used three-quarters of its first page in one issue to describe the mines and listed assays of the ores being produced, most of which were from \$1,000 to \$8,000⁴⁵ per ton. Thus, editorial desires for mineral development, with the expected surge of immigration that would accompany it, led the press to make repeated optimistic predictions about impending discoveries or real discoveries of mines in New Mexico. Such stories encouraged hardy prospectors to come to New Mexico and to persevere in their efforts to find mineral wealth.

These discoveries at Silver City led the press into the second stage of encouragement to the mining industry.

^{^^} Santa Fe New Mexican, April 6, 1866,

[^] Los Cruces Borderer, March 27, 1871.

the announcement of the exciting discovery. The Hera editors often resorted to extravagant claims to hasten the growth of their towns. For example, the San Pedro Golden 9 Nine claimed that:

When a man buys a San Pedro town lot at a nominal figure, washes about \$1,000 in placer gold in his back yard, and strikes a lead in his cellar he isn't taking any chances. . . .

People planning to move to San Pedro, bring a tent or wagon cover etc. with which to improvise a tent to live in . . . no for let signs here. ^®

The general public was always eager to believe such stories, as was shown by an incident at Las Vegas in 1883. There workmen digging a foundation for a new courthouse in West Las Vegas quit work and filed a mining claim on the

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lot upon which the courthouse was being constructed. Apparently this was nothing more than a plot of Las Vegas citizens to halt the construction of the courthouse until they could have it moved to the new town. However,

^ San Pedro Golden 2 Nine, July 18, 1883.

^^ Las Vegas Daily Optic, December 17, 1883, to March 21, 1884, passim. Many considered it legally possible to do this in this period because Las Vegas lay on a Spanish land grant. Spanish and Mexican land grants did not convey the rights to minerals to the grantee. Many believed then that under United States law a mining claim could be filed upon such lands. This caused a great deal of conflict until the federal court ruled that under United States laws a title to the surface carried with it the title to mineral rights as well. Probably there was a small amount of gold on the courthouse lot and around Las Vegas, for there are several extensive areas in New Mexico where the top soil contains \$1.00 to \$3.00 of gold dust per ton.

more than 600 of the people of Ue Veggie rushed into the nearby hills to file mining claims and a:old meheee flocked into town. The Daily Olilvl *** apparently torn between a desire to stop the foolishness and a hope that gold would be found and bring a tremendous growth to the town:

It has arrived at the point where it behooves the people of Ue Vegas to bestir themselves to find a foundation for the mining boom that is upon us. Every train brings a score or more of men into our city—men who have read the glowing accounts of the recent gold strikes in newspapers far and near, and it will not do to sit idly in our offices and residences and be surprised to see them come. Let us give evidence of the faith that is in us by rolling up our sleeves and going into the mountains with these men.*^

The attitude of the Daily Optic was characteristic of most territorial editors; they hesitated to report less than the best estimate of any new discovery, fearing that they would be blamed for retarding the growth of their town and its mines. Nevertheless, editors occasionally recognized that they had a duty to avoid exaggeration. For example, the New Mexican wrote: "Newspapers which believed that by lying extravagantly about the richness of a district nearby they are benefitting it make a great mistake." This provoked the Silver City Daily Southwest to reply: "Only then do you keep up the practice!" The Rio Grande

48 Ue Vegas Daily Optic, December PP, 1883.

49 Santa Fe New Mexican r.r. quoted and answered in the Silver City Daily Southwest, August 24, 1883.

Republican of Us Cmces held thst such exacgeratlon was not only harmful but futile:

The bare assertion so often made by the newspaper of this Territory . . . that New Mexico is "the gold seekera goal"; that it "contains mora rold and silver than Colorado and Nevade, &c. is not helping the mining interests of the terrttory. Capital seeking e field for investment is not attracted by such statements as these. They are naturally regarded as an attempt to puff life into soeieething that has no ertstence In fact. These papers can do more good by looking up the news and stating the facts of the disccrraries and developments Uartng capitalists to draw their own ccmclusions.⁵⁰

To make matters worse, some papers published news stertes which clearly exaggerated the value of some mines, apparently in the hope of lurtng prospective purhaserr. This serrtce was a form of advertising for which the mine owner paid, and was used in the iBB^'s by the Albuoueroue Noming Democrat. the Albuquerque Morning Joumal, the New Mexican,⁵¹ and possibly others.

Thus, in this stage of press interest in mining editors freely indulged in exaggeraticm and sometimes published paid propa|!:andn as news stories to hasten population growth and induce the importation of capital ,^cr the development of territorial mineral rasouroes. At length, however.

⁵⁰ Ue Cruces Rio Grande Republican, June 11, 1881.

⁵¹ Ur. Vegae Deilly Optic. July 1, 1881, and Silver CUy Entemrie, July fe, iB^I^; Albuquerque Dally Joumal, April 1 to May 5. August 8, o, i881; Albuquerque Morning ^ocrat. June 21, 22. September I to October 3. 1881 nllyhty> R^mm*» Po^'nty A^ivorete. January 20. 1B^3.

they realized that territorial mineral development would be aided best by factual stories about New Mexico mines. This change of attitude ushered in the third stage of progress in interest in mines, their encouragement of capital investment for full mineral development.

By the mid-eighties ~~8K~~st New Mexico papers had begun a routine factual coverage of the development of the camps, often devoting a large portion of their space to this practice. Their intent was to advertise the camp to attract both capital and new miners. Considering the widespread use of exchanged papers as news sources, their stories were often spread far beyond their towns. A quotation from the Chicago Ninety Review illustrates the influence of their efforts:

The chief factor of the development of the mining industry in any locality is the unappreciated and usually poorly sustained local paper. The true value of the mining claims, the advantage to capital etc, the rich strike of well conducted properties all fail of their legitimate influence if the fact is not made known outside the narrow circle of isolated localities.^{5^}

Another way in which the territorial press sought to aid miners lay in its efforts to induce local businessmen to build smelter[^] or custom mill, which would enable the roller mines with low grade ores to operate profitably.

^{^^} Chicago Ninety Review as quoted in : Denver City Enterprise, September 7, 1887. ~~see also~~ US Vegas [^] Optic, December 1[^], 1879-

The papers at Silver City, Ue Cruces, and Albuquerque apparently helped to raise capital to erect such plants.⁵³

In addition, newspapers provided leadership for efforts to obtain government aid in the form of mineral surveys, the promotion of territorial mining by the preparation of entries in mineral claims,⁵⁴ and by their long fight for free silver.⁵⁵

On the whole, it appears that the territorial press made a substantial contribution to the advancement of the New Mexico mining industry. This was done first by encouraging the patient prospectors to come and make the initial discoveries, then by reporting accurate factual details which led capitalists to invest funds to fully develop the mines, and finally by asking for government and private aid to mine. Even though New Mexico never experienced a boom such as those of California or Colorado, mining was one of its chief industries for most of the territorial period, and the press had aided the territorial economy by helping to make mining a major New Mexico industry.

53 Laa Cruces Rio Grande Republican, August 27, 1881, July 28, November 1, IBbA, May 17. IB64i Silver City Southwest Sentinel, August 24, 1882; Silver City Enterprise, July 6, 1891, November 1, 1891; Hilleboro Sierra County Advertiser, February 14, 1885; Albuquerque Daily Journal, December 3, 1880.

54 Many examples see Silver City Enterprise, July 4, 1890; Silver City Independent, May 12, 1903; Socorro Chlef-teln. Namh 3, 1903.

55 See Chapter IV.

Although the livestock industry of New Mexico produced a very large portion of the territorial income throughout this era, the press had a great deal less interest in livestock production than in the mining industry. Perhaps this was true because the chance of sudden wealth from mining and the resultant great immigration into the territory made the editors more eager to encourage it. What interest the press had for the livestock industry was in four areas. First there was the effort to encourage the development of better sheep breeds. Next, came an invitation from the press to cattlemen to take advantage of the vast unoccupied range in New Mexico. Following this, there was an attempt to improve cattle breeds and to foster the organization of a cattleman's association, which was encouraged to defend the interests of the New Mexico cattle industry. Finally, the editors became concerned with the manner in which the ranchers used the public domain—offering both criticism and a defense of the ranchers. Nevertheless, throughout this period the general territorial press devoted a relatively small amount of its space to the livestock industry.

When New Mexico became a United States Territory, the raising of sheep was its principal industry. These sheep were generally of poor quality, raised more for mutton than wool. Although there had been some cattle raising in New Mexico from the days of the earliest Spanish settlements, cattle ranching did not become important until the

1870's. Then Texas cattlemen, who had driven cattle into New Mexico in the 1860's to sell to miners, military posts, and Indian reservations, began to establish ranches. However, until the 1880's the territorial cattle industry lagged far behind that of many western states because of a shortage of water and the distance from markets. But with the advent of the railways and the pre-emption of the free range in many other areas, New Mexican grasslands became well stocked with cattle. By 1882 the large cattle companies were seeking to crowd out the small ranchers and sheep raisers by fencing large areas of the public domain. The territorial cattle industry continued to grow in the following years, despite declining prices in 1884 and the severe winters of 1886 and 1887 that had discouraged ranchers elsewhere.⁶ In 1893, however, New Mexico ranges were understocked and remained so until the early years of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, in this decade territorial livestock growers were confronted with new difficulties. Laws forbidding fencing of the public domain, which had been enacted in 1885, were at length enforced by the national

⁶ These winters, which had been so disastrous for cattlemen of the northern Great Plains area, were only slightly colder than normal in New Mexico, and cattle losses were very light according to the El Vegae Daily Optic, April 30, 1887. There was no noticeable objection to this statement by other territorial papers, and since the ranches around El Vegae are more likely to feel the effects of winter weather than most ranges in New Mexico, it appears that the statement of the Daily Optic was correct.

government, and an advancing wave of homesteaders into eastern New Mexico pre-empted some of the best rangelands. In addition, ranchers faced the prospect of a federal law to force them to lease the public domain they had long used free of charge. All of these seemed to indicate a sharp curtailment of the livestock industry in the final territorial years. By this time, however, the press had lost much of its interest in the livestock industry and had turned to the more fascinating subject of dry farming, which the editors hoped would make the ranges into farms and triple the population of the territory.

The earliest display of interest in the livestock industry by the territorial editors was their effort to improve the quality of New Mexico sheep. To illustrate, the Santa Fe New Mexican in 1870 urged the importation of rams which would improve the wool production of territorial sheep.⁵⁷ After this paper took note when sheepmen imported such rams, which also encouraged increased wool production.⁵⁸ The Daily Optic of Las Vegas became interested in sheep culture for a short time and cited examples of profit:— of 100 per cent or more made possible with the better breeds of sheep available.⁵⁹ Otherwise, the sheep industry elicited

⁵⁷ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, September 27, 1870.

⁵⁸ ibid., Issues of July 18, 1873, and March 13, 1875. ⁵⁹ ibid. 2, 1876. provide other examples,

⁵⁹ Las Vegas Daily Optic, April 28, 1880, February 2, 1881.

few comments from the general press from 1880 until 1890, and only then because the wool tariff had become a political issue. However, sheep raising remained important, for a report of the territorial government in 1900 noted that sheep outnumbered cattle in New Mexico 4,000,000 to 1,000,000. Furthermore, in 19⁷ the New Mexican estimated that the territorial per capita income from sheep was almost \$40 annually.⁶⁰

Despite the predominance of sheep in numbers and apparently as providers of income, the territorial press after 1880 made cattle the subject of most of their news stories and editorials that concerned the livestock industry. For example, the Cimarron News and Press in January, 1880, published an extensive editorial which invited cattlemen to take advantage of the excellent grasslands nearby and described the profits that could be made from cattle production—profits of over 250 per cent during a five year period.⁶¹ The Albuquerque Daily Journal in scattered editorials in 1881 and 1882 reported the value of the cattle

⁶⁰ Santa Fe New Mexican, August 1, 1887; see also Chapter IV. There is a readily apparent reason for the editors' lack of interest in the sheep industry, possibly it was because the sheepmen were principally Spanish-American and the cattlemen were Anglo-Americans and more likely subscribers to the papers. In addition, cattlemen at one time were good customers of the papers because of their advertisements (see Chapter II). Under these conditions the editors were more likely to take an interest in cattlemen and publish news of their activities,

⁶¹ Cimarron News and Press. January 22, 1880.

industry in New Mexico, predicting annual profits of almost 200 *per cent* once the rancher was well established. In addition, this paper pointed to the advantage? of the mild New Mexico winters.⁶² The Rio Grande Republican of Us Cruces stated that cattle, which were being forced out of Tbxas, Kansas^ and Califomia by an increase in farming in these states, would be welcomed in New Mexico and would *never* be molested by fanaers. Furthermore, the editor op-
tUistically predicted that the cattle would "by their natural increase compel [the cattlemapl to become wealthy in spite of himself."⁶³ The 0?>ily Optic also extended such en inrttstion in 1884 and denied that New Mexico ranges were overetocked—such deceivinftr statcsnents were by stockmen who vented ell of the range to themselves. But even then terri-
tortal rangee were apparency well etocked, I'or in 1887 the Daily Optic contended that the New Mexico *rsingee* were .ully ly occupied.⁶⁴ Since ranges throughout the 'e^t were over-
etocked by 1887, probably the growth of the New :/?rico cat-
tle induetry was more the result of a n-t^onri t;(-n^ than the efforts of these editors. Nevertheless it may be con-
cluded that by their invitation the editors hc^ helped to bnng cattlemen to Nev Mexico,

^^ Albuouerque Daily Journal* April 5. 1881, Janu-
ary 23, October 4, November 29, 1001'.

^^ Us Cmces Mo Grande Republican, March 22, 1884.

⁶⁴ Ur. Vegas Deily Optic, November 11, 18v^4, April
30, 1887,

Almost simultaneously with their enticements to new cattlemen the editors began to recommend the Importation of better cattle for breeding purposes. The Cimarron News and Press in 1880 noted the prospect of overstocking the range and recommended that ranchers buy more productive cattle which would return the same profits on less land.⁶⁵ Subsequently other editors noted with praise the importation of high quality range bulls, and thus fostered breeding improvements.⁶⁶ The press retained its interest in better breeding; for example, in 1899 the Silver City Independent recommended cattlemen that the surest way to increase cattle profits was to improve cattle breeds.⁶⁷ The editors made a worthwhile contribution here, for the improvement of cattle breeds provided increased profits while the encouragement of cattle raising earlier had led to a disastrous overstocking.

Another contribution of the press to the cattle industry was its support of efforts to organize local and territorial associations of cattlemen.⁶⁸ Later the editors

⁶⁵ Cimarron News and Press, June 3, 1880.

⁶⁶ For examples see San Lorenzo Red River Chronicle, July 15, 1882; Lee, Cimarron Rio Grande Republican, June 9, 1883, April 10, 1886; Las Vegas Daily Gazette, August 26, 1881,

⁶⁷ Silver City Independent, January 1, April 25, 1899.

⁶⁸ Las Vegas Daily October 1, March 11, 1881; Santa Fe New Mexican Review, January 7, 1884; Las Cimarron Rio Grande Republican, February 9, March 15, 1884.

asked these associations to oppose the movement of Texas cattle into New Mexico by asking for rigid enforcement of the territorial cattle quarantine law. Apparently this was true, since earlier herds had infected New Mexico cattle with Texas fever.⁶⁹ When the editors learned, as the result of a congressional investigation, that a combination of meat packers was conspiring to reduce the price of cattle, they asked for federal action against the packers. Here again the press came to alert the cattlemen to dangers threatening their industry and to arouse public support for governmental policies favorable to ranchers.⁷⁰

On the other hand, a few editors did not hesitate to criticize unjust actions of some cattlemen. The San Antonio Fed River Chronicle, for example, censured the larger cattle companies for illegal homesteading which took away water rights from smaller ranchers. This paper also noted the consolidation of the range by these large cattle companies and suggested a cooperative system to protect the rights of the smaller ranchers.*⁷¹ Few editors approved of

⁶⁹ Santa Fe New Mexican Review, January 29, March 7, 1885; Us Cmces Riongrande Repuglitan, February P. 1st; Silver City Enterprise, September 2, October 1st - «Thene cattle had been ordered removed from the Indian Territory by President Grover Cleveland, and their owners were seeking range for them in New Mexico and Arizona.

⁷⁰ Us Vegas Stock Grower, May 18th, June 1, August 17, 1880; Albuquerque PrillyTnTFen, May 1, 1890.

⁷¹ Lorenzo ned River Chronicle, October 2, November 4, 1880.

another bad practice, the illegal fencing of public lands.

⁷² ⁷² ^ivar Chronicle, for cme, condemned this ^{^nr^} con-
tended that "no man has s rtght to take what i;? not his

own." ⁷² The Silver City Enterprtse also objected to this
practice end held that small cattlemen had "the same rtght
te grass and water as the larger cattlemen who have the

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means to fence." Many editors, on the other hand, sym-
pathized with the building of drtft fences, which prevented
cattle from drtfting end made roundups easier. ⁷⁴ However,

in the end the editors asked a rtgorous enforceaent of the
law against fencing the public ionp^n because such fences
retarded the settlement of the much more desirable horae-

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steads. In this instance the >^rr:a probably had little
influence upon the ranchers, but it did contribute to the
general clamor of the Amerctan r>Terr. which led the federal
government to forbid the fencing of the public lands and
auch later to the enforcement of this law.

⁷⁴ ⁷⁴ Ibl£., Noveaber 28, 1882.

⁷⁴ ⁷⁴ Silver C!ty Entemrise, December 21, 1883. Al-
thou^ Intertor Department mī es, terrttortal courts, and
• congrassional act of 1885 forbade the fencing of the pub-
lie domain, it was continued p?^st 19^".

⁷⁴ ⁷⁴ Santa Fe 'm'^^^^^ New Mexican, December ?^, I'^^^;
Senta Pe New Mexican In^^TT^^-^TIPr. I'^^^; Portales Times, May
?, love^beF'2T^, I'i'^^.

⁷⁴ ⁷⁴ Santa Fe Ne* Mexican, December 11, 1^05, April
17, 1906.

Another controversial issue concerning the public lands was the prospect that the federal government would charge a rental for the use of these lands. When Texas began to lease public range lands, the New Mexican held that the application of this policy in New Mexico would retard immigration since it was having that effect in Texas.⁷⁶ The Socorro Chieftain vigorously opposed the lease plan. Its main objection was that under such a plan larger ranchers would be able to force out the smaller ones.⁷⁷ The Silver City Enterprise, on the other hand, favored such a law since it legalized fencing. With fenced ranges ranchers would reduce operating costs, conserve grass, develop better watering facilities, and purchase better breeding stock, since they had the assurance they would be the chief beneficiaries of that improved stock.⁷⁸ The Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, which had already noted the advantage cited by the Enterprise, held that they did not offset other disadvantages of the lease law. It maintained that such a law would be harmful to small ranchers, would discourage homesteaders, and that the fencing, which in many cases would cost more than the value of the land, would impose a heavy tax burden on the ranchers.⁷⁹ In general, the editors

⁷⁶ New Mexican, August 6, 1885.

⁷⁷ Socorro Chieftain, December 15, 1899, January 5, February 2, 1900.

⁷⁸ Silver City Enterprise, August 16, 1901.

⁷⁹ Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, February 18, 1900.

opposed the enactment of a federal lease law until it became apparent that such a law was inert table⁸⁰. Since the lease law eventually enacted provided a very low rental and favored the small over the large rancher, apparently the attitude of the territorial press, again as a part of the general western press, had helped to guide the federal government toward a policy favorable to the livestock industry.

Thus, it appears that the territorial press had been an able champion and protector of the New Mexican livestock industry. It had first invited the ranchmen to exploit this vast territorial public domain. Then it had asked for Justice for small ranchers; in the use of these public lands, encouraged improvement of livestock breeds, endorsed the forming of cattlemen's associations, and urged these groups to act against threats to their industry. Finally, it became their advocate before the federal government, and the ranchers' efforts either to defeat range lease laws or at least to obtain very low rates.

The territorial press always found irrigation a more engrossing subject than the livestock industry. Perhaps this was true because the overly optimistic editors foresaw millions upon millions of acres being reclaimed

⁸⁰ Socorro Chieftain, August 24, September 14, 1901; Santa Fe New Mexican, September 13, 1905, Jr. nrr:- 5, 17, "1, 1906; "River City Independent, February 10, 1906; Albuquerque Morning Journal, July 19, 1908.

Irrigation with a consequently large territorial population. To illustrate. In 19¹⁵ the Santa Fe New Mexican wrote that if New Mexico river ~~the~~ ^{the} had a population density of one-half that of the valley of the Nile, the population of the territory would exceed 12,500,000.⁸¹ Naturally, with such population growth would come statehood and increased wealth for all New Mexicans. Other pioneer editors shared this optimistic view and consequently were irrigation enthusiasts.

When the Anglo-American editors arrived in New Mexico, they found irrigation already extensively practiced. Irrigation was very old in New Mexico, for evidence of prehistoric civilizations that used extensive systems of ditches to bring water from the mountains to the plains of southern New Mexico. The Pueblo Indians were farming with irrigation when the Spanish arrived, although the Spanish friars, through knowledge gained from the Moors in Spain, helped them to improve their practices. Furthermore, many of the Spanish settlers who came to the area established small irrigated farms. The first Anglo-American editor noted this relatively widespread practice and told of an extensive farming culture along the Rio Grande between El Paso and Santa Fe.⁸² At this time exploitation of the Rio

⁸¹ Santa Fe New Mexican, *fourth* 30, 1905.

⁸² Santa Fe Republican, September 17, 1947.

Grande waters for Irrigation of the NesllU Volley begsn.⁸³
 In the Pecos Valley, on the other hand, irrigation apparently was limited to sraall plots near Anton Chlco, San Miguel, and Us Vegas. Then in the 1870's the watem of the Pecos began to be used at Puerta de Una and by L. B. Naxwell, who had pumhased tiie lands clearad by the lava-jos at Fbrt Sumner, Evei earlier irrtrated fams had been established on the Bonlta, Ruidoso, and Hondo rtvers. Throui^ the iBnoig new lands were placed under irrigation on the Nimbres River, in the Maxwell Und Grant, and in the San Juan River Velley. By 1889, the Irrtgated areas of Hew Mexico were still relatively small, probably between 25,000 and 35>000 acres in all.⁸⁴ All irrftgation up to this time was by means of ditches leading out of the rtvers to water the lands at lower levels. It was in 1889 that thera came the firat large projects using mservoirs for 8tortnr> flood waters for irrftgation.

⁸³ Us Cruces Rio Grande Republican, Febmary 10, 1893, quote;? Martin AraaJor, one of the first settlers in the NesllU Valley, as saying that the first irrigation canal was constructed in 1840.

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Uo Cmces Rio Grande Republican, January 25, 1890, stated that the Irrigated araa of the McsilU Valley was as large as all other irrftgated amas of New Mexico combined. This paper then stated that canals had been constructed so that 16,000 acras could be Irrtgated in the XeeilU Valley but that rarely wem mora than 5*000 to 6,000 •eras ever cultivated in the r^ne year.

After 1880 there was a tremendous increase in irrigation acreages cultivated with water made available through the construction of large reservoirs. The first project was started on the lower Pecos by Charles W. Greene, Pat Garrett, and G. L. Eddy. This group successfully interested prominent capitalists in their projects, which included a canal from the Rio Rondo to water lands south of Roswell and other reservoirs near Eddy on the Pecos and Black river. Altogether, these projects irrigated over 100,000 acres. While these projects were being developed in the 1880's, there was an extensive exploration for artesian waters. The success of this search made irrigation water available for another large block of land on the lower Pecos.⁸⁵ Elsewhere in the territory there was only a slight increase in irrigated lands. Thus, by 1890 there were probably 250,000 acres under irrigation, but after 1900 the pace of development quickened. The U.S. Civil War Grant

⁸⁵ The first successful artesian well was drilled near Roswell in 1885 according to the Santa Fe New Mexican, September 24, 1885. (Yrreer) A. Beck, History of Four Centuries (Norman, 1962), p. 122, states that artesian waters were discovered in 1890. Probably the New Mexican story is correct; and since this is the only artesian well in New Mexico, this is likely to be the first well. The trio who founded the Pecos Valley irrigation company were equally prominent for other accomplishments. Charles V. Greene was a former editor of the Santa Fe New Mexican and a former publisher of the Domingo Tribune and the El Paso Tribune. Pat Garrett was the famous slayer of Billy the Kid, and G. L. Eddy went on to become the president of the El Paso Northern railroad.

Company soon placed 12,000 acres under irrigation, irrigated acreages in the San Juan Valley became extensive, and several thousand acres were placed under irrigation near Tularosa. The artesian water district near Roswell was found to extend under 200 square miles of land, and a great deal of this area came under irrigation before 1912. In addition, in the last territorial years the extensive use of pumps to extract water from strata of ground water near the surface made possible irrigation at Pecos, Portales, and in the Pecos and Rio Grande valleys. Finally, storage reservoirs under construction or approved for the Mesilla Valley and on the Gallinas at Las Vegas promised to add over 120,000 acres of irrigated land after 1912. Thus, by 1912 New Mexico had made a great start toward developing the 650,000 acres of irrigated lands that it would have by mid-century.

The territorial press played a leading part in encouraging the development of irrigation in New Mexico. First of all, the press aroused and sustained territorial interest in the irrigation prospects of New Mexico. At the same time it cooperated with the national Irrigation Commission in its studies and efforts to secure federal government aid for irrigation, in addition, the press worked very hard to promote specific projects in New Mexico. When stream water was unavailable or in short supply, the editors encouraged efforts to develop underground water from both deep artesian strata and strata nearer the surface. The *Albuquerque Journal* and the *Albuquerque Tribune* were particularly active in this work.

the territorial era the press exerted a consistent effort to encourage full development of the territorial irrigation potential.

In their efforts to advance *the* area, the Anglo-American editors from the first pointed out the value of Irrigation. For example, the Santa Fe Republican in its earliest editorials noted the advantage of irrigation over ordinary farming, for with irrigation "every man, with the least possible trouble, makes his own season, and never fails, either by too much or too little rain, to have a

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liberal crop." Other editors continued to ask for exploitation of the irrigation potential of New Mexico. The Santa Fe New Mexican in 1867 pointed out that, "There are thousands on thousands of acres of the public domain in this territory, which, if Congress would but foster Irrigation, might in a few years become fruitful and rich; the homes of thousands of thriving and hardy farmers."¹⁸⁷ A few years later the Albuquerque Republican Review urged for local action:

There is a place in front of U Joyita, in this county, where with little trouble half the water of the Rio Grande could be taken off, or at least enough to irrigate the whole of the western half of the valley from Alamogordo down to . . . Fort Craig.¹⁸⁸

*5 Santa Fe Republican, September 17, 1847.

⑦ Santa Fe New Mexican, March 17, 1868.

¹⁸⁷ Albuquerque Republican Bayonet, as quoted in Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, April 13, 1875¹⁸⁸

Throughout the remaining territorial years the interest of the press in irrigation continued to grow. In 1885 the New Mexican sought to introduce it into a political campaign: "Works pertaining to irrigation as carried on in Colorado and California are in great demand throughout New Mexico at this time. The prospective candidates for the legislature are studying up on the subject."¹ Another editor foresaw that through irrigation New Mexico could gain wealth and population: "The Rio Grande Valley alone, within the limits of the territory, properly irrigated is capable of sustaining a population of half a million people."² Allowing precious water to flow unused down to sea seemed a crime to these editors: "If the water that annually goes to waste in this territory was saved, it would be sufficient to irrigate thousands of acres more of land."³ In addition, the editors often published articles from national publications or by national irrigation authorities to increase interest in irrigation.⁴ The pace of irrigation development after 1880 became more rapid; however, the editors did not

¹ Santa Fe New Mexican, September 10, 1885.

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Albuquerque Opinion, October 10, 1886.

³ Socorro Chieftain, April 2, 1887,

⁴ For examples of this see Albuquerque Daily Citizen, June 12, 1880; the Combes Rio Grande Republican, Berch-V 1882, and a series of articles by W. E. Smythe, editor of Irrigation Age and author of Conquest of Arid America, which appeared in Santa Fe New Mexican, August to October, 1903, passim.

essune that their Job wee completed but continued to push for more irrigation. For example, in 1904 the lew Nertcan denied that there were no further opportunities for prlvste irrtrgetion investment in the terrttory but asserted that ther were more such opportunities in New Nexlco than anywhere elae in the world. Uter the Rio Grande Republican of Us Cruces noted:

The engineer who a decade ago declared that the available water in New Nexlco wcml d reclaim only 250,000 acres, should read the first biennial report of Terrttortal Irrlgatlcm Engineer Vernon X*. Sullivan. Durtng the past two years he hae ap-prcrved Irrtgatlcm projecte to cover 800,000 ecres and there are applications for water rights pending to cover more than a million acres in addition.⁹³

Although the prees was an enthueiaetic supporter of irrtrgation, it retained a practical attitude, warning egainet the possibility of fraud in some projects. As an illustration, the Daily Optic of Us Vegaa stated:

There are quite e number of mammoth irrtrgatlcm schemes projected and underway in New Mexico. . , . This system of entemrise, like nearly all others, presents opportunities for combinaticms of adven-turas to perpetrate frsuds snd work up wildcat schemes which, if not exposed, will do much In-Jury to legitimate irrigation enterprtse. . , . It should be the duty of the press to watch combinations of this character and mthlcmly expose them when detected in crooked methods,[^]

^^ Uf Cruces Rio Grande Republican, M^mh 2-^, 19*^9.

^* Us Vegas Daily Optic, January 20, 18or^, f<e

•Uo Senta Fe New Mexican, August 15. 1<^ ^^

Editors also showed their practicality by recognizing that new crops would be required to provide ample rewards for the high expense of irrigation farming. As early as 1866 the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette foresaw that railways would import the cheaper grain of the plains into New Mexico and argued that territorialists should anticipate this by a wider adoption of grape culture and wine making.⁹⁵ The New Mexican continued this campaign for grape culture,⁹⁶ and in 1894 the Socorro Chieftain maintained: "Fruit will make New Mexico as it has California."⁹⁷ In 1904 the New Mexican encouraged efforts to raise cotton in the lower Pecos Valley;⁹⁸ and in 1910 the Portalee Roosevelt County Herald, anticipating an irrigation project nearby, sought to sign up sugar beet growers to induce a sugar refinery to locate at that town.⁹⁹

The territorial press did not confine its efforts to the encouragement of private irrigation projects alone but sought to procure cooperation with other western states and territories to obtain federal aid for irrigation. One of the first movements of this type, the formation of a

⁹⁵ Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 24, 1866.

⁹⁶ For one example see Santa Fe New Mexican, July 1, 1873.

⁹⁷ Socorro Chieftain, December 18, 1894.

⁹⁸ Santa Fe New Mexican, February 11, 1910.

⁹⁹ See review of the Portalee Roosevelt County Herald in November and December, 1910, et passim.

committee of western territorial congressional delegates to work for irrigation, was praised by the New Mexican.^^^ This paper also became very interested in two irrigational meetings of the western territory called by Colorado in 1873. The New Mexican maintained that "In:

New Mexico is as much, and we think more, interested in the subject of irrigation than any other state or territory, and certainly has a larger practical experience in this direction than any other portion of the United States, it becomes generally important to the general question, that "we should have not only an intelligent delegation, but the convention should have the benefit of the experience of all parts of the territory."^>^

When the series of national irrigation conferences began, the territorial press enthusiastically supported them. For example, the editors called the territorial press convention to meet upon the same date as the territorial Irrigation Congress and then endorsed its action, see the following quotation "how":

THE OPTIC heartily approves of the stand taken by the irrigation convention. In addition, for "the creation of the arid land, . . . The cry of the opposition that the plan conceals a gigantic scheme for theft has no terror for our ears. . . . THE OPTIC doubts the settlement of New Mexico under the 160 acre tract law. Water cannot be developed that way, and without water the land is virtually worthless."^>^

^^^ r^inte Fe :ef>V:lv New Mexican. January ^\ 1872.

^^^ Ibid,, September ^r), 187^ . See also issues of October 14, WT^^T'^.

^^^ Us Vegas Daily Optic, March 18, 187>.

Throughout the years the press continued to follow the activities of the territorial and national irrigation meetings, for the editor believed, as the New Mexican declared in 1906:

New Mexico is more vitally interested in the irrigation congress than ever before. It owes to it indirectly the eight million dollars which the reclamation service is expending and still expending on the Irrigation projects on the lower Gondo, the lower Pecos, the Rio Grande and elsewhere in the territory, . . . , How important, therefore, that New Mexico send a large and strong delegation to the congress at Boise this year! It is a business proposition.*03

While the press was offering a general encouragement to the development of irrigation projects along the New Mexico rivers, some papers were making vigorous fights in behalf of projects to serve their own areas. The best example of editorial efforts to promote irrigation in a specific area were those made by the Mesilla Valley papers. In the Mesilla Valley there was a large acreage of rich, irrigable lands. but efforts to expand the irrigated area were blocked by an inefficient system and resistance to change by some land owners of the valley. Meanwhile, there was an almost constant threat that others lower down the river might gain a *prior* right to this water and prevent full development of the Mesilla Valley. The Mesilla Valley Independent began in 1877 a fight to improve Irrigation In

^^^ Santa Fe New Mexican, July 11, 1906.

the valley, noting its inefficient ditch system and suggesting that a reservoir be built a few miles upstream.¹⁰⁴

After the Rio Grande Republican was founded, it took up this fight for irrigation improvement: "The valley needs a more extended and better regulated system by which water may be *provided for irrigation purposes*." This paper also suggested that a reservoir be built on the river north of the valley and warned that if people of the valley did not act farmers of the El. Paso area might preempt the water needed for irrigation expansion.¹⁰⁵ A few years later a company was formed to build a reservoir, but those who held prior water rights in the valley objected that the plan would increase their costs and require a large new investment by them. The objectors then requested an investigation of the project by the Interior Department. Years of delay followed, and the capitalists abandoned the proposal, despite approval of the project and assurance of its feasibility by the Interior Department. In this period the Rio Grande Republican argued, reasoned, and pled for the removal of all obstructions to the plan.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Mesilla Valley Independent, June 30, October 27, 1877.

¹⁰⁵ See Cruces Rio Grande Republican, July 24, 1876.

¹⁰⁶ For examples see Cruces Rio Grande Republican, February 12, 10, 1887, August 1, December 21, 1887, January 3, 24, 1888. See also Santa Fe Weekly Sun, March 14, 1881.

While the obstructionists were defeating plans for a dam north of Us Cruces, farmers south of El Paso, Texss, and Juarez, Mertco, began the promotion of an international dam to be built Just north of II Paso. Had the dam been built there, Mesills Valley irrigation would have been limited to the eaall acreage then under cultivation.¹⁰⁷

The Rio Grande Republican agreed to the prtnciple of an international dam, but asked that it be built farther north in order that It would prortde water for the Mesllla Valley.¹⁰⁸ At length an Bhglsh *ecompany* with ample capital proposed to build a dam at Elephant Butte which would furnish water for both areas. However, the people of El Peso and Juarez then sought to forestall the plan—apparently because if the dam were buiU Just north of El Paso it would mean more water for irrigation in their areas. The Mexican government then intervened cm grounds that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had guaranteed that no impedlnente to nartgation would be conetructed upon the Rio Grande, Then the Justice Department, at the raquest of the State Department, sought an injunction to halt constmction of the dam, appealing finally to the United States Supreme Court. The caee was twice remanded by the rupreme Court to the lower courts, but upon the third apr^e^l to the Supreme Court sn

^^'^ Us Cmces Rio Grande Republican, June i:', 18-^8, September 28, 1889, January 10, Warch b, id^>0.

^''''^ Ibid., February 18, 1805, Apr^l 17, 18^.

injunction was granted. During, all of these years the Rio Grande Republican fought valiantly for the water rights of the Mesilla Valley and invoked the aid of both the press and officials of the territory to prevent the passage of a congressional act to construct an international dam at El Paso.¹⁰⁹ At length the Interior Department was empowered to build the reservoir at the Elephant Butte site. However, the Rio Grande Republican did not halt its campaign at this point but urged Mesilla Valley land owners to sign pledges to purchase irrigation waters upon completion of the dam. Eventually 110,000 acres were pledged, and the future prosperity of the Mesilla Valley and Las Cruces were assured.¹¹⁰ That prosperity was due in great part to the Rio Grande Republican, for it had led a twenty year fight to preserve

^^9 in the Cases Rio Grande Republican, June 12, August 14, October 2, December 14, 1896. May 7, 1897, January 31, 1898, May 26, 1899, May 11, 1900, January 11, 1901, July 25, 1904; Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, July 9, 1897; Socorro Chieftain, August 30, 1902; Santa Fe New Mexican, April 17, May 4, 1900, May 22, 1903, October 10, 1904; Silver City Independent, January 15, 1901. A concept that the Rio Grande was navigable in low water was so ludicrous that the federal courts in New Mexico could not possibly sustain an injunction upon that basis. New Mexico editors cited historical sources to prove that as early as 1540 the Rio Grande in summer simply disappeared into the sandy river bed north of Elephant Butte. Eventually the case was decided upon the basis that a foreign company could not construct a dam on an international river in a border area, for it might constitute a threat to national defense.

^^^ Las Cases Rio Grande Republican, January 13, January 15, 23, July 14. Albuquerque Journal, 22, 29, 1905. Apparently nothing has been written of the long struggle of the Mesilla Valley to preserve its water rights and to develop its irrigation potential, a topic worthy of further research.

the water rights of the valley. In the course of its battle this paper had secured the aid of the press and officials of the territory to add to its strength, for it required the combined efforts of them all to prevent the diversion of New Mexico water to Texas and Mexican lands.

Even when there was no prospect of irrigation from a stream, as was possible in the New Valley, the editors continued to work for irrigation in their areas by urging searches for artesian water. The Silver City Enterprise became interested in such a project in 1887 and, noting the success of such wells in Colorado and Arizona, asked that one be drilled near its town.¹¹¹ The New Mexican became enthralled with the subject and broached it from time to time for the remainder of the territorial era, maintaining: "Artesian wells in abundance will determine the future of this section as a fruit growing and agricultural section." In 1887 it supported a proposal to irrigate 200,000 acres near Santa Fe and admonished the public to "push the artesian well scheme."¹¹² Many other territorial editors praised efforts to drill artesian wells,¹¹³ but perhaps the nearest at

¹¹¹ Silver City Enterprise, September 14, 1887.

¹¹² Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, January 14, 1885, March 24, 1885; see also Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, March and April, 1887, passim.

¹¹³ Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, August 17, 25, November 23, 1889; Bocorron Enterprise, February 16, August 11, 18, 1900; Alamogordo Otero Enterprise, December 19, 1901; Alamogordo News, July 15, 1905; McMurry News, October 17, 1905; Columbus News, January 6, 1911.

Portales waged the Imigest fight ir! :-ID; of such *nn ef-* fort. The Portales Times, for example, conducted o two year eempalgn in behalf of artecian wells. Durtng thin time it urged a test, helped gather funde for tha-! test, closely followed ita drtlling and failure, *end* then urged the voting of bonds for a second! test. All the while the Tiaies predicted success for the teats and result, n* pro- pertty for Portale??.¹¹⁴ Althou^ most of the artesian test wells prmooted by the editors were failures, the teste of- ten revealed weter strut* near the surf»«co from which irr- tigation waters ccml d be punped.

"^^ ^l^y ^e^8 at Us Cruces was one of the fi-'-t terrttortal papers to note successful pump irrtrgation r>roJ- ecte in other areas *fmd* to suggest that the eystem be trted in N*w Nexlco.¹¹⁵ Ttic Socorro Chieftain became interested in such a system to br'.n^ a*'lltional ncjarby valley lands under irrigation and for many yeare waged a caiipaign to interast local famero.¹¹⁶ The Nef Mexican believed PUBP irrtrgation practical for many sect lone of the terrttory and particularly nRV<2c? for f trtal in th** *rpr^tr* Fe Valley.¹¹⁷

^^^^ Portales Times, Mamh fl, 1903, to Febmary 25, 1905, passim.

115 Us Cnicer TV1 ^ ^JD-1" ^^^ ®> "w • ^^^ c>ther Ua Cmces papers ur-^^~^^~ tc-^"- See ^j" ^^^ Republicsni ^ly 8, 1004; Us Cmces Citizen, August f^, 1906.

^^^ Socorro Chieftain, September f9# December ::r, rooo, Jnnuary TO. 19^1, I^ebruarj^ 3, March 8, 19'^2, November ^^ 1905, February 17, Mamh 1 \ *»906, August f^, 1<^10.

"^" J^r.ta Fe H&C Mexican, J mur.ry ^^S 19^4, April 20, August 23, 1905.

Urge acreage." were irrigated from such ground water strata near Deming and Portales in the last territorial years, and the Portales papers took a most active interest in the matter. For example, the Times on several occasions noted the testing of such a system at Portales and recommended its use.¹¹⁸ By 1909 the system seemed practical to many Portales Valley farmers, and both the Times and the Roosevelt Herald then became active advocates of a proposed project. They conducted extensive campaign to secure farmers' pledges to install pumps in order that capitalists would build a plant to generate electricity to power these pumps.¹¹⁹ Success at Deming and Portales encouraged pump irrigation at other points. Thus, once again the efforts of the press had aided irrigation development in the territory.

Throughout the territorial era the press aided and encouraged irrigation. The editors did this by continually calling attention to the irrigation potential of the territory; at the same time they encouraged private projects and supported the efforts of the irrigation congresses to secure federal aid for irrigation. Furthermore, the editors were not just dreamers but practical men who realized that

¹¹⁸ Portales Times, October 24, 1903, p. 20, 1904, September 9, 1905.

¹¹⁹ Portales Times and Portales Roosevelt County Herald, May, 1909 to January, 1911, PHN,

expensive irrigation farming called for exceptionally profitable crops, and that private Irrigation projects still contain possibilities of fraud. Meanwhile, other editors went beyond these general efforts to conduct extensive campaigns in behalf of local projects. Thus, in addition to its general encouragement of irrigation the press became the active leader without which some irrigation projects would never have been undertaken during the territorial era.

In many areas of low water irrigation of any type was impossible, but as the advancing frontier line of farmers from the great plains reached the Rocky Mountain states large numbers of these pioneers moved into eastern New Mexico to farm without irrigation. The earliest such movement was in the late 1880's when many farmers poured into the northeastern corner of New Mexico. This overflow of the western Kansas and eastern Colorado frontiers followed the Fort Worth and Denver City railroad lines into the territory. Since the 1880's were years of *exceptional* rainfall, these pioneers did well for a few years, but the droughts of the nineties led many of them to abandon their farms—Just as farmers in western Kansas did in those years. After 1900 a wet cycle began and the westward migration of the farmers was revived. This time it came from Oklahoma and Texas, the advance guard of westward marching Southerners, who leaped over the large ranches of West Texas to claim

some of the best free farming lands in the United States. Many who today see the bleak plains of eastern New Mexico cannot understand the homesteaders' belief that this was a farming country. But let it rain two inches in the late spring, and the prairie looks like a lush green lawn, only awaiting the plow to become productive fields. Since the first decade of the twentieth century was a wet cycle and a network of railways was being built across these prairies to provide access to markets, eastern New Mexico became very attractive to homesteaders.

The territorial press welcomed this new immigration, which promised to add sufficient population to win statehood and held out the prospect of opening large areas to agriculture with the new dry farming methods. In relation to this new immigration the press played several roles. The role of the general press was that of offering an invitation to these new pioneers. With the homesteaders came a new group of newsmen who played a more active part in the development of the dry farming area. These new editors not only continued the invitation to the homesteaders, but helped them to adapt themselves to this area by urging upon them proper crops and dry farming methods. Finally, these editors sought to help the homesteaders convert the "range" crops that grew best in this area into greater profits through dairying, hog raising, and poultry production. Probably the over optimism of these pioneer editors of

eastern New Mexico encouraged the cultivation of a great deal of land that should have remained in pastures, but the intervening years have sustained the editors in their belief that profitable farming was possible over a large part of eastern New Mexico.

One of the earliest editors to extend an invitation to dry farmer immigrants and to boast of the agricultural potential of eastern New Mexico was J. E. Curren of the Folsom Idea. In 1889 he wrote: "If you poor clodhoppers back east want a good farm for nothing in the finest country under the sun, you had better come to Folsom, New Mexico, right now, just now. Now is the accepted time. .

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. . . As the second wave of dry farmer immigration began, the Santa Fe New Mexican noted the fact with pleasure: "Eastern New Mexico is making a record in the direction of homestead entries,"¹²¹ This paper reported from time to time the increasing flow of homesteaders in eastern New Mexico and encouraged others to come and fill the remaining 52,000,000 acres of public lands in the territory. In 1913¹²² New Mexican predicted that at the current rate of immigration into New Mexico the 1914 census would show a population growth of 50 to 60 per cent.¹²³ Optimistic editors

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Folsom Idea quoted in Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate, August 23, 1889.

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Santa Fe New Mexican, December 5, 1911.

123 Ibid., December 9, 1911, August 5, 1915.

believed dry farming possible throughout the territory and urged that it be tried everywhere. For example, the Alamo-gordo Herald asserted that local farmers had raised sorghum grain that grew to fourteen feet in height, and invited homesteaders to Otero County. The Aztec San Juan Democrat contended that dry farming was being conducted successfully even in the arid San Juan Valley,¹²³ and the Albuquerque Noming Journal approved of a dry farming project planned near its town.¹⁴ It can be seen, thus, that the entire territorial press invited this new immigration, welcomed it when it came to New Mexico, and anticipated that the homesteaders would magically convert millions of arid acres to valuable farm lands.

The eastern New Mexico editors, even more than the general press, were enthused about the agricultural potential of New Mexico and their area in particular. The Portales Herald offered a good example of their appeal: "Under the Belling for \$8.00 an acre in Texas and for 10 cents an acre in New Mexico." Under the editor stated that the American people soon would discover the wonders of New Mexico and "will be amazed because of the fact this veritable Eden has lain unnoticed and undeveloped before their eyes."¹²⁵ with

¹²³ Aztec San Juan Democrat, February 17, 1906.

¹²⁴ Albuquerque Noming Journal, January 8, 1907.

¹²⁵ Portales Herald, September 17, December 27, 1906.

such encouragement as this by the press along with that of the railways and the territorial immigration bureau, thousands homesteaded upon the *free* lands of eastern New Mexico.¹²⁶

The new Immigrants reaped bountiful harvests for a few years before the wet cycle became a dry one; then the editors sought to help the farmers adjust to the climatic change. This was done with countless columns explaining the Campbell dry farming system. In addition, the press urged farmers to attend farmers' Institutes conducted by the territorial agricultural college or to visit exhibits sent into the country by the railways. Some editors quoted success stories from other arid areas, while others clipped articles from Campbell's Boll Culture or other agricultural Journals.¹²⁷ There was great distress among the homesteaders, but many of them, helped by the advice of the editors, succeeded as dry farmers.

The editors' advocacy of crops adapted to the arid New Mexico climate was an equally important contribution in

^^6 y^y axample the population of Rameevelt County grew from 35^ in 1900 to over 12,^> in 1^10.

^^ Example of this can be seen in almost every issue of each eastern New Mexico paper from 1900 until 1910. For specific examples see San Jon Quay County Times, April 3, 1908; Fort Sumner Review, September 25» October 2, November 1?, noon, January ^^, April 15, ^^» May 20, IQII; Tucumcari News, July 16, 1910; Cuervo Clipper, October 7, ^1*^10; Fbbruinr2, 19i:^^; Santa Rosa Sun, February 28, May ^., 1909; Tughn News, July 15, 22, ^epfe^er 3^» November 4, 25, December 2, 1910.

helping the homesteaders adjust themselves to the new sres. To illustrate, the San Jon Quay County Times stated in 1909 that kaffir corn and milo maize should have been planted instead of a great deal of the corn that had been planted, for with the short moisture and insect infestation corn production was uncertain.^{12B} The Santa Rosa Sun also urged the planting of acclimated crops, and the Fort Sumner Review suggested broomcorn as a possible crop for eastern New Mexico.^{12A} This crop also appealed to the Greeley Record for it maintained that "broomcorn is king in eastern New Mexico," and boasted that farmers who had followed the advice of the editor to plant it were harvesting an ample reward.^{13A} On the other hand, the Cuervo Clipper suggested winter wheat as a suitable crop for the area.¹³¹ To help convince the farmers of the profits to be obtained from planting these crops the editors used the success story. For example, the Fort Sumner Review stated that fifty-eight acres of broomcorn had yielded \$4,000.¹³² Thus, the eastern New Mexico press by reason and example convinced many of the homesteaders of the importance of planting crops suited to that arid area.

^{12A} Pan Jon Quay County Times, April 2?, 1900.

^{12B} Santa Rosa Sun, June 1, 1909; Fort Sumner Review, November 13, 1907

¹³⁰ Greeley Record, December 3, 1909 - See also Namias New Mexican, Register, March 10, 1910; and Bard City News, June 1, 1910.

On the other hand, there wae a very poor market for the forage crope which thrtved beat In this araa. A letter to the Portales Herald amply illustrates this point:

Nr. Editor:—Perhaps a few dots from this part of "The Noral Vineyard" will be of intereat tb *comm* of your readers.

Aalgration to the eastem cotton fields haa about ceaaded and we ere so lonesome since cmr wives hseve tsken the children, wagon and teem and yellow dog and pulled for the cottcm fields four hundred miles away* and left us st home to hold down the clalr., for such ia life in Hew Nexlco in the fell of the yeer snd so our life is one of solitude. Wish those Portales merchsnts would dertse some plan to utilize cmr produce so we could keep our wives and children at home and then we would be happy.

What is the matter with the bueineeee men of Porteles? Ouees they have not gotten over their summer cnnp [elc] yet. Hae Texae etill to keep up Nexlco? We nestors have worked hard thie year in hopes of a home market for our produce, but alee our fohdeet hopee ere banished, our home left desolate and the cook gone.

Hello, there goes old "Brindy" over the fence into my field of com, maise, cane, raelone--let her eat it, they say you can't get anything for it in Portales, let her *rip*[^] plenty of it.

The old woman and children can pick enough cotton to pay the Portales memhants anjrway. Give us another drtnk, who carae for expeneeee, I will pay you when the old woman and chlldmn send me *ncric* money. How for the kaffir com. ^{i^^^}

More anon. Old Nestor. "-

^^^ Cuervo Clipper, September 15, 19X⁰.

132 Fort Sumner Revlev, Febmary 11, 1[^]11.

^^^ Portales Herald, September 17, 1[<]4.

The townsmen, however, had already begun to anticipate the demands of those such as the "Old Nestor." At Portales, for example, the merchants and newspapers had encouraged the growing of cotton by offering prizes for the first bale grown. Once the experiment had proved a success, the Portales Times led the movement for the establishment of a cotton gin at Portales to process the cotton and to

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provide a market for it. The editorial advocacy of growing broomcorn was also an attempt to answer the marketing problem, for like cotton it provided a cash crop. In addition, the editors began to advocate diversified farming as a solution to the marketing problem. The Portales Herald, for instance, proposed that the easily grown forage grain crops be fed to dairy cattle, hogs, and poultry. Other editors also turned to this system as a means of making the eastern New Mexico farms more profitable. The Portales Times reported a dairy farmer's profits from the sale of cream and asked that others try it.⁶ The Tucuman News advanced the prospect of potential gains to be made from raising poultry, and the Ugan Under asked that a creamery be established in its town to provide a market for dairy

^^^ Portales Times, November 14, 1903, February 6, August 2nd, September 24, 1904; October 2nd, 1906, August 24, 31, 1907; Portales Herald, March 19, 1904, December 6, 1907.

^^ Portales Herald, August 20, 1904.

^^⁶ Portales Times, September 9, 1905.

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production. The lam Visa New Nertcan also became interested in daixylng and conducted a campaign lastir^ several months in 1911 to ccmrtnee locel femers they shcmld become dairymen.¹³⁸ « Xn these last propossls the editors helped to set the homesteaders upon the road to a prosperous farm eccmomy. Dairying and the raisin?^ of hogs and pcmltry became very prevalent and were the chief means by which aumy homesteader families survived as farmers.¹³⁹

In evaluating the contrtbtution of the press to the dry te-rr'^^yw, frontier, one must first ccmsider the possibility that the editors did the homesteaders a disserrtce in urging them to come and to stay in New .Me/ico. Certainly thie appeara to be true of editors who urged homesteadin'^ west of the Pecos River, and doubtless a great deal of the land eaet of the Pecoee should have been left as grassland. The "dust bowl" of the 1930's and the great number of .'oil Baidt fam leases in eastern New Nexlco today teni to confirm this opinion. Nevertheless, thera are many prosperous farms in the eree| and with the continuing improvemene in

^^ Tucumcert Hewe as quoted and commented about by Ugan Uader, Noveaber 25, 1911 •

^^ Nara Visa New Mexican and Refrjater, September, 1011, to January, loigrTsssim.

^3^ Tb Illustrate the prevalence of dallying in eeetem lew Mexico, at one time Rooeevelt County was reputed to heve mora ragiatered Jersey dairy cattle than any other county in the Uhited Statee. Currant ly ~r~'ie A milk produced annuaHy in Roosevelt County exceeds t3, '^^^, 0'^^ in value.

farm ecfulpmnt '^^1 drouth resistant crops, thir 'will r?ain a procr^erous farming area. In any case, thousands v.'ould have chae to lew Mexico lurc^ by these free lands. The graet contrtbution of the prass, then, *VPB* in helping those who came te adapt themselves to the ccmditionrr in lew Me:,ico, end in thia they apparently succeeded very wel^,

Doubtles railways, mines, ranches, irrigaticm, end dryland farms wcml d have been developed in I or? Mexico without the aid of the terrttorinl prc8f5. Thus, to measure editorial Influence upon the develornyent of New Nexlco one must look for the waye in which the prc^r alf-en thee economic advancemcsnte.

One ccmtribution of the press ^r^ its invltrtlon to the capitalist and to the Iririgrant to c5m^ and to invent, in New Nexlco. Here again, no doubt, many of them %/ouVi have come end would have inverted wlthcmt this Invitation. But eince the invitaticm reprecented a. favorable public attitude toward both cr-itr l and lamigrants it haetened their flow into New Mexico. The next contrtbution of the prase was thPt of furnishing inforraat'o-i sbout the tcrrl-tortsl rasources which i>rthey interestod and encouraged the investor and the home seeker. In addition, the editora fumished informstlon and encouragement to aid various induetrtes to adapt to changinr conditione and the climate of lew Mexico. In this connection, the press urged ranehera to improve breeds to enable them to ralntain profits despite

the diminishing public domain. Their effort also included information and persuasion offered to dry farmers to adopt crops and practices which would make farming in this semi-arid area more profitable. Finally, the press aided territorial economic development by becoming the voice of protest against economic injustices. The press protested against unfair railway rates and practices which were detrimental to the New Mexico economy. It protested against range grabbing and illegal fencing which discouraged the small rancher and homesteader. It protested against the attempt to steal the irrigation waters needed to develop fully the Mesilla Valley. In these various ways the editors hastened the flow of capital into the territory, smoothed the path into New Mexico for immigrants, and sought to aid newcomers in adjusting themselves to life in the territory. And in doing these things the territorial press became the inspiring, encouraging, protesting voice of New Mexican society. All of the economic developments discussed above might have come without the aid of newspapers, but newspapers eased and aided the process.

CHAPTER VII

EDITORIAL AID IN THE CURTAILMENT OF VIOLENCE AND VICE

Violence, outlawry, and vice were common in the territory during the first forty years of rule by the United States. After this time conditions gradually improved, and by 1912 New Mexico had become a rather placid area with the conservative mores of an agrarian society. Although much of the early violence was between the peoples of the Indian and European cultures, violent conflicts between the more civilized peoples were also common. Apparently the predominance of Spanish-Americans in New Mexico was not responsible for the high incidence of violence, for the peak of lawlessness was between 1870 and 1885 and came mainly from members of the vanguard of the westward-moving American frontier.¹ An editorial of 1876 illustrates the prevalence of violence in this era, noting that in a period of two

¹ Current observers believed that the Spanish-American population was more inclined to violence and outlawry, *fund* considering the preponderance of Spanish-Americans in the population, the rarity of Spanish names in newspaper stories concerning crime and violence indicate this to be true. Probably few Spanish-Americans participated in mob and riot actions, lesser crimes, and some crimes of violence, but the names of gunmen, desperadoes, and gang members were rarely Spanish. It appears, therefore, that Anglo-American frontiersmen were chiefly responsible for the violence of this era. For editorial opinions in this matter, see *Mesilla Valley Independent*, June 11, 1877; *Albuquerque Review*, April 11, 1878.

months mob rtolence had occurred in Rio Arriba, Mora, San Miguel, Coifex, and Santa Fe counties and had led to six deaths plus the destruction of the store and the newspaper plant. Meanwhile, there had been a riot in Dona Ana County in which six persons were killed or wounded.²

A major part of the rtolence of the 1870's grew out of struggles between organized groups which did not hesitate to use rtolence to gain wealth and power. In the 1880's, on the other hand, violence was more the result of a general lawlessness. Killings were so common in New Mexico in 1880, for example* that the Santa Fe New Mexican reported that the common breakfast comment -*M^r*: "Well, who was killed last night*^ Since ordinary law enforcement agencies were unable to cope with the lawless element, the public approved the use of extraordinary measures such as vigilante groups and the territorial militia until in the mid-eighties the Indians were wiped out and most of the lawless element was subdued. Nevertheless, impromptu pistol duels were still common and more lawlessness was prevalent. Territorial society then sought to stop the open warfare of crime that easily led to *dpr<^^\r* exchanges of fire, for the same time there was a general demand that the legally

¹ Silver City Herald, February 20, 1876.

² Santa Fe Daily New Mexican as quoted in New Mexico Daily Optic, March 1st, 1880.

constituted agencies be upheld*. As a result, by 1900 New Mexico had become a relatively peaceful area.

After 1900 the territory began to feel the influence of the national reform movements which led to the suppression of public gambling, openly conducted houses of prostitution, and the free operation of saloons. In a few instances saloons were closed by local option laws. Thus, by 1912 the territory had become a placid area with a rural or small town morality.

The attitude of territorial editors toward the suppression of crime and intolerance varied with the conditions of that period. Before the 1870's the press generally ignored crime and intolerance. During that decade, however, editors not only became interested in the Lincoln and Colfax County ^{after} ^{hence} often ^{the} ^{crisis} ^{period} ^{of} one of the cowboy factions. With the beginning of a new wave of intolerance in the early 1880's the editors supported almost unanimously the vigilante work which acted to end an era of outlaw terror. Later in the 1880's the press turned against similar groups fighting against the unjust Maxwell land grant, holding in this instance that the use of intolerance against legal authorities and court orders could not be condoned. Meanwhile, the editors asked that the almost universal practice of wearing pistols be discontinued, and in the 1890's the press ^{clearly} ^{renewed} its support for orderly legal processes by denouncing Oliver Ute for his

resistance to a posse seeking to arrest him upon a charge of murdering A. J. Fountain. In the last territorial years the editors, probably hoping to aid the statehood movement, worked to eradicate the old image of New Mexico as the home of the badman and the land of intolerance and vice.

Before 1875 the territorial editors were rarely interested in the suppression of intolerance, crime, and immorality, and in fact, were not very interested in even reporting such incidents. For example, in 1866 the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette reported: "One man was killed and several murdered in a row which took place in this city at the southwest corner of the plaza on Monday night. We did not learn any of the particulars," This paper was published five days after the event described, yet the editor was so disinterested that he had not concerned himself to learn names or further details. The Albuquerque Review noted in 1879 that over a period of time six men had been lynched at a place near the newspaper office. Again, these lynchings apparently were not considered newsworthy enough to be reported in the paper.^ Sometimes editors gave a humorous twist to violent crimes.^ The Silver City Herald published this story in 1875:

^ Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, September 29, 1866.

^ Albuquerque Review, August 28, 1879.

^ This had been a common practice earlier among many American newspapers. See Chapter I.

We learn that on Friday, Jose Gamia, who lives at the Chino copper mines, caught his wife in flagrante delicto--we leave the reader to guess the crime--Jose, then and there, gave her the quietus with an axe. She's dead--deadest sort of dead, and it is said that Jose did not run away and intends to face the music.⁷

Since there apparently was no lack of tolerance and tolerant crimes in New Mexico in this era, it must be concluded that the editors often ignored them through a lack of interest. However, after 1875 there were two series of tolerant incidents, the Lincoln and Colfax County wars, in which the press became very interested, principally because they were a struggle for power and wealth and because the Santa Fe Ring⁸ was involved. The involvement of this political clique in the Colfax County war is more apparent than in the case of the Lincoln County war. For the Colfax County war seemed to grow out of a letter by a Cimarron Methodist minister, F. J. Tolby, to the New York Sun exposing the activities of the Santa Fe Ring. When subsequently Tolby was *found* murdered with his personal possessions unmolested, O. O. McMains, a fellow Methodist minister, accused that Tolby had been murdered because he had written the letter. McMains then led a mob which lynched two Spanish-Americans believed to have been hired to commit the murder. One of

⁷ Silver City Herald, March 21, 1875. For another example of this type of reporting see Albuquerque Review, March 13, 1880.

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See Chapter IV.

correspondents connected the ring or its supportera with the Colfax County troubles.¹⁰ A rertved lews and Prass, edited by ita true owners, excused the mob for destroying the newspaper plant and asked for a reaunpticm of the popu-
Ur support it had enjoyed as an exponent of the people "as againat the almaes . . . by a serrtle and corrupt legis-
Utura." this editortal was reprinted in the Silver City Herald, idilch alao believed that the legislature was con-
trolled by the Santa *Te* Ring—"the political monster which
mil

lives by oppresslcm of the people." When the legislature took away Colfax County courts this paper pointed out that ~~EX~~b action and a rtot in five other countlee in the same pertod had not moved the legislature to take away the courts of those counties.¹² The Hew Nertcan, which immediotely took the opposite stand. Ignored the possibility that there was a Santa F* Ring, but defended the supportera of the ring at CisMirron, congratulated them on their exoneration by the Taos grand Jury, and attacked the News and Prass for

^{^0} Pueblo (Colorado JQiieftain as quoted in Silver City Herald, February 13, 187b, and in Santa Fe Weekly New Nexican. Aprtl 3, 1877. In tho Utter inatance the Chieftain Hractly charged the Santa Fe Ring with rasponslbilty for the murder.

11 Silver City Herald, Febmary 13, 1877.

^{^^} Ibid.. February ?;^, 1877. At the same time the raUtlve lacF^f interast in all of this other rtolence shows that it was the political Impllcatlono of the Colfnr Count. war that interasted the editors. A close study of territorial Pipers of thle period shows little mention of these other in-
cidents .

its defense of the mob which had destroyed its plant.^

When McNains was later tried for murder, the Chieftain, News and Press, and Albuquerque Review again implicated the Santa Fe Ring, claiming that it was persecuting McNains.¹⁴

With regard to the Colfax County war, a majority of the territorial papers were willing to condone violence and lawlessness directed against a corrupt political clique—apparently in the belief that those opposed to the Santa Fe Ring could obtain justice in no other way. With regard to the Lincoln County war, on the other hand, a majority of papers refused to support either faction, although they devoted more space to reporting Lincoln County violence than they formerly used for this type of news. A majority of papers, however, took stands upon the Lincoln County disputes which were based mainly upon prior prejudices rather than the merits of the cause of either faction. The New Mexican supported the group allied with the Santa Fe Ring, and the News and Press chose the opposite side. The Mesilla Valley Independent sought to maintain an unbiased position

¹⁴ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, November 16, 1875, February 15, May 16, 1876, January 4, April 3, May 22, 1877. The New Mexican weekly sought to discredit the Pueblo Chieftain by claiming its intention was to make New Mexico appear so disorderly that railways would build to Pueblo rather than Santa Fe.

^ Pueblo (Colorado) Chieftain as quoted in Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, April 3, 1877. Cimarron News was first mentioned in Albuquerque Review, September 2, 1877.

but often favored the views of the faction opposed to the ring members. The Nesilla News, on the contrary, opposed the attitude of its local competitor. In addition, these papers published letters from the contending Lincoln County factions, becoming a means by which the factions appealed for public support.

At heart the Lincoln County war was a struggle for power and wealth between two factions which soon resorted to violence. The firm of L. G. Murphy, J. J. Dolan, and J. H. Riley, merchants, ranchers, and freighters, had a monopolistic hold on a large segment of the Lincoln County economy, while A. A. McSween and his friends sought to break that hold. The Lincoln County troubles began over a dispute about the receipts from a \$10,000 insurance policy on the life of Wyatt Feltz, a former partner of Murphy in the Lincoln firm. The company which had issued the insurance policy was bankrupt, and the heirs of Feltz turned the policy over to McSween, a Lincoln lawyer, for collection. He collected most of the money due on the policy, but apparently proposed to keep the larger part of it for his fee and expenses. In any case, McSween rejected the request of the administrators of the Feltz estate that he turn the money over to them or to the court. The administrators then employed T. B. Catron, territorial attorney general, and V. L. Wynerson, district attorney, to recover the insurance funds from McSween. After McSween was brought into

court he still refused to turn over the receipts from the insurance policy, and the court then ordered that his property at Xdjneoln be attached as bond. By this time McSween and J. H. Tunstall had launched a mercantile establishment at Lincoln to compete with the Murphy firm. Both this store and Tunstall's ranch were attached, and in the process Tunstall was killed by the attaching officers. As a result open warfare began between the two factions, both of which at various times secured legal authorizations for the arrest of the leaders of the other side. The attitude of the territorial governor, S. B. Axtell, appeared to favor the Murphy-Dolan faction. In this struggle, in which many lost their lives—including McSween himself. The apparent partiality of Axtell motivated Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to send a special investigator to the territory, and as a result Axtell, Catron, and Ryerson were removed from their positions. At this point Lew Wallace was appointed territorial governor and helped bring the Lincoln County war to an end.¹⁵

Several months before the Lincoln County war began, A. J. Fountain, editor of the Mesa Valley Independent, charged that there was extensive lawlessness and thievery in De Baca County and promised to expose the criminals

^^ Several books and many articles have been written about the Lincoln County war; the best and source of most of the above information is William A. Keeler, Violence in Lincoln County: 1869-1881 (Albuquerque, 1957).

along with the buainessiaen who were helping them to dispose of stolen property.¹⁶ When the Mesllla lews Immediately sought to rafute this ejitortal, the lew Mexican noted the fact and added:

We have labored all along to keep cmt of the inky fight between the Independent and its contemporazy, the lews, for bread and butter, thinking all the time the News would come out ahead in defending the character of ita citizens, wantonly and uncertainly assailed by the uncertain Uwyer Fountain. In this we have not been mistaken; FOimtain has not cmly proved himself a very poor subject for a martyr, but has placed the Independent and the citizens of his county in an unenrtable light before the public, in whic^h he has no excuse, except perhaps of aiaking for himaelf a certain kind of notoriety.¹⁷

The News and Press, hostile toward the Hmt Mertcan because of their conflict over the Colfax County war, in- nedlately sided with the Valley Independent and commented: "rtth the advent of that able and fearless sheet the INDEPENDENT, we have :learned the truth in regard to these matters."¹⁸

Even befora the Lincoln Ccmnty violence began, there- fora, it can bo seen that these newspapers had aligned

^{^^} Mesllla Valley Independent, July 14, 1P77 . For the backcround of A,' J. Fountain nee Chrpter I, footnote 44.

^{^7} Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican. August 21, 17?. later, in the issue of SeptSEer 11, 1^77, the New Mexican charged that Fountain's efforts to expose criminal activi- ties were mere sensationalism designed to gain subscribers for the NesllU Valley Independent.

^{^*0} Cimarron News and Press as quoted in r4esilla Valley Independent, September 7, 1^OT.

themselves into actually hostile camps. This being the case it was almost inevitable that they would become involved in the Lincoln County conflict, for the New Mexican was already strongly attached to one faction. When T. B. Catron, a leader of the Santa Fe Ring, became an exponent of the Murphy faction, the New Mexican, allied with the ring, was almost automatically to be found in that camp. In addition, W. H. Manderfield, of the New Mexican, and J. H. Biley, a partner in the Murphy firm, apparently had a close friendship, for they joined each other in fishing and business trips¹⁹; The Valley Independent, on the other hand, continued to attack the lawless element of Dona Ana County, noting later that part of it had joined the Murphy faction and that some of its members were in the posse which *just* killed J. H. Tunstall.²⁰ Because of this, the Valley Independent was often hostile toward the Murphy group.

The course of events had thus made available propaganda vehicles for the use of the warring factions of Lincoln County. This propaganda was in the form of letters from participants in the war and editorials in which the New Mexican and Mesilla News attacked the McSweeney faction.

¹⁹ For example, see note 18 in Weekly New Mexican, November 23, 1875-

²⁰ New Mexico Valley Independent, Santa Fe, December 15, 1877, April 27, 1877.

and supported Murphy's group,²¹ while the Valley Independent²²

and the News and Press usually held the opposite view.

Other territorial papers generally limited themselves to reporting the incidents of the war and rarely took sides.

It would appear that these latter papers, uninformed by prior prejudices or proximity to the war scene, should have been first to ask for impartial outside intervention to end this blood bath, but such was not the case. On the other hand, the Valley Independent, despite its bias for the McSweeney forces, asked for such impartial intervention and for reasonable actions by Lincoln County residents. For example, after the death of J. H. Tunstall it noted the condition in Lincoln County and expressed a hope that despite the actions of the posse:

the law will be permitted to take its course, and that the good citizens of Lincoln County will not permit themselves to become violators of the law by aiding or abetting any unlawful act.³

^^ For examples see Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, February 9, April 20, May 25, August 17, Jg^fni^'^Jnl* « Valley Independent. April 13, May 4, 11, 1878; Mesilla News, Tsrfe, 1878; Santa Fe Rocky Mountain Sentinel es qxxoT^T in Mesilla Valley Independent, August 4, 1878.

^^ For example see Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, April 6, June 1, 15, August 10, 1878, and as quoted in Mesilla Valley Independent, May 11, 1878; Mesilla News, June 8, 15, July 2, August 3, 1878.

^^ Mesilla Valley Independent, February 23, 1878.

When it was revealed that known cmtlaws, r,ome of them men whom *the* Valley Independent considered it hsd hounded out of Dona Ana County, were in the posse which had killed J. H. Tunstall, the Valley Independent asked that the shertff explain why knoxm criminal' were raade members of the posse.²⁴

After a sheriff appointed by the Lincoln County ccxmaissioners waa removed because he appeared to be a McSween partisan and was replaced by a Murphy partisan, ^he Valley Independent predicted that this action would

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only lead to further bloodshed.^ The prediction was ignored, and as a result the Lincoln Ccmnty war entered its bloodiest phase, with more than a dozen men losing their lives. Again the Valley Independent protested and asked that peace be restored, not by those already involved in theee troubles but by:

unprajudiced minds—and if the govemor of New Mexico cannot do it—if he cannot dertse e plan by which these troublee can be ended, Uhcle Sew ehould inter-fera. The management of this whole affair is not only wrong but disgraceful, and shows that a want of ability somewhere exists to properly handle diffi-culties of this kind.^0

Unlike the New Mexlcen and the Neve, the Valley Independent was not consistent in its support of the faction

^^ Ibid., Mamh 30, 1878.

^ Ibid., August 3, 1878.

^ Ibid.

which it seemed to have chosen. For example, when Robert A. Weideman, the deputy United States marshal who was friendly with the McSween faction, appeared to have acted illegally, the Valley Independent commented:

We hope he will be able to present a satisfactory explanation of his alleged friendly association with thieves and murderers at the time he had in his pockets a warrant for their arrest. If it appears that he has made use of his official position as Deputy U. S. Marshal to conciliate combatants in the interest of one or the other party of men whose rancorous feuds have thrown Lincoln County in disorder, he will not be held free from responsibility for the death of Mr. Tunstall. All that we desire is to have the matter thoroughly ventilated, and then—"Ut Justice be done though the Heavens fall."^

^* Valley Independent was initially favorable toward McSween's supporters when they formed a group known as the Regulators for the alleged purpose of protecting their lives and property from the known outlaws of the Murphy faction. That paper, however, soon lost sympathy for them when their

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vengeful and illegal actions were revealed. Thus, despite its somewhat restrained partisanship for the McSween side, the Valley Independent apparently has the best record of any territorial paper with regard to the Lincoln County struggle. Where other papers were merely impartial reporters or consistently supported their chosen side editorially, the Valley Independent was editorially critical of

^ Ibid., March 3, 1878.

^^ Ibid., April 13, 1878.

both aides at times, consistently asked for Just and impartial solutions, and maintained in the end that there were two wrong sides rather than one right one.[^]

Whereas few of the editors of the 1870's were willing to align vigorously for law and order, those of the 1880's were very devoted to ending the reign of crime and terror that beset New Mexico. These editors of the 1880's were almost entirely a new group, part of the large wave of Anglo-American immigration that accompanied railway construction into the territory. These newcomers were of two types: those who were adventurous but industrious and wished to build a peaceful, prosperous society, and those adventurers but lawless men ever present in frontier areas. The addition of this last group to a similar element already in the territory made the years from 1880 to 1884 the period of greatest civil violence in New Mexican history. Inefficient territorial law enforcement agencies could not cope with this situation; as a result the territorial editors, belonging to the group desiring peace and Justice, instituted extraordinary measures to end this era of criminal violence. To bring peace within the town the editors advocated the use of vigilantes and lynch mobs. To bring order to the open range, most editors approved the use of territorial militia to hunt down large gangs of cattle

^{^^} Ibid., August 24, 1878.

thieves. In the case of the legal but unjust Naxwell land grant, however, the editors were reluctant to condemn extra-legal rtolence tiiat ailght lead to Just ends. But as the decade wora on the editors lost patience with this futile fight and asked that the lews and ccmrt decisions be respected. Thus, in each Instance the press advocated and racognized the necessity of a peaceful and orderly but Just society. Considering that a Icmg interlude of lawlessness and rtolence came to an end very quickly, their sanction of the extra-legal action of the rtgilantes appears to have been Justified.

In two instances in the early eighties terrttortal officials efficiently suppressed criminal violence. In both cases these officials were called upon to braek up gange engaged in cattle thefts. These two gangs were led by hirad gunmen who had fought on *oppoeite* sides in the Lincoln County war. One gang leader, W. H. "Billy the Kid" Bonney, established his headquarters at Us Portales in eastern Nev Nexlco and lerted upon the herds of ranchers in that araa until he was hunted down by Pat Garratt, New Nexlco's most noted law-Bian. Bonney escaped from captivity and Garrett again hunteJ hU down, this time killing him. Territorial editors would have had little understandin;; of the tendency to glaaori-'e •^illy the Kid." To then he was similar to a rattlesnake, something to be ruthlessly exterminated. For example, the Cimarron News and Press maintained:

We can all unite in the sentiment exorased in the verdict of the coroner*s Jury that Garrett has earned the gratitude of the \fhole terrttory by rid-
ding it of this dangerous outlaw.3^

^1^, ^9 ^^I^^''^^^ Republican of Us Cruces adopted a similar attitude and urged everycme to contrtbute to funds being raiaed to reward Garrett for his feat:

Since he entered the killing business two years ago Kid has been a terror to honest Uv Country people and hence the general satisfaction at his decease, and deep seated gratitude to the man who marked him for burial. . , • The people certainly owe him much and nearly every town in the territory is *moving* to show a cash appreciation of its gratitude. All are equally interested and each should come up with its mite. • . , The fund cannot be swelled beyond desserts.31

By its efforts to raise rewards for Garrett, the prasn showed its appreciation of brave and effective conventional law enfomement. Hcwever, monetary rawards failed to inspire similar perfonaancc from other territortal law-men and even Garrett soon left his position.

The other gang of cattle thieves was led by John Kinney, also a hired gunman of the Lincoln County war. Territorial society used different means to suppress this group, which was active in southwestern New Mexico. Cattle losses became so great in that area by 1883 that ranchers appealed

^^ Cimarron News and Press, July 21, 1681.

11^ Us Cmces WLo Grande Republican, July 23, 1881.

to the territorial governor for aid. He in turn asked the crusading former editor of the NeslU Valley Independent. A. J. Fountain, to investigate. Fountain had earlier helped to organize adlitla companies at NeslU and in 1883 was a Major in command of them. After his investigation confirmed excessive cattle theft, Major Fountain was ordered to take the field against the "metlra." Subsequently a large part of the Kinney gang was captured and placed in Jail at NeslU. They were then so closely guarded by the adlitla that no one was able to storm the Jail and release them as had frequently happened in the past when outlaws had been captured. The militant Fountain, who was also a Uwyer, then gathered evidence and helped the prosecution convict John Kixmey.³² But Fountain's actions were not supported by all of the territorial press. The low Mexican sharply questioned his report of large scale "rustling" in Dona Ana County.³³ The Silver City Southwest Sentinel was hostile to the use of militia to hunt criminals, deeming this martial law.³⁴ The paper continued its hostility toward Fountain during the trial of Kinney. For this it was rebuked by the Silver City Enterprise, which maintained that

³² Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, November 22, 187⁸; Us Cruces Rio Grand³⁵ FTepubTTcan, February 17, March 10, 17, April 14, ³⁶ ifB Silver City finiemrtee, March 1, 1883.

³³ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, January 6, 188⁸.

³⁴ Silver City Southwest Sentinel, April 1, 1883.

"instead of censuring Major Fountain and Governor Sheldon deserve praise for so speedily retarding the country of this part of its rustler element."³⁵ The Rio Grande Republican generally supported Fountain, confirming his findings about cattle theft and endorsing his efforts.³⁶ The Silver City Enterprise did maintain, however, that the use of militia gave too much advance warning to rustlers and was therefore an impractical method. Further use of the militia in the summer of 1883 seemed to sustain this conclusion, and the

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method was abandoned. Nevertheless, it had been successful in halting large scale open operations of the type Kinney had been conducting and had helped to bring law and order to the ranges of southwestern New Mexico. In general the efforts of Fountain and Garrett to bring law and order to the range lands met with public approval; the chief contribution of the press was that of giving a voice to this general desire for an orderly society.

Fearless men such as Sheriff Pat Garrett and Major A. J. Fountain were exceptional, consequently other areas resorted to mob action instead of regular law enforcement agencies were ineffective. Such appeared to be the case at Ute Creek

³⁵ Silver City Enterprise, April 27, 1883.

³⁶ Ute Creek Rio Grande Republican, February 17 to May 3, 1883, passim.

³⁷ Ibid., June 20, July 7, 1883; Silver City Enterprise. 'Trench I, 1883.

in 1880 when three men rode into town beaz*lng arms contrary to the laws of both the terrttory and Us Vegas. The aiar-shall, who aaked this trto to disam themselves, was shot dovm for his pains. The next issue of the Deily Optic revealed that these men had stopped at nearby Nora after fleeing Ua Vegas, and asked that a posse be fomed to brtnng them to trial. This was seen accsoiq^llshed and the men were pUced in the San Niguel Ccmnty Jail. Apparently motivated by fear that the trio might eacape, a masked *moh* took them from the Jail and executed thea wlt hcmt benefit of trial. The next edltii^ of the Deily Optic recounted the story under a heading of "THE LyNCHING," and displays the barbarism often involved in such incidents as well as the Journalistic styles then currently in use for the reporting of such events:

The hanging yesterday aiomlng was certainly a deplorable affair and one which has been viewed in many ?lighta by citizens. One thing is certain; if these men had by any chance escaped from the clutches of the law, they wera of the rtght cut and calibre to wreak vengeance upon the town that they hated with a deadly hatred.

THE VIGILANTES

. . . demanded the keys, and as the Jailor was under the cover of several guns he had no other alternative but to give them up. The nan were taken out each with a rope around his neck and conducted toward the glaze. West, alias Lowe, was so badly wounded that he had to be carrted. He pleaded most pitifully but still rafused to give his history or whera he came from. Tom Henry says "Jla, be still and die like a

man." The poor fellow was shivering with cold and said "Boys, you are hanging a mighty good man."

Tom Henry died game *though he weakened a little when first taken out of the cell. When asked if he had any friend that he wished written to, he said he had an old father and mother living in Pueblo, Colorado, by the name of Bouse. His right name was Thomas Jefferson Hume, and when asked if he had anything to say replied. "Boys, it's pretty rough to be hung, but I wish someone would write to my father and Mother. I will stand the consequences and die like a man." Henry, alias House, though only twenty-one years of age was cool and self possessed to the last. Dorsey said that he hadn't a friend in the world, and would not tell where he was from or give any information in regard to his previous history.

AT THE SCAFFOLD

It is understood that West was jerked up first and the last words he said were, "please button up my pants."

TUB HANGING

was apparently a failure and the mob, fearing someone would come to protect the prisoners, commenced shooting. Henry, alias House, fell at the first shot, but crawling to the side of the platform said, "Boys, for God's sake shoot me again! Shoot me in the head! Dorsey said not a word but hardly a second after the first shot was fired both men fell pierced with bullets.³⁸

On his editorial page the Pally Optic editor held that the lynching was fully Justified:

SPEEDY trials and swift punishment are two things needful. If such were the case our citizens

³⁸ Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 9, 1938.

would never take the law into their own hands. . . . We are not an advocate of mob law; neither do we believe that wild reckless drunken men should be permitted to come into town and ruin the people, shooting down in cold blood any parties who may chance to interfere and endeavor to stop them in their bloody work.

The killing of Joe Carson was cold blooded. They had not the least provocation in the world for committing the deed in which in the end cost them their lives. . . . The day when roughs can run towns has passed. Public sentiment will not tolerate such conduct. Men who rob and kill and laugh at the law must remember that a new era has dawned upon New Mexico.

The lesson taught by this awful spectacle in the people's Sabbath morning will not soon be forgotten. No man could look upon it without being overcome with feelings of inexpressible horror. However, it must be remembered that these men were desperate characters who regarded human life as worth nothing when standing between them and the accomplishment of any evil design. They had been terrors to our people. They acknowledged the killing of Joe Carson, could offer no palliating circumstances, and their own lawyer said no court under heaven would acquit them. The only hope was to delay a trial, penalizing the evidence to scatter.¹³

Most editors agreed with the Daily Optic that immediate action by the populace was necessary to put an end to the terroristic violence of this era, for the regular legal processes were too slow and uncertain. Continued the Albuquerque Daily Journal;

As long as we have no prisons where lawbreakers can be confined with any degree of certainty that

³⁰
-• Ibid.

th[^] will remain until brought to Justice as prescribed by law, we may expect lynching.⁴⁰

"Oia Bio Grande Republican maintained that: "Speedy trial and sure punishments would do a little toward making Judge Lynch unpopular."⁴¹ A similar argument was used by the Nanzano Gringo and Graaser which condoned lynching on the basis that: "nothing deters the commission of crime as much as the awful and certain vengeance of the people visited upon the criminals."⁴²

A few editors, on the other hand, held that it was always better to "allow the law to take its course without regard to the consequence."⁴³ The Albuquerque Evening Review, for example, was consistently opposed to vigilante law and once recommended that law officers discover the identity of lynchers and bring them to Justice. When a Socorro man confessed that he had raped an eight year old girl and given her a venereal disease, the editor of the Evening Review held that while this lynching was more justified than one for simple murder, in no circumstances was

⁴⁰ Albuquerque Daily Journal, February 1, 1881.

⁴¹ See Cruces Rio Grande Republican, March 18, 1882.

⁴² Nanzano Gringo and Greaser, February 1, 1884.

⁴³ Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, February 27, 1881. This paper, however, was not consistent for a year later it wrote: "Judge Lynch is an outrage but sometimes does more actual work than all the courts combined." Quoted in Albuquerque Daily Journal, January 29, 1882.

lynching Justifiable.*^ Frontier law Mexico soon became more placid and law enforcement improved to the extent that in 1886 one editor reported: "Lynch law is more popular in the states than in New Mexico. Mob law has ceased in this territory."⁴⁵

Certainly lawless things contributed to the decline of lawlessness in New Mexico, and among them was the quick reaction of an outraged populace. The editors contributed to bringing law and order by encouraging the outraged people to use extra-legal methods to eliminate or intimidate those who disturbed or threatened to disturb the peace of the ter-

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ritory. Yet at the same time many editors showed themselves ready to allow the peace to be disturbed by sanctioning violent resistance to what most editors considered a gigantic fraud, the Maxwell land grant. When the territory became more placid, the editors were to regret their advocacy of mob action, for they were forced to recant and to call upon the anti-grant group to accept in justice in order

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1882. ^ Albuquerque Evening Review, March 9, August 17,

^^ Albuquerque Sunday Journal, May 1, 1886. This also seems to be sustained by an absence of news stories about lynching in the territory after 1885.

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Often vigilante groups use their power to oppress innocent enemies as well as to punish criminals. In territorial New Mexico there appeared to be only one instance of this type, the vigilance group that sought to avenge the death of A. M. Conklin at Socorro (see Chapter IV). Thus, the editors, for the most part, escaped the terrible results which could have come from their sanction of vigilante action.

that peace and order might be preserved.

The Maxwell company purchased and then extended a large Mexican land grant. The original grant, about 90,000 acres and larger than allowed by Mexican law, was extended enormously when the grant was confirmed by the United States Congress. Some have charged that surveyors made it larger than the area Congress had confirmed. At any rate, eventually it contained about 1,800,000 acres and extended from Elizabethtown and Cimarron into southern Colorado. Meanwhile, many small ranchers, basing themselves upon the public domain, had begun ranching on the fertile grasslands of the grant and had made valuable improvements upon their ranches. When the Maxwell company sought to expel these squatters from its lands, a leader arose to direct them in a resistance movement. This leader was O. P. McMains, the Methodist minister who led the mob involved in the Coffey County war, and a man already known as a fearless leader against large-scale corruption. Expelled from the ministry for his leadership of the lynch mob, McMains had become a rancher on Maxwell grant lands and was thus bound to the other ranchers with a common tie. The squatters furnished money for McMains to conduct law suits and make innumerable trips to Washington where he appealed to the Justice Department, Interior Department, Supreme Court, Congress, and the President to set aside the fraudulent grant. While making these appeals he again and again advocated tolerance to

prevent the Maxwell company from seizing the squatters' lands before they could set aside the grant by legal means. Ultimately the Maxwell company gained undisputed possession of the grant.⁴⁷

In the early stages of the struggle described above, the press was hostile toward the Maxwell company and sympathetic toward the squatters. For example the Rio Grande Republican of Los Cruces maintained that:

McNains is a man who is bravely fighting an alleged corrupt and fraudulent land grant in Colfax County, and all who are opposed to robbery and corruption should side with him.^{^^}

The Raton Independent adopted a similar attitude:

The leading members of the law profession in Santa Fe say there is no chance for the settlers to get the Maxwell 'invalid' grant set aside. No doubt it will be a hard task and one that will require a vast amount of time to accomplish, but it does not seem like the vast amount of allegations and proofs will be wholly ignored by the government. Right will triumph in the end. . . .^{^9}

The Daily Optic also openly favored the small ranchers: "We are body and soul in sympathy with the Maxwell

^{^^} William A. Keleher, The Maxwell Land Grant (Santa Fe, 1942); F. Stanley (Stanley T. Jr. Chic la), "O. P. McNains, Champion of a Just Cause," New Mexico Historical Review, XXIV, (January, 1949), pp. 111.

⁴⁸ Los Cruces Rio Grande Republican, November 13, 1882.

[^] Raton Independent as quoted in Los Vegas Daily Optic, June 20, 1951.

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squattera. . . . While some editors expressed cmly sympathetic encouragement, othera urged a mora active program upon the a^fuattera. The Raten Guard, for exaa^le, advocated that the squattera oppose unjust court orders:

We do believe that when the court is prostituted from its high position to serve the ends of a corrupt corporaticm, the peelee ara not so auch to blame for rtalng up in a *body* and protesting against Injustice. . . . It ia their prlyilege to organize so as to afford self protection.⁵¹

The San Hllarlo Bed River Chronicle believed rto«
lence was Justified but hesitated to adrtae ita use:

We advise our frt ends in Colfax County to go slow. Xf Judge Prince, Tbm Catron, Bill Breeden, Frank 4>ringer and a lot of other hell hounds and land grant swindlers would have to serve the wrtt [to expel the sc^atters frcm: Maxwell landa] in person, we Blight adrtae the Raton folks to take good aim and kill every mothers son of them; but such is not the case. Xmocent tools will be called in to execute the lawT5z

When in the last yeara of the 18*80's the prass became moz*e Interested in peace, law, and order, the editors lost sympathy for a fight which could be won neither in a court nor against the araed might of the United States Gov-
emment. Uhder these circumstances the entire editortal

^^^ Ua Vegaa Pally Optic, June 20, 1885.

^^ Raton Guard as quoted In San Hllarlo Red River Chronicle. Aprtl 22, 1«82.

^^ San Rllarto Red River Chronicle. Aprtl 22, 1882.

corps lost sympathy for McNaine and those squatters who were inclined to resort to violence. The changed attitude of the territorial press is shown in the source of the

^^^ " Range to the squatters:

We hope these people will consider the consequences of any *further* attempts in violation of the law. Let them consult their own best interests, advise with those entitled to their confidence and respect, and they certainly will not attempt to bring on a conflict that can only result in disaster for themselves.^^

The efforts of McNaine to continue the struggle when any reasonable man would have concluded it was futile eventually led *many* editors to conclude that he did so to continue to draw funds and subsidies from the squatters:

The settlers would do *well*, alike for themselves and the man, to help McNaine to a better seat. His day of usefulness, if it ever dawned, is ended, and his leadership of any movement is a certain death blow to it. He has lived off the poor settlers long enough.^

Thus, by 1890 the press no longer considered a just cause sufficient excuse for resorting to violence. This desire for peace, law, and order reflected the more even

^^ Raton Range as quoted in Santa Fe Daily Herald, July 28, 1888. _____

5^ I.e.: Vegas Daily Optic, May 7, 1890. The Santa Fe New Mexican consistently supported the Maxwell Grant owners, but for the most part this appears to be support for the Santa Fe Ring leaders such as T. B. Catron and William Breiden, who represented the Maxwell Grant and other grants as attorneys. Thus, this does not truly represent the attitude of the general press in this matter.

tenor of territorial life and the desire of a *large* majority of citizens to preserve these conditions. In this new era instances of large scale violence by cowboy gangs or mobs were rare. However, violence between ordinarily peaceful citizens continued. To eliminate exchanges of gunfire growing out of hasty impulses the editors sought to curtail the frontier custom of *men* habitually carrying weapons. This movement to curtail the carrying of pistols had begun much earlier as a part of the effort to halt violence in New Mexico. It culminated in a legislative act of the 1870's prohibiting the wearing of guns. By 1880 the Daily Optic was calling for the enforcement of this law and in 1881 renewed its campaign with an editorial, the "VAR ON WEAPONS:"

The officials of this precinct will rigidly *enforce* the law prohibiting the carrying of deadly weapons. Printed notices to this effect will be posted up conspicuously where they cannot fail to reach the eyes of the public. *Every* good citizen is expected to observe this injunction without further notice and the other classes will be compelled to do so. . . . A new era has dawned in the local history of New Vegas.⁵⁵

Although at various times in the 1880's territorial editors called for the enforcement of this act,⁵⁶ it was never rigorously enforced in those years. Another act providing heavy fines for carrying weapons was praised by the

⁵⁵ New Vegas Daily Optic, March 28, 1881.

⁵⁶ For example, see Silver City Enterprise, July 27, 1883; New Vegas Daily Optic, November 20, 1882.

Daily Optic in 1887.⁷ With the advent of the more peaceful era of the late 1860s, the press seized upon tragic accidents to remind New Mexicans of the dangers that came from being constantly armed. For example, in 1888 *when* a pistol fell from a man's coat and killed his wife the Daily Optic stated;

There is no more useless and senseless custom than that of carrying loaded pistols. The laws of New Mexico look upon the practice in this light, and have fixed upon the custom one of the harshest financial penalties. Yet men will constantly violate the law in this particular. Especially is it done by parties coming to the territory, evidently looking upon New Mexico as a land of license, where every man's life is carried in his hand. Still the fact remains there is no more need for a man to carry a pistol in Las Vegas, Albuquerque, Santa Fe or any of the towns and villages of New Mexico than there would be for the same man to go armed in New York, Washington City or Boston.⁵⁸

The wearing of weapons declined in the 1890's, perhaps as a result of the editorial admonitions, but "gun totin" continued to be the habit of many. When in 1891 an armed cowboy shot a practical Joker for spitting water on his boots, the San Manuel Bee again called for a halt to the practice.⁵⁹ In fact, with the movement of homesteaders into eastern New Mexico in the first decade of the

⁷ Las Vegas Daily Optic, March 3, 1887.

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Ibid., April 10, 1888.

⁵⁹ San Manuel Bee as quoted in Alameda County Otero County Advertiser, May 17, 1902.

twentieth century the practice again became prevalent, and again the press cited tragic incidents to illustrate the result of carrying arms.⁶⁰

From the foregoing it can be seen that the practice of ordinary citizens carrying arms in public had not been eliminated completely by the end of the territorial era. Nevertheless, the editorial pleas for disarmament were probably not without effect, and it would seem a safe assumption that as general frontier violence declined editorial manders helped to curtail gun wearing by their stress on disarmament as a wise and accepted practice.

There were only sporadic instances of violence in New Mexico after 1890, and the attitude of both public and press was remarkably different, as the editorials renews expressed about the famous Fountain murder case clearly show. A. J. Fountain, who during most of his adult life remained a vigorous advocate of law enforcement, in 1895 was employed by the New Mexico Cattleman's Association to uncover evidence of extensive cattle thievery in central New Mexico. Fountain told friends that he had sufficient evidence to indict for cattle theft a Dona Ana County rancher and former deputy sheriff, Oliver Lee, and some of his associates. Shortly after this Fountain disappeared while driving from Tularosa

⁶⁰ For example see Santa Fe New Mexican, June 25, 1903, April 18, 1900; Silver City Enterprise, August 2, 1907; Truth News, November 10, 1917.

to Us Gruees. Ertidence found along this route, which waa near the Lee ranch, indicated that he had been murderad, but his body was never found. Subsequently when Pat Garratt, than Dona Ana Oounty ahertff, sou^t to arraat Lee, he and hia followera raalsted and a deputy ahertff was kilUd. Lee in a letter to the Independent Peaocrat of Us Cmces defended hia actiona on grounds that membera of the posse wera hia tmenies, and he feamd for his life. Eventually he surrendered to a dlstrtct Judge, employed A. B. Fall as his lawyer, and won acquittal.

The preee closely followed the Fountain-Ue case and clearly shcnred its attitude by its rejection of Ue's contenticm in his letter that he would not have been r;iven fair treataient after arreat. Only the Independent Psmoerat waa aympathetic to Lee.⁶¹ The common editortal rtew is shown by the fblowing cruotaticms: "Oliver Lee is not improving his aide of the case by the course he has cdcpted, and is rapidly losing what little sympathy he has gained. *^C

^^ Us CruccB Inciependemt Democrat, August 17, 1898; Las Cmcea Rio Grande Bepubllicen July 2!2, August 26, September 2, 1898⁷ ^Tihöii^ A. ^ Fall, attorney for OUver Ue, and his personal friend, had no open connection with the Us Cmces Independent PeBOcrat at this time, it was rtlll oonaidered his paper hy moat I^ Nexlco editors. See Chapter II. A. N. Gibson, jBha Ufe and Death of Colonel Albert Jeming.n Pointainx aceorSHhgto a review in ihe Journal of jSerlcan HTetory, LXI (Marc^, 1966), pp. 84!::=^ provides a detailed account of the murder of Fbuntain and the trUl of Oliver Lee.

^' silver City Indenendent as ^otoa in Lno Cruces Rio Orande Republicmu Aufniet ^b, 1^9^.

"There is nothing whatever in Lee's conduct to entitle him to further recognition as anything else than an outlaw. When Qmrratt's posse came up, he should have given up and not tried to dictate terms to the law."⁶³ "Oliver Ue's letter will not do him any good, his record is against him and his actions give the lie to his words."⁶⁴ "No matter at what time or place the curtain is rung down on this drama of blood, the law's supremacy will be recorded." This Uet contention seemed to reflect the stand of most of the territorial press—uphold the supremacy of the law and live by rules of law and order or take the consequences. Thus, by 1896 the territorial press had lost the traditional impatience of the frontiersman for the fine points of the law and called for strict adherence to the law and legal procedures.

However, past lawlessness had given New Mexico a bad reputation which some territorial editors were eager to remove, as the following editorial excerpt reveals:

^^ Eddy Current as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican Review, August 11, 1898.

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Roswell Register as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican Review, July 18, 1898.

^ San Nial Bee as quoted in Us Cmces Rio Grande Republican, September 9, 1898. For other examples of editorial attitude in this matter see Santa Fe New Mexican Review, April 14, 1898, September 8, 1898; Las Truces Rio Grande Republican, August 26, September 2, 1898, March 4, 1898.

The bulletin of the New Mexico Publicity Association recently announced the inauguration of a campaign to work for the abolition of the "bad man" cartoon of New Mexico in eastern newspapers. The movement is a most necessary one and should have the support of every booster in New Mexico. ^

The changing attitude of the territorial press toward bringing law and order reflects the general trend among American frontiersmen except where certain peculiarities of New Mexico gave it a different bent. In most western areas the time from the founding of the first newspapers to the arrival of an era of law and order was relatively short, but in New Mexico it extended from 1847 to about 1884. Accustomed by centuries of frontier life to violence, isolated New Mexicans from 1847 to 1880 were most interested in eliminating the violence of Indian wars. In this early period the only significant effort to bring law and order was that of Editor A. J. Fountain of the Nesilla Valley Independent. The ending of New Mexican isolation by railways, the subsequent mining boom, and the influx of Anglo-American frontiersmen brought a period very similar to those which occurred in other frontier regions. The press, as it apparently did in other western areas, at first encouraged vigilantes to combat lawless elements but soon demanded the preservation of law and order and the following of regular legal procedures in every case. In this latter phase the territorial press

awde ita greatest contrtbuticm toward bringing law and order. Xn acme inataneea the editors became the leadera of the movement; in others the press beceee the means of cora-munlcaticm between leaders and people. Although the 81Q>-prassion of lawlessness and rtolence was not solely the work of tiie Joumalists, it must be reeognlted that their efforts helped to attain that goal.

The preas made U S G ccmtribution toward the ell...inr-tion of rtce in Hew Nertco than it had to the emergence of Uw and order. Natlcma and local reform movements, which reached t^e peak of their effectiveness after 1900⁶⁷ were raspcmsible for curtailing rtcnt. Nevertheless, seme news-papera did aid in this work, and the New Mexican became a rather ardent advocate of these reforms. Nost editors favored the closing of saloons cm Sundays and the elimination of public gambllnf^ Ozi the other hand, they almost eoB^letely ignored the battle to eliwinatc open prostitution.

^^ The influence of the national raform movementa can be seem by the natlcma prohibition movement sending lobbyists to tiie New Mexico constitutional convention, seeking prohibition or at least a local option prortsion in the constitution. In another instance the raformera sought to have Congress excroise its powerful control over New Nertco by outlawing aan?bling in the terrttory. The Influen-ence of the national mform moveaents was rtgorously extended in lew Mexico by the immigration of Ur'a !>u;ber8 of militant southem Protestants into eastem New Mertco. In the tcwns of that ama these people stopped public Kambling, dried up some towns, and excluded the prostitutes and were doubtless eicouraged in their actions by such national organisations aa the W. C. T. U. and the Anti-Saloon league.

possibly because they believed this not to be a fit topic for a public newspaper. Few of the editors became exponents of the prohibition movement, apparently believing it sufficient to curb the bad practices of the saloon keepers.

Although for years there had been attempts to restrict saloons with their accompanying prostitution and gambling, such efforts were intensified after 1900 as a result of the influence of local and national prohibition groups and the increasing maturity of New Mexico. The first important act of the reformers was the attempt to close the saloons on Sundays. The territorial legislature in 1876 had ordered Sunday closing for all but essential businesses. The New Mexican immediately held that the law was a good one. The Silver City Herald, on the other hand, was very hostile toward the law, believing it impractical and unenforceable.⁶⁸ In subsequent years the law was enforced only intermittently. Even this, however, was apparently more an effort of law enforcement officers to impress moralistic citizens near election times than genuine reform, for the normal Sunday practices were soon resumed.⁶⁹ Although the newspapers usually supported these occasional

⁶⁸ Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, January 10, 1876; Silver City Herald, January 1, 1870.

⁶⁹ For example, see Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican, April 1, 1876; Albuquerque Evening Review, April 2, 1876; New Mexico Methodist, May, 1876.

enforcement of the law, until after 1900 no paper made strenuous efforts to have it rigidly enforced; then the editors gradually swung over to the reformers' point of view. In September, 1900, all merchants at Silver City agreed to close on Sunday. The Silver City Independent praised their action and predicted approval by the general public.⁷⁰ When in 1902 the *IPM* was invoked at Socorro, ^{^^} Chieftain expressed *warriorism* and predicted the law would prove to be so unpopular that it would be repealed.⁷¹ However, it was enforced and the Chieftain soon complained because it was not being enforced also at Albuquerque.

It was during this period that the New Mexican became convinced that the law should be enforced throughout the territory and waged a campaign lasting several years to bring this about.⁷² The law was enforced after 1902 in Santa Fe and after 1903 in Los Angeles, Dominguez, Raton, and many other towns. In 1904 the New Mexican noted that Albuquerque saloons generally tolerated the law and agreed with the Albuquerque Daily Citizen that the law should either be enforced or repealed.⁷³ Finally in 1905 the New Mexican

⁷⁰ Silver City Independent, September 18, 1900.

⁷¹ Socorro Chieftain, June 14, 1902.

⁷² For examples of the attitude of the Santa Fe New Mexican see issues of January 7, August 19, November 30, December 1, 18, 1903, November 26, 1904, April 7, 1905.

⁷³ Ibid., November 26, 1904.

Jubilantly reported:

Hurrah for Judge Abbott, and bully for Shertff Perfecto Armljo! What was deemed impossible six months ago is coming to pass. Shertff Perfecto Armljo of BemalllU County, Ust Sunday, saw to it that the aaloona of tiie Pulce City were closed tii^t, in front as well as back doors. When the lew Nertcan began its campaign for equal enforoe-ment of the Sunday law throu^iout the terrttory' and supported Judge John R. NcFle in enforolng it in Santa Fe, not cmly the press and people of Albuquerque, but many people in Santa Te insisted that this enforcement would *never* come to pass. . . . That this . . . [enforcement of the Uw] . . . will redound to the benefit of the Duke City and its people in general goes without saying for no town ever gained permanent prosperetty by countenancing law breaking or encouraging gambling.^{7^}

Although the press did not Join the movement to end public gambling imtll the twentieth century', editorr. often noted gambling and public acticm conceming it. For e:c-aa^le, in 1876 the Silver City Grant County Herald nain-tained that it was all rtght for tho legislature to o: 3]7o^er Grant Cbunty to license ga^blinf^ despite ^i earlier terri-torial law prc^ibitlng it. The editor explained that the anti-gambling law war, never meant to be enforced, but *thct* I I the terrttory took thle method of tiL?:ing fc:blng through flnea at each term of court.^ When in 1887 the lec^icir-tura legalized gambling, the Deily Optic Jip'^roved, holding thet the prertous subterfuge had beefi wrong:

^{^^} Ibid., November 6, 1905.

[^] Silver City Grant County Herald, May 2^:, 1878.

Our legislators took the proper view of the subject by putting a tax upon it. By giving it a legal existence, it would be controlled, restrained, and deprived of many of its most objectionable features. As a tax on gambling, let it be conducted only in properly licensed houses, and . . . minors will no longer be enticed into dives to be awfully drunk, robbed of their money, and then thrown into the uncleanly embrace of the most degraded of the female sex.⁷⁶

Under efforts to repeal this law led the Deming Headlight to state that should they succeed it would "prove to our people the necessity of selecting for legislative citizens of a little above rather than a little below the

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average in intelligence.' However, not all papers approved of legal gambling. The Cerrillos Rustler, for example, called for a repeal of this law and the Rio Grande Republican endorsed its stand.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, there was no serious effort to curtail gambling until the middle of the twentieth century included gambling among the things it was attacking. Probably the press was without deep convictions in this matter and only actively opposed gambling when it appeared the public demanded the end of legalized gambling.

Artesia apparently was the first town to respond by outlawing gambling in 1905 through a local ordinance.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Xig V. -ns Daily Optic. March 5, 1887.

⁷⁷ Peering Headlight, February 15, 1887.

⁷⁸ Cerrillos Rustler as quoted and commented upon by the Cmces Rio Grande Republican, February 13, 1891.

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Artesia Advocate, March 25, 1905.

This same year the New Mexican began a campaign against legal gambling, citing as an argument the lower criminal rates and mounting savings accounts in towns in which gambling had been outlawed. As other papers joined the fight, the New Mexican applauded and republished their editorial comments. Coemell was congratulated for its decision in 1906 to prohibit gambling. Under the leadership of the New Mexican, the territorial press became almost unanimous in its attack upon legalized gambling. Possibly this encouraged the legislature to enact a law that ended legalized gambling in New Mexico as of December 31, 1907.⁸⁰

While the press was of great assistance to the reform movement in the fight against gambling, it did very little to aid in the elimination of open prostitution. The earliest paper to suggest curtailing prostitution was the Albuquerque Evening Review. This paper noted in 1882 that a legislative act of 1860 forbade the practice and lamented that despite this prostitutes still sold their wares in seven houses in the midst of the Albuquerque business district. The Evening Review then published scattered brief

⁸⁰ For the attitude of the Santa Fe New Mexican and the other papers quoted by it see issues of August 24, September 11, 21, October 6, 13, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 30, November 2, 4, 14, 1905, January 10, April 7, May 9, July 6, 1906. For the attitudes of other New Mexico papers concerning this see Farlington Times-Hustler, January 18, 1906, December 12, 1907; Socorro Chieftain, November 11, 1905; Las Vegas Daily Optic, August 6, 1906; Carlsbad Argus, September 7, 1906, February 1, March 1, 1907; Fort Collins, April 6, 1907; Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 11, 1907.

editorial aquibs in the aueceeding daya ashing the city to "remove the prostitutes from Railroad Avenue" and others defflMndins that the city "have a raapectable business atreet." An Albuquerque BdLnister called the attention of the public to tiie fact that the editor did not propose to eixlude p2X>a-titution from the city, but only to ralegate it to obscura places. Tlie editor did not answer this crtticism but continued his editorial brtef a for some time tiiereafter.^ The Albuquerque Morning Democrat adopted a siaillar stance in 1889, pradicting tiiat an attempt of the city to curtail proatitutea would aiaet with failure. This paper stated that efforts to close "red light districts" in other cities had merely drtven prostitutes into respectable neighborhoods and had led to the Bioleatation and ccmtamination of many decent pec»ple.⁸² When in 190'0 Carlsbad paased ordinances prohibiting public prostitution, the lew Mexican maintained that it would be impossible to enfome this law properly. But, in 190»3 the same paper noted a death in Tucumcari which occurrad as a rosult of a dispute at a "bawdy house" and asked that district attorneys close such places. The lew Mexican, however, ratatned some of its former attitude, for

^{On}
⁸¹ Albuquerque Eveninn ""QV'CM, February 23 to Mnroh 23, 1B82.

^{Op}
 Albuquerque Morning Democrat, June 14, 1889. Fbr a SimiUr attltuOle see IAH VC^PG Daily Optic, February 5, 1887, July 31, 1388, May 12, iB'^.

in 1906 it held that if such licensed immorality were to be tolerated in Santa Fe it should be confined to a "red light district" in an obscure part of the city.⁸⁴ The Albuquerque Morning Journal, on the other hand, reprinted a 1905 Daily Optic editorial telling of an Albuquerque police policy of licensing prostitutes at \$10 each per month, a practice which netted the city about \$800 monthly. Subsequently the Nominees Journal asked for the elimination of licensed prostitution. After a brief campaign, however, the paper halted its efforts, and the practice apparently continued throughout the territorial era.⁸⁴

On the other hand, open prostitution was ended in most of the small eastern New Mexico towns in this period. For example, in 1908 the Carlsbad Argus noted that every town in the lower Pecos Valley had an ordinance similar to that of Carlsbad's prohibiting prostitution. Unlike Carlsbad, however, the other towns enforced their ordinances.⁸⁵ An example of editorial reluctance to discuss prostitution can be seen in the Portales papers. In their town a citizen's committee expelled the prostitutes,⁸⁶ yet neither

⁸⁴ Santa Fe New Mexican, September 11, 1903, March 26, 1903, December 7, 1903.

⁸⁵ The Las Vegas Daily Optic is quoted in Albuquerque Morning Journal, August 11, 1905. See also other issues of this paper of August 11, 12, 1905.

⁸⁶ Carlsbad Argus, November 27, 1908.

⁸⁷ A letter written by C. V. Dobbs to the Portales Daily News for its Golden Jubilee edition September 21,

Portalea paper mentioned the movement. On the whole, it is evident that the press contributed very little to this reform.

Despite its lack of an active policy to eliminate prostitution, the press probably helped indirectly by working with the movement to close saloons in New Mexico. The press supported the first effective effort to regulate saloons by endorsing a legislative act of 1891 which raised the license fees so sharply that the number of saloons were reduced almost 60 per cent by 1893.⁸⁷ It was not until the twentieth century, however, that prohibition sentiment became strong in New Mexico. With the advent of southern immigrants into the territory of the eastern section of the state, a movement was launched for local option prohibition in that area. The New Mexican was heartily in sympathy with this movement and became one of its chief leaders—at least, this was the contention of the Roowell Baptist Workmen in 1906.⁸⁸ Editor Max Frost of the New Mexican maintained also that prohibition sentiment was strong among Spanish-Americans. He believed that women of this group, having suffered impoverishment because of liquor, were responsible for this

1952, but not published and still in the files of the Portales News-Tribune tell of the expulsion of the prostitutes, but neither paper makes mention of this dramatic episode.

^^ Las Vegas Daily Optif., January 10, 1893.

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Roowell Baptist Workman as quoted in Santa Fe New Mexican, July 7, 1896.

attitude. In the same editorial Frost predicted that 1900 •'will bring New Mexico its two greatest gifts. since the American conquest, that of statehood and that of prohibition, or at least complete local option."¹⁰ Frost, however, was only partially right. The prohibition was put into effect by city ordinance in Portales in 1898 and Boswell in 1910. Such an ordinance was enacted in Santa Fe in 1909, but an election called to measure public acceptance defeated the move.¹⁰ Although the efforts of the press in behalf of local option prohibition were not as extensive as those to eliminate legal gambling, several papers supported the attempt to *dry up* communities by local option. In the post-territorial era the press became a better supporter of prohibition so that New Mexico voted in 1917 to approve a national prohibition amendment.

It cannot be said, however, that the curtailment of alcoholic beverage sales in New Mexico was the work of the press, for it was mainly the result of the efforts of the prohibition movement. Similarly, it must be said that all of the efforts to make the territory a more civilized community reflected the desires of a majority of New Mexicans, for even the best of leaders can accomplish little without

¹⁰ Santa Fe New Mexican, December 29, 1908.

¹¹ Ibid., May 31. June 18, 1909; Portales Times, February 11, March 22, 1909; Portales Roosevelt County Herald, March 10, 1909; Boswell Register, July 1, 1909.

popular support. Nevertheless, at times some editors did provide the necessary leadership to bring these reforms. Probably the greatest contribution of the editors was their demand for an end to the era of criminal violence, and their later demand for respect of law which ultimately helped bring order and peace to New Mexico. Other editors exercised leadership in the movements to close saloons on Sundays and end legal gambling. On the other hand, the efforts to halt open prostitution and to bring prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages were supported by only a few of the editors. Thus, in summing up the contribution of the press to the whole movement to civilize New Mexico it is to be noted that the movement was supported by a majority of New Mexicans and led by the reform movement with the press more a follower than a leader.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE TERRITORIAL PRESS

The development of New Mexico Journalism was very similar to that of all American rural Journalism, particularly in the West, but territorial Journalism consistently lagged behind the general progress because of the isolation, mixed population, and poverty of New Mexico. When New Mexico became a possession of the United States, it was on the far frontier, hundreds of miles to the west of the line of westward marching pioneer farmers. Thirty years passed before this isolation was ended, and it was fifty years until the frontier farmers reached New Mexico in any considerable numbers. Down until 1878 the press of New Mexico, largely conducted by Anglo-Americans, was forced to serve two cultural groups, and thus was handicapped by the necessity of dividing its already limited space between two languages. With the advent of railways in 1878 the first large Anglo-American immigration began. With the newcomers came a great many Anglo-American Journalists who largely ignored the Spanish cultural element and published newspapers almost exclusively in the English language. *In* this they were practical because the lack of schools in poverty ridden New Mexico had left the native people illiterate, and it was rare to publish papers for the literate immigrants. However, the new Journalists did not ignore the poverty of New Mexico,

for it threatened to slow down population growth and business prosperity, limiting circulation and advertising incomes. Because territorial isolation, poverty, and the mixed population reduced profits, the elimination of these handicaps became of great interest to territorial editors.

The most significant contribution of the press of New Mexico was the aid it gave to solving the problems of isolation, poverty, and the Americanization of New Mexico's Spanish speaking people. One of the first concerns of the editors became that of ending isolation, and for more than two decades the editors extolled the advantages of railways and encouraged others to invest and to make New Mexico attractive to railroad builders. Once the first rail line arrived the editors did not cease their efforts but intensified them, continually inviting new railroads to come and open more and more of the territory. They made and urged other New Mexicans to make the sacrifices that would induce railroad construction, and by 1912 New Mexico was well equipped with a network of railways. While this was not the work of the editors alone, they had played a significant part in railroad building.

The ending of isolation caused the press to intensify its efforts to hasten the economic development of New Mexico and to combat the evil of poverty. These journalists encouraged the development of mining by announcing the results and printing the detailed information of the mineral

deposits and discoveries that would induce capitalists and prospectors to come and to exploit this resource. At the same time they continued to urge the development of irrigation as a means of bringing a better life to the New Mexicans and inducing new immigration which would promote territorial growth, they kept the public informed of the new irrigation techniques, encouraged efforts to find new sources of water, and battled to preserve territorial water rights; when eventually the advancing line of frontier farmers reached New Mexico, they were welcomed by the editors, who soon saw the necessity of helping these farmers adapt themselves to the conditions of New Mexico. The newcomers were urged to adopt the dry farming system and to diversify crops in order that they might obtain the maximum revenues from their lands. The press, on the other hand, was less interested in the development of the livestock industry, perhaps because with ranching a few people worked upon and occupied thousands of acres. Therefore, its development would never encourage the large immigration so desired by the Journalists. Nevertheless, the editors also offered this industry aid, encouraging ranchers to improve breeds and to form associations to protect their interests. Altogether the press did a great deal to relieve the poverty of New Mexico by settling and encouraging the railroads, the miners, the ranchers, and the farmers to come and to exploit New Mexican resources.

A problem actually ns Important to the editora aa the IsoUtlon and poverty of lew Nertco was that of reconciling its ccmflicting cultures. The first step was that of eiiminat- ing the Indian menace, a problem which of ccmrse was common to all the American West. In this matter the editors echoed the demands of the public and often led them to make those demands. These efforts ccmpled with those of other western areas brcnaght the aiatter to the attention of the nation's public, and the federel government wae forced to act. Neanwhlle, the press had already turned to the prob- lem of the Americanization of New Nexlco'B Spanieh epeaking people. Reconciliation of the differencee of Angloe and the Spanieh in religion r)osed no particular problem deaplte the fact that most of the Anglo«American editore were Protes- tents. Thoe tolerant frontier Journalists generally cited the American Bill of Rights with its guarantee of freedom of religlcm and vigorously rebuked thoe who adopted a bigoted point of view. Ethnic differencee presented more of e problem, but ite eeeverity wae reduced becauee of the docility and general good will of the Spaniah-Americana, AB a reeult, after a few yeare residence in New Nexico, the editore ueually defended the Utlne agalnet the more eggree- Blve Angloe. Education, on the other hend, became more of a problem, for the native New Nexlcane deslrad parochial echoole eupported by public funde in which the language, eultura, end religion of their ethnic group would be taught.

Ultimately the newsmen won their campaign for *free*, public non-sectarian schools taught in the English language. Such schools held out the prospect of a more rapid Americanization of the native New Mexicans by proceeding to eliminate the language barrier and to remove ethnic prejudices through close assimilation of the two peoples from early childhood.

Almost equally as pressing as the problem of reconciling conflicting cultures was the necessity of taming frontier intolerance and immorality, another problem common to almost western areas, with the arrival of the large number of Anglo-Americans and an enlarged press to serve them, the editors made a determined attack upon criminal violence. Usually with the encouragement, and sometimes under the leadership of the Journalists, vigilance committees ended extreme lawlessness and violence in the towns. In subsequent years the editors pressed for strict adherence to law and order, aiding in the pacification of all of New Mexico. Then in the final territorial decade the press helped local and national reform movements to close saloons in some towns and to provide for closer supervision of them in others. Public gambling was also eliminated with the aid of the press in this period. As a result, by 1912 New Mexico had been transformed into a rather placid moral area.

The decline of intolerance, vice, and moral laxity more closely aligned New Mexico with the American nation and consequently hastened the coming of statehood. This was the

topic to which the Journalists dedicated thousands of editorial comments. Until about 1900 the editors advanced views on this question generally in line with the policies of their political parties. Soon after 1900 almost all of the newsmen united in the desirability of statehood and conducted a sustained drive to achieve this goal.

In addition to its efforts to solve the problems resulting from isolation, poverty and the mixed population of New Mexico the press made the normal contribution of newspapers in general. It provided news and information about national and local events in political, cultural, and economic affairs. Such information extends the senses of its readers, allowing them to learn relatively quickly of events which may in future affect their lives. The territorial press through its news stories and editorials speculated about or predicted the effect of some of these events on the lives of New Mexicans, rendering to them a valuable service.

Although the territorial Journalists made significant contributions to the development of New Mexico, they did not always use their positions to the best advantage of the territory. Among the most notable faults of the press was its failure to push for continued improvements in schools after 1894, and its somewhat reluctant support of the efforts of the reform movement to curtail race. The editors also failed to offer or support plans that were

proposed to help the Indians integrate themselves into territorial life as useful, productive, and self-sufficient citizens. The demands of the editors of southeastern New Mexico for the curtailment of civil and political rights of Spanish-Americans was a display of bigotry and short-sightedness and one of the more lamentable failures of the press.

Perhaps the greatest shortcoming of the New Mexico press was its failure to establish its independence from political control until very late in the territorial era. However, this was not unique, for small newspapers all over America were in a similar condition. Only the newspapers of the large cities had much prospect of developing sufficient revenue to remain outside the control of the politicians. And it should be noted to the credit of the territorial press that when the economy of some towns did develop sufficiently to support independent newspapers several publishers took the opportunity to assert their independence.

It was not alone the poverty of New Mexico but also fierce and incessant newspaper competition that forced the editor to submit to the will of the politicians. Since in these years it required only a small capital investment to launch a paper, political leaders could easily found or sponsor a paper that would follow their dictates, thereby providing a rival to drain away part of the revenues of the journalist who dared to challenge the politicians. The blasted hopes and careers of such able publishers as J. G.

Albright of the Albuquerque Morning Democrat or Russell Klatsler of the Las Vegas Daily Optic provide examples of those who dared to follow independent political policies.¹ Thus, harsh and almost continuous competition seems to have been a significant facet of territorial Journalism, crippling the efforts of some Journalists to improve their papers and forcing others to seek political subsidy and to submit to political control.

Newspaper rivalry varied from town to town, but was generally more hectic in the booming mining camps and rapidly growing towns. While there was less competition in the quiet agricultural towns of eastern New Mexico, even here there were usually two papers in town which provided insufficient revenue to support one. Rivalry of the types described here apparently were common among rural newspapers throughout the United States, but the period of hectic competition began to decline about the time New Mexico became a state.² Thus, intense journalistic competition and the beginning of its decline apparently were characteristic of all American rural Journalism in the early years.

Competition is not inherently bad, for under the impetus of rivalry men are inspired to greater diligence

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See Chapters III and IV.

² Robert D. Ulrich (ed.), Free and Responsible Presses (Chicago, 1944), pp. 3-85 notes that the number of American newspapers reached a peak in 1904.

end effort from which society in general can benefit. Journalistic rivalry might lead to lower subscription and advertising prices, better reporting, more extensive news coverage, and serve as the means of presenting contrasting views to the public. In territorial New Mexico, however, improvements in journalism resulting from competitive struggles appeared to be very limited. As has been shown earlier the chief competitive method of weeklies was to begin daily publication, while dailies bought and sometimes tried to monopolize Associated Press services. In some instances rivalry provided a town with a daily newspaper and Associated Press services years earlier than they would have occurred without such contests. Nevertheless, in most instances the Associated Press was quickly abandoned or monopolized to withhold it from rivalry. Newspaper competition probably advanced the dates of the beginning of dailies and Associated Press service at Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and Roswell, and thus provided some limited benefits to the territorial public.

Among the other prospective gains from newspaper struggles are lower advertising and subscription prices. But in New Mexico, while subscription prices were lowered gradually throughout the territorial era, this trend appears to have been more the result of reductions in newspaper prices and freight costs than benefits derived from competitive battles between newspapers. After 1900 there

was a deliberate effort to reduce subscription rates to gain circulation and, as a result, higher advertising rates. These lower prices were not brought about primarily by competition. On the other hand, advertising rates probably were reduced as a result of rivalry, although there is little positive evidence because *most* advertising rates apparently were set by private bargains. It does not seem, however, that all advertisers benefited thus because before 1890 most advertisers patronized the paper which had their party's endorsement, and it is probable that such advertisers received no preferential rate. Other merchants, interested in advertising as a sales tool, really received little benefit from the lower rates resulting from rivalry. Instead of providing lower advertising costs per reader, competition, by driving the newspaper subscribers, actually loaded them higher.³ On the whole, it appears that newspaper rivalry did

³ Advertisers, who hoped to place a message before a maximum number of readers at a minimum cost, would have received more for their money in a town with one newspaper. Such a newspaper probably would have served most of the people of the town and surrounding area who were interested in reading a newspaper. Advertising rates of a paper of this type, no doubt, would have included a generous profit for the publisher. On the other hand, to have equally effective advertising in towns with more than one paper, the advertiser would have to insert the same advertisement in two or more papers. Assuming that the competing publishers sold their advertising at production costs, one would still have had to pay a great deal more to reach the same number of readers. Approximately 90% of the cost of newspaper production is incurred in preparing the copy and the printing forms. The newspaper with a monopoly could print the number of papers sold by two or more competitors, and

not produce substantially lower subscription prices and advertising costs.

As is shown above competing papers divided between themselves the available income that might be derived from advertising and subscriptions. This reduced publishing to a struggle for existence, forcing many newsmen to hold other jobs in order to maintain their papers. Such publishers could ill afford to hire more and better reporters, to improve news coverage, and to publish the larger papers necessary to print this news. Because competition so limited income, it seems to be a fact that journalists more often produced worse rather than better newspapers as a result of rivalry.

Another possible aspect of newspaper rivalry is the prospect that the public will be presented with contrasting views on vital public issues. This certainly appeared to be a possibility in New Mexico where many towns had both a Peacratle and Republican paper, and in the larger towns other partisan groups were represented. The low cost of establishing and sustaining newspapers made such diversity possible. Despite newspaper representation for diverse

for little additional cost—and even that cost would be offset by additional circulation revenue. Thus the publisher with a monopoly might allow himself a generous 50 per cent net profit over costs and still distribute the advertisers' messages at less cost per reader than two competing newspapers which sold their advertising at production costs.

partisan groups, it seems doubtful, because of the customs of that day, that the general public was well informed of the various views. Most of the subscribers attracted by the partisan papers were those who wished to read the views of their own partisan groups. And in most instances the papers' editorial policies were controlled by political leaders who used this means to present political propaganda to their followers. As has been shown earlier this propaganda appealed to the prejudices of the voters and avoided the true issues of territorial life. For the most part, before 1900 newspaper subscribers in New Mexico were neither reading the diverse views available to them nor being presented the true issues. Thus, it appears that before 1900 New Mexicans received few of the expected benefits of rivalry such as better newspapers, lower prices, and the presentation of diverse views.

By 1900 a new type of journalism was possible. Improved composition and printing machinery made possible expanded newspapers and circulations. Retail merchants, following new merchandising concepts, began to buy more and larger advertisements. In these same years the influence of the Progressive movement encouraged New Mexicans to appear independent and to subscribe for an independent newspaper. Publishers more and more began to cater to the wishes of this group because they were being freed from dependence upon political leaders by the increased revenue

from advertisements of the retailers. Part of these profits were invested in the production of better newspapers, and many new subscribers were attracted who had not in the past been attracted and had not subscribed to newspapers. As a result, by 1912 a great many papers, nominally affiliated with one of the parties but no longer controlled by political leaders, were adopting an increasingly independent stance.⁴ The trend toward newspaper monopoly was the result of major forces in American life such as industrialization, improved business techniques for selling mass produced merchandise, and the Progressive movement. On the whole, it brought a much better Journalism than had been produced by the harsh competition so prevalent before 1900.

With the advent of Independent newspapers, publishers became more important elements in the territorial political power structure. Editors were free to analyze rationally.

⁴ In recent years critics have maintained that Journalists have but exchanged masters and are now dominated by business interests. But most Journalists maintain that profitable newspapers are not responsive to pressure from advertisers. For example, Herbert Mcker, Freedom of Information (New York, 1949) • P- 58 maintains that newspapers with the heaviest advertising "are the ones most willing to tell advertisers to keep their noses out of editorial matters. Only those newspapers and magazines near the financial precipice can afford to give in to advertising pressure." It is true, nevertheless, that today American newspapers reflect an attitude which is both conservative and partial to business. The exceptionally large capital necessary to publish even small newspapers today tends to place policy making in the hands of conservative business men. These publishers reflect the attitude of business because of common interests rather than as the result of business pressures.

and to point to, the needs of the territory so that the politicians could no longer so easily appeal to the voters on the basis of the old prejudices. Political office holders now faced the prospect of sharp inquiries about their conduct in office from the independent editors. Newspaper criticism was more often based upon facts and provided valuable information for the guidance of the citizens.⁵ On the whole, the freeing of the territorial editors from political control had a wholesome effect on New Mexico politics, and, as has been pointed out earlier, aided the reform movements to cleanse the politics of the new state.

The various factors such as the new printing machinery, the profitable new advertising, and the Progressive movement began to be of influence in New Mexico about 1900, and that year seems to have been a turning point in territorial Journalism. Those Journalists who began and

^ By assuming the power to question politicians and to recommend new policies, the Journalists had pre-empted for themselves a portion of the political leaders' power. The publishers were not delegated this power through formal election or appointed by authorized officials. The editors were exercising the right of any citizen to question public officers *pro* to recommend public policy, and they had an unofficial mandate from those who subscribed to their papers and even more from those who read their editorials. Recently editors have been freed from some of the control that subscribers earlier exercised over them because readers usually cannot subscribe to another paper. Most publishers now enjoy and will continue to enjoy a monopoly because of the heavy capital requirement of newspaper publication and the reluctance of advertisers to patronize any paper but the one with the largest circulation.

served most of their careers before 1900 were quite different from the new breed who became prominent after that date. Perhaps the two best illustrations of this were the careers of Max Frost and D. A. MacIntosh. However, to evaluate the contributions of the territorial Journalists of either era one should consider the peculiar handicaps and advantages of each group.

Frost of the Santa Fe Journal displays best the good and bad traits apparent in New Mexico Journalists before 1900. Certainly in politics the record was very bad for both Frost and the New Mexican. From first to last, New Mexican and Frost supported a corrupt clique of politicians who often used their positions for personal advantage. Furthermore, since the New Mexican was one of the leading territorial papers, and particularly influential with Republicans, its editorial policies were followed by many smaller papers, extending this harmful bias. On the other hand, outside of partisan politics Frost and the New Mexican usually adopted a course that was beneficial to the territory. To illustrate, the New Mexican was the most consistent and strongest advocate of statehood throughout the period. This paper was also a constant defender of the political and civil rights of Spanish-Americans. It interested itself in all facets of the economic development of New Mexico and consistently advocated, with thousands of editorials, policies to aid that development. In addition,

^^^ I S H Mexican more than *any* other single paper became the spokesman for the reform movement in New Mexico after 1900 and was particularly effective in helping to end legal gambling and in closing saloons on Sundays. Finally, no other territorial paper was a more consistent advocate of improving education in the territory. The conclusion seems warranted that Frost and the New Mexican despite their ~~records in politics made a significant contribution to the development of New Mexico.~~

It is difficult to reconcile these divergent attitudes with regard to reform and politics. But the answer lies in part in the inability of Santa Fe to provide the proper support for a daily newspaper of the quality of the New Mexican.⁶ Under these conditions the New Mexican was made a captive of the politicians because of its dependence upon public printing contracts. While this does not excuse the poor political record of Frost and the New Mexican, it does explain how this paper could follow divergent policies. In appraising the true position of Max Frost in territorial Journalism, the ideas of a contemporary editor seem particularly apt. The opinion of W. B. Walton, editor of the Silver City Independent, is significant because at the time Walton was a vigorous opponent of Frost.⁷ Perhaps this was

⁶ See Chapter IV.

⁷ For one example of this attitude see Silver City Independent, May 22, 1910.

e family attitude gt.ine: from his father-in-law, r.. M. Ashenfelter, and another ralatlve, Govemor E. G. Ross, under both of whom he began his Journalistic career. Eventually, however, Waltcm changed his opinion of Frost as hia editorial of 1905 indicates:

When wrtting and speaking of Colonel Frost, the student of lew Mexico affalra iHaaedlately thinks of the Santa Fe lew Mertcan, for the lew Mexican is Colonel Frost and Colonel l^st has been the New Mexican for thirty years. Be is the Nestor of Journalists in the terrttory, and hie individuality has been accentuated by his activity as a newspaper writer, and yet the man is :o much more *thvn* his newspaper and he has taken such an active hand in the fOTToatlcm of the political and Industrial life of lew Nexlco today that the historian of the future must study the deeds and alms of tills leader if he wcmlld form a clear idea of idiat the territory is at the present day in every reaspect , . . the ma^i is terribly misjudged by those he is called upon to cmpose in political life, but whose work New^Mexlco will approve more highly on scjme future day.^

The career of Frost ropresonta the extremea o: good and bad in territorial Joumalism, and the careers of most terrttortal Joumalists of the years before 1000 reflect to a lesser degree the::d same traits.

As the career of Fror,t displays best the gcmd and bad traits of territortal Joumaliam before 1900, 30 does the careei* of D. A. Nacpherson best reflect the new trend in the territortal Joumalism of the 3rears after 1900. Nacpherson accepted the new prtnting technic|uor and adopted

the tactics of the yellow Journalists to increase the circulation of his Albuquerque Morning Journal. With increased circulation came the profitable new retail advertising and financial Independence. The financially Independent Morning Journal had to answer only to its subscribers, and as long as they continued to buy the paper its editors could freely embrace *vaapopuXer* but worthy causes, defy political and economic leaders, *end* develop the leadership that is an essential component of newspaper greatness. Macpherson is significant for New Mexico Journalism because he first pointed out the route to truly Independent Journalism in New Mexico, and following his example the New Mexico press became increasingly freed from political and economic control in the new state.

APPENDIX I

TERRITORIAL NEWSPAPERS, 1834-1912

This compilation includes the titles of 726 newspapers published in New Mexico from 1834 to 1912. Each change of title of the various newspapers has been listed separately. This figure does not correspond to the figures given for the number of newspapers in the three periods of press development described in Chapters I, II, and III, because slight changes in title were ignored in those cases.

Several sources were used to compile this list. The most important source was the files of territorial papers published during this period, providing information about the paper being inspected and other papers as well. Other sources include 1. W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual from 1880 to 1912; the Union List of Newspapers; Check List of New Mexico Newspapers, prepared in 1935 by the staff of the University of New Mexico Library; Estelle Utrall, Newspapers and Periodicals of Arizona, 1763-1914; "Newspapers Published in New Mexico," an unpublished manuscript compiled in 1937 by Margeirj' Bedinger and found in the New Mexico State University Library. Despite an effort to locate and list all papers published in this era, it is probable that several were not discovered.

The arrangement of this list is alphabetical by towns and thereunder by title. Usually preliminary words

designating town or frequency of publication have been deleted for brevity and clarity.

To avoid repetition of a large number of the same newspaper titles in the Bibliography of this work, the newspaper sources used by the writer in the preparation of the study are indicated by an asterisk (*). In a few instances files of newspapers were extant but in storage, awaiting microfilming or other preparation prior to their use. *Tapers* with files of this type have been designated by the numbers symbol (#). In either case the last entry in the descriptive material for each paper gives the extent of the holdings and the location of the most accessible files in New Mexico. When the repositories were found to have collections which did not overlap, additional sources have been listed. Several sources have identical files for many papers, and here only the most convenient source was listed.

The largest collection of territorial newspapers is at the University of New Mexico Library at Albuquerque. The holdings of the Museum of New Mexico at Santa Fe are only slightly less extensive than those of the University. The libraries of New Mexico Highlands University at Las Vegas and New Mexico State University at Las Alamos both have interesting collections which are largely unduplicated elsewhere. At Highlands the papers gathered during the career of T. B. Nibley, territorial rector.

legislator, and publisher, have been given to the library. At Las Cruces the proprietors of the Amador Hotel haphazardly collected newspapers over several decades. Recently this collection was given to the New Mexico State University Library, where it was in the process of preparation for microfilming in 1964. The New Mexico State University Library holdings include many Spanish language newspapers and papers of Mesilla and Las Cruces that are unavailable at other libraries. New Mexico Western University Library at Silver City and New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology Library at Socorro have files of papers of their communities and areas that are also unique. Other excellent sources are the offices of county clerks throughout New Mexico. A territorial law enacted in 1889 required committees to purchase and maintain files of the newspapers published in their communities. The result has been several large holdings of newspapers, in some cases, however, the counties had neither space nor facilities to store these files, and they were eventually given to the New Mexico Historical Society, which placed them in the Museum of New Mexico. Most of these papers have been microfilmed and form the base of collections of the Museum and the University of New Mexico, although each has made important additions from other sources. Finally, some publishers have preserved the files of their own papers and others with which their papers merged.

In listing these various sources in the descriptive material below an abbreviated form has been adopted to save space. The institutional libraries have been labeled as follows: University of New Mexico, UNN; Museum of New Mexico, NMNH; New Mexico Highlands University, NMHU; New Mexico State University, NMSU; New Mexico Western University, NMWU; New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, NMINT; Eastern New Mexico University, ENMU. CH indicates county, and the town listed thereafter gives its location.

The files of the newspapers, which are marked with an asterisk in the listings below, were examined by the writer in 1963 and 1964. The files of the newspapers, which are marked with a number symbol, were not available for examination but probably will be available in the future. Except for duplications in holdings, these listings include all of the known files at public institutions and newspaper offices in New Mexico.

Beneath each newspaper title in the listing additional information about each newspaper has been provided. Included, in the order of their appearance, are frequency of publication (D, daily; W, weekly; S-W, semi-weekly), language of publication (E, English; S, Spanish; BI, bilingual), political affiliation, with date of any change (Dem, Democratic; Rep, Republican; U, unaffiliated or unknown), date of founding and suspension (D 19¹—meaning

founded in December, 1901, and still in publication in January, 1912), important personnel with the date they assumed their positions, further remarks concerning the paper or publisher, and the location and extent of the most accessible files in New Nertco. The descriptive matter will always be in this order: frequency, language, politics, years of publication, personnel, remarks, and extent and location of files in New Nertco.

ALAMOGORDO

Banner

W; E; Dem; D 1899-Ja 1901; E and P, W. R. Smith; see Alamogordo Otero County Advertiser.

Journal (Daily)*

D; E; Dem; Je 1904-Nr 1905; E and P, S. M. Wharton; Alamogordo Weekly Journal; Jl 1904-Mr 19⁵, CH Alamogordo,

Journal (Weekly)*

W; E; Dem; O 1903-Je 1904, Mr-Ag 1905; E and P, S. M. Wharton and J, A. Haley, An 1004 S. M. Wharton; see Alamo-gordo Daily Journal; plant moved to Tucumcari to found the Newe; O 1W3-Je 19⁴, Mr-Ag 1905, CH Alamogordo.

Newe*

W; E; Rep; Ky 1899-; P, Alemogordo Printing Company; E, E. N. Buck, Ag 1901 W. E. Shepperd, Jl 1907 J. P. Annan, 1910 O. R. Nation, 1911 Gutherle Smith; see Alamogordo Sacramento Chief; Je 1899-D 1906, Ja-D 1908, CH Alamogordo.

Nuevo Epoca*

W; BI; U; S[^]D 1911; E and P, J. E. Harrison; S-D 1911, CH Alamogordo.

Otero County Advertiser

W; E; Dem; Ja 1901-; E and P, W. R. Smith, 1002
N. A. Norgan and C. W. Norgan, 1910 George A. ^yus; see
Alaeogordo Banner; Ja 1901-D 1908, Ja-D 1911, CH Alamo-
gordo.

Sacramento Chlefa

W; E; U; Ap-Ny 1899; E and P, J. H. Lightfoot; see
Alamogordo ews; Ap-Ny 1899, CH Alamogordo.

Southwestern Baptista

w; E; U; F-Jl 19n; E, J. W. Newborough; F-Jl 1901,
CH AlBBBOgordo.

ALBUQUERQUE

Abogado Cristlano Neo Mexicano (Methodist)

S-M, 1897 N; BI; U; 1895-1908; E and P, Thaaas Harwood;
moved from Socorro; became Albuquerque Abogado Cristlano
Hispano-Americano.

Abogado Cristlano Hispano-Americano (Nethodist)

N; BI; Uj 1908-091 E and P, Thomas Harwood and T. N.
Harwoodi see Albuquerque Abogado Cristlano Neo Mexicano.

Adobeland

W; 1; Den, JB-1 1891; E and P, C. E. Stiverr ^nd (?)
Butler; see Albuquerque Times.

Advance*

W; E; U; Ap-My 1880; E and P, A. M. Conklin; plant
moved to **start** Socorro Pun; Ap-My 1880, UNN,

American

W; E; Rep; 1:200-01; perscmnel unknown.

Amigo del Palz

MI S; U; 1853; E. and P, ^ r. Welchtnan; ree Santa
^ Amigo del Pnlz.

Aurora (Fresbyterian)

Bl-N; BI; U; 1911-; P, Synod of New Mexico; E, H. A. Cooper; see Ua Vegaa Aurora.

Balance Wheel

W; E; Pea; 1911-; E and P, Hugh Collins,

Bandera Americana

W; S; Hep; 1894-; E and P, Manuel SaUzar y Otero; P, JI 1901 Bandera Americana Publishing Co., F. A. Hubbell, Pras.; E, Nestor McIntoy; see Albiquerque Nuevo Mundo.

Bandera de la Union

N; H Bepi Je-JI 1863; E and P, H. S. Johnson.

Bartartan

N; E; U; 1906-i^; E and P, J. H. Kaplan and E. E. Crawford.

Bernalillo County Democrat

W| BI? Dem; 0-1 1886; P, Bernalillo County Democratic Central Committee; E, v. T. McCraight; n 28, 1886, NMU

Citizen (Daily)

D; T; «ep; Ag 1886-S 1900; E and P, C. L. Hubbe, My 1887 Thomas Hu/rhee and W. T. McCraight, ¶T 1905, W. P. Strickler; E, Mr 1907 W. F. Brogan; intermittently assumed title Evening Citizen, see Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen; Hy 1888-S 1w9 (broken run), CH Albuquerque.

Citizen (Weekly)

y^X E; Rep; 10'1-1^09; E and P, same as Albuquerque Daily Citizen.

College Advocate*

Quarterly; E; U; 188^'-90; P, Albuquerque (Methodist) College; E, C. I. Mills; D 1869, INHU.

Defensor del Pueblo

W| s; Dem; 189C'-94; P, J. J. Herrera; E, J. Escobar.

Peaocrat (Daily)*

D; E; Dem; S 1882-Ja 1887; E and P, J. G. Albright; see Santa Fe Daily Democrat and Albuquerque Noming Democrat, 0 1882-Ag imb, Albuquerque Public Library. _____

Democrat (Noming)*

D; E; Dem; Ag 1886-D 1898; E and P, J. G. Albright, P, Ap 1895 A. A. Grant; E, W, S, Burke, Je 1895 W. P. Hunter, J1 1897 George Albright; see Albuquerque Journal-Democrat; Ag 1886-D 1898, Albuquerque Public Ubraxyl

Democrat (Weekly)

W; E; Dem; 1884-94; E and P, J, G. Albright.

Ecce Ncmtezuma

W; E; U; Nr-Ag 1884; E and P, Howard ^, Mitchell,

Estado

W; S; Den; S-N 1906; E and P, unknown.

Estrella de Nuevo Mertco

W; S; U; 1906-07; E and P, Enrique Soaa; see Us Lunas Estrella de Nuevo Mexico which was moved to Albuquerque.

Estrella Mejicana*

W; S; Dem; 8-N 1890; E and P, H. L. Ortiz; 0 11, 1890, NMHU.

Golden Gate (Daily)

D; E; Rep; Je-S 1880; E and P, E. W. Deer, J1 1880, J. A. Spradling, who discontinued the Dally Golden G?te to found the Albuquerque Dally Journal.

Gol-9-den (Golden Hlne)

W; E; U; 1891; E and P, Martha A. Hayes; see San Pedro Golden Hlne.

Herald (Evening)*

D; E; Rep; Mr 1911-; P, F, A. Hubbell; see Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen, Nr-D 1911, CH Albuquerque.

Bomjffl j ^ SSS.

W; «l Bap; 1898-1^041 E and P, tortque Sosa; plant
was flawed to Los Lunas by Sosa to found EstrelU de Nuevo
Nexlco.

MMMMMMMM,«M»

Independent

P| B; U| Hy-Ag 1884; E and P, imknown.

Indlto (located in Albuquerque, old town)

W| •; Den; 1900-04; E and P, (?) Ar-il.^o ^no (t)
NartiiMz.

l^nduatrtal Advertiser

W; £; Demi S«.P I899; S and P, J. H. McCutcheon^ pra-
rtously Socorro Industrial Advertiser, nerged with Alberquer-
que Newa.

Industrial Advertiser and News

W; E; Pemi D 13 -I9091 1 and P, J. H. McCutcheon.

Journal (Dally)*

P} 1; Rep; 0 1880*0 1881; Albuquerque Publshlne:
Coomaayi E, J. A. Spradling, F 188^ v. H. Ballhaeche, Mr
1881 ^ñomas Hughes; oce Albuquerque Daily Golden Gr-to and
Morning Journal; 0 ifx -'^ 1881, UHM

Journal (Morning)*

D; E\$ i^op; 0 1881-D 1886, Nr 19C --; P- Albuquerque
Publishing Company to 1886, 1903 P. A. ^acnherson; E, Thoraes
Hughes, Jo 1882 W. S. Burke, S 1884 C. L. riubb:, Ap 1885
Thomas Hughes, Je 1886 K. s. Clark, 1903 ^ ". fcu*e, T;!"^—
B. Dana JcAmscm; see Albuquerque Journal-i)eaorati Jo i c -
D 1886, Albuquerque Public Lhrary, Mr V)3-D 1911, CH
Albuquerque.

Journal-Democrat*

D; F; >rr;; Ja 1^ -Mr 190; r, A. A. Grantl E, George
Albright; successor to Momlnc Democrat and succeeded b;;
the Noming Journal; Ja 1^; -^^!r 1 >.., ai Albuquerque.

Journal (Weekly)

W; E; Rep; 1883-85, E and ' , naiae as Noming Journal
in this period.

Ubor Advocate

W; E; Ubor; 1903-07; P, H. L. Dunning; E, F. M. Wyncoop; E and P, J1 1904 (?) White and (?) French.

Mirage

W; E; U; 1898-1903; P, students of the University of New Mexico; succeeded by Unlterstity of New Nertco Weekly.

Niner and Nanufacturer

N; E; U; 1881-82; E and P, N. W. fitolth.

Nlrror

W; BI; U; 1879; E and P, (?) Chacon and (?) Linthieum; see Bernalillo Nlrror and Bernalillo Native.

lew Age

W; E; U; 19X1; E and P, un]cnown.

lew Nexico and Arizona Business Directory

W; E; U; 1882-?; E and P, unknown.

New Nexico Democrat

D; E; Dem; 1908; E and P, George P. Gould.

Hew Nexico Ninlmg Rertew

N; B| U; Ag 1899-?; E and P, (?) Curran and (?) Stubbs.

New Nexico Newe

D; E; Dem; 1886; E and P, (?) Dunbar and W. T. McCrelght.

New Nexico Press*

W; BI; Rep; J1 1864-D 1866; E and P, H. S. Johnson; eucceeded Albuquerque Rio AbaJo Weekly Press and was succeed-
ed by the Albuquerque Tress; J1-Q 1Qt>4, uan.

Hews (old Albuquerque)*

W; BI; Rep; F 1885-1887; E and P, Ira Bond; fomer
Meslllr News moved to Albuquerque; 0 2, 9, 1886, NMHU.

News (new Albuquerque)*

W; E; Rep; 1397-P 1899; E and P, E. W. Spencer; merged with Albuqucx'que Industrtal Advertiser; J: I897-D I898, Albuquerque Public library.

lew Nexico State Democrat

W; El Pern; D I910-1 E find P, J. G. Albright, who had earlier founded the Albuquerque Dally Democrat.

lew Nertco state Republican

Wi E; Rep; 1911-; E and P, unknown,

Bbticlas

mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm

W; S; U; 1905; E and P, ufjknown.

luevo Mundo

W; Si UI 1897-W I90I1 P, J. r., Gamia; E, J. Escobar; B and P, 1890 Uet^eno AmlJo Y Otero; merged with Albuquerque Bandera Americana.

Nugget

W; E; Pop; I894-96 (?); P, lew Nertco Earners' Alliance; E, unknown.

Opinion*

W| E; Rep; JI 1886-Ja I887; E and P, Thomas Hughes; JI-N 1886, NimU, Ja 8, 1887, UIN.

Opinion Publica (title used twice)

1-V; "; *Demi* 1&92-96; E and P, Pedro G. de Uma; in-temlttent in publication, moved to Ari-^ona; 0 18^2.Mr I895 (broken) CH Albuquerque.

2--W; s. Rep; 1906--; E, J. M. Sandoval; 1907 Patricio Gonzales; 191^8 Elfego Baca, 1)" M. P. Mondragon; 0 19(6-Mr 1907 (broken), WNSU.

Pioneer Beptiet

M; F; U; 18cr-93; E and P, J. H. Thompson,

Press*

v; BI; Rep; Ja-D I867; E and P, Ash Ur^son; succeeded

the Albuquerque New Mexico Press and succeeded by the the Albuquerque Review; D 7. I»b7. UNM,

Republican Review*

W; Bli Rep; Mr 1870-Ap 1876; E and P, William McQuinesa end Traneito L, Nate, Ja 187I William NcGuinees, 0 1873 William NcGuineee and Louie Hommel, Nr 1874 William McGuinness; succeeded by Albuquerque Review; Mr 1870-Ap 1876, UNM.

Review (semi-wrrk y and weekly)*

S-W, Ap 1876 W; BI; Rep, Ap 1876 Dem, Mr 1881 Rep; Ja 1868-Mr 1870, Ap 1876-Ny 1883; E and P, H. r. Johnson, An 1876 William NcGulness, Ja 1881 (?) NcGoodwln and (?) Williams, Nr 188I W. H. Ballhaeche and NcGoodwln, F 1882 W. H. Ballhaeche; see Albuquerque Press and Albuquerque Republican Review; Ap 187b-D 188-, S-P 1882, UNM.

Review (Evening)*

D; E; Rep; F 1882-My 1883; P, W, H. Ballhaeche; E, W. F. Saundere, Ap 1883 (?) Mitchell; moved to Santa Fe to merge with the New Mexlcen to become the Santa Fe New Mexican Review; F-P 1U8S, UNN. _____

Revieta de Albuquerque*

W; S; Rep; S 188I-86; P, W. H. Beilheche end (?) NcGoodwln, the Spanieh portion of the Albuquerque Review wae made into a "separate paper in 188I; 0 I, 188I, NMHU.

Rio AbaJo Weekly Prees*

W; E; Rep; Ja 1863-JI 1864; F and P, H. S. JohnBon; predecessor of the Albuquerque New Mexico Preee; Je 1863-Jl 1864, UNM.

Rio Grande Valley Irrigator*

W; E; 1887; E and P, unknown; used to advertise real eetete; S 17, N 12, 1887, NMHU

5;outhweot Illuetrated Megezine

M; E; U; 18o4-97; P, George /^ibright, U^>7 Democrat Publishing CoBipany; F, George Albright.

Southwestern Anti-Saloon Issue

M; E; Prohibitionist; 1906-1907; p^a jf^{^^} Mexico and Arizona Anti-Saloon League; E, w. v. Havana.

Southwestern Mines*

M; F | ^)i 0 19-15-11; F and P, Fayette M. Jones; 0 1908-F 1911, UNM.

Sun*

D; El Dem; M-0 1908; P, Willis McConnell; E, C. C. Hendrick; My 18-0 8, 1908-A, CH Albuquerque.

Sunshine

W; E; U; S 1904-06; E and P, C. S. Carter, 1905 J. H. Kaplan and S. S. Pearlstine.

Times (weekly)*

W; E; Dem; N 1-3 1892; E and P, J. K. Hurd and Wellece Hite, Ap 1892 Wallace Hite; successor to Albuquerque-
*via Adobeland; JA-Ag 1892, CH /Albuquerque.

Times (Daily)

D; E; Dem; t' 1892-Apr 1894; E and P. Wallace Hite; r 1892-Apr 1894, CH Albuquerque.

Tribune

D; E; Dem; r. 1900-1901; p^a Felix Mfirtines, E, Herbert T. Haywood, Martinez moved his El Psso Newa plant to Albuquerque to launch this paper which was soon merged with the Albuquerque Citizen.

Tribune-Citizen*

D; E; Dem; 0 r>^9-Mar 1911; P, Tribune-Citizen Publishing Co.; E, William Hoffman; formed by a merger of the Albuquerque Tribune and Citizen, succeeded by Albuquerque Evening* Her-n-i: 0 10no.Mar 1911, CH, Albuquerque.

union de Albuquerque (located in Albuquerque old town)

W; S; U | 18op-.<4; E and P, unknown.

University of New Mexico Weekly

W; E; U; 1903-; E and P, students at the University of New Nertco, succeeded the Nirage.

Voz del Trabajador

W; S; U; 1904-05; P, C L. Hernandez; E, J, C. Guerin.

Weekly (Albuquerque Weekly)#

W; E; U; Ap-Ny 1883, E and P, unknown; Ap-My 1883, UNM.

ALMA

Mogollon Nonthly Epitomizer

N; E; U; 1882; E and P, W. H. Uwrence.

ANISTAD

News

W; E; Rep; Mr-Je 1908; E and P, W, Arthur Jones,

Northwest New Mexico News

W; E; Rep; 1908; E and P, w. Arthur Jones, predecessor of Amistad News.

Tribune

W; E; U; Je 1909-10; E and P, W. M. Klnkade; merged with the Amietad Union County Herald.

Tribune-Herald

W; E; Rep; 1910-; E end P, Sam and Margaret Rldenour; successor to Amistad Tribune and Union County Herald,

Union County Herald

W; E; Rep; 1908-10; E and P, W. Arthur Jones; succes-
sor to Amietad Neve, and merged with Amistad Tribune.

AMIZETT

Miner

Herald* ** ^* ^^^* ^ ^^^ ^* ^" ^I ^^^^●I ^●^ ^II^^ Valley

AIWOSTURA

Lug

Wi Hi Rep; Ag 1900-031 P, Rio Arriba Printing Co.; moved to Eepanola and remained Uz.

ARTESIA

Advocate*

W; E; Demi Ag I903-; E and P, Oayle Telbot, AP 19^5 C. E. Biles, 8 1905 J. D. Whelan, Je I9II Gayle Talbot, Hr 1911 J. L. Tullie; Ag I903-D I9II, pub office (Arteeia Praee).

Pecos Valley lews*

W; E; Rep; 8 1906-; P, D. L, Newkirk; E, J. F. New-klrlt; S 1906-D 1907, pub office (Artesia Press), F 191^-D 1911, CH Carlebed.

AZTKC

Itew Nexico Newsboy

MMMMWM. MM.OTIBM.M>aMMM. • II LI II. H II Jr

W; E; U; Je-D 1886; E and P, ?.

San Juan County Index*

w; E; U, 1905, Rep; 18-0-; F and P, A. T. Bird, 1894 B. N. Oibaon, 1896 H. B. Schwartz, 1899 Uwie C. Grove, 1904 C. S. Bailey, 1905 E. P. Wlleon; Hr 190I-N 19>>7, UNN.

San Juan Democrat*

W; E; Dem; J1 I906-; E and P, O. F, Ellis and M. B. Scott, O 1006 B, O. Burt and W. B. Burt, I909 D. H, Tobey, 1911 T. P. Maddox; r 1906-N 19^7, UNM.

San Juan Independent

W; E; U; 1889; E and P, unknown.

San Juan Rertew

Wi E; U1 1888-?; F and P, unknown.

BARD CITY

News*

Wl B; Dem; Je I9IO-; P, Charles Holding, My I911
W. R. Haynes; Je I9IO-D I9II, CH Tucumcart.

BELEN

Hispano Americano#

W; BI; U; 19IO-; P, (?) Baca and (?) Baca; E, A. C.
de Baca; Je I9IO-, N M. State Library, Santa Fe.

New Nexico American

W; E; U; Ny I903-?; E and P, F. Webb.

Tribune^

W; E; Rep; Je 1907-; E and P, w. N. Berger; 1909-I2,
UNM.

BERNALILLO

Mirror

W; BI; U; 1878-79; P, (?) Chacon and (?) Salazar; E,
(?) Chacon; moved to Albuquerque, see Albuquerque Mirror.

Native

W; BI; Rep; 1879-80; P, (?) Chacon and B. F. Perea;
E, (?) Chacon; formerly Albuquerque Mirror.

News

W; E; U; Ag 1880-Je I882; E and P, D. O. Dare; moved
to Jemez to launch Jemez Hot Springs Guide.

BUND

Cochiti Call

W; E; U; 1894-95; E and P, J. H. Llightfoot; *eee* Bland
Herald.

Cochiti Outlook

W; E; U; 18P8; E and P, George Marsh and Hunter Woodson.

Herald

W; E; U; 1895-97, 1898-1903; E and P, J. H. Ughtfoot, 1896 Frank Wynkoop, My 1899 Will Hants, 1902 J. N. Hunter, fomer Bland Cochiti Call and 1897-98 Bland Weekly Herald.

Weekly Herald

W; E; U; 1897-98; E and P, Frank Wynkoop; eee Bland Herald.

BLOONFIELD

Northweet New Mexican

W; E; U; 1886; E and P, W. L. Stevens, fomery at Farmlngton and later at Chama ae Northwest New Mexican.

CABRA SPRINGS

Chronicle

W; BI; U; 1886; E and P, Uuis Hommel; formerly Us Vegas Chronicle and later rertved es Mora Cronlca.

CAPITAN

Capitan (El)*

Wl BI; U; Mr I900-D I900; Ngr. A. R. Goodloe, merged with Capitan Niner to form Capitan Progrees; Ap-D I900, CH Cerrlzozo.

Parol

W; S; Rep; 1905-07; E and P, Clement Hightower.

Mljier

W; E; U; My-D I900; E and P, J. H, Llghtfoot and A. H. Williams, H 1900 J. H. Llghtfoot and C. G. Nuckols; merged with Capitan to form Progress.

News*

W; E; Dea; Ag 1903-Je 1908; P, S. R. May, Ap 1904 J. A, Haley; fomed by merger of White Oaks Eagle and Cr^^tan Progress, moved to Carrizozo in 1908-800 Carlzozo news; Ag 1903-Je 1908, CH Cerrizozo.

Progress*

Wl El Dem; D I90n-Ag 1903; E end P, J. H. Ughtfoot
end C. G. luckole, Jl 19^1 C. G. Nuckole, Ja IQO^ Eagle
Publishing Company, foraed by merger Capitan and Miner be-
came the Newe; D 1^'^O-Ag IQ'^^, CH Carrizozo.

CARLSBAD
(before I900 Eddy)

Argue*

W; B; Hep; 1900^-; p, L. O. Fullen, 1^2 v. R. Reed;
E, L. O. Fullen, D I906 W. R. Reed, see Eddy Argus; Ja-D
1903, Ja 1906-D 1911, CH Carlsbad. ~^

Current*/?

Wl 1903 S-W, 1906 Wl E; Demi I900-; E and P, W. H.
Nullane D I900 J. L. and C. C. Ekaerson, I903 R. K. Jacke,
Jl 1904 will Robinson, 19^5 E. A, Heath, Ap 1906 C. F. Drake,
N 1906 W. H. Mullane. From Ag 19^7 to D I908 was Current
and New Nexlco Sun. See also Eddy Current;* Ja-D 1900,
Te^XTX^b, Ja 1^B5-D 19II, CH Carlsbad, ^^ 190I-IO, N. M.
State Library, Santa Fe.

Current and Hew Mexico Sun

W; E; Dem; Ag I907-D I908; E and P, W. H. Mullane; see
Carlsbad Current and Carlebad New Mexico Sun.

Eddy County Eagle

Wj E; U; 1900-02; E and P, ^^ C. Griffen, see Carlebad
Miner-Stockman.

Miner-StockBum

W; F; U; 19^2-05; E and P, W. C. Griffen and Ed Lyons;
see Carlebad Fddy County Eagle.

New Mexico Sun*

v; E; Dem; My 19^-Ag 19^7; E and P, w. H. Mullane;
merged with Carlebad Current; Ja 1906-Ag 19 >7, CH Carlsbad.

Pecoe Velley Stockaian

W| E; Dem; "-^^ I900; E and P, James Klbbee and Lucius
Dills; moved to Roswell under same name.

Sun

D; E; Dem; Ja-S 1900; E and P, W. H. Mullane.

CARRIZOZO

News*

W; E; Dem; Je 1908-; E and P, J. A. Haley; see Capitan Newe; Je 1908-F 1911, CH Cerrizozo.

Outlook*

W; E; Rep; D-1906-; E and P, N. S. Rose, 0 1909 Ue B. Chase; for a few months in 1909 was named Southwestern Outlook, formerly White Oaks Outlook; S 1906-D 1911 (broken), CH Carrizozo,

CATSKILL

Champion

W; E; U; 1891; E and P, unknown; merged rtth Raton Colfax County Courier.

Sawduet

W; E; U; 1891; E and P, C, W. Thompson.

CENTRAL CITY

News

W; E; Rep; 1908; E and P, W. Arthur Jones.

CERRILLOS

Beacon*

W; E; Dem; Je 1891-92; E and P, G. E. Hosmer; Je 20, 1891, NMHU.

Chronicle (Weekly)

W; E; U; N 1882-?; E and P, D. O. Dare.

Comet

W; F (?); U; F 1882-?; E and P, unknown.

Qallsteo Pemcmrat

W; E; U; 1893; E and P, unknown.

Prospector

Wl Bit Ul Jl 1879-811 E and P. A. V. Aoy, who was a former publisher of Santa Fe and Us Vegss Advertisers.

^^^ter

W; E; U; 1898-1903; E and P, W. A. De Busk and Wallace Walker, 1901 N. S. Rose.

Rustler*

W; 1; Us 1888-961 E and P, A. M. Anderson, 1896 F C. Buelli B 1888-D 1891 (broken), NNHU.

GHANA

Northwest New Nexican*

W; *ULi* U; 1887-961 E and P, W. L. Steven; wes at Bloomfield earlier under same title; Ap 28, Ny 26, 1888, NMHU.

Tribune

W; E; *Mpi* N 1896-19023 E and P, W. H. Hlldrath.

CHLORIDE

BUck Range*

Wl E; Rep. 1896 Demi Ja 1883-Ag 1897; E and P, V. B. Beckett, Je 1885 .. C. Thompson; eee Robinson Black Pange; Hy 1883-Ag 1897 (broken), NMIMT.

CIMAFT^ON

Cttlzen*

V; E; Rep; *Ur* 1908-11; E and P, G. F. Romley; became Cimarron News and Citizen; Mr-S V , CH Raton.

Jacksonisn

V; E; Dem; ISO8; E and P, imknown.

Hews

W; E; U; 0 1870-P 1874; E and P, J. P. Wightman, F 1872 Frank Springer, 1873 J. H. Koogler and W. H. H. Wemer merged with the Elizabethtown Railway Press and Telegraph.

News and Citizen

W1 E; Rep; 1911-; E and P, James McVey; successor to the Cimarron Citizen.

News and Preas (title used twice)*

I-W; E; U; D 1874-0 1881; E and P, W. R. Morley, Frank Springer, and W. D. Dawson, Ja 1876 W. D. Dawson, F 1876 W. R. Norley and Frank Sprtnger, Je 1877 Harry Whigham and Thomas Henderson, Je 1800 E. L. Sheldon, S. 1881 George F. Canis and Thomas Henderson; moved to Raton as New Mexico News and Press, see Elizabethtown Railway Press IHB Telegraph and Cimarron News; Ag 1875-S 1101 (broken; TWR.

2-W; E; U. 1907-09; P, Cimerron Publiehng Co.; which apparently was owned by the Raton Range; Ja-0 1907, pub office (Raton Range).

CLAYTON

Citizen*

W; E; Rep; S 1906-; E and P, R. Q. Palmer and Louise Oliver, Ag 1910 O. A. and Josephine Foster, D 1910, G. w. Baker; formerly Clayton Entemriee; 0 1906-D 1911, CH Clayton.

Cricket

W; E; U; 1895-96; E and P, E. C. Dobson; merged with Clayton Hews.

Defensor del Pueblo

W; BI; U; 1902-03; E and P, Gartno Gamia, euccessor to Clayton Entemrise and eucceeded by Clayton Bapreea.

mpresa

W; BI; U; 1903-04; E and P, Gavino Garcia, see Cleyton Defensor del Pueblo; eucceeded by Clayton Entemrise.

Entemrise*

W; E; Rep; 1892 Dem, 1898 Rep; My 1888-0 1901, 1905-S
 19061 E and P f O. W, James, 1889 T. W. NcSchooler, Ap 1890
 J. E. Curren, 3^97, G. R. Guyer, 1900 S. F. Hlckmitn, 1905
 hr3' ^ ^ • r * • ^ ^ ^ h ^ ^ ^ 9 (broken), NMHU, Ja 1893-Jr
 1894, CH Raton, F 1894-D 1895, F-D 1961, Ja-S 1906, CH
 Clayton.

Fenlx*

W; S; Rep; 1900-; E and P, N. F. Oallegos; Ja 1903-D
 1911 (broken), CH Clayton.

Frulz

W; S; U; 1899-1902; E and P, unknown.

Lance

W; E; Dem; 1908-IO, E and P, G. w. Guyer; fomerly
 Foleom Epoca.

Maverick

W; E; U; 1893-95; P, Maverick Publiehlng Coaipany.

Hewe (title ueed twice)

1-W; BI; U; 1894-96; E and P, G. W. Guyer; merged with
Cricket.

2-W; E; Dem; 1907-; E and P, 1910 J. A. Taylor, 1011
 T. C. Bryant; claimed to be a euccessor of Cleyton Entemrie.

News-Crtcket

W; BI; U, 1896-97; E and P, G. W. Guyer and C. E.
 Dobson; merged News and Cricket and apperently merged rtth
Entemrtse in 18577

Union County Democrat*

W; E; Dem; 1893-N 1894; E and P, O. E. Smith, F 1894
 queaado de Baca; J1-Ag iB^h, CH Clayton.

Union del Pueblo*

W; BI; Union People's party; 1894-95; P, Central Com-
 mittee Uhlon People'e party; S-0 18Q4, CH Clayton.

Union Democrat

W; BI; Dean; 1896-981 E and P, W. J. Eaton.

CLEVELAND

Jomalero

W; S; U; 1895; E and P, unknown.

CLOUDCROFT

Silver Lining*

W; 1; U; 1903-10; E and P, J, R. Wallace; Ja 1904-¹⁰
1909, CH Alamogordo.

CLOVIS

Chronicle

W; E; U; 1907; E and P, unknown.

Democrat

W; E; Dem; 1908-II; E and P, (?) Evane and (?) Grtffith,
1910 J. E. Curren.

Journal (weekly)

W; E; Dem; Ny 1909-; E and P, J. E. Pardue, Ag 1909
T. J. Nabry.

Journal (Daily)

D; E; Dem; Ag-N 1909; E and P, T. J. Nabry.

Newrj (weekly)*

Wj E; Rep; My 1907-; E and P, A. E. Curren, 1910 W, J.
Curren; Ja-Je 1909, pub office (Clovis News-Journal),

News (Daily)

D; E; Rep; My 1909, Ag-N 1909; E and P, A. E. Curren.

Pony Post (dally)

D; E; Repi My 1909; E and P, Harry Ametrong.

Post

W; E; Dem; 1908-Ag 1909; E and P, Harry Armstrong; sold paper and plant to Clorts Journal, which had lost its plant in a fire.

COLUMBUS

Courier*

W; E; Rep; Je 1911-; E and P, Jesse Mitchell; apparently eucceeor to Columbe Newe; Je-D 1911, CH D^lng.

News*

W; E; Rep; J1 1907-Je 1911; E end P, P. G. Moeely; apparently eucceeded by Columbe Courier; J1 1907-My 1911, CH Demlng.

CUERVO

Clipper*

W; E; Rep; Ja 1909-; E and P, W. C. Hawkins, My 1910 A. J. Thomas; Ja 1909-N 1911, UNM.

DAYTON

Current

W; E; U; E and P, unknown.

New State Informer*

W; E; Dem; N 1911-; E and P, J. D. McBrtde; changed name from Daytnn Pecos Valley Echo; N-D 1^11, CH Carl-bad.

Pecos Valley Echo*

W; E; Dem; J1 1905-N 1911; E and P, J. K. end J, R. Little, 1907 R. H. and A. M. Burnett, 1908 J. D. McBride; became Dayton New State Informer; Ja 1909-H-I 1', CH Carlsbad.

DEMING

Advance

W; E; Rep; N 1891-92; F and P, F. M. Galloi.r.; fomerly the Pinoe Altoe Niner.

Democrat (Daily)

D; E; Dem; Hy-Ag 1884, N 1884-?; E and P, G. E. Porter, N 1884 (?) Kayoe and (?) Obenchain.

Duster

VI E; U; 1894; E and P, George Uckhart.

Graphic*

W; E; Repi Nr 1903-; E and P, N. S. Rose, 0 1904 A. L. Sangre, D 1905 C. D. Ambrose, N 1911 M. M. De Puy and v. E. Holt; euccessor to Deming Herald; Mr 1904-D 1911, CH Deraing.

Headlight (weekly)*#

W; E; Rep, S 1889 Dem; Je 1881-S 1883, Je 1886-; E and P, J. E. Curren, 1886 Ed Pennington, S 1889 E. G. Ross and S. N, Aehenfelter, Mr 1893 W. B. Welton, S 1898 F. L, Shakepeare. Ja 1911 Roy Bedleheck. 0 1911 J. H. Shepard; Mr 1882-D 1889 (broken) NMWU, S 1889-D 1891 (broken), NMHU, Ap 1901-D 1911, CH Doming, # 1895-(broken), UNM,

Headlight (Daily)*

D; E; Rep, Dem H 1884; S 1885 Je 1886; E and P, J. E, Curren, N 1884 A, C, Uwery, My 1885 A. J. Uomie; weekly wes not published while the daily paper was being published; J1 23, 1885, NMHU.

Herald (title ueed twice)*

I-W; E; U; 18831 E and P, (?) lyndon and (?) Whitelaw.

2-W; E; Rep; J1 1900-Mr 1903; E and P, P. J. Bennett; sold eubscriptions end good will to Doming Grephic; Ap 1901.F 1903, CH Doming.

New Mexico Pot-Pourri

W; BI; U; 1892; E and P, unknown.

Southwestern Advertiser

N; E; U; 1904; E and P, N. S. Rose.

State Advocate

W; E; Rep; 1892; E and P, G. L. Shakespeare, a campaign period paper.

Tribune*

W; B; Rep; 0 1883-D 1885; E and P, Charles W. Greene; former Kingeton Tribune and Lake Valley Herald moved to Peming; plant was moved to El Paso to launch the Tribune there; Ag 1884-J1 1885 (broken), NMHU.

DES NOINES

Swaetika

W; E; Rep; Ag 1907-; E and P, Unore Farr, 1909 W. C. Hubbard, 1910 G. T. Berenger.

DEXTER

Hewe

W; El U; 1905; E and P, unknown.

EDDY

(became Carlsbad in 1900)

Argue*

W; E; Rep 0 1889-961 P, Pecos Valley Irrigation and Improvement Company; E, J. M. Hawkin, 1896 L. O. Fullen; apparently merged with Eddy Pecos Valley Independent to form Eddy Pecos Valley Argus; Ja-D 18^, CH Carrizozo, N 1890-0 189T7TS flarlsbalT^

Eddy County Citizen

W; E; U; 1891-93; E and P, A, J. Howe.

Eddy County Times

W; E; U; 1891-93; E and P, unknown.

Current (Daily)

D; E; Dem; 0 1892-94: E and P, W. H. Mullane.

Current (Semi-weekly end weekly)*

S-W 1894-95, W 1895-1900; E; Dem 1894-1900; E and P, W. H. Mullane; Ja 1898-D 1899, CH Carlsbad,

Democrat

W; E; Dem; Ag 1896-97; F and P, (?) McEachin and (?) Bamett, 1897 I. J. Stockett.

Pecos Valley Argus

W; E; Repi 1696-190⁰; E and P, L. O, Fulleni apparently was formed by merger of Pecos Valley Independent and Eddy Argus.

Pecos Valley Independent

Wl E; U; 1893-96; P, James A. Tomlinson E, Robert P. Nashi see Pecos Valley Argus.

EUDA

ews

W; El Dem; F 1904—; E and P, W. C. Grant and J. A. Hall, Je 19⁴ J. A. Hall and J. R. Demell; 1905 J. R. Damell, 1907 J. R. D>mell and J. /. Hall, 1908 J. R. Darnell, 1910 Henry Rankin, 1911 J. R. Damell.

ELIZABETH-TN

Argus

W; El U; Mr-Je 1871; E and P, E. R. Sprtgman; merged lational Press and Telegrai ^ ?lx months rfter suspension.

laticmal Press and Telegraph

W; E; U; 0 1869—? 1871; E and P, J. E. Wheelock, H 1869 W. P. Pawson and Jonathan Osborne, 8 1870 W. D. Dewscm; suspended late in 1871 by ill health of Dawson, see Railway Prass and Telegraph.

Mining Bulletin*

MMGOTIOTM.MMK T.U.W.....OT

W| Fi Dea; N 1899-Ag 1900; E and P, Urtn W, Brown and N. R. Baker; Ja-Ag 10⁰, CH Raton.

Noreno Lantern

^; F; U; Ny-0 18691 E and P, (?) Scanten and (?) Aiken,

New Nexico Niner*

W; F; Dea; Rep 18991 8 18⁴ ^>F 1-^Pi F end -, J. F. Hutchinson and W. C, Burnett, Je 10S7 Urln W, Brown, S 1898 Urtn W. Brown and F. D. Norsei J1 iB^ F. D. Norse; Ja 1807-F 1002, CH Raton.

Railway Press and Telegraph

Wl El Ul Ja 1872-D 1874; E and P, V. D. Dawson and E. R. Sprtgmani formed **by merging** Argus ~~and~~ National Press and Telegraph, merged with Cimarron News to form Cimarron News and PreaeV

Thunderbolt

Wl El U; F 1871-?; " and P, unknown.

ENCINO

Progress

Wl BI; U; 1909-Ag 1911; P. B. Sales, loio J, F. Edwards; £, B, 8aUs, 1910 C. E. isimpson.

ENDEE

Entemrtse*

W; El Rep; 1910—; E md P, JI 1910 C. C. Hlxon; formerly Rock Island Clipper; Ja 1912, CH Isjmcart.

ENPAKOLA

Lu?

W, iQoq N; S; Hop; 1913—; P, Bio Arribe Prtntin- Company; formerly Angostura Luz.

Voz del Rio Grande

Wl 8; U; 1909—1 E and P, unknown.

ESTANCIA

Democrat

W; El Demi 1906-II; E and P, (?) Prtterson and (?) aadth.

Herald (Daily)*

D; El U; Nr 1909-Ja 1911 P, H. D. Carter, Mr 1911 AUen Barratti E, H. D. Carter, Mr 1911 Annie M. 1911; ArV^ in l, CR Estancia.

Herald (weekly)*

W; BI; U; Hy 1911-; P, Allen Barrett; E, Annie M. Porter; Ag-D 1911, CH Estancia.

News (Dally)*

,«« H ^l ^^ - ^ ^^ 1911-; E and P, P. A. Speckman; Ja 1912, J. A. Constant became E and P and renamed the paper Noming News; Ap-P 1911, CH Estancia.

News (weekly)*

W; BI; Rep, 1909 U; 1904-Ap 1911; E and P, P. A. Speckman; succeeded by Estancia Daily News; Jl 1910-Ap 1911, CH Estancia.

Torrance County Uader

W; El Repi 1907-10; E and P, Mrs. R. N. Maxwell, D 1907 C, W. Coombs, 1909 Nrs. R. N. Naxwell.

FARMINGTON

Cactus

W; E; U. 1893; E and P, Charles Day.

Entemrtse*

W; E; Rep; My 1905-; E and P, Frank Staplln, 1908 B. F. Rellly, 1909 Frank Staplln; Staplln earlier published Taos Ore8sett; Ja 1906-D 1907, UNM.

Hustler*

W; E; Rep; Ja 1901-S 1903; P, C. E, Starr and D. K, B. Sellers, Jl 1902 R. C. Prewitt; E, D. K. B, Sellers, Jl 1902 R, C. Prewitt; merged with Farmlington Times to form Times-Hustler; Ja 1901-Ag 1903, UNM.

Northwest New Mexican

W; E; U; Je 1884-86; E and P, W. L. Stevens; moved to Bloomfield and retained same title.

San Ju€m Times*

W; E; Dem; 1893-1900; E and P, H. O. Willis, Je 1894 Fred E. Holt, My 1895 V. N. Greaves, Ny 11 6 R. C. Prewitt,

Ap 1900 E. S. Whitehead; formerly Junction City Times, became Famington Times; Hy 1895-Je 1900, UNM. _____

Times*

W; E; Dem; Je 1900-S 1903; E and P, E. S. Whitehead, Ap 1901 William Butler; merged with Famington Hustler; Je 1900-Ag 1903, UNM. _____

Timee-Huetler*

W; E; Dem; S 1003-; E and P, William Butler; S IQo?-D 1911 (broken), UNM.

FOLS(X4

Cometa

Wl S; U; D 1909-10; F and P, Manuel B. Sisneros.

Epoca

Wl BIi U; 1907-08; E and P, G. W. Guyer; moved to Clayton and renamed Lance.

Hispano-Americano

W; BI; U; S-H 1902; P, Rumaldo Martinez; E, J. M. Martinez.

Idea*

W; E; U; J1 1888-Ap 1890; E and P, J. E. Curren; renamed Folsom Springs Metropolitan, F-D 1889, CH Raton, S-0 1888, UNM.

Independent

W; E; Ind-Rep; 1897-^^; E and P, B. J. Bamett.

Uader

Wl E; U; 1909-10; E and P, H. G. Hammon.

Hew Mexico American

W; BI; U; H-1P8Q-Ja 1890, E and P, unknown; moved to Nora as Hispano-Americano.

gprtn^ Wetropolitan*

Wl B; Hen; 1895 Dem; Je l2<v -r^j r ^^^^ p^ Y. V.
Tterchoolrr, 1B^3 J. E. Cu...m, l&S'^ J. H, Griffen; Je-D
1893, CH Baton, Ja-H 1894, CH Claytcm.

Unicm Cowity Ptockmen*

W; E; U; 0 1900-01; E -nd P, S. F. Hickman and ^ard
Thomas; JA IS'Oi-Ja 1902, CH Claytcm.

POKr SUMHER

(for a time rlao called liUHNYSIDE by rasidents)

Index

W| Ej Mpt D I909-IOI E f»nd P, L. D, BecKwith; novod
to Nelrose wl,tii same title.

Republicans^

W; 1; Rep; looB-ll; p, *. CUui er and George Nurphyi
B, A. Clausen, until Jl 1910 was Sunnyslde Republican; 1909*
Ja-Ag 1911, UHM.

Review*

W; E; Dem; Jl loov--; p, A. Clauaen, Jl 1903 J. E.
Pardue and K. ?*. Baker, 1909 J. V. fcteames, Ja 19II N. F.
Manzaneresi E, A. Clauaen, Jl I906 N. R. Bakeri until 1909
was nr-ed Sunnyslde Hertew; Jl 19"-D nil (broken), T3I.

Sym (Sunnyslde)

WJ Ei Des} l'^05i K and P, J. E, Curren; moved to Mel-
rose ae Headlight.

FRENCH

Flaindealer

Wj S; U; 1909-10; £ and P, unknown.

V:; "UI::T.TID

Trtbune

Wl ' ; V; 19o6-:'7i P, Willi/ra Evans 5nd Frank ntaplin;
Fy Willinm Evane.

GALLUP

Catholic Pioneer

W1 El U; 19051 E and P, J. G. Jullard.

Pemocret

W1 E; Peal 1902; P, MeXlnely County Pemocratic Central
coBBBittee.

Elk

W; El Pemi F-1 I890; E and P, W. T. Hendereon, Eli
Covert; and F. A. Blakei before and after the above dates
this paper was the Gallup Gleaner.

Gasette

W1 E; U; 0 I887-?; E and P, W. C. Lamonte.

Gleaner*

W, 1894 S-v, 1895 W; F; Dem; Ag 1880.F I890, N I890-
1902; E and P, F. T. Henderscm; had been Wetroue Arrow-
Fleneer and became the HcK^nley Coimty Repujlican; AA-N Ic^'S,
IBOTTHir-P IBW, N in-irT^pFT^ (hroken),OT Albuquerque.

Independent

W; El Ind-Den; 8 I9II-; E and P, W. H. Henna.

NcKlnley County Republican*

V; El Repi 19^?-1 E and P, H. A. Pease, I905 L, E.
Gould, 1908 >:. E. Schwartz, I009 Ous Mulholland, I9II J. '.
Williams; formerly Gallup Gleaner, time owners. Republican
leadera at Gallup; Ja-D i9I!l, Cn Gallup.

Ibws-Register*

W1 El Repi D irar^^-r 1890; E and P, /'. N. Swan and F. A.
Blakei formed by a^rger of Gallup Register and D's Ve>n
Bewsi S 1889-F 1890, NMHU.

Register*

W1 El Repi Ja-D 18881 E and P, A. N. Swanni see Gallup
News-Register; S-1 ic: •, UHN.

GEORGETOWN

Courter

W; E; Dem; J1 1882-Ja 1884; E and P, A. C. Uwery;
moved to Kingston to become Clipper.

Silver Brtck

W; E; U; S I88I-JI 1882; E and P, Lamar P. Davis; be-
 came Georgetown Courter.

GOLDEN

Retort

W; E; Rep; S 188I-S 1884; E and P, R. W. Webb.

GRADY

Gazette

rtth W; E; **Rep; J1-O 1909; E and P, F. C. Nertng;** merged
Record.

Record*

W; E; Rep; Ap I908-; E and P, T. M. Carter, Ja 10^9
 R. A. Chubb, 0 1909 **F. C. Hewing**, 1910 E. A. Berdell, 1111
 J. C. Trtckey; Ap 1908-D 1909, CH Tucumcari.

HAGERMAN

Irrigator

W; E; Dem; 1895; E and P, W. H. Mullane; moved to
 Roswell as the Irrigator.

Messenger

W; E; Dem; 1903-; E and P, J. E. Wimberly, 1908 J. D.
 Mall, 1909 J. E. Wimberly.

HILU5B0R0

Prospector

W; F; U; 0 I8S2-83; E and P, R. H. Jones.

Sierra County Advocate*

1885-i F and P, J. E. Bennett, Ap 1000 W. O. Thompson; Hr 1885-D
1911, UHM

Sierra Free Press*

1911-; F and P, S. D. Tittaan; A--D
1911, UHM.

Skipper

W; E; Itep; Nr 1889-?; F and P, G. v., Gragg.

HOFF

Penasco Valley Press*

WJ E; UJ D 1908—| P, Abe M. Bumett; E, R. H. H. Burnett 1 0 1909'-P 1911, CH Carlsbad.

HOUSE

Pioneer News*

W; El U; 1910—1 F and P, H. O. Rbrtsj see House
Plains Newg; 1 1910-D 1011, CH Tucumcart.

Plains lews*

Wj Ej Itep; J1 1908-1^; E ^na P, M. F. Younr; naise
changed to House Picmeer Hews; J1-N 1908, CH Tucumcart.

JENSEN

Hot frjr^mr. Guide
MSMMM

W; El U; Je 18^2-?; F and P, D. O. Dam; moved frcxn
Bernalillo where it was the lews.

Guide

Wl El Ul I8B8-89; P, Je\ez Hot Springs Library Acoo-
elation.

JUNCTION CITY

Times

W; E; U; N^ 1891-92; E and P, H. O. Willis and Charles Day; moved to Farmington to launch San Juan Times.

KENNA

(earlier named URT01)

Record

W; E; Bepi D 1907-; E and P, W. T. Cowgill, paper earlier named Urtcm Record.

KINGSTON

Black Range Herald

W; E; U; D 1886-F 1887; E and P, Jacob Mitchell; combined' with Hillsboro Sierra County Advocate.

Clipper

W; El Den; Ja-H 1884; E and P, A. C. Uwery; sold to J. E. Curren who renamed it Kingston Sierra County Advocate,

Udge (Daily)

D; El U; J1 1886-?; E and P, (?) Olney and (?) King; merged with the Kingston Percha Shaft.

Percha Shaft

W (brtefly summer 1886 was S-W); Rep; Ap-? 1886; E and P, J. E. Curren; merged with Kingston Daily Udge.

Percha Shaft and Udge

W; E; Rep; D 1886-Mr 1887; E and P, J. E. Curren,

Shaft (weekly)*

W; E; Rep; Mr 1887-D 1893; P> J- E. Curren, My 1807 George Frame, Nr 1889 J, P. Hyland; F, J. E. Curren, My 1887 C. F. Barr. S 1890 J. P. Hyland; moved to Rincon as the Shaft; Ap 1889-D 1893, UBM.

Sierra County Advocate*

W; X; Repi N-1884-Nr I885; E and P, J. E. Curren; moved to Hillsboro as Sierra County Advocate; Ja-F 1385, UNM.

Sierra County Peaocrat

W; E; Dem; I888; P, George Frame; E, C. F. Barr; a campaign paper.

Trtbune

W; E; Rep; Ja-0 I883; E and P, Charles W, Greene; laoved to Doming as the Tribune.

KNOWLES

News*

W; Ei Dem; I909-; E and P, J. H. Mullane; Ja 1910-- D 1911, CH Carlsbad.

LABELLE

Cresset*

W; E; U; D 1894-0 ICQ8; E and P, (?) Galligher and (?) Illifi Ag 1895 Frank Staplln; moved to Taos as Cresset; D 1894-0 1898, UNM.

LAKE ARTHUR

Times

W; E; U; I905-; E and P, T. T. Meade, I909 W. G. Gmber, 1911 G. W. Butler.

LAKE VALLEY

Herald*

W; E; Rep; 0 1882-0 1883; E and P, Charles W. Greene; moved to Doming to start the Tribune; 0 5, I882, NMHU.

New Era

"JL** ^» ^^ ^^^ E and P, J. F. Capehart; sol. to
J. E. curren who renaaed it Sierra Grande Preas.

Sierra Girande Prass

W; El Bepi Nr 1885*J1 1886; P, J. .-. Curren.

Times

Wl E; U; 1906<<><i E and F, unknowim.

LAXEWOOD

*frogroBQ**

W; E; Pea; Ja 15)06-; E and P, ?, 5 1906 James M. Woodi
Hr 1909-P 1911, CH Carlabad.

LALANDE

Uader

W; E; U; N 1909-; E and P, C. V. Battles, Ben Sulli-
van, and H. D. Nbrrts, 191" C. V. Battles, 1911 E. D.
Stcner.

Times

Vl E^ Ul 1977> 1 and P, imknown.

LA Lur

Sacramento Chief

Wl E; f ^ i N 1897-Ap 18991 E and P, J. H. Llghtfoot;
fonaer Tularosa Chief, moved to Alamogordo as Sacramento
Chief.

LAS CRUCES

Borderer*

W; BI, S 1874 E; Dem; Mr 1871-S 18751 E and P, N. V.
Bennetti S 1874 Spanish -c- tion of r;r; or became El Ironter-
Izoi Mr 1871-0 18V2, um:

(Htizen*

11 BI, Ja 1909 Ei Repi Mr 1902-; S and P, Lorenzo Upolnti 8 1909 Will Upolnt 1 Ap 1902-P 1911, pub office.

Defensor del Pueblo*

Vl BI, 0 1890 Si Demi J1 1890-N I89I1 P, Ramon Bemudez and T. J. Ifcai, E, Pedro G. de Lamai Ag 1890-Hy 1891 (broken), INSU.

Democrata (title used twice)*

I-W1 Si Pami Je-1 1B94; E end P, Pedro G. de U^aa and N. F. Uma, Ag I894 !. P. Pino and Fredrtco 0chco; Jb«N 1/i94> NMSU.

^_r^i ^* ®««i '••' ^981 E and P, Pedro G. de Lanai Nr-Ag 1896, INSU.

Democrat (title used twice)*

I-Wt El Demi y IBs-0F 1900 rt); E and P, ^:ill Robin-acm. My I699 ^* I* Williams, Je 1099 C. E. Stivers; fomery Us Cruces Xhdener^tent Democrat; Hy-1 I899, (broken), NMSU.

2**«Vi E; Demj 191I1 E and P, unknown; a caepalgn pa-per.

Pon^ A^ County Republican*

W; B; Bepi ' IC^A^7-Ja 1902; E and P, Fmd A. Anderson, Ag 1897 John Swarta, Ja I889 Acheoon NcCl1ntock, Ag 1901 C. V, Morgan, 0 I90I R. E. Musaey; name changed to Us *1^A^*5® Progress; fltr 1897-Ja loor^ (broken), MCSU.

Dona Ana Coimty Times

Vl E; Pemi F-Ny iC05; E and P, John F. rovTi^js.

Eco del Rio Grande*

V; S, Ap 1875 BI; nei); "r ^ r^;-Mr I878; P, i...c^0 Upolnt; E, Lomnzo Upolnt, .v^ 1 00! Ash T^son, r 1^7.6 Uronzo Upolnt; F 1875-Hy 187? (broken), HMiU.

Eco del Sl^lo*

Vl 8; U; Fi-Ap 18821 E and P, Henry Arnold and Namial Valdesi see Us Cruces Thirty-Four and tl T^e.T-os F-Nr 1882, WSU.

Eco del Valle*

Vl S; Ind. Hy 1910 Repi 1 IS €-1 E and P, N. P. Uma ,
ny 1910 N. F. Urma and Isadorm Armijo, Jr.; absorbed Fl
«.arano J1 1911; D I905-P 1911, IMSU. ~

Empresa

vji 81 U; 8 1896-^1 1897 (?); E and P, Urenzo Upolnt;
s 1896-Je 1897 (broken), Misu.

Estrella*

Wl Si Rep; N XSIO-1 E and P, Will Upolnt, a companion
publication for Us Cruces citlron; Ja 1912, NMSU.

Flor del Valle*

V; Si ^ip; Je-N 1894; f and F, N. F. Urma and Isadoro
^rmsLiOg Sr., fe 1894 M. F. Urma dnd Isadoro Armljo, Jr.;
F-D 1894, NMSU.

yrontertzo*

V; Si Paei S 1874-S 1875> F, l. V. Bennetti E, Epifano
Vigil; a companion paper for us Cruces Borderer; Ap :^%
istof HMSU.

Independent Democrat*

W; E; Dem; Ja 19 «-P IC^ »; P, A. B. Falll E, L. V.
Renoir, F I892 W. R. F:11, 0 1^r AlUn Kelly, Ur I896 C. E,
Bull; became Us Cruces Dc^.iocrciti P I892-D 1898 (broken),
BMSU.

Ubradoi**

Wl Si Pern; S 18 6-; E and P, Plnito Pino and (?)
Nadrtd, Ja 1897 nolonen Gamia, My lt?7 F. Martinez, N I897
M. de ia Pena and Plnito Pino, Uy 1899 Fini Pino and
M. F, Urma, Iv^1 N. F. Uma and Jose Gonzales, 0 1:,05
Jose Gonzales, I908 J. C. Rovir Gucsi S 1896-N 1900 (broken),
Ja 1901-D 1911, IMSU.

tiberal

VI ,«?, VI Je 1891-?; B and P, Pmdrico Ochoc.

Meai'U Valley X';y.iocr\$it*

V; (S-V brtef ly in 1886)1 Dli Ds.i Ag I886-D 1890 (?);

B and P, J- f. Booth. My 1887 Allan McDonald, 0 1890 Jamee N. Cole; 8 1886-Ny 1887 (broken), Ag 1889-Ag 1890, NNSU.

Netodiete Neo-Ncxlcano

N; H; U; I889-I8921 E and P, T. W. Hamoodi See Socorro Netodlata Neo-Netlcano.

Neumanns Semi-Weekly*

1-Vi El Deal Ap-Jl 188I; E and P, S. H. Newman and Charlee Shannoni formerly Newman's Thlrty-Fbur; moved to El Paeo, Texas, where it soon became the Lone Star; Ap 2-20, 1861, »ISU.

lewman'a Thirty-Four

S-W; E; DCMQ Ja-Ap I88I; E and P, S. H. Newaian and Charles Shannon; see Lee Crucee Thlrty-Fbur; beceme lew-
"*^"* 8eml-Weekly.

lews (Pally)*

P; E; U; Ja-P 1889 (?); E and P, James Klbbbee, 0 I889 Charles B. Bailey; Nr-N 18f > (broken), IMSU,

Observador Fronterizo*

W; 8; Rep; 1888; E and P, A. J. Fountain and Pedro G, Gerciei e campaign period paperi S-0 I888 (broken), NNSU.

Trogress*

Vl El Repi Ja 1902-Ja I904j P, (?) Ferenger and F, D. Hunt, Ja 1903 Charlee P. Downs; F, F. D. Hunt, Ja I903 Charlee P. Downe; fomerly Ue Cmcee Done Ana County Bepubllicani merged with the Ue Cmcee Rio Orende Republican in 1904; r 1902-Ja 1904, NNSU.

Progressive

W; E; Rep; N 1910-? E and P, E. C. Wede.

Promoter Escolar*

W; BI; U; S 189I-? I89r; E and P, unknown; a literary publication with the objective of teaching Spanieh end Itoglleh to mtcreeted subscrtbers; s I89I-F I802 (broken), NNSU.

Rio Grande Gazette

V; 111 Bep; 1869; E and P, H. W. Sherry.

Rio Orande Republican*

W, 8 1911 S-W; E; Rep; Ky I881-j E and P, James A. Spradling, P I881 A, J. Fountain, Ja 1882 C. J. Hlldrath, 1 1884 Paul Wagner and Charles Netcalfe, P 1891 J. P. McCrea, F I892 J. A. Vhltnore, Ja I893 F. C. Barker, Ag 1893 J. R. NcFle, Ja 1894 A. T. Hunt, N 1894 A. J. Papen, Ja 1904 C. W. Beard, Ag 1905 A. J. Papen, F I9II 0. A. and Josephine Fosteri Ny I881-D 19II (broken), NMSU.

Southwestern Farm and Omhard

S-N, 1896 Nj E; Ul Uy 1894-1911; P, A. T. Hunt, H 1894 A. J. Papen; E, F. C. Barker.

Thirty-Four*

V; El Dem; P 1878-Ap 188I; P, S. H. Newman and Henry Amold, Ja 1881 Henry Amold; E, S. H. Newman, JI 1880 Henry Amold; Newaian and Amold diaagreed and lewmm began a new paper in Ja I68I, eee lewman's Thirty-FOur; P I870-P 1880, NNSU.

Tleapo*

V; 8; U; 0 Id81-Jl 1911; E and P, Namial Valdez, ab-aorbed by Ue Cmcee Eco del Valle; N 1882-Ag 1903 (broken) Ja 1904-Jl 1911, NNSU:

Timee (Pally) (title used twice)*

I-P; BI; U; Hy I889; B and P, Narcial Valdez end J. T. L. NacPonald; Hy 4-14, IPP-, NNSU.

2-P; BIi U; Ja 1893; ^ and P, Marclal Valdez and E. Gandara; *Je lb*, 1893» BNSU.

Verdad (title used twice)*

I-W; Sj Rep; I890; E and P, Plnito P.n:^; r: campaign pertod paper; 6-0 1890 (broken) NNSU.

2-W; *3; U; 1898; E and P, Seloman Gamia; Ja-Ap I898 (broken), NM.sU.

tA VEGAS

Acorn (title uaed twice)*

1«Vi BI; U; P I869-? I870; E snd P, A. V. Aoy; be-
came the lev Nertco Advertiser polished both ct Us Vegas
and Santa Fb.

2-iri BIj Ul A p ^ 1875 (?); P, (?) Amchetta and (?)
Naesi Hy 25, 1875, um.

Advertiser (Dally)*

Pi ll Nepi Hy^Ja I903; ^ and P, Earl I^ons; Hy~Ja 1 ^f^,
ULN.

Advertiser (weekly)*

V; It Repi Nr«*My, Je-0 I9^>3l r and P, Earl lyons; Nr-
Hy, Je-0 1903, UKM.

Atieiano

B*n, 1893 ^n S; U; 188 -^0, 1898-99; » and P, J. J.
Gllcrtst; Presbytertan paper; founded at U Junta, Colorado;
aKved to Mora in I890 and returned to Us Vegas in 1^99.

Atrertdo

V; S; U; I887; E and P, etudents at Us Verrr (Jesuit)
College.

Aurora

OTWM.—mil ^1 ^m>.>|||

||/ BI; U; I - : . I9IO-III1 E and P, Norman Skinner;
l«^1 Benedict© Sandoval; a Prasbytertan paper; moved to
Albuquerque In 1911.

Cachiporra

W| B\$ Rep; 1888; £ and P, San Miguel County Republican
Central Committee.

Cachiporrita*

8-W; S; Rep; I8901 £ and P, San Miguel County Repub-
lican Central Committee 1 0 8-28 I890, HMHU.

Caiapaign Bulletin

W; El Repi 18801 E and P, J. H. Koogler; a Republlicen
campairpn pnper.

Chronicle (Pally)*

o*o®^i«??p^ ^" ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ Hommel; E. J. H. Koogler;
fomer San Hilarlo Red River Chronicle; 0-N 1884 NMHU.

Chronicle (weekly)*

V; BI; Rep; D 1884.Ja 1886; E and P, Uuie Hommel;
moved to Cabra Sprtnge es Chronicle; N 1884-Je 1886 (broken)
NMHU.

Clartn Mexicano*

W; S; tftnlon Peoples' party; I890; E and P, unknown; a
campaign paper; 0 23, I890, NNHU.

Democrat (title ueed twice)#

I-V; E; Dem; Ap-? 1876; E and P, J. C. Warren.

2-V; E; Dem; Ny-? I890; E end P, N. W. Edwerde; Hy-N
1890, UNM.

Eureka

N; E; U; N 1879-?; E and P, T. B. Nills and (?)
Beecher; a real estate promotion paper.

Examiner (Dally)*

D; E; Dem, 1897 Rep; Je I895-F I808; P, L. R. Allen
and (?) Ulcham, I896 L. R. Allen, F 1897 J. A. Carmth;
E, F. J. Ellis, 1896 L. R. Allen, F 1897 J. A. Carmth;
merged with Us Vegas Daily Optic; Ny 13, 1897, NMHU.

Examiner (weekly)

W; E; Dem; Ja-Je 1895; E and P, L, R, Allen and (?)
Ulcham; became Daily Examiner.

Flak's Great Southwest*

N; E; U; Ag I88I-I888?; E and P. Calrtn Fisk; a real
estate promotion paper; Ag 188I, N 1882, Ap-My 1886, NMHU.

Fltzgerrell'e Guide to New Mexico*

M, and at times W; E; U; 186I-I888?; E and P, (?)
Fitzgerrell; a real estate promotion paper; two issuee
undated, NMHU.

Free Press (Daily)

P; E; **Rep**; D I89I-D I892; E and P, J. A. Carmth.

Free Press (weekly)#

W; E; **Rep**; Mr-D I89I; E and P. J. A. Carmth; became Ue Vegae Dally Free Press; Nr-D 189I, UNM.

Gaceta

W; S; Rep; *Ur* 1877-D I878; P, J. H. Koogler; E, Uuis Hommel.

Gazette (Daily)*

D; E; **Rep**; JI 1879-Je I886; P, J. H. Koogler; Ap 1883 Gazette Publishing Ccxapany (Jefferson Reynolds chief stockholder); E, J. H. Koogler, Ap I883 W. C. Hadley, D I883 R. B. Bryan, Ny 1884 J. H. **wlee**, S 1884 R. W. Webb, efter D 1884 various short term editors; brtef ly in 1880-8I was named Noming Gazette; Ja 1881-D I883 (broken), UNM.

Gazette (weekly)

Wl BI, Mr 1877 E; Repi S I872-O I873, Ap 1874-Je I886; P, Uuis Hommel, Mr 1875 J. H. Koogler and Uuie Hommel, D 1878 J. H. Koogler, Ap I883 Gazette Publiehlng Companyi E, Uuis Hcmmiel, Mr 1875 J. H. Koogler, Ap 1883 W. C. Hadley, D 1883 R. B, Bryan, Hy 1884 J. H. Wise, S 1884 R. W, Webb.

Hispano-Americano

W; S; U; I892; E and P, Victor Ochoa; fomerly at Socorro.

Homeeteader

W; E; U; ? 1909-Nr 19IO; E and P, J. P. Jonquel; -erged with Ua Vegas **Star**.

Independiente*

W; S; Ind, 190I Rep; 1894-; E. H. Salazar; 1898 E, H, Salazar and E. C. de Baca, **19:~1** E. H. Salazer, 1904 E. H. Selezar and Secundio Romero, S 19IO Secundlo Romero; E, E. H. Salazar, 1898 E. C. de Baca, 190I E. H. Salazar; 1904 Se-cundio Romero; Mr 1894-D IQH, UNM.

Ubor Standard

W; E; U; Ag 1888-? E and P, A. D. Wallace.

Nail

V; BI; U; 0 I871 D; J1 1871-Ag I872; P, Ash Upson and J. Bollinger, 0 I871 S. H. Newman and J. Bollinger.

Nills' Investors Rertew*

N; E1 U; 0 I887-JI I888; E and P, T. B. Mills and Son; raal estate promotion; 0 I887-JI iBSC (broken), NMHU.

Mills' Nertco*

N; E; U; D 1882-? 1884; E and P, T. B. Mills; advertising Nertcan raal estate; D I882-JI 1884 (broken), NNHU.

Ninlng World*

N, 1881 BI-W, 1883 M; E; U; Ag I880-? I886; P, T, B. Mills, H 1884 J. A. Carmth; E, W, C. Hadley, N 1884 J. A. Carmth; Ag I880-JI 1884, UNM.

lew Nexico Advertiser (Daily)

D; BI; 1873; K and P, A. V. Aoy.

New Nertco Advertiser

W; BI; U; ? I870-? I878; E and P, A. V. Aoy; fomerly Us Vegas Acom; Ja 12, 1878, UNN.

New Nexico Catholic

8-N; BI; U; 1894; E and P, N. O. Sullivan.

New Mexico Christian Advocate (Methodiet)

Mj BI; U; ?-1881-?; E and P, Thomas Harwood; was prtnted at Us Vegas but datelined Sante Fe,

New Mexico Herald

W; BI; Rep; Je 1879-Ja I880; E and P, R, W, Webb and Niguel Salazar; moved to Santa Fe to become Era South-western.

lew Nexico Joumal of Education

N; E; U; 1905-I911; E and P, Rupert F. Asplund, moved to Santa Fe in 1911*

Hew Nexlco Livestock Journal

(T) Uyton. S and P, J. A. Carruth and

Bew Nexico Medical Journal

MMOTaOTOT.MOTOT.v.^\

M; II U; 1905—; P, ?; E, F. T. B. Fest.

lew Itortco Niner

H ^l E; U; 1880; E, Charles Longuemara.

Ibw Nexlco Nonthly Magazine

N; El Jii p 1881-? 1882; E and P, Richard Gamer.

lew Nertco Fatrtot

Wl BI; U; Nr-Ag 1875l E and P, 1. Segura,

Hew Nexlco Stock Grower

V; B; U; F 1884-1886; E and F, R. F. Hardy and H. H. Pieme; changed name to stock Grower.

lews (title used twice)*

I-W; E; Bept Ap 1887-P 1887l E and P, F. A. Blakei former Socorro Unioni moved to Gallup to become News-Reglsteri 1-P 1BU8, VIM.

2-Wl El Repi D 1905-? 1906; E and P, Russell A. Klstler.

Obaearvador

Wl Sj U; 1898-99; E and P, unknown.

Optic (Daily)*

Pi B; Rep; F 18:S Dem, Ap 1903 Rep; 0 1879—; P, Russell A. Klstler, F 1898 Us Vegas Publishing Company, Ap 1903 J. G. NcHaryi 0 1906 W. F. Comell; D 1906 M. M. Padgett; E, Russell A. Klstler; F, 1898 George P. Gould, Ja 1899 George Cross, Jo 1900 Russell A. Klstler, Ap 1903 J. G. Nclaryi D 1906, N, N. Padgett; merged with Dally Examiner in 1898 and Pally Record in i:^3> N 1879-D 1911 (Kroken), NMHU,

Optic (Weekly)*

Vl E; Bepi ^1 1879-0 UBrrg, S 1880-F 1858; E and P, Russell A. Klstler; former Otero Optic; S 1886-F 1808 (broken), NMHU.

Optic and Stock Grower (Weekly)*

Vl E; ~~Daa~~i, Ap 1903 Rep; F 1898-; P, Us Vegas Publishing Company, Ap 1903 J. O. McNary, 0 1906 V. F. Comell, P 1906 N. M. Padgett; E, same as those of Daily Optic in this pertod; formed by amrger Weekly Optic and Stock Grower published by Us Vegas Examiner publlanng company; F 109«-D 1911 (broken) mmv.

Pilgrim's Progress*

(^larterly; E; Jji 1887-891 E and P, Calrtn Fiski real estate promotion; Winter, 1887, Fall, 1888, NMHU.

Pointers

Wj E; U; 1879-Bo?; B and P, W. C. Hadley.

Political Comet

V ?1 E tj Ul 18821 B and P, unknown.

Real Eatate and Business Index

Ni 11 U; F 1880-? E and P, A. A. and J. H. Viae.

Record (Daily)

Pi El Rep; 0 1900-Ap 1903; P» Record Publishing Company; 1, various editors for brtef pertods-J. F. Manning, C. P. Powns, James Duncan; merged with Deily Optic.

Republican*

VI El Rep; D 1800-? 19001 P, <c>ybllican Publishing Company; E, A. 1. Brown; fomrly Sunday Morning Review and at end of canpaigh of 1900 msuLied that title; Ja-1 1900, UNN.

Rertsta Catollca*

W; S; U; Jr 1875-J P, Jesuit Order; Ja 1890-D 1906; New Mexico Records Center and Arohives, Santa Fe.

Rertsta Evangelica

VI Si U; 1876-791 E and P, J. A. Annln.

San Niguel County Republicen*

8-Wi £1 Bepi 0 1886-?; £ and P. San Miguel County
Republican Central Cocsilttee; 0-N 1S86, NmmfU.

Sol de Mayo*

V; Bli Demi Hy I89I-?; E and P, E. C, de Baca and E.
Boneroi Hy 1B91-Nr I892 (broken), WiSO.

Southwest Nagaslne

Ul E; U; I8L8-, E and P, students at New Nexico Normal
University.

Southwestem Poultry Joumal

M; £1 V; Ap 1889-71 E and P, T. M. Harwood,

Btsr

VI El U; 1909-Nr 191^1 E and P, Russell A. Klstler;
merged with Homesteader.

Star and Homesteader*

D, Hy 1010 S-Vi Ul Hr I9IO-?, P, P. Jencjuel and Ruaaell
A. Klstler; E, Russell A. Kistlen Nr-Ap I910, UNM.

Stock Grower and Fanaer*

V; El VI I886.F 1898; i and P, R. F. Hardy, I89I J. H.
Schick, C. U. Strong, and (ed) H. H. Pieme, 1892 L. R.
Allen and H. E. Blake, I894 L. R. Allen and C. G. Ulcham,
1896 L. R. Allen, I897 J. A. Canruthi merged with Weekly
Optic; S 1886-F 1898 (broken), UHM.

Sunday Courter*

VI £1 Pea; J1-D I888; E :2nd P, George P. Gould; J1-D
1888, NMHU.

Sunday Herald

W; Ej Dea; S 1884-N 1035; £ and P, Jamee Brown.

Sunday Morning Mountain Breeze

Hi El U; My 1887-Ja 1888; E and P unknown.

Simday Noming Rertew*

V; El Repi Je-D 1899, P 19-^0-? 1902; P, E. H. Salazar;
aee BewAlicani Je^J> 1899» UHM

Voz. del FuebU*

Vl United Peoples Party; Je I890-i P, Felix Nartinez;
E, Nestor Montoyai 1895 Felix Nartinez, after 1902 E. C.
de Baca and Antcmlo Lucero were the active editora; Ja I891-
D 1910, (scatteredad issues), UNN.

LINCOLN

Golden Bra

V; Ej Ul Jl 1884-F I8861 E and P, unknown; former
Vhlte Oaks Golden Era.

Independent*

V; El U, 1887-88 Demi 18c9-^1 Populist; Js 1892 U;
F 1886-0 1888, 0 1889-Ja 1891, Ja 1892-Ap 1892, 1893; F,
J. J. PoUn, IB87 J. K. Byers, 0 I889 James Klbbbee, Ja 1892
J. J. Polan; l^/B Uslie Ellisi E, Noses wiley, I887 J. K.
Bjrers, 0 1889 James Klbbbee, Ja I8Q2 Nrs. A. L. McGlnnis,
1893 Uslie Ellis; former Golden Era; became Lincoln Newe;
0 1888-P 1889, Ja-Ap, 1892, CH Carrizozo.

Liberty Banner*

Wl E; Popuilet1 Ap-Jl 13^1; P, Lincoln Coar.z, Farmers*
Alliance; E, J. F. NcPowell1 former Nogal Liberty Banner;
Ap-Jl 1891, CH Carrtzozo.

lews

Wl El U, 1897 P; 1894-981 E and P, (?) Neman end W. C.
Thompson, I897 J^ A. Haley; fomer Independent.

Republican*

W; E; Rep; Ap 1892-03; E and P, J. J. Dolan; fomer
Independent and in I893 reassumed that title; Hy 1892-Ja
1b93, cH carrizozo.

LOOAl

Cronlca

Wl BI; Rep; J1 1906-? E and P, N. Fauetln Gallogos.

Leader*

Wl E; Bepi Ap 1908-; E and P, Frank leeteval; 1910
Paul Jonee; Hy 1908-D I9II, CH Tucumcari.

ijORPSmmG

Advance

Wl El Pemi J1 1663-Ag 1887; E and P, R, H, Jones, ?
I. R. Birt.

Weatem Liberal*

Hi El Bepi N 1687-1 P, W. S. *Dye* and Dem Kedzie, 1888
Don Kedzie; E, Don Kedzie; S-0 1888, UNM,

LOS LUMAS

Cronlca de Valencia

Hi S; Rep; 1891-94; E and P, Manuel Salazar y Otero;
moved to Albuquerque and became Bandera Ancricana.

Estrella de Nuevo Nexlco

V; Si U; 1904-06; E and P, Enrtque Soeai fonaer
Homigo de Pro et Albuquerque; returned to Albuquerque es
istrexla.

Valencia County Tribune

W; E; 0; Ja-? 1888; E and P, A. W, Webster.

Valencia County Vindicator

WJ BI; U1 1883; F end P, unknown.

LOVINGTON

Leader*

W; E; Rep; *Hr* 1910-; E and P, Inez A. Harrington, Ap
1911 Wesley Itcallsteri Ap-D 1911, CH Carlabad.

UPfBERTON

Independent

—1g^—Mii^i—IIII.I—II.H.II

VI El UI 1895-961 E and P, Frank V, Potter.

NCINTOSH

New Nertcan Heme land*

...n M M . a M M H M O T i . B M . w a M . M a M M M M O T O T O T M O T a M M L O T .

W; E; Repi Ja 1910-Ag 1911 E and P, H. D. Carter, Hy
1911 Irrtng Neadl Ja-Ag 1911, CH Eetancia.

NAGDALENA

Nine Burd Uriat

WI E; VI 0 1690-? 18911 F and P, J. G. Derte.

Nounta in Neil*

Wl E; U; Ap-D 1888; P, Whltmora end Company; ^1 w-
known; printed in the ehop of Socorro Tir.er>; 0-N 1888,
UNM.

lews

Vl E; Repi 1909-; P, J, F. Williams, 1911 (?) Fdwarde
and 1. D. Sherman; E, J. F. vuiliams, 1^11 N. D. **Sherman**,

NALAGA

News

w; F; Repl 1903-1^'; E end P, F. G. Prouty.

MAN7A10

Gringo rrtd Grea^ef*

S-N; BI; U; Ag 1683-Mr 1884; F and P, Charles L.
Kusz; Ag 1863-Mr 1884, UNM

MAXWELL

Maxim

Wl EJ Re; > i 1909-101 E and P, J. G. Smltiii 1910 0. A.
and Josephine Foster.

Talisman

Hi £1 Ul 1906-?1 E and P, unknown.

MELROSE

Peaocrat

W; El Dem; 1911—1 E and P, W. C. Hawley.

Bntemrlae

Wl £1 U, 1909 Rep, 1911 Demi 1907-Ag 1911; £ and P,
R. C. Idgell, 1908 A. C. Stackhouee, 1909 E. R. Peck, 1911
W. C. Hawley.

Headlight

••; El U; fl 1906-Ap 19091 E and P, J. E. Curren; eub-
scription list sold to Enterprtse.

Index

Wl £1 Bepi 1910—; E and P, L. D. Beckvlth; fomerly
Fort Sumner Ihdx.

Southwest Baptist

Ml F; U; 1908-F 1909; E and P, 0. N. McBride; moved
to Portales where it became New Mexico Baptist.

NESILLA

Democrata*

v'l Bi Deal S-N 1878; E and P, S. H. Newman; S-N 1878,
NNSU,

Miner*

W; E; U; Je 186oj E and P, D. W, Hughee and F, B. Kelly;
only *one* ieeue publshedi Je 9> 1660, IMSU.

News[^]

Vl 111 Repi N-1873-F 18851 E and P, *Loranzo* Upolnt, F 1874 Urenzo Upoint and Ira N. Bond, Ag 1874 **Ira** M, Bond; **moved** to Albuquerque, **see** News; F 1874-Je 1882 (broken).
NMSU.

Times (title used twice)*

1-V; E; U; 0 1860-Ag 1862; P, B. C. Murray and Company, Ja 186? Prank Higgins and B. C. Murray; E, B. C. Hurray. My 1861 Frank Uninsi 0 1860-Ja 1862 (ecattered **issues**), *JMSV*,

2-Wl E (?); **Rep**; J1-Ag 18671 E and P, Everett J, Bebbitt; J1 15, 1867, Jack D. Rittenhouse collection, Santa Fe.

Valley Independent*

Wl 111 Rep; Je 1877* ^ ^@I2i ^> ^' ^* Fbuntain, J. S. Crouch; and Thomas Cased, Ag 1878 J. S. Crouch and Ihomas Caaad; E, A. J. Fountain, Ag 1878 J. S. Crouch; Je 1877-JI 1879, IO<SU.

MESILLA PARK
(was not formally given thie name until about 1900)

lew Nexlco Collegian

Ni £1 UJ 1893-19071 E and P, etudents et lew Nexlco Agrtcultural and Nechanlce Arte College.

Roimd-up

Wl F; U; 1907—1 £ and P, etudente et **New** Nexico Agricultural and **Neehaniea** Art a College.

NIANI

Valley Faraer

W; F; U; E and P, unknown.

MINERAL CITY
(soBMfBMQ known as MUERAL HILL)

Blue Canon Drtll

VI El Ul 0 1881-F 1882; E end P, J. C. Chumhill;
see Prtll.
mmmmmmmmmm

lews
MMMMHW.

V; £1 Ul 0-1881-F 16821 E and P, J. w. Bamey; see
Prtll.

Prtll

Vj E; Uj F-Ap 18821 F and P, J. W, Barney and J. C.
Churohilll merger of Blue Canon Prtll and Newe.

MWTOYA

IUipublcan*

Wl £1 Rep; S 1907—; E and P, W. C. Hawking; 0 19<17-D
1911, CH Tucumcari.

MORA

Anclano (Praebyterian)

S^H, 1894 Wl Si Vl 1690-981 E and P, J, J. Gilcrlst;
befora and after Its time et Nora, this paper was at Us
Vegaa.

Cronlca (title used twice)*

1-Wl Bli W; Ja 1889-Ja 18901 E and P, Uuis Hommel 1
successor to Nora Democrat; S-N 1889 (broken), NNSU.

2-W; s; Ul 1894-961 P. Nora Publishing Company; E,
Jose lne7 Gamia, 1895 ?.

County Sentinel
mmmmmmmmmm

Vl Bli U; 1689; E and P, unknown.

Democrat

Wl BI; Den; ? 1889-Je 1889; E and ^, ?, probably
Uuis Hommel; became Cronlca.

Echo*

Vl Bii Ul Nr-D 1890; E and P, Rafael Romero and Fernando Nolan, ? 1690 D. A. Chacon; Je-N 18*^0, INRU.

fco del Nortel

Hi 81 Ul 1907-1 E and P, unknown; F-D 191I, vm,

Oaceta*

VI S. 1891 BI; U; Nr-1 I800, Ja-? I69I; E and P. N. Segura, 1891 A. L. Branch ajid C. V. Hollomani Nr-N 1890 (broken), *MHBV*.

Hispano-AaMirtcano

..1-...*1 I.11 «!-IWB I I 10T0T1-.

Vl Bii Ul Ja-? 1890I E and P, unkncywni moved from Fbleom whera it was New Hexlco American.

Nail

S-M; BI; Ul 16741 E and P, A. V. Aoy.

NensaJero#

Vl Si VI 1910-; E and P, Benedlcto Sandoval; Nr-D 1911, vm,

Nosqulto*

Wj H, Ap 1892 Si Ul N 1891-t 1892; B and P, Camlllo Padllla; 3 1891-Ja 1892, NNSU.

Span!sh-American

W; BI; Hep; I906; E and P, A. S. Bushkevitz; befora and after its time at Nora this psper wae at Roy ss Hispp.no- Afeertcano.

Star

v; £1 Rep; 1904-05j E and P, N. S. Rose.

MORIARTJf

Messenger

Wl E; Repi 19^7-1 £ and P, George M, Flenming, Harry J. Fincke.

MOSQUERO

Sun

W; E; U; 1909-; £ and P, ?, 1910 B. F. Brown.

MOUNTAINAIR

Meeeenger

V; E; U; 1909-; P, Gilbert Signer and P. W. Hershor;
E, Gilbert Signer.

NARA VISA

New Mexican*

W; E; Rep; Je 1907-Ja 1909; E and P, V. E. McNeil;
merged with Register; Je 1908-Je 1909, CH Tucumceri.

New Nertcan and Regieter*

W; E; Rep; Ja 1909-Ja 1912; E and P, V. E. McNeil and
Harry M. Grain; Je 1909 V. E. McNeil; merged with New
Nexlco News; Js 1909-D 1911, CH Tucumcart.

New Nexico News*

W; E; Rep; Hy 1911-Ja 1912; E and P, W. Arthur Jones;
merged with New Mexican and Register and became simply News
(Ja 29, 191277*1^-0 1911, CH Tucumcari.

Register*

W; E; Rep; Ja 1907-Ja 1909; E and P, Harry M. Crain
and R. C. Stubbins, Mr 1908 Harry M. Crain and W. Arthur
Jonee, J1 1908 Harry M. Crain, merged rtth New Mexican;
Ja 1908-Ja 1909, CH Tucumcari.

NOGAL

Liberty Banner*

W; E; Popullet; F 1800-Ap 1891; P, Lincoln County
Femere' Alliance; E, J. E. Aliarton, Je 1891 J. F. McDowell;
moved to Lincoln under same title; formerly Nogal Nugget;
F 1800-Ap 1891* CH Carrizozo.

Nugget*

W; EJ Dem; Ag I887-F I890; E and P, J. E. Sligh, ?
1889 H. L. Harrte; became Liberty Banner; Hy-1 I888, NNHU;
Ja-F 1690, CH Carrtzozo. _____

Republican

W; El Rep; Ap-? 1902; E and P, C. H. Brown, ? 1902
J. H. Llghtfoot.

OBAR
(formerly PERRY)

Progress*

W; E; Rep; 0 1908-; E and P, L. L. Klinefelter;
formerly Perry Progress until the town changed its name;
Ja 1910-D 1911, CH Tucumcari.

OROGRANDE

Times*

W; E; U; Ja I906-D 1907; E and P, F. J. Arkin, Je
1907 W. R. Quarles; Ja 1906-D I907, CH Alamogordo.

OTERO

Optic

W; E; Rep; Ap-Jl 1879; E and P, Russell A. Klstler
and Jay Turpen; moved to Lae Vegas.

PARK VIEW

Progreso

W; S; U; Ja 1895 (one issue); E and P, unknown.

PERCHA

Shaft

W; E; U; 0 1885-Ap I886; E and P, unknown; moved to
Kington.

PINOS ALTOS

Miner

W; E; U; J1 1888-0 1891; E and P, J. C. Bayne, Ja 1889 William Cristman; Ja 1890 J. R. Hall and Charles Highgate; Mr 1891 F. M. Galloway and Milt Warner; moved to Deming as Advance.

PERRY

(became OBAR)

News

V; E; Repi Je^Ja I9081 E and P, w. Arthur Jonee.

Frograss*

AK... IL^' *^^ r?^;^ ^^^^ E and P, L. L. Klnef leter; see ^ « ^ JS£2K1£8i J1-O 1908, CH TucimKuit.

PORTALES

Herald*

.r^., SI* S^ S**! ^ ^^^^ ^^^^7; E and P, G, F. Elle, Ag 1903 O. E. Cralghton; N I905 Bert Robey and H. B. Ryther. Je 1905 A. S, Hombeck, F (?) 1907 A. B. Codrlngton; eee Roosevelt County Herald; F-D 10^4, Ap-S 1907, ENNU.

New Nexlco Beptiet

M; El U; F-Je I909; E and P, O, N. McBride; moved from Melrose.

Progrese*

Wj E; U; Ag 1 Oi.?i £ and P, John Pipee; Ag 1, IQOI, Booevelt County Museum, Portalee.

Roosevelt County Herald*

WJ E/ Pem; S I907—; E and P, A. B. Codrtngton; N I9t^7 E. A. Prtest and Son, Ja 1909 E. P. Alldradge and if 1909) O. 1. McBride, Je 1909 E. P. Alldredge, Hy I9II L. B. lather, H 19II J. R> Pamell; successor to Portales Herald; 3 19-7-P IS'II (broken), EMU.

Times*

m 1.4[^] *H* ?*Sy* *I* 1[^]3-1 *E* and *P*, Nunsey Bull, Ap *l[^]nk* w. C-
f[^]TJ[^]'[^]SiJ! ^{^^} ®' [^] Jo»»i«oni MP 19[^]3-D 1907, Ja I969-D
1911, JS2INU.

PUERTO DE LUNA

Voz Publica

Wj 8; U; 1896-1903; *E* and *P*, Fladdo Baca y Baca;
moved to Santa Rosa.

QUESTA

Gazette

Wj *E*; Rep; ISIO-; *E* and ?, J. Natt Alvey.

RATON

Colfax County Ccmrlr

W; *E*; U; D 18>}-? 1891; *E* and *P*, (?) Hall end 0. S.
Bowman.

Colfax Peaocrat

mWMOTOTMMMM. MMMMMOTOTaMMMMMMOT

V; *E*; Single-tax; 1892-94; *E* and *P*. P. H. Smith, **aee**
New Mexjcan Sngle-Taxer.

Comet*

Hi *E*; U; Ja-Je IB81, J1 1882-Je I887; *E* and *P*, 0, *P*,
NcNains, N **1\$82** Clarence H. Adams, Charles B. **Adams** and
Edwin E. Adams, F I886 F. «. Butler, D I886 J. A. Hunt and
A. Clausen; became the Range; J1 1882-JI 1886, pub office,
Raton Daily Range.

Gazette*

•il-Mi...-Mill

W, 1907-[^]![^]; *F*; Dem; Hy 1898-1905t *F*-? 1907; *F* and *P*,
W. A. Eaton, 1902 Nrs. W, A. t?r., 1:[^]3 W. L, ftirke, Je
1905 L. E. Ellla end J. E. lyelngerj rertved *F* li[^])7 by
E. H. Hehayer; Ja-D 1902, Je 1904-Je IP05, CH Raton.

Guard | ^

WJ EJ UJ JI I88I-JI 1662j E and P, (?) Newell and F. A. Lanstnmi, D I68I F. A, Lenstrum and EPonghej apparently 0. F. NcMalna leased the Comet for a year and it was renamed Guard; H 188I-JI 1882, pub office, Raton Pally SSSBS.'

Independent (Daily)*

Pj El Bep, 1665 Indi Ap 1883-Ag 1889; E and P, J. C. Holmee; JI 1884-1 I866 (broken), INHU,

Independent (Weekly)*

Wj EJ Rep, 188\$ Ud; D 1883-Ag 186 \$j E and P, J. C. Holmes J 0 ld86-Ny I889 (broken), HNHU.

Morning Telegram*

Dj Ej U; F-Ap 1909J E and P, E. P, Sherman and H. R. Schneider; F-Ap 1909* CH Raton.

New Mexican Single-Texer

W; El Single-Tax; 1894-^7; E and P, P, H. .^ith, see Colfax Democrat.

New Mexico News and Press*

W; E; Rep; 0 I88I-I 1882; E and P, George F. Canis and Thomas Henderson, F 1882 George F. Crnls; fomery Cimarron News and Press; 0 1881-My 1682, UNM,

lews (Daily)*

Dj E; U; D 1908; E and P, unknown; D 29, 19^^'8, CH Raton.

News (eekly)*

W; f; U; My-Je 1904; E and P, J. W. Bell and f. J. Wright; no known connection between daily and weekly News; My-Je lf<4, CH Raton.

Range (Dally)*

D; E; .Rep; 0 loo8.Je 1911; F and P, 0. A. nnd Joeephine Foster, 191; Raton Publiehng Ccanpany, J. A. Cutler editor; D igo8-D 191', pub office.

Range (weekly)*

W, Ja 1908 8-W, 0 1908 Wj El Rep; Ja 1887-; E and P, J. A. Hunt and A. Claueen, F I688 J. A. Hunt and T. y. Collier, My 189I T. W. Collier, Ap 1900 F. D. Norse, 1903 C. E. Stivers, 1905 0. A. and Josephine Foster, 1910 Raton Publishing Cc»apany (J, A. Cutler, ed.); Je 1887-D 1911, pub office.

Regieter (Deily)

Dj E; U; Mr-? 1884; E end P, E. E. Adams and E. C. Stone.

Relampago*

V; SJ U; My-Ag 1904; E and P, Carlos M. Wood; My-Ag 1904, CH Raton.

Reporter*

W, Je 1894 Trl-W, Je 1897 S-W, F 1899 W; E; Dem; Ap 1890-; E and P, G. B. Berlinger and A. Claueen, S 1890 G. B. Berlinger, 1910 W. G. Brown; Ap I890-D 1-²6, CH Raton, Ja-D 1910, pub office, Raton Daily Range,

Republican

D; E; Rep; 1906; E and P, 0. A. Foeter, eleo publisher of the Range.

Timee (Daily)*

D; E; U; 0-D I908; E and P, Uroy Kennedy; 0-D I908, CH Raton.

Tipografica

W; S; UJ J1-? 1902j E and P, unknown.

Union*

W; Sj Union People's pertvj Ja-N I898; E and P. Antonio Cajal and S. M. Sanchez; F-S 1B98, CH Raton.

RED RTVER

Mining Bulletin

W; E; Dem; Ag-? I900; E and P, Urln W. Brown.

Mining Hews

WJ EJ Deaj 1898-99; E and P, G. B. Berlinger, epper-
ently prtnted at Raton Reporter plent.

Proepector#

W. E; Rep; 1900-08; E and P, FreaK>nt C. Stevene;
1901-07 (broken), N.M Stete Librery, Santa Fe.

RINCON

Pointer

W; EJ UJ Ag-? I90IJ E and P, unknown.

Shaft

WJ EJ Repj D 1893-95; E and P, J. P. Hyland; former
Kingston Shaft succeeded by Rincon Weekly.

Valley Reporter

W; E; U; I909-; E and P, Elizabeth P. Hendrlx.

Weekly*

W; E; U; Ap 1895-F 18<yr; E end P, Rincon Publiehlng
Company (Saloman Garcie, ed), F 1896 Fred A. Anderson;
moved to Us Crucee and became Doha Ana County Republican;
Ag 1895-Ny 1897 (broken), NMSU.

ROBINSON

Black Range

w; E; Rep; Ap 1882-Ja 188^; E and P, V. B. Beckett;
moved to Chloride and kept same name.

ROCK ISLAND

Clipper

|i* Bj U; 1^'Oo-io; E and P, C. C. Hlxon; moved to Endee
and became Enterprise.

Tribune*

WJ EJ UJ Hy 1910-j E and P unknownj Hy 1910-D I911,
CH Tucumcari.

ROSWELL

Baptlet Workman

Nj EJ UJ I906J E and P, H. F. Vemillion.

Chavee County Herald*

Wj EJ Repj I890-9IJ E and P, J, A. Erwin and L. O.
FullenJ 0-D I890, CH Carrizozo.

Democrat

S-Wj EJ Demj I908-09J E and P, James D. Whelan.

Irrigator

Wj E; Demj I895-96; P, W. H. Mullane; E, W. E. Orr;
merged with Roswell Register; former Hagerman Irrigator.

Joumal (weekly)

WJ EJ Demj D 1902-Mr 1903J P» Rnerson Brothers; E, C. C.
finereon.

Joumal (Daily)

DJ EJ Dem; Mr-Jl 1903; E and P, C. C. Saereon; merged
with Morning Record.

Noming News*

D; E; Demj Ag I9II-; P> B. F. Harlow; E, Lucius Dills;
Ag-D 1911, pub office Roswell Dally Record.

Morning Record*

D; E; Dem; Mr-S 1903; E and P, H. F. M. Bear and C. E.
Maeon; became Roewell Deily Record, *en* afternoon paper;
Nr-Ag 190?, pub office.

Pecos Valley Regiater*

Wj Ej Uj N 1888-I890J E and P, J. A. Erwin and L. O.
Fullen; became Roewell Regieter; N I888-D I889, Pub office,
Roswell Dally Record, Ja-B 1»90, CH Carrizozo.

Pecos Vsley Stockman*

WJ EJ Peel 0 1900-N 1902j E and P, James Klbbbee and Lucius Pills, *Hr* 1901 G. W. Powers, 0 19^1 Nunsey Bullj moved from Csrlsbad to Roswellj *Hr* 1901-N 19^52, pub office, Roswell Pally Record.

Practical Irrtgation and Fruit Grower

NJ El Ul 1896-971 E and P, James Klbbbee.

Record (Psilly)*

Dl Hi Dem; 8 1903-; F, Record Publiehng Ccxnpeny; E, H. F. N. Bear, Ja 1905 G, A. Puckett, 1909 C. E, Mason; 8-1903-P 1911, pub office.

Record (weekly)*

w; Ei Pem; Mr 1891-; P, J. P. Ue, 1899 A. A. Bumett end f. 0. Creighton, 1900 E. 0. Creighton, Ag 1- r H. F. M. Bear and C, E. Naeon; 1903 Record Publiehng Compny; E, J. D. *Lae*, 1899 E. 0. Cralghton, Ag 1902 H. F. N. Bear, Ja 1905 G, A. Puckett, 1909 C. E. Naeon; Hy 1894-D 1901, My 1904-D 1911, pub office.

Register (Dally)

D; E; Rep; *Hr* 1903; E and P, R. S. Hamilton.

Register (weekly)*

W; EJ Rep; 1600-F 1906, E and P, James Klbbbee, 1894 C. F. Bull, 1895 J. W. Nullen, 1896 W. H. Nullane, 1898 R. S. Hamilton, 1903 C. E. Maeon; 0 1895-F r)o6, pub office, Roswell Daily Record.

Register-Tribune*

W; Es Rep; F 1906-; P, Roswell Printing Compny; E, Will R^bineon, S 1907 J. 8. Certer, J1 1909 win »oblneon; see Tribune; *Hr* 19^6-D IQ11, pub office, RoBwell Delljr Record.

School News

M; E; U; 0 1- -?; E end P, W. L. Mertln.

Tribune*

WJ E; Repi Je-F 1906; P, Roewell Printing Company, E,

will Roblneon; merged with Regieter; Ja-F 1906, pub office,
Roewell Dally Record.

ROY

Hiepano-Americano

Wj BIi Rapi 1905-08; E and P, A. S. Buehkevitz, 19⁶
H. A. Haneon; 1907 A. I. S. Hanson; formerly Roy Observer
and Reporter. 1908 moved to Mora as Spenieh-American.

Observer end Reporter

WJ EJ UJ Je 1904-05J E end P, A. S. Buehkerttzj see
Hispano-Americano.

Spanish-American (title used twice)#

I-Mj BIj U; 1904-05J E and P, A. S. Bushkevitz.

2-WJ BI; Repj 1909-J E and P, A. S. Bushkerttz, 191⁶
Ervln Ogden, Sr. and Edwin C. Floersheimj former Nora
Spanleh-Americanj 1905\$ UNN.

Roy and Solano Herald

WJ E; Repj 1911-J E and P, A. S. Buehkevitzj former
Solano Herald moved to Roy.

SAN ACACIO

Comerciente

WJ S (?) UJ 1902-1904 (?); E and P, unknown.

SAN HILARIO

Red River Chronicle*

W; BI; U; 1882-O 1884; E and P, Uuis Hommel; formerly
San Lorenzo Red River Chronicle moved to Ue Veges «s Deily
Chronicle; N-ieJ02.D iiJ«3, UNA.

SAN JON

Quay County Times*

W; EJ Repj Nr I906-j E and P, I. L. Fowlerj Ap 1908-D 1911, CH Tucumcari.

Sentinel*

W; EJ Repj J1 I909-J E and P, E. G. Little and H. W. Burton, I9IO H. W. Burton, I9IO James McVey, I91I H. E. Adams; Hy 1910-D 19IO, CH Tucumcari.

SAN LORENZO

Red River Chronicle*

WJ BIJ U; Je 1860-1882j E and P, Uuis Hommelj moved to San Hllarlo under same titlej Ap-0 I882, UNM.

SAN NARCIAL

Bee*

WJ E; Repj D 1892-1904; P, A. T. Hunt, Ap 1895 Bee Publishing Company; E, A. T. Hunt. Ap 1805 H. H. Howard; Ap 1893-Mr 1902 (scattered issues), NMSU.

Libertad*

Wj SJ UJ I896J P, Pablo Tmjilloj E, C. T. Valdiviaj Ap 15, 1896, NMSU.

Reporter*

WJ EJ U; N I886-1894J P, L. R. Whltmore and Company; E, J. A. Whltmore; I892 N. A. Whltmore; Ap 1888-Mr 1890 (broken), NMSU,

Standard

WJ EJ UJ S I907-J E and P, D. P. De Young, I909 Ida M, Farrell, Ag 1911 L. J, Whiteaan,

Timee

WJ EJ U; 1882-83J E and P, unknown.

SAN PEDRO

Qol^q^den (Golden Nine)*

WJ £J UJ JI I669-I89I; E and P, D. O. Dare, N 1889
 Nartha A. layee; moved to Albuquerque under ssme title;
n i 6, 25, 1889, UW, S-D 1889 (brokwi), F 6, 0 19, 1890,
 NIUtU.

Outlook

W; EJ U; 0-N 1889; E and P, A. J. Hughes.

SANTA FE

American Weekly

W; EJ UJ I906j E and P, unknown.

Amigo del Palz

Wj S; UJ 1653; E end P, S. M. Baird.

Aurora*

Wj SJ Dem; Ag-N 1864; E end P, Pietri Beldecci; e
 caaq>aign paper; Ag-N 1884, Mue of NM.

Boletin Popular*

W; S, 1803 BI, 1894 SJ U, I888 Bepj 1902 Demj 0 1885-
 19061 E and P, Jose Segura, N 1907 A. J. Loomiei absorbed
 by the Sante Fe Eagle also belonging to Uomie; Je 1, 1888,
 Je 21, 1889, Nus of NH, 0 21, 28, 1886, Je-S I088 (broken),
 NNHU.

Bulletin

WJ EJ Demj 1903-04j E and P, Charles Hartsough.

Capitol#

WJ EJ Rep; Je 1900-1904j E and P, William M. Berger;
 Je 1900-Ap 1903, N M Stete Librery, Sente Fe.

Capitol Sun

vTj E; Dem; Mr-? 1894; E and P, Allen Kelly.

City News

S-W J BI; Dem; r; 1874-I876; E end P, H. Motley end
 Company.

Clartn NeJlcano

W; Sj Uj Ag I873-? E and P, unknown.

Crepueculo de jja Libertad

W; Sj U; Ag-S 18341 E and P, Ramon Abreu.

Democrat (Pally)*

Pi £1 Dem; 0-N I880, Ja-Ag 1882j E and P, J. G. Albrightj 0 IG:^, Ja-Ag I882, UNM.

Democrat (weekly-title used thrae times)*

1-Wj EJ Dem; N 1880-S I8821 E and P, J. G. Albright; moved to Albuquerque as the Pally Peaocrat; Ja 6, 13, I88I, UNM.

2-Wj £ t; Dem; Ag-N 1884; E and P, unknown; a campaign paper.

3-w; E ?i Pem; Ja-N 18981 £ and P, unknown, a campaign paper.

Pemocrata

WJ SJ Pemj 1857i P, S. N. Bairdj E, Niguel E. Pinoj a campaign paper.

Eagle

Wj EJ U, 1910 Deraj *Hr* 1>16-j E and P, A. J. Loo le; absorbed Boletin Popular.

Era Southweetem*

WJ EJ Repj T'^S 1880j F end P, R. W. Webb, fomery Lee Vegas New Nexlco Herald; became Santa Fe Dally Democret; Ag-S 1880,nwH::

Estrella de Nueva Mexico

WJ BI; U; I692-4i E and P, unknown.

Express

VI EJ UJ My-? 1887; E and P, H. P. McKevittj see Tree Unce.

Free Lance*

Wl fi Ul Je-? 16891 E and P, George Mareh end H. P.
NcKerttt, Ag 1889 George Marshi Je-Jl 1689, NMHU.

Oato*

Wi Sj Ul My-? 18941 F and P, Enrique Soaaj Hy-Ag 1894
(broken), NMSU.

Gauntlet

W; Bii U; F-? if Ai E and P, unknown.

Gazette (Weekly)*

Wl Bis Dem, 1863 R, I868 Demi Je 1351-S 1869i P, J. L.
Collins, 1857 C. P. Clever and Dav. J. Miller, i860 J. L.
Collins, 8 1865 John T. Russelli F, Neville Stuart, 185^
W. O. Kephart, I855 J* D. Collins, 1857 Samuel M. Yoet,
F 1659 H. S. Johnson, I660 John T. Russell, 0 I663 J. L.
Collins, 1865 John T. Russelli became the Weekly Postj F
1853-8 1869 (broken), UHN.

Quia de Santa Fe*

W| SJ Demj I8861 E and P, unknownj a campaign paper;
8 2, 1866, Hue of NM.

Herald (Pally)*

DJ EJ Demj Jl-1 1888j P, Herald Publishing Company
(Josei^ Clark, Pras., H. C. Bumett, Sec.)J E, George
Narshl Jl-N I888, UlN.

Herald (Weekly)*

WJ EJ Dem; Ja I888-? I689J P, Herald Publiehng Com-
panyj E. George Narshs after advent of Dally Herald became
Weekly Heraldj Ja 1888-Ap 1889. UNN.

Illustrated Ncmthly

Mj EJ V/ Ja-? 1878J E and P, (?) Wllliame and (?)
Shaw; became Rocky Mountain Sentinel.

Uader (Dally)*

Dj BIJ Dem; 0 IB821 E and P, r. J. Simpaoni 0 21, 1662.
UNM.

Uader (Weekly)*

Wi Ei Deal N-? 1884. My 1885-1887i P, S. W. Bear and CoBipanyi E, mOanowni Je 27 I685-F 1886, N-D 1886, UNM.

Military Review*

S-Ni EJ UJ *Hr*^{^^} 1881j E and P, George A. Nunesj 0 1, 1681, NNHU.

Miner's Hone and Southwestem Mining Mafazine

W; E; UJ 188I-83; E and P, unknown.

New Mexican (Dally) (dally part of title)*

D; Bl-Je 1869-D 1877, Ja 1882-My 1883l J1 1885-Je I890, E-F 1880-D 1881j Repj Je 1868-D 1877, F 1880-Ny 1883, J1 1685-Ja 1890J E and P, W. H. Manderfleld and Thomae Tucker, F 1880 Charles V. Greene, D I88I E. B. Pumell, J1 I885 C B. Hayward, N I885 T. W. Collier. F 1887 James A. Spradllnrr,, 0 1889 Nax Froat; Je I868-D 1877, P I88I-N7 I883, J1 18^5-S 1887, UNM, Ja 1866-Ja I890, Mue of NM.

New Mexican (Weekly-weekly part of title)*

Wj BIj Repj Je 1866-Ny 1883, J1 1885-F 1887i E and P, W. H. Nanderfleld and Thomae Tucker, F 1880, C. W. Greene, D-1881 E. B. Purcell, J1 I885 C. B. Hayward, N *lQb*[^] T. W. CollierJ Je 1868-Ja I880, F 1881-My 1883, UHM.

New Mexican (weekly--v/oe;ly not pert of title)*

W; BIJ Rep; D 1849-Hy (?) I850, Ja 1863-Je I868: F end P, Daniel R. Rood (E, (?) Davie (Davies?) and (?) Jonee), Je I863 Charles Ulb, Ag I863 C P. Clever, N I863 W. H. Manderfleld, Ny 1864 W. H. Nanderfleld and Thomae TuckerJ N 24, 1849, N 1863-Je I868, UNN,

New Mexican (daily-daily not part of title)*

D; EJ Rep, Ja 1894 Dem, Ja 1897 Rep; Ja I890-; E and P, Mex Froet, Ja 1894 George Croes, Je 1897 M-'x Front, Je 1000 Paul A. F. Walter; Ja 1890-D 18?9, Mus of NM, Mr I900-D 1911, ENMU.

New Nexican Review (Daily)*

D; BI; Rep; Je 1883-Je 1885, E and P, W. H. Ballhaehe, Ag 1883 C. B, Hayward; Albuquerque Evenin- Review moved to

Santa Fe and acquired the subscription list and good will of the Dally New Nertcan; Je 1883-Je 1885, **UNM**.

New Mexican Rertew (Weekly-part of title until 1898)

W; BI, Ag 1890 E; **Rep**, Ja 1894 **Dea**, Ja 1897 **Rep**; Je 1883-Jl 1685, F 1886-; 1 and P, W, H. Ballhaehe, Ag 1883 C. B. Hayward, F 1687 J. A. Spradling, 0 1889 Nax Froet, Ja 1894 George Croee, Je 1897 *Hex* Froat, Ja 1909 Paul A, F. Walter; Je 1883-JI 1885, F 1868-D 1899, UNN.

New Nexico

N; E; U; 1884-1885; P, S. W. Bear and Company.

New Nexico Advertieer (Dally)

D; BI; U; Ag 1877-? 1878; P, A. V. Aoy; replaced New Nexico Cooperator.

New Nexico Advertiser (weekly)

WJ BIJ UJ 1878-80; E and P, A. V. Aoy, My 1879 E. N. Ronquillo and Traneito L, Mate,

New Mexico Cooperator

Wj BIj Uj Jl 1876-Ag 1877J Pf A, V. Aoy, see New Nexico Advertiser.

New Mexico Democrat

Wj BIj Dem; Je-? 187IJ E and P, William Rancher, e campaign paper.

New Mexico Joulal of Education

MJ EJ UJ 19II-J E, Rupert F. Asplund; moved from Us Vegas.

New Nexico Ninlng News

WJ E; U; 188I-82; F and P, unknown.

New Mexico School Joulal

M; E; U; 1898-?; E and P, unknown.

New Mexico Union

W; BI; **Dem**; Ag 1872-Ja 1874; E and P, Klrby Bencicctj successor to the Poet.

Newe

WJ BI ?; Dem; Ag-8 1878; E and P, Sam Davie.

Nuevo Nertcano*

Wj 8; Repj Ja 1894 Dem, Ja 1897 Repj Ag 1890-; E and P, Nax Froat, Ja 1894 George Cross; I897 Nax Frost, Ja 1909 Paul A. F. Walter; published by the New Mexican Publishing *Coupenyi* Ag I890-D I899, UNM.

Panto

W; 8; U; I909-; E and P, unknown.

Payo de Nuevo Mejicp*

W; S; U; Je 1845-Ag 1845 ?; E and P, Donaciano Vigil; Ag 1845, N N State Recorde Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

Post (Dally)

D; BI; Rep; Je 1870-Mr 1872j E and P, A. P. Sullivan.

Poet (Weekly)*

Wj BIJ Repi 0 I869-JI 1872i E end P, A. P. Sullivan; eucceeeor to Weekly Gazette; Ag 1870-Je I872, UNM.

Regimental Flag

S-Mj E; U; 0 1873-0 1875i r and P, (?) Eaton and (?) Amold.

Republican (title ueed three times)*

I-W; BI; U; Ja 1847-? 1849; E and P, (?) Hovey end (?) Dertee, Ap 1848 (?) Hovey; Ja 1, 1847, S 1847-S 1848, UNM.

2-VJ; BI ?; Repj Je-Jl 1862j E and P, J. H. Holmes,

3-Wj BI ?; Rep; Jl-N 1894; E and P, unknown; a campaign paper.

Rocky Mountain Sentinel (Daily)

D; Ej Dem; ?-D 1879j E and P, A. M. Williams and E. F. Pegram.

Rocky Mountain Sentinel (weekly)*

Wj El Demj J1 I878-? 1879; E and P, A. M, Wllliame and E. F. Pegram; N 7, 1878, ULN.

Sun (Dally)*

DJ EJ Pemj D I690-? I89IJ E and P, J. H. Crletj Je-F 1691, NNHU.

Sun (Weekly)*

WJ EJ Demj Ja 1890-Ja 1894j E and P, C. C. Everhart and Wood Spradling, Ap I890 J. H. Crletj after the etert of the Dally Sun weekly was added to the title of this paper J Ja iSg^J^B 1891 (broken), NMHU, Mr-S 189I, UNM.

Town Topics

W; EJ UJ Ag-N 189OJ E snd P, W. E. Parker.

Verdad

WJ SJ UJ F 1844-N 1844j E and P, unknown, but probably Donaciano Vigil who later edited El Payo.

Voz del Pueblo*

WJ SJ Dem; 0 1888-Je I69OJ E and P. H. L. Ortiz (E), Hestor Montoya, and E. H. Salazar, F I809 Nestor Nontoye and E. H. Salazars see Us Vegas Voz del Puebloj 0 20, I888, F-Hy 1889 (broken) UNM.

SANTA ROSA

Estrella Nueva

Wj EJ UJ J1-? 19IOJ E and P, B. Padllla and B. Casus,

Sol

WJ SJ Repj 191I-; E and P, unknown.

Star

W; E; U; F 1910-? 1903; E. G. Cooper; moved to Tucum-cari ae the Timee.

Bun*

Vl BI, Ny 1909 fi Repi N l>:n-; E and P, F. P. Noree; Ag 1910 V. C. Bumett; N I907-D I911, Uln.

Voz Publica#

W; S, Jl 1911 H, Ul 1903-J F and P, Placido Baca **y Baca, Hy** 1911 (?) Sanchez and (?) Sena, Jl 1911 w. C. Burnett! 1908-11 (broken), Uml.

SHAKESPEARE

Niner*8 Monthly

N; fl Ul **?8f**-81; P, Shakespeare Gold **and** Silver Nln- ing Company.

SILVER CITY

fsfilg

Wl fl Demj Al- 16 4-ie 7, Ja-Ap 19X)i E and P, A. J. Loomis and K. L. Oisee, ll 5 A. J. Loomis, Ja r O A. J. Loeais and O. P. Williams.

Enterprtse

W; E; Rep; O I882-j E and P, W. A. Leonard end J. A. Downs, Hy 1886 W. A. Leonard and J. H. Tyndale, Jl 1886 'J. A. Leonard and W. A. Hawkins, Ag I888 W. A. Leonard and Dell Cobb; Ap I890 W, A. Leonard and J. E, Sheridan, Ap 1693 J. f. Short **dan.** D **18'^?** L. M. Fishback, Jl 1901 Fred A. Bush; N I882-P 1894, Jl 1898-Ag 1907, O I909-D 1911, NMWU.

grant County Herald

W; r; **Mr** 1875-Ap 1881j E and P, 'A. H. Eckles and A. H, H[^]in[^]' (E), Ja 1877 Jamea ?4ullen and A. H. Hackney. 8 1877 S. N. **Ashenfelter**. Hy 130^ Comelius Bennett, C: 18A Charles A. Newton, Ja I881 3. M. Ashenfelter; beceme New SouthwestJ Hr 1875-Ap I881, UHM.

Independent*

Vl Ej Dem; Je 1896-; E and P, George A. T[^]on[^], F 1898 W. B. Walton; succeeded the Southwest Sentinel; Je

1896-D 1911, NMWU.

Ninlmg Chronicle*

Wi Ei Ui Je 1880.D 1881i E and P, J. S. Crouch and W. H. Uwrance, Ag 1881 J. S. Crouchi merged with New Southwest; S 29, 1881, NMHU. _____

Ninlmg Ufe*

W; Ei V/ Hy 1873-F 1875i E and P, Owan L. Scottj succeeded by Grant County Heraldj Ny 1873-F 1875j UNN.

New Alta

Pi f; UJ Ap 1880J E and P, unknown.

New Mexico Mining Gazette

VJ E; U; Ag 1882-? I883; E, Charles W. Stephenson.

New Southwest*

W, P 1882 D; Demj Ap 1881-Mr I883J E and P, S. N. Ashenfelter, D-I88I James Nullenj merged with Sentinel; Ap 1881-Mr 1883, UNM. _____

People's Advocate

WJ EJ Populistj 1894j E and P, unknownj A campaign paper.

Record (Silver Record)

WJ EJ U; Ja 1879-? 1880j E and P, H. W. Sherry, An 1879 Charles W. Ruggles.

Sentinel (Grant Coimty)

W, briefly I882-83 daily, Mr 1883 S-W; E; Demj ? I882. Mr 1883J merged with New Southwest to form Southwest-Sentinel.

Silver Citizen (renamed Evening Citizen Ja 1884)

DJ E; UJ J1 1883-Ap 1884j E end P, Gaye E, Porter and (?) Nye J moved to Demlmg to becmie Daily Democrat.

Southwest (Dally)*

DJ EJ Dej Mr-Ag 1880j E and P, S. M. A- felter. My

1880 Comelius Bennettj Nr-Ag i860, Uln.

Southwest-Sentinel (Daily)

Dj EJ Pemj S 1887-Je 1888j E and P, A. J, Uomie.

Southwest-Sentinel (weekly)*

8-W, Ja 1884 W; E; Demj Mr I883-S I887, Je 1888-Je
 }^2^^J^ ^^ ^i ^- ^* ^^KJ^ ^^3 S, M. Ashenfelter, S
 1884 C. N. Shannon, Je I886 S. M. Ashenfelter, S I886 A. J.
 Uomls, Je 1888 Charles G. Bell and Gideon D. Bantz, Ap
 1890 C. L. Davenport and J. J. Bell, 0 1890 Allan MacDonald
 and P. J. Bennett. 0 I891 Allan MacDonaldj became Independent;
 Mr 1883-D 1885, Uln.

Sun

WJ Ej U; 1883-84; E and P, unknown.

Telegram

V; EJ UJ N I880-N 1882j E and P, H. V, Sherry.

Trtbune

Wj Ei UJ ? I873-? 1874; E and P, U, C. Garrleon.

Watchdog

S-W J EJ U; My-D 1882j E and P, unknown.

SOCORRO

Abogado Crletiano Neo-Nertcano

S-M; BIj UJ I3or:-95j E and P, Thomas Harwoodj former
Netbdlsta Heo-Me:!!ca.no at Us Cruces, moved to Albuquerque
 in 1895. _____●_____

Advertiser (Evening)

D; E ?; Uj 1883-84j E and P, unknown; was ouhlished
 briefly at three different times.

Bullion*

M, J1 1883 W; E; U; Ap 1883-Ap I888; E and P, W. N,
 Beal, J1 1883 Charles Unguemare and R. M. Parker, N 1883

Charles Ungueaiare, Hy I885 Charles Unguemare and C. J. Hlldrath, F 1887 Charles Longuemare, 0 I887 C. G. Ulcham; moved to El Paso, Texas, using same title; J1 1885-Ap I887, HMHU.

Catch as Catch Can

W; E; UJ Ap-? I885; 1^ and P, Will A. Henry.

Chieftain (Daily)*

D; E; Rep; 0 1885-? 1669; E and P, John A. Helphlngstine and William Tbl1 De Baun, 0 1886 William Tell De Baun, N 1888 R. P. Helphlngstine; J1 1885-S 1888 (broken), NMHU.

Chieftain (weekly)*

Wj EJ Repj Hy 1884-0 I885, ? 1889-j E and P, John A. Helphlngstine, ? I889 R. P. Helphlngstine, Ap I890 C. G. Ulcham, J. A. Whltmore, and W. S. Williams (E), S 1898 Clement Hightower, Ja 1900 Socorro Publishing Co-^ncny (E. A. Drake, ed)j Hy-S 1884 (broken), NMHU, N I89I-D ill (broken), UNM.

Defensor del Pueblo

W; S; Dem; Hy 1905-; P, Torres Brothers Publishing Companyi E, A. C. Torres.

Eco del Socorro

W; BIJ Dem; I88I-I887J E and P, 1886 (?) s:iapson end (?) Crmvjfordj probably this paper has published in 188I and 1882 and rertved in 1886j became Socorro Unio:^.

Estarella del Nuevo Mexico

WJ SJ Rep I895-96; E and P, Pablo Trujillc -rd I. Sosa.

Estrella del Socorro

WJ SJ Demj Mr 1885-? 1886j P, Candalarlo Garclaj V, H. L. Ortlzj formerly Socorro Co-ncny.

Hi gpano-Americano

W; BIj Uj I886-I89IJ E and P, Victor Ochoaj moved to Us Vegas under same title.

Industrial Advertiser*

Vl El Demj F I889-S 1899l E and P, J. H. McCutcheonj moved to Albuquerque under same titlej P-D I889, UHM.

Nay Festival Herald

Mj E; UJ Ify-? 1887j E and P, L. Neyerhoff j a musical publication.

Niner*

V, 0 1881 S-V, 0-D 1882 Dj UJ Ap 1881-Ja I883J E and P, D. A. Beckwith, J1 I882 W, N. Beall, D I882 R. N. Parkerj 8 22, 1881, NMHU.

New Mexico Methodist*

NJ Bli G; 0 1885-1892; E and P, Thcaaas Harwood and 8. W. Thornton; moved to Las Cruces as Metodlsta Heo-Mexicanoj Hy 1886, UHM, N 1886, NMHU.

Newa (Daily)

DJ BJ UJ 0 I88I 0 ? 1882j E and P, G. v. McClintlck, Je 1882 R. M. Parker and Charles Unguemare; intermittent, suspended several times in this pertod.

Pix>greso

W; BI; U; Hy-J1 I8871 E and P, (?) Vincent and (?) Fitch.

Republlcano

Wi Bli Rep; 1898-Ag 1 03; P, W. E. Martin, li. 0. Bursum, and S. C. Abeyta; E, W. E. Martin, Mr I899 S. C. Abeyta.

Star*

D, N 1884 Tri-W; BI; Dem; 0 1884-Hi irC^i P, Candalarlo Garclai E, Charles O'Connor Roberts, and H. L. Ortizi be-came Estrella del Socorro; N 25, 1884, NMHU.

Sun (Dally)*

Dl f1 U; 1882-188^1; E -nd P, S. D, Holden and Mark Edwards, Ja I883 W. N. Beall, D I883 F. A. Blake, Ap 1884 Charles O'Connor Roberts fjid W. T. Creighti intemittently in this pertod the Sun reverted to weekly publication; S-D 1663, NMIMT, Ap 16, T884, NMHU.

Sun (weekly)*

W; fi U1 J1 1880-1882; E and P, A. N. Conklin and (?) Curtis, S 1880 A. N. Conklin, P I88I R. N. Parker, S iBtl P. C. Campbell, D I88I S. D. Holden and Nark Edwardsi see Dally Sun; Ag-S I880, UNM, Ap-0 188I (broken), NMHU.

Times (Dally)

Dl Ei UJ J1-? 1883i E and P, R. N. Parker and Charles Ungueaare.

Times (weekly)*

W; Ei UJ D I887-? I889I P, John S. Snlffen, Whltmore, Bull, and Companyi brtefly in 0 I888 was a daily; J:^ 1888-Ja 1889 (broken), HMHU.

Union

WJ BIJ Rep. D 1886-N 1887j E and P, F. A. Blake; formerly Eco del Socorroj moved to Us Vegas to become ews; Nr TT77TB877Tramj.

Verdad

WJ EJ Repj I900, 1902j I and P, unknownj a campaign paper published in the shop of the Chieftain.

SOLANO

Herald

Wl EJ Rep; I908-II; E and P, J. F. P::; moved in 1911 to Roy and renamed Roy and Solano Herald.

SPRILIGE'<

Banner*

WJ BIJ Demi Je 1889-1893i P, Hosmer Brothers; E, George E. Hosmen J1 1891-Je 1893, CH F-ton.

Colfax County Stockman*

WJ E; Rep; 1894, Ind, I896 Demj Ap 113:-j E and P, John R. Woodbum, N I883 C F. Martin, Je 18J'; H, W. Sturges and P. F. Sturges. I888 H. W. Sturges, .\1893 J. F. Hutchin-sonj J1 1685-0 1888 (broken), NMHU, Ja Ib^o-p 1908, CH Raton, Ja 1^o-D 1911 (broken) UHM.

Hews

WJ EJ UJ Ap-? 1910J E and P, unknown.

Sentinel*

^{^^} V ^{^*} ^{^@P*} ' 1901-H 1902; E and P, James Corry; F
1901-Ja 1902, OR Raton,

Statesman

Vj Repj £j Hy 1911—1 E and P, unknown,

Trtbune

W; Ei U; S-? 1882; E and P, unknown,

STANLEY

Index

Wl El Ui 1908-1910i E and P, W. F. Cattle.

ST. VRAIN

Journal

Wl El Socialisti Ap 1909-i E and P, W. C. Tharp.

TAIBAN

Valley News

W; E; Demi I909 Ui 0 I908-i E and P, B. F. Edgell,
1909 E. G. Coan, I910 J. W. Kin-.

TAOS

Advertiser (title used twice)

1-MJ EJ U; I885; E and P, unknown.

2-WJ E; UJ 1898-[^]J E and P, J. B. Wallace.

Blen Publico

Wj S; Dem; I911--; E and P, Vincent Thomas.

Crepusculo

W; S; U; N-D 1835; E and P, Padre Jose Antonio Martinez; some authorities doubt the existence of this paper.

Cresset*

W; E; Rep; 0 1898-Je 1902; E and P, Frank Staplin; merged with Revista de Taos; formerly UBelle Cresset; 0 1898-D 1900, UNM.

County Republican

W; E; Rep; 1904-; E and P, unknown.

Faro Popular

WJ SJ UJ 1892-94J E and P, unknown.

Herald

W; BI, 1886 E; Rep, 1886 U; J1 1884-? 1886; E and P, J. M. Alvey, 1886 Urlin W. Brown; became the Teosonian,

Heraldo de Taos*

WJ SJ UJ 1886-0 1888; E and P. Lorin W. Brown, see Heraldo Taosenoj Nr-0 1888 (broken), NMHU.

Heraldo Taosefto

WJ S; U; 0 1888-90J E and P, Urlin W. Brown; 0-D 1888 (broken), NMHU

Monitor (title used twice)

I—W; SJ U; 1890-92; E and P, John Valdes, Jr.

2—y; E, 1896 BI, UJ 1895-97J ^ and P, J. M. Martinez (E) and (?) Tmjillo.

Reviete de Taos

WJ SJ UJ 190P--; E and P, A, J. Baca, Je 1 1902 A. J. Baca and Frank Staplin, 1903 A. J, Baca, 1904 Jose Montaner.

Taosonian*

W; E; U; 1887-S 188^; E and P, Lorin W. Brown; see Valley Herald; J1 5, 1887, UNM.

Valley Herald*

WJ EJ UJ S 1669-? I890, 1891-:5; B and P, Urln W, Brown, 1893 C. E. Griffith; in 1> 13 Rio Hondo Miner was added to titlej probably the Amizett Miner was moved to Taos to launch this psperj 8 I669-F iB^inOro^an), NMHU, Ny 25, 1693, URM.

Valley Nlrror (aometimee called Espejo)

VJ BIJ UJ Hy-? 1878j E and P, (?) Chacon and (?) Salazarj moved to Bernalillo as the Nlrror.

Vsley News

WJ E; Repj 1909-J P, Jose Montaner; F, J. W. Glddinge.

TEXICO

Democrat

Wj E; Dem; 0 I906-O 1907J P, Democrat Publishing Company.

Times

WJ EJ U; S 1908-Ap 1909; F and P, John Custer and J. M, Childers.

Trumpet

W; EJ Dem, I905 Rap, t'-o 1904-j E and P, A. S. Hombeck, Ag 1905 H. R. Putnam, 1906 Uroy P. Looraisj Ar. I 11 Robert Neihaus.

TIERRA AMARILLA

Nuevo Estsdo#

Wj SJ Rep; I908-j E and P, F. ^ . Sosa, 1911 ^!. N. Valdez. 1908-- (ecattered iesues), N N State Librery, Santa Fe.

Republlcano

WJ BI; Repj 1901-S 1903, 1904-07J E and P, A. L. Runyan and B. C. Hemendez, 1904 Dlerc Chacon.

TIPTONVILLE

Nora County Pioneer

Wj E ?j UJ F 1881-?j E and P, J. E. Holmee and J. F. WallaceJ eoon moved to Watrous under eame title.

TOLAR

Trtbune

WJ E; Repj Mr I908-j E and P, J. R. Little.

TRES PIEDRAS

Mining Reporter

Wj Ei Ui S 1903-1 E and P, J. D. Frazy, 1905 E. D. Seward.

TUBAC

(after I863 in Arizona Territory)

Weekly Arizonian

Wj Fj UJ Mr-? I859, E and P, Ephram Croesj moved to Tucson.

TUCSON

(after I863 in Arizona Territory)

Arizonian

W; EJ U\$ 1859-1861j P, Sylvester Mowryj E, H. w. Sherry, Mr I861 T. M. Turner.

TUCUMCARI

Actuel Settler*

WJ EJ UJ D 1904-J1 1905J E end P, J, E. Curren; fom-
erly Quay County Democrat; moved to Sunnyslde aa the ^rm;
Je-J1 1905, CH Tucumceri.

Newe*

WJ EJ Repi 0 I905-; E and P, S. M. Wharton (E) and 8. R. May; merged rtth Tucumcari Timee; 0 1905-D 1911, CH Tucumcari.

Pathfinder

Wi Ei Rep; P 1902-Nr 1903; E and P, J. E. Currenj be-
ceme Quaj: County Democrat.

Quay County Democrat*

WJ f1 Dem; Ap I903-D 1904; E and P, J. E. Curren; re-
named Actual Settler; Ap 1903-N 1904, CH Tucumcari.

Sun*

W; E; Dem; D I907-; E and P, O. C. Hammone, 1910
S. T. Hopkine, 1911 R. C. Stubblne, 1912 J. W. Campbell;
D 1907-D 1911, CH Tucumcart.

Times*

W; E; Rep. Ap 1903-Ja 1907; E and P, E. G. Cooper, D
1903 A. E. Curren; merged with Tucumcart News; Ap 1903-Ja
1907, CH Tucumcari.

TULAROSA

Chief

W; E; U; Ag I896-N 1897; E and P, J. H. Llghtfoot;
moved to U Luz as Sacramento Chief.

Democrat*

W: E; Dem; Ap I899-? 1905; E and P, W. G. Davenport
and (?) Unglno, Ap 19^3 A. J. Davis and W, G. Davenport;
Ja 1903-D 1904, CH Alamogordo.

Reporter*

W; E; UJ Ap-N I905; E and P, H. B. Fay; Ap-N 1905,
CH Alamogordo.

Valley Tribune*

W; E; Dem; Je 1909-; E and P, W. F. Hume and J. E.
Andereon, Ja 1911 J. E- Anderson; Ja I900-D I911, CH
Alemogordo.

URTON
(later became KENNA)

Record

Wl Ei U; F-D 1907; E end P, J. M. Hughes; became Kenna
Record.

VAUGHN

Chronicle#

W; E; U; S 1908-?1909; P, S. L. Kelso; E, C. H. Under-
wood; 1906 (broken) UNM.

Newe*

W; E; Dem, S 1910 Rep, Ap 1911 Uj F loio-j p. Wester
and Wester, S 1910 Haughton and O»Grady, Ap 1911 G. A.
Clarkj E, F. C. Wester, S 1910 R. E. Haughton, Ap 1911 G, A.,
Clarkj F 1910-D 1911, UNM.

WALLACE

Watchman

WJ BIJ UJ My 1880-F 1882j E and P, A. V. Aoy and George
Albright.

WAGON MOUND

Arrow

Wj BIJ U; S 1885-D 1886; E end P, unknown.

Arrow-Pioneer

WJ BIJ U; F-Ag 1888; E and P, W. T. Henderson and I/n
Hartiganj merger of Arrow end Mora County Pioneer; moved
to Gallup ae Gleener.

Combate*

WJ SJ Repj 0 1902-? 1910j E and P, Diego A. Chacon,
Hr 1903 Patricio Gonzales, 1906 Q. A. Mertlnez; merged with
Sentinel J D 1902-Ja 1905, UNM.

Flecha (Arrow)*

WJ BIJ UJ D 1886-Ja 1887j E and P, W. T. Hendereonj
became Arrow-Pioneers D 1886-Ja 1887, UNM.

Mora County Sentinel and El Combate*

^ 1|fLF^..2SP^ 1910-J P, M. N. Padgettj E, Blae Sanchezj
Nr-D 1911, UNN.

New Nexlco Settler

VJ BJ Demj Ja-Ag 1888j E and P, G, E. Hoemer.

Sol de Nayo

WJ SJ UJ 1900-Nr 1902; E and P, Patricio Gcnraleej
became Combate.

Pantagraph

Wj EJ Repj 19'''^J E and P, J, Gordon Smith.

WATROUS

Nora County Pioneer*

Wj EJ UJ 1881-85, D 1887-Ja 1888; E and P, Ap 1883 J. M,
Alveyj became Pioneer Journal in 1885 and merged with Arrow
in Je 1888J Ag 8, 1H85, 1^MU, _____

Pioneer Journal

W; E; U; 1885-Ja 1887; E and P, H. H. Green, Mr 1886
George Alvey *end* William Sparks; merged rtth Flaindealer.

Flaindealer

Wj EJ U; Ja-N 1887j E and P, M. Calhoun.

Timee

WJ EJ U; AO-O 1886j E and P, J. C. McNeil.

WHITE OAKS

Eagle*

WJ E; Demj 1898-Ag 1903; E and P, S. M. Wharton and
J. A. Haley, 1^00 S. M. ^Vharton; fonr.erly Old Abe Eagle;

merged with Capitan Progreess to form Capitan News; Je 1899-Ag 1903, CH Carrizozo^{^^}

Golden Era*

W; Ej UJ D 1860-JI 1884j E and P, J. H. Wise and G. W. Prtthard, JI 1881 J. C. O. Morse, D I881 J. E. Sligh, I882 John A. Helphlngstine. P 1884 M. S, Tsliaferroj moved to Lincolnj S 1861-Ny 1684 (broken), NNHU.

Lincoln County Uader*

WJ EJ Repj O I882-? 1894s E and P, Ue H. Ruidisille, Ja 1883 William Caffery; S 1884-N 1890 (broken), NNHU; Je 1891-Ja 18921 CH Cerrtzozo.

New Nexico Intemreter*

^^ W; E; Dem; JI I885-N I89I; E and P, J. E. Sligh, Ap 1887 William Wateon, O 1889 J. A. Allen, Mr I69I Nre. A, L, NcGlenniej became Old Abe Eagle; Hy 1887-Je I89I (broken), UNM.

Old Abe Eagle*

W; E; Pem; N I89I-I898; E end P, H, L. Roes end H. G. Raible, 1894 H. G. Raible, My I896 William Watson and John Y. Hewitt, 1897 John Y. Hewitt; former New Mexico Intemreter and became Eagle; N 189I-N I892, CH Car7I7ozo.

Outlook*

Wj EJ Repj S 1904-D I906j E and P, Ue H. Ruldlslllej moved to Carrtzozo under same titlej S 1904-D I906, CH Carrizozo.

Scorpion

Wj EJ UJ I882J E and P, unknown.

WILLARD

Record

W; EJ Repj 1908-j E and P, Eugene Forbes, I910 B. F. Fedrick.

APPENDIX II

PRESIDENTS OF THE VARIOUS TERRITORIAL PRESS ASSOCIATIONS

NEW MEXICO PRESS ASSOCIATION

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>
1881	W. C. Hadley	Us Vegas <u>Mining World</u>
1882	W. C. Hadley	Us Vegas <u>Mining World</u>
1883-1885	The organization apparently lapsed in these years.	
1886	J. G. Albrtght	Albuquerque <u>Morning Deaocrat</u>
1887	J. G. Albrtght	Albuquerque <u>Morning Democrat</u>
1888	J. G. Albright	Albuquerque <u>Morning Democrat</u>
1889	J. G. Albright	Albuquerque <u>Morning Democrat</u>
1890	J. H. Sturges	Springer <u>Colfax County Stockman</u>
1891	Russell Klstler	Us Vegas <u>Daily Optic</u>
1892	J. H. Crist	Santa Fe <u>Sun</u>
1893	Thomas Hughes	Albuquerque <u>Daily Citizen</u>
1894-1899	The association did not meet.	
1900	Thomas Hughes	Santa Fe <u>Capitol</u>
1901	Thomas Hughes	Albuquerque <u>Daily Citizen</u>
1902	Thomas Hughes	Albuquerque <u>Daily Citizen</u>

At this point the association again lapsed.

PECOS VALUSY PRESS ASSOCIATION

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>
1907	Will Robinson	Roswell <u>Register-Tribune</u>
1906	Uroy P. Loomis	Texico <u>Truatpet</u>
1909	J. M. Wood	Ukewood <u>Progress</u>
1910	G. V. Johzison	Portales <u>Times</u>
1911	J. N. Wood	Lakewood <u>Progress</u>
SPANISH LAHGUAGE PRESS ASSOCIATIOH ¹		
1911	Nestor Ncmtoya	Albuquerque <u>Bandera Americana</u>

¹ A Spanish language press association was organized and met in the years 1892, 1893, and 1894, but no informs. ticm ccmcceming its presidents was found.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of this work the territorial newspapers have been used extensively, with most other sources being used primarily to furnish background material and to check facts found in the newspapers. In many instances newspapers provide poor sources for historical data, for their stories often are hastily written with little attempt to verify facts. But a comparison of several newspaper accounts, taking care that opposed factions are represented, may provide reliable information, insight, and a depth of understanding unavailable in public documents alone.

With regard to politics, practically all territorial newspapers reflected a prejudiced viewpoint, particularly during political campaigns. Thus, it is essential that the conflicting stories and editorials be examined so that reasonably accurate information may be extracted from the combined sources. Most territorial editors were motivated by a desire to see New Mexico grow and prosper; therefore, information in economic matters is likely to be slanted. Again it may be necessary for researchers to compare several newspaper accounts to get reliable information. The writer has used this practice in the preparation of this work, and, as can be noted above in many instances, several sources have been cited in controversial matters.

Portions of the files of a great many territorial newspapers are available to the researcher, and all of them are valuable in one instance or another. For the convenience of those who wish quickly to find the most reliable information, however, the writer has sought to evaluate the best general historical sources during various territorial periods. Up to 1870 the Santa Fe Republican, the Albuquerque Rio Abajo Weekly Press, the Santa Fe New Mexican, and the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette provide the best information, and their reliability approximates the order assigned them above. When possible the New Mexican and the Weekly Gazette should be checked against each other.

For the 1870's the Santa Fe New Mexican is the best general newspaper source which covers the entire period. However, the viewpoint of this paper is prejudiced in favor of the Republican party and the official hierarchy of the territory. The Silver City Mining Life, and the Silver City Grant County Herald provide good information, although the latter is prejudiced against the Republican party and the official group. The Mescal Valley Independent provides the most impartial newspaper source that contains extensive information concerning the Lincoln County War. The Los Cruces Borderer provides good general information except in politics, where it is strongly slanted toward Democratic views. The Albuquerque Review files cover most of this period, but it is a less reliable source because of its

strongly Catholic bias.

From 1880 to 1890 the best general newspaper source for historical data is the Us Vegas Dally Optic. The Santa Fe Hew Nexican is valuable for its reprints of opposition rtews attacking its strong sdvocacy of the Republican party and the Santa Fe Ring. The Albuquerque Noming JOURNAL from 1880 to 1885 is a good source of information. The Albuquerque Noming Democrat, on the other hand, is less valuable, being too preoccupied with the promotion of its publisher's political career and the city of Albuquerque. The best sources of information about southem New Nertco In this decade are the Silver City Enterprise and the Silver City Southwest Sentinel.

For the 1890's the Us Vegas Dally Optic is again the best general source. The Santa Fe New Mexican alternates in political colortng, eince it was owned alternately by Republican and Democratic factions. The Albuquerque Dally Citizen le a good general source, and the Silver City Entemrise, the Silver City Independent, and the Los Cruces Rio Grande Republican prortde reasonably accurate information about southem New Nexico.

For the period frxxa 1900 to 1012 the Albuquerque Noming JOURNAL is the best general soume of information. The Santa Fe New Mexican continues to reflect a prejudice favorable to the Republican party end its guiding clique. It is also overly optimistic about the future of New Mexico,

giving an exaggerated report about territorial economic prosperity. The Las Vegas Daily Optic is less reliable than in the past but still a good general source. The newspapers of this decade which provide the best information about the various territorial regions are as follows: southwestern, the Silver City Independent; south central, the Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican; southeastern, the Roswell Daily Record; east central, the Tucumcari News; northeastern, the Raton Range; northwestern, the Farmington Times-Hustler. For the Spanish-American point of view, consult El Independiente of Las Vegas.

NEWSPAPERS

For newspapers of the territorial era used in the preparation of this work, consult Appendix I. Those papers bearing an asterisk (*) were used, and each such entry lists the approximate periods for which files are available. Listed below are newspaper sources after the territorial era.

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