

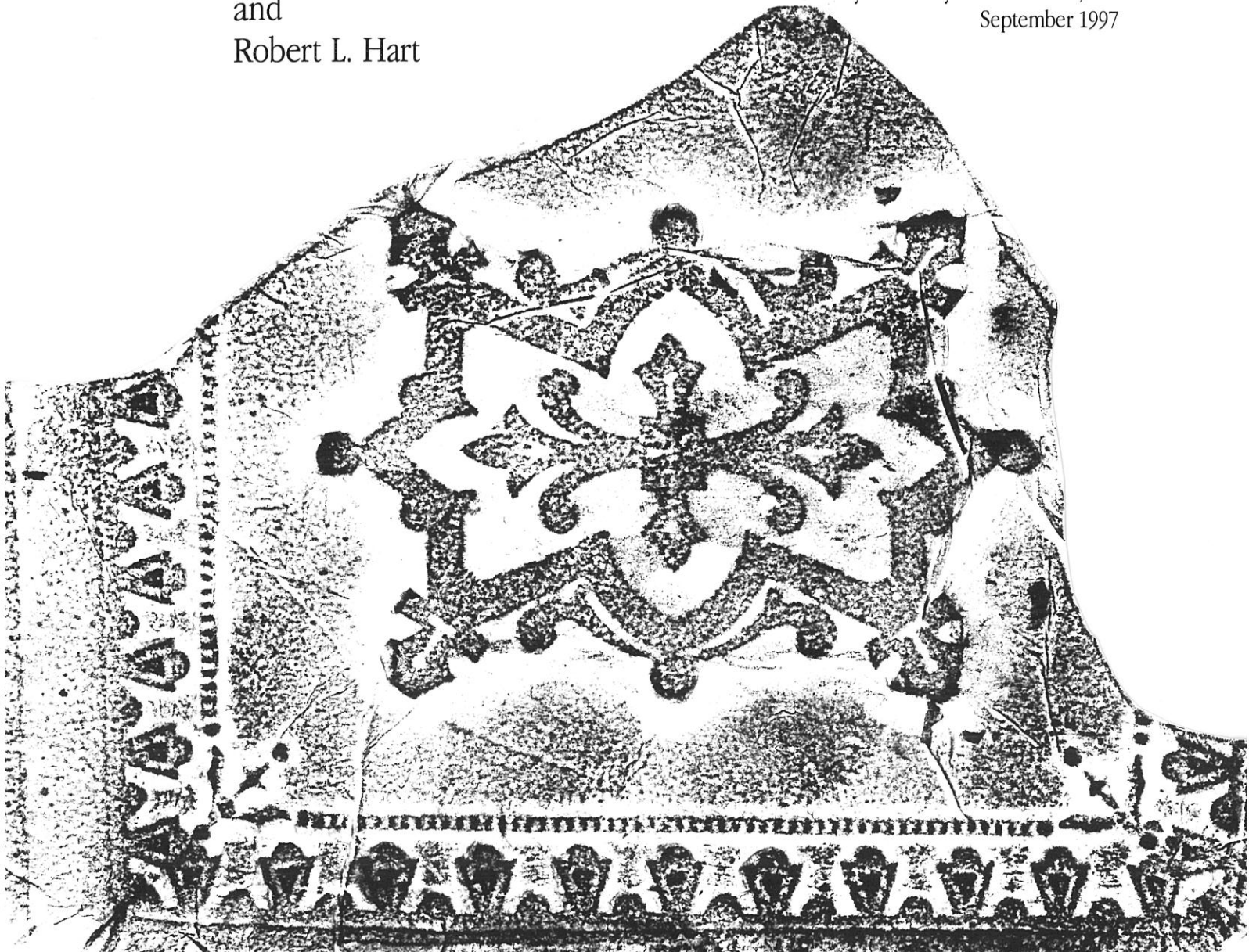
A NUMBER OF THINGS

BALDY RUSSELL, ESTEY CITY,
&
THE OZANNE STAGE

HISTORIC RANCHING AND MINING ON
THE U.S. ARMY WHITE SANDS MISSILE RANGE,
NEW MEXICO

by
Peter L. Eidenbach
and
Robert L. Hart

Prepared for
White Sands Missile Range
by Human Systems Research, Inc.
September 1997



A NUMBER OF THINGS

BALDY RUSSELL, ESTEY CITY,
&
THE OZANNE STAGE

HISTORIC RANCHING AND MINING ON
THE U.S. ARMY WHITE SANDS MISSILE RANGE,
NEW MEXICO

by
Peter L. Eidenbach
and
Robert L. Hart

Contract No.: DAAD07-85-D-0006, Delivery Order No. 57
Contract No.: DAAD07-89-D-0050, Delivery Order Nos. 5, 28, 66

Prepared for White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico

Submitted by
Human Systems Research, Inc.
Tularosa, New Mexico
November 1997
HSR Project Nos. HSR 8824, 8936, 9043, and 9358

Errata Sheet for *A Number of Things*

1. p. 26 Figure 9. tamerisk [tamarisk]
2. p. 65. Stevensen [Stephenson]
3. p. 99. Taliaterro [Taliaferro]
4. p. 119. **Going for Gold in Them Thar Hills**, para. 2 should be replaced by:

Spanish and Mexican settlers from as far away as El Paso regularly visited the southern Tularosa Basin in order to collect salt from the dry lake bed at Lake Lucero. Conflict between the *salteros* and Anglo-Americans trying to privatize similar beds at the foot of Guadalupe Peak lead to the El Paso Salt War of 1877, which required the intervention of U.S. troops.

5. p. 129 para. 2. union army [Union army]
6. p. 145 para. 1. accomo-dations [accommodations]
7. p. 153 Figure 65. credit line should include (Holm Bursum III Collection)

Approved for public release.

The views, opinions, and findings contained in this report are those of the editors and contributors and should not be construed as an official Department of the Army position, policy, or decision unless so designated by other documentation.

Cover illustration: Rubbing of CARBON stove part from Lewis Tank, 1883.

ISBN No. 1-887523-07-3

Original printing 1997
Second printing 2003

© 1997 by Human Systems Research, Inc.
This copyright does not apply to original government material.

DEDICATION

To 'Gene Rhodes,
W. H. Hutchinson, and
C. L. Sonnichsen,
who put us on the trail;
local historians
Johnson Stearns and Robert Leslie,
who fed our insatiable curiosity;
and
Garry Owen,
Ozanne descendant.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
A NUMBER OF THINGS	3
Paper Trails	7
Texas Troubles	17
The Russell Ranches	27
Lewis Tank (LA 82029)	27
Lewis Well—the Mike Arrieta or Harriet Ranch (LA 82031)	33
Old Well—Component 1 (LA 82030)	39
Cartridge Data	45
Risky Business	51
A Peek at the Neighbors	55
NOTHIN’ FOR SOMETHIN’	61
The Setting	63
Narrative History of Estey City	65
The Estey City Ruins	75
Ore Processing Plant Complex (Ruins)	75
The Assay Office (Ruins)	76
The Townsite	78
Outlying Residential, Mining, and Other Features	80
Palomas Moonshine Spring	80
Linear Features and Small-scale Elements	80
The Historic Estey City Landscape	81
Patterns of Spatial Organization	83
Response to the Natural Environment	85
Cultural Traditions	86
The Historic Significance of Estey City	87
GALLERY	89
<i>Socorro Bullion</i>	91
<i>The Bullion</i>	95
Letter Written to the <i>Home and Farm</i> , by Olive R. Ozanne	98
<i>Las Cruces Leader</i>	99
Obituary of Urbain Ozanne	100
The Ups and Downs of Eighty Years, by Olive R. Ozanne	102
HEART’S DESIRE	117
Stagecoaching in Socorro and Lincoln Counties	117
Early Settlement and Exploration	118
Going for the Gold in Them Thar Hills	119
Mail Routes Across the Desert	121

CONTENTS (cont.)

The Ozannes: Brittany to White Oaks	129
She'll Be Comin' Round the Mountains: The Stage to White Oaks, 1886-1895	135
Ozanne & Company	135
Ozanne Mountain Station Ranch and Red Canyon Stage Stop	145
Narratives About the Ozanne & Company Mail Line	149
References	153

FIGURES

Figure 1. Wet ink rubbing of cast iron panel from coal burning CARBON stove.	2
Figure 2. The northern Jornada del Muerto, circa 1948.	4
Figure 3. Rubbing of cast iron stove part, dated 1883, from Lewis Tank.	6
Figure 4. Spur rowel and cast iron toy wagon driver, Old Well.	8
Figure 5. Arrieta Ranch, or Lewis Tank, Harriet Ranch.	10
Figure 6. Old Well, Component 1.	12
Figure 7. Extract bottle with cork, Lewis Tank.	22
Figure 8. Rubbing of cast iron stove detail, Lewis Tank.	25
Figure 9. Lewis Tank.	26
Figure 10. 1887 catalog illustration of the "CARBON" stove.	28
Figure 11. Late nineteenth century ceramic hallmarks, Lewis Tank.	30
Figure 12. Hand-forged iron hook and iron box lock plate, Lewis Tank.	32
Figure 13. Original adobe residence at Lewis Well (Harriet or Arrieta Ranch).	34
Figure 14. Ornamental iron hinge, Old Well.	37
Figure 15. Ornate silver plate butter knife, Old Well.	38
Figure 16. Unidentified metal object, Old Well.	39
Figure 17. Metal utensil handle and porcelain doll's arm, Old Well.	41
Figure 18. Ceramic hallmarks, Old Well.	42
Figure 19. Glass pickle bottle with label, and pliers, Old Well.	43
Figure 20. Historic artifacts, Old Well.	44
Figure 21. Cartridge casing, .45–85 UMC SH, 1886–1911, Old Well.	45
Figure 22. Cartridges, Lewis Tank.	46
Figure 23. Cartridges, Old Well.	50
Figure 24. Principal locations discussed in text in the northern Jornada del Muerto and Tularosa Basins, circa 1900.	52
Figure 25. Rubbing of CARBON stove part, Lewis Tank.	54
Figure 26. Rubbing of front feed door from CARBON stove, Lewis Tank.	60
Figure 27. 1948 Quadrangle map, showing Estey City vicinity.	62
Figure 28. Northern Tularosa Basin, 1914.	64

FIGURES (cont.)

Figure 29. Estey City townsite.	66
Figure 30. Portrait of D. M. Estey.	68
Figure 31. Promotional claim from Dividend Mining & Milling prospectus, 1905.	69
Figure 32. Idealized artist's sketch and photograph of Estey City.	70
Figure 33. Corporate slate and artist's sketch of Estey City, from D.M.&M. prospectus.	72
Figure 34. Estey City Processing Plant.	74
Figure 35. Estey City: photograph of engine room and storage tank.	75
Figure 36. Estey City Assay Office.	76
Figure 37. Estey City: photograph of assay office interior.	77
Figure 38. Estey City: photograph of townsite.	78
Figure 39. Estey City: photographs of Company's general store.	79
Figure 40. Folding pocket knife, Estey City townsite.	80
Figure 41. Artifacts from Estey City townsite.	82
Figure 42. Metal match safe, Estey City townsite.	85
Figure 43. Metal button and embossed metal pencil case, Estey City townsite.	86
Figure 44. Front-page commercial advertising, <i>Socorro Bullion</i> , 1887.	88
Figure 45. Masthead from the <i>Old Abe Eagle</i> , 1892, White Oaks.	89
Figure 46. Front page commercial advertising, <i>Socorro Bullion</i> , 1887.	90
Figure 47. Front-page commercial advertising, the <i>Old Abe Eagle</i> , 1892.	97
Figure 48. Front-page commercial advertising, the <i>Old Abe Eagle</i> , 1892.	115
Figure 49. The northern Jornada del Muerto and Tularosa Basin, post-1910.	116
Figure 50. Ozanne Stage Line brochure, circa 1888.	128
Figure 51. Urbain Ozanne and family at home in Sardis, Mississippi, 1870.	129
Figure 52. Postal envelope from Ozanne & Co.	131
Figure 53. Urbain Ozanne and sons, 1872, Memphis, Tennessee.	132
Figure 54. Ozanne Mountain Station.	134
Figure 55. Red Canyon Stage Stop.	136
Figure 56. Ozanne Stage Line schedule, circa 1888.	138
Figure 57. Hill Spring Ruins.	140
Figure 58. Brass hotel key fob, late nineteenth century.	141
Figure 59. Plan view of Ozanne Stage Station.	142
Figure 60. Emile L. Ozanne with his children, Jicarilla, NM, store.	143
Figure 61. Schematic reconstruction of Ozanne Stage route, circa 1890, and Ozanne Stage Station vicinity, 1890.	144
Figure 62. Ozanne's Mountain Station, circa 1890.	145
Figure 63. Plan views and sections of structures at Red Canyon Stage Stop.	146
Figure 64. Ozanne Mountain Station, circa 1910.	148
Figure 65. Ozanne Mountain Station, circa 1938.	153

TABLES

Table 1.	Summary of Legal Documents.	11
Table 2.	Baldy Russell Chronology.	23
Table 3.	Cartridge Cases at Lee, Russell, and Martin Historic Ranch Sites.	47
Table 4.	Twelfth and Thirteenth Census of the United States.	56
Table 5.	Origins: Places of Birth Listed in the 1900 and 1910 Census.	58
Table 6.	Assessment Roll for Socorro County.	59
Table 7.	Reconstructed San Antonio-White Oaks Stage Routes, 1886-1895.	137

INTRODUCTION

This popular volume reports continuing studies into the late nineteenth-century history of the northern Jornada del Muerto, Tularosa Basin, and Oscura Mountains within the vast U.S. Army White Sands Missile Range (WSMR). This forbidding landscape was virtually uninhabited in the early 1890s when Bill Mitchell, alias Henry “Baldy” Russell, began to develop a series of hand-dug wells, establishing the first ranching homesteads. At about the same time, miners began to explore the area, mail and stagecoach service connected the Rio Grande with the isolated settlements of the Sacramento and Sierra Blanca Mountains, and the brief cattle boom of the 1880s had retreated to the grassy plains along the Rio Grande.

Outlaw Baldy Russell wandered throughout this wilderness, providing the central theme, threading the contextual fabric of this little-known period. This theme weaves together West Texas, the source of many early ranch families; the first homesteads, several of which became the site for the Trinity atomic test in 1945; speculative mining ventures such as Estey City, which brought the railroad, ending the nineteenth and christening the twentieth century and displacing earlier, more romantic, frontier technologies like the Ozanne Stage.

Eugene Manlove Rhodes, another local citizen, supplied the title to this volume in his short story of the same name about Baldy Russell. C.L. Sonnichsen broke trail, tracing Baldy to this landscape in *Outlaw: On the Dodge with Baldy Russell*. Local historian and probate judge Renetta Freisen conducted much of the archival research. Robert Leslie and the White Oaks Historical Association; Garry Owen, descendant of the Ozanne family; and local historian Johnson Stearns graciously shared years of dusty background sleuthing with us.

A great many people have contributed to these results during the past 20 years, beginning with Julio Betancourt, who traded for a xerox copy of the Dividend Mining & Milling prospectus on the off chance we might need it. Robert Burton, WSMR, had the vision to continue beyond our first glimpse of Baldy. Jim Eckles (WSMR) provided contacts, clippings, historic photographs, and his usual interest. Morgan Rieder shared many architectural insights and helped with recording. The principal field personnel—Lenny Allen, Jackie Talley, Gerri Smith, and Helen Shields—provided unflagging effort collecting, tagging, and cataloging artifacts, and, with Bob Smith, helped survey most of the sites. Joe Ben Sanders assisted with cartridge identification. Sara Eidenbach prepared most of the illustrations and maps and was invaluable in final layout and production. Additional illustrations were contributed by Bob Smith, Morgan Rieder, Gail Wimberly, and Jackie Talley. Meliha Duran and Gail Wimberly performed the final editing.

Pete Eidenbach authored the sections on Baldy Russell and Estey City. Bob Hart wrote the chapters on the Ozanne Stage. The authors originally prepared much of the text to support nominations to the National Register of Historic Places on behalf of White Sands Missile Range. They alone share the blame for any errors and apologize for any inadvertent omissions. Both have become somewhat absent-minded, due no doubt to all that dust.

The work was completed as partial fulfillment of Delivery Order Numbers 5, 28, and 66 for Contract Number DAAD-89-D-0050.

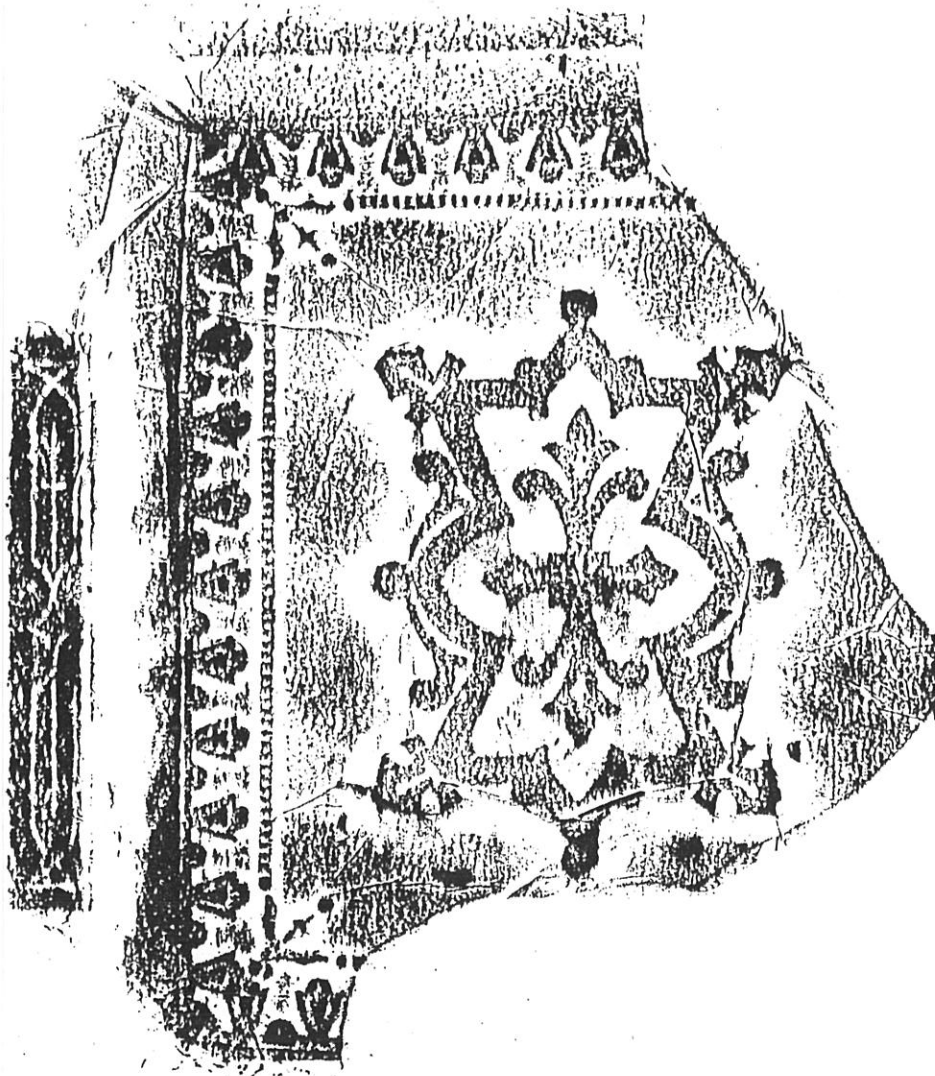


Figure 1. Wet ink rubbing of cast iron panel from coal burning CARBON stove found at Lewis Tank, made between 1883 and 1895 by Comstock-Castle Stove Co., Quincy, IL, probably owned by Baldy Russell (50% of original size).

A NUMBER OF THINGS

Irony and accident are frequent companions on the back trails of frontier history. Such was the case with the archaeology that led to Baldy Russell, a forgotten outlaw who proved the rule that “an elderly outlaw is about as hard to imagine as a sixty-year-old Romeo” (Sonnichsen 1984:18). Baldy was the exception: “a cranky old man of sixty-one years when he was sent to prison; sixty-three when he escaped and went back into the shadows” (Sonnichsen 1984:18).

We cut Baldy’s trail by accident. First sign was struck in 1985 during an archaeological survey along the southern edge of Chupadera Mesa (Laumbach and Kirkpatrick 1985). Red Canyon had been part of the stagecoach mail and passenger route from San Antonio, on the Rio Grande, to the boomtown of White Oaks, in the Jicarilla Mountains, between 1880 to 1899. In 1901 the Santa Fe Railroad built the Belen Cutoff, connecting rails along the Rio Grande with the inland basin route from El Paso to Alamogordo, past White Oaks to Vaughn. The old stage route and its facilities reverted to ranching after railroad construction in the Tularosa Basin. According to Sonnichsen, Baldy returned to the area in 1910 during a continuance in his Texas murder trial. His stay here was brief—the trial resumed in December of that year. Where he stayed, who he worked for, what he may have built—these details still elude us. But these first hints and happenstance led us to a clear trail five years later.

During the winter of 1990, Human Systems Research was contracted to conduct an archaeological survey for the proposed Aerial Cable Test Capability (HSR Staff 1991), a new project planned in the area around Mockingbird Gap, the pass between the northern San Andres and Oscura Mountains. Part of the survey focused on the dozen or so historic ranching features known in the area. Most were little more than stock tanks, earthen berms raised above the flat tableland of the northern Jornada del Muerto. Occasionally, a windmill, corrals, or even a frame house relieved the local desert landscape.

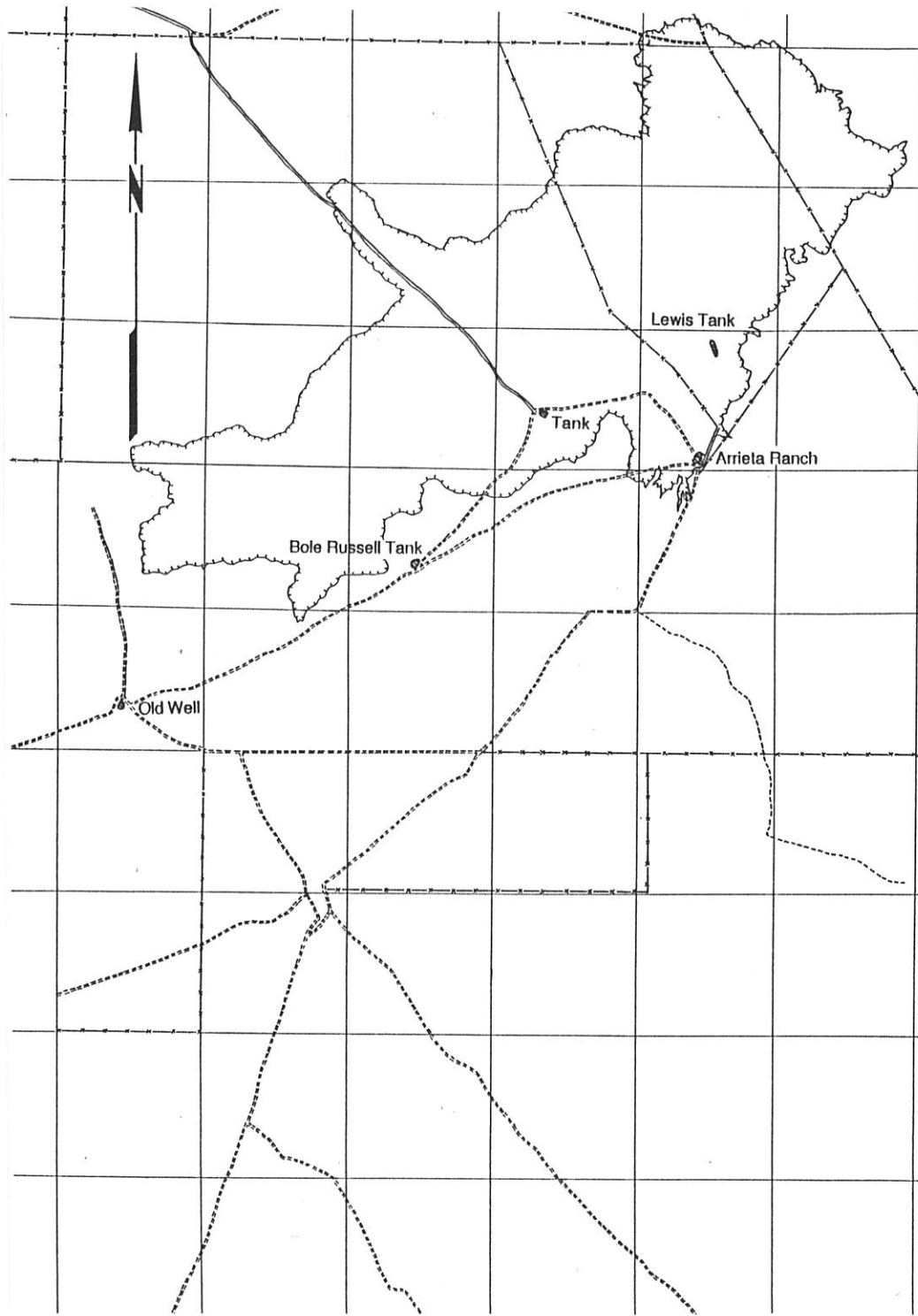


Figure 2. The northern Jornada del Muerto, circa 1948, showing the Lewis and Russell ranches.

The purpose of the survey was to gather data for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Federal agencies are required to determine the effects of their actions on sites of archaeological or historic interest before proceeding, and the first step in an unknown region is usually a field survey combined with revisitation of known sites. Old maps supplied locations for the ranching sites that existed 50 years ago, before these lands were acquired by the Department of Defense.

The historic ranch sites ranged from isolated structures, such as stock tanks, to complex clusters of residential and production facilities. Some were in ruins, reduced to little more than a scatter of artifacts around adobe house mounds. Others contained standing architecture, with complex post corrals, windmills, sheds, and other frame buildings. The complete inventory spanned the full period of premilitary occupation in the region, from about 1880 to 1940.

Detailed examination revealed that all the historic sites were primarily associated with livestock production, principally cattle. These sites included ranch headquarters, isolated residential sites or line camps, stock gathering/feeding corrals, water production and storage sites such as stock tanks, occasional examples of isolated ranch equipment, and trash dumps. Analysis suggested that the sites could be “seriated,” or ordered in a time series, on the basis of stock-tank architecture, allowing dating for the stock tank features that lacked diagnostic artifacts or architecture. Dating these sites was critical for accurately assessing their historical importance.

An unusual style of stock tank occurred at two of these sites—a long, narrow, constricted, U-shaped earthen berm. Shallow, hand-dug wells had been excavated at both and also at a third site. Analysis of the surface artifacts—cartridge cases, ceramics, and glass—indicated that the first two, known on mid-twentieth century maps as Lewis Tank and Old Well, dated to the turn-of-the-century, if not before. The third site, Lewis Well, also had early artifacts and a hand-dug well overlain by 1920s-1930s ranch features.

At this point three factors converged. Both Lewis Well and Old Well had deteriorated to an archaeological condition, and many of the historic artifacts lay exposed on the bare desert floor. WSMR requested that work at these sites should continue, with detailed mapping, limited testing, collection of the artifacts, and archival studies to amplify site data, resulting in this report and detailed site descriptions, which are on file at WSMR.

Our long-term interest in Baldy Russell, known to have occupied the northern Jornada, led us to wonder about possible connections with another nearby stock-tank site, known on maps as Bole Russell Tank. Examination of Sonnichsen's narrative history, *Outlaw: On the Dodge with Baldy Russell*, suggested that Baldy might have hand-dug the several wells found on survey.

The time was right, the place was right, the conjecture was appealing, but we lacked any confirmation. Meanwhile, our archivist had started searching the county records, beginning with Lewis Well and Old Well. Virtually no information appeared in deed records, but mortgages provided the pay dirt.

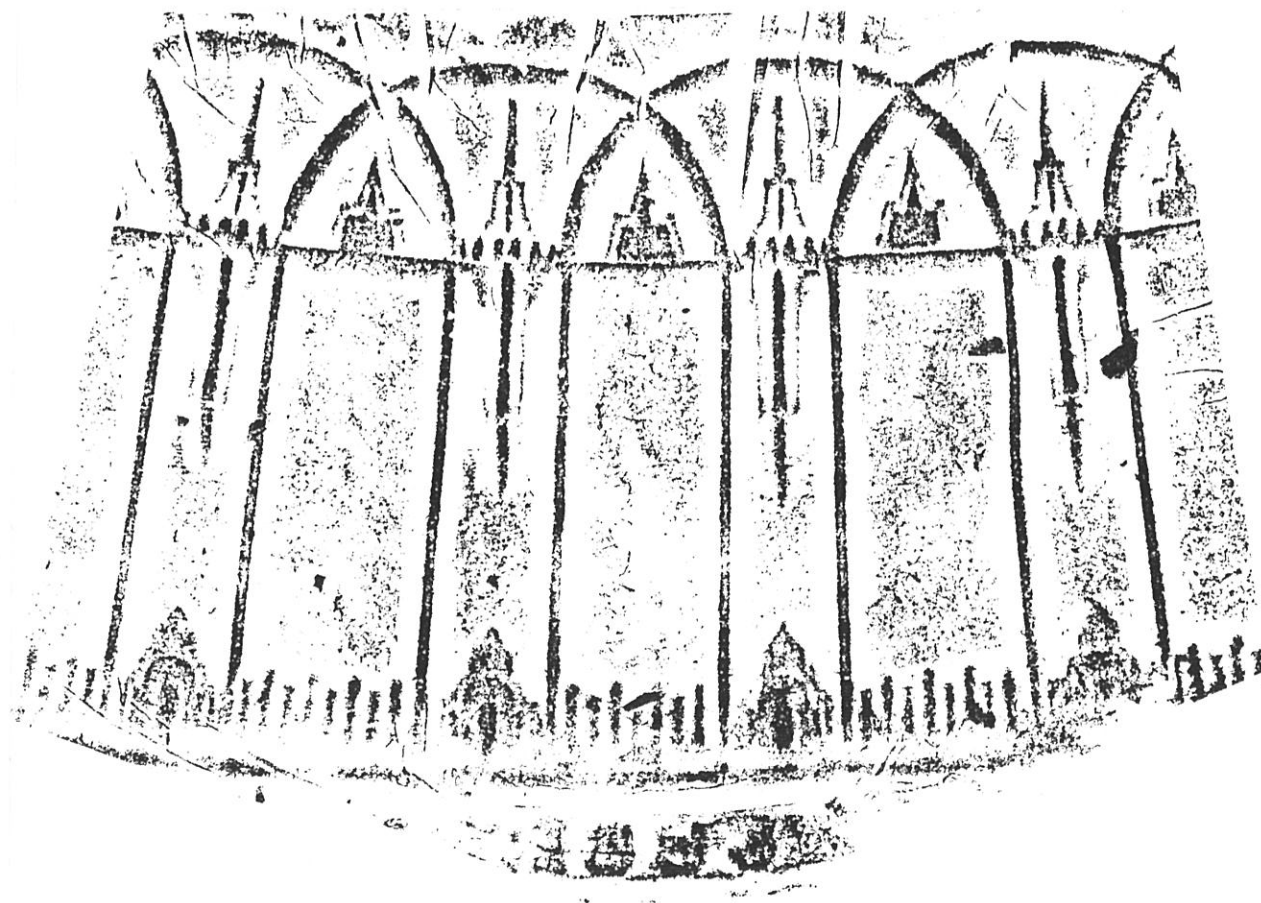


Figure 3. Rubbing of cast iron stove part, dated 1883, from Lewis Tank (70% of original).

Paper Trails

A consistent description runs like a stray thread through the Lewis transactions and repeats in the records for Charlie Lewis' sometime partner, E.H. Sweet (see Table 1, pg. 9):

... unsurveyed government lands ... on the west side of the San Andres Mountains, about six miles therefrom, and ten miles south of Mockingbird Gap ...

Sweet's legal paper traced back to a 1905 Quitclaim Deed, ironically dated April 1, from Henry Russell to E.H. Sweet, followed three years later by Sweet's mortgage to the State National Bank of Albuquerque describing Sweet's ranch "known as the Baldy Russell Place." Lewis led to Sweet, Sweet led to Russell, and one other local character turned up along the way: Emile James, onetime creditor to Charlie Lewis, immortalized by 'Gene Rhodes, then a neighbor some 25 mi south, in Rhodes Canyon. James, twice sheriff of Socorro, and his chuck wagon feature in one of Rhodes' most famous short descriptions of western ways, most recently reprinted in Tony Hillerman's *Best of the West* (1991:183-184), but worth repeating again:

'Water,' said Emile James, slowly and seriously, counting his fingers by way of tally—'matches, coffee, coffee-pot, sugar, tincow, tin cups and spoons—that's coffee.' As he spoke he carefully packed the objects named on the shelves of the chuck-box, misses' and children's size, of 'the slickest little spring wagon.'

That spring wagon was the especial pride and comfort of Emile's heart. When you learn that he kept it painted and sheltered you will know—if you are a frontiersman—just where that little wagon stood in Emile's affections.

It was wrought by the best skill under Emile's jealous supervision: built to be both light and strong. Six woods went into the making of it—hickory, oak, tough hornbeam, black birch, whitewood—clear stock, straight grained—with gnarled Bois d'Arc for the hubs; all seasoned for seven years, and kiln dried to stand up in the dry air of the desert. The highest quality of iron and steel went to the fittings, the toughest and easiest of springs. The wagon bed, framed and panelled for lightness, had no nail or screw in it; cunningly joined by mortise, tenon, dowel and dovetail and housed joints; all locked to place by long and slender bolts at the four corners. A touch on the strong footbrake locked the wheels and there was a step in front of the front wheel.

Where the tail-gate might have been, the chuck box was 'built in' to avoid superfluous weight, floor and sides of the wagon box being also floor and sides of the chuckbox. Between chuckbox and the only seat, the wagon box flared over the wheels, after the fashion of a hay rigging, just long enough and wide enough to accommodate a light set of bed springs. The deep space beneath it was for promiscuous cargo. Under the lazyback spring seat was a low oaken water-tank, also 'built in'; doing away with the customary water-kegs, usually slung at the sides of such a wagon by iron straps.

The whole was surmounted by a ribbed top, braced and firm, leather covered. There were light racks and straps at the top for clothing or small effects; there were leather side curtains, with pockets in them, marvelous because they would go up and stay up, or come down and stay down; there was also the rarest of luxuries, a lantern that would give light.

'Bacon, frying-pan, knives, forks, and plates—that's bacon. Flour, water, salt, baking powder, lard, dutch oven—that's bread. Beans, canned truck, spuds, pepper—that's extrys.'

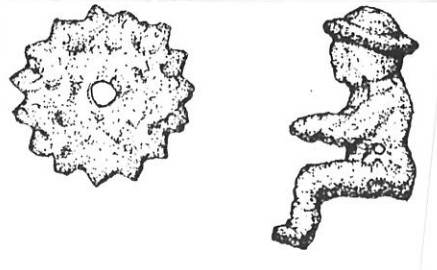
'Don't forget the water for potatoes. Or are you doing that little ditty to exercise your lungs?'

'Son, if this is delayin' you any,' said Emile benignly, 'try to put up with it, will you? I'm considerable old maidish and set in my ways. And I can tell you something useful.'

'Go as far as you like.'

'All right! John Sayles Watterson, Junior; I have twice heard you strongly voice the opinion that most men in this country do things well. It is true. We admit it. And now I am to tell you why. It is because a man in this country is always trying for two things; to be his own foreman, who says what now and next to do, and to be his own inspector, to see that before he quits he makes a good job of it. I'm inspecting; and I don't want my attention distracted. You keep still! . . . Shot gun and shells—that's quail and rabbits. Rifle and cartridges—that's venison. Blankets—that's bed. Your saddle and truck—that's under the bedsprings. Canteens, water-buckets, hobbles, ropes, nosebags—that's sundries. Corn for the horses—that's good. Water—that's life. That's all. Let's go! There! I near forgot the axle-grease!' [Rhodes 1917]

Figure 4. Spur rowel and cast iron toy wagon driver, Old Well (64% of original).



Once we picked up Baldy's trail, more and more pieces fell into place. Detective work is easy when you know what to look for, and where. The U.S. Census records were the next stop. Baldy himself, and his family—Mary, his wife; Maude, their daughter; Belle Holiday, Mary's daughter from a previous marriage; and a boarder, Alack Dudee, listed as a “miner of ore”—appear in Precinct 43, La Mesa for the year 1900. Unfortunately, no maps or accompanying Farm Schedules exist to place the family more precisely. But with all the shreds and patches of history collected, we can retell the later New Mexico chapter of the tale, tracing the dim track that was all but lost to Sonnichsen, who relied on conventional documents alone.

But before we begin again, a word of caution is due. We reconstruct history. We can never read it as accurately as the participants, nor are their own memories objective. We can merely retell the tale, recognizing that the retelling is “always influenced by society, but . . . operates under a strong constraint of fact as well” (Stephan Jay Gould). The myths of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier west are being replaced with more humanistic, less chauvinistic visions. The grand romantic notions that fueled the mythology of westward expansion, glorifying the “common man,” invariably white, Anglo, assuredly male, and single, footloose, and fancy-free, are being displaced with a concern for the more mundane, everyday events and participants of American history—women, children, minorities, the emigrants, miners, shepherders, cooks, schoolteachers, and all the invisible others who form the more placid backdrop to yesterday's Western heroes and supplied the infrastructure without which our westward expansion would never have been sustained.

A parallel trend struggles forward in historic architecture. Rural vernacular architecture—which relies on the owner-builder's wit, experience, and imagination, sans architect—has begun to challenge traditional concern with the history of “high-style” building.

Our pursuit of Baldy Russell vividly recalls his family, his neighbors and those springtime days when the first homesteads and family ranches began to dot the forbidding landscape of the Jornada del Muerto. The trail skirts several of the region's forgotten visionary entrepreneurs—ill-starred D.M. Estey, whose industrial dream faded into the red dust of the northern Tularosa Basin, and Urbain Ozanne, emigr , reconstructionist, sheriff, hotel proprietor, and postal stage contractor, whose local legacy is known, but whose earlier past has lain dormant until kicked free of archival dust on the trail of a number of things.

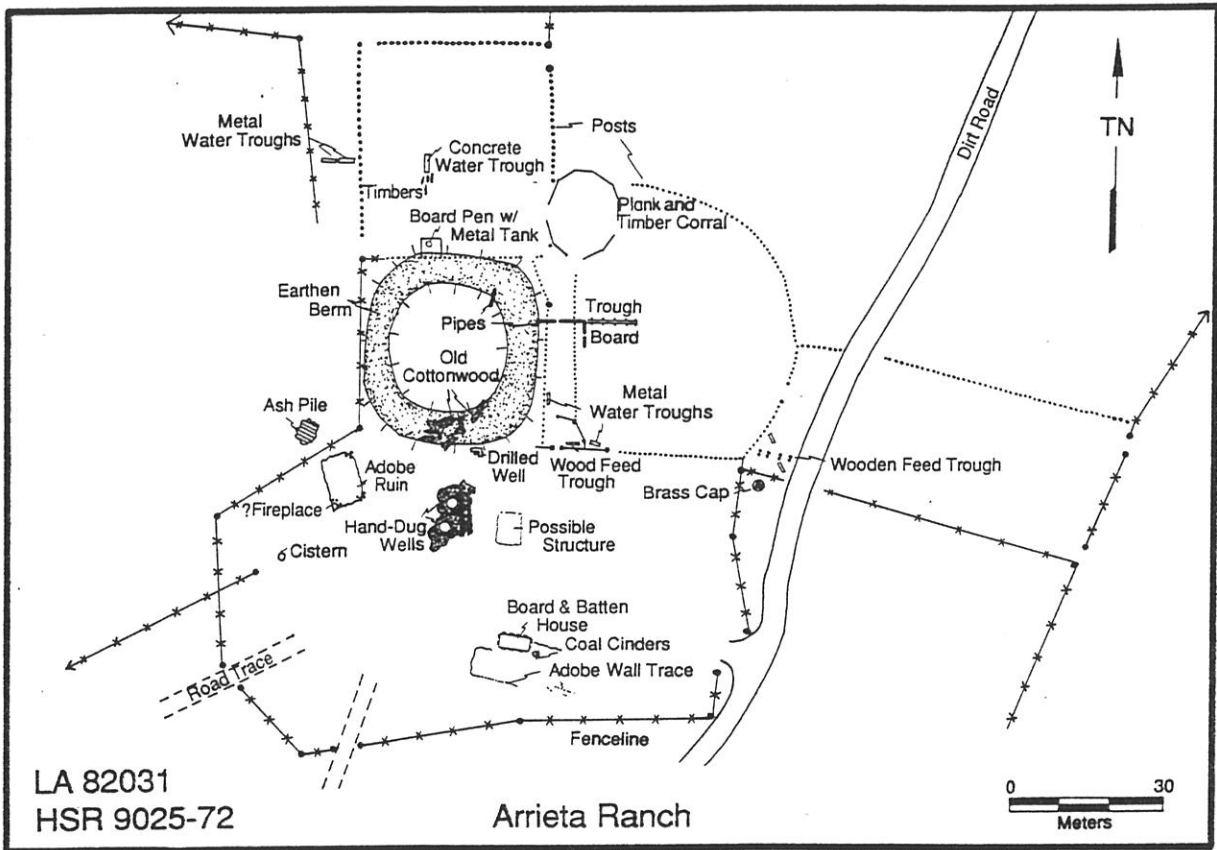


Figure 5. Arrieta Ranch, or Lewis Tank, Harriet Ranch.

**Table 1. Summary of Legal Documents Pertaining to The Arrieta Ranch
(or Lewis Well), Lewis Tank, and Old Well, Socorro Co., WSMR, NM.**

Book	Page	Date	Type of Instrument/Description
66	115-116	30 July 1902	BILL OF SALE - J.C. and Lee Baldwin to Charles Lewis - sale of cattle and horses branded 7TX (and others) for sum of \$5,000 - Baldwin Bros. and Lewis listed as resident at Engle, Sierra Co. - executed and notarized in Prowers Co. ,Colorado
51	282-285	27 May 1904	CHATTLE [sic] MORTGAGE - Charles Lewis to Emile James - mortgage of personal property; cattle and horses branded L/X and LHL; ranch on unsurveyed lands (described below) for \$3,974.76 for one year at 12% annual interest - executed at San Marcial, 11 May 1904
<p>“unsurveyed (lands) . . . located in the eastern part of Socorro County . . . on the west side of the San Andreas Mountains about six miles there from, and about ten miles south of Mocking Bird (sic) Gap, which place was formerly known as the Blackington place . . . a one room adobe house, a barn, corrals, wind mills, horse power, fifteen miles of three strand barbed wire fence, two wells . . . and also . . . two wells situated about three fourths of a mile north of the place . . . ”</p>			
56	426	18 May 1905	SATISFACTION OF MORTGAGE - Emile James certifies payment of mortgage by Charles Lewis [Bk 51, Pg. 282] - filed 25 June 1906
60	15-16	25 May 1904	BILL OF SALE - Emile James to Charles Lewis - sale of personal property; cattle, and 30 head of horses branded L/X and LHL; ranch on unsurveyed lands (described below) for \$8,993. - executed at Engle, 25 May 1904 - filed 24 April 1906

“unsurveyed government lands known as the Ranch property of (James) . . . in the eastern part of Socorro County, New Mexico on the west side of the San Andreas Mountains about six miles there from, and about ten miles south of Mocking Bird [sic] Gap, which place was formerly known as the Blackington place . . . a one room adobe house, a barn, corrals, wind mills, horse power, fifteen miles of three strand barbed wire fence, two wells . . . and also . . . two wells situated about three fourths of a mile north of the place . . . ”

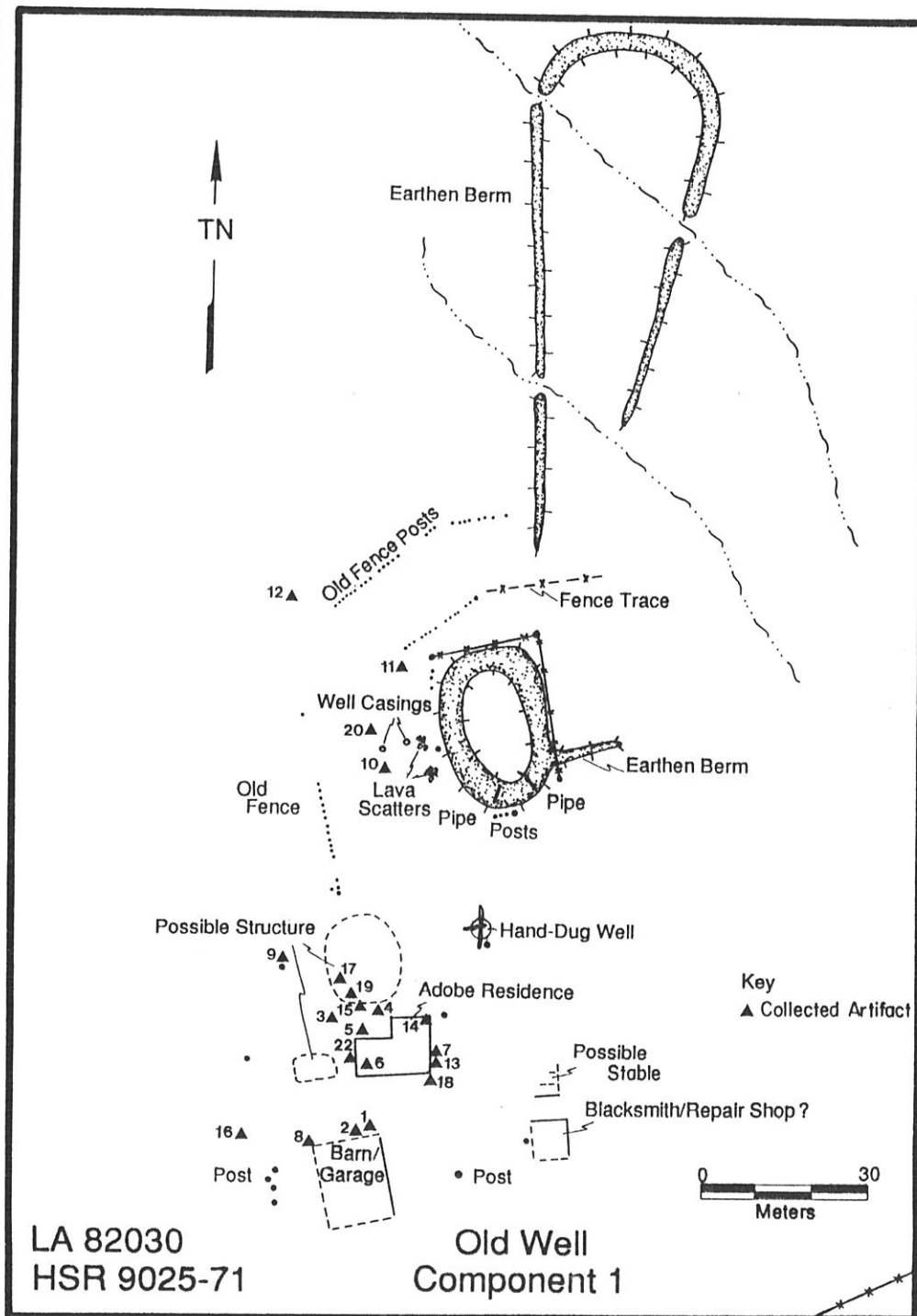


Figure 6. Old Well, Component 1.

Table 1. Summary of Legal Documents (cont.)

Book	Page	Date	Type of Instrument/Description
65	439	1 April 1905	<p>QUITCLAIM DEED</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Henry Russell to E.H. Sweet - quit claim of ranch property for \$ 2,000 - signed by Henry Russell and Mary Russell - filed 25 May 1908 by E.H. Sweet, Recorder
<p>“One Ranch . . . in Township 9 South about junction of Sections 14 & 22 or . . . one quarter mile south of road leading from Ranch known as the T Ranch. With the following improvements . . . one well, one Kingwood widn [sic] mill, one three rooms [sic] house & out buildings.”</p>			
60	535-538	22 Jan 1907	<p>CHATTEL MORTGAGE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Charles and Anna Lewis to State National Bank of Albuquerque - mortgage of chattels and personal property; all horses and cattle branded 7TX, L/X; and unsurveyed ranch property (described above) \$5,000.00 for one year, extendable at 10% annual interest, payable semiannually
65	155-156	3 Sept 1907	<p>BILL OF SALE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - E.H. Sweet to C.H. Lewis - sale of all cattle and horses branded HXH running and ranging at the ranch of Chas. Lewis, on the Jornada
65	341	24 Jan 1908	<p>MORTGAGE CLAIM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - claim by State National Bank of Albuquerque against Charles and Anna Lewis - unpaid balance of \$5,000 and \$1,040.50 - filed 3 Feb 1908 by E.H. Sweet
65	502-504	11 May 1908	<p>MORTGAGE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - E.H. Sweet and Sallie Sweet, his wife, to State National Bank of Albuquerque - mortgage of chattels and personal property: 800 head of cattle and 15 head of horses branded 7Y+, T4, Z, O., LHL, LRA, ZM; ranch property, imprs., and wells - for \$ 3,718.70 payable in one year with interest at 10% per annum - filed by E.H. Sweet, Recorder

Table 1. Summary of Legal Documents (cont.)

Book	Page	Date	Type of Instrument/Description
			<p>“unsurveyed government [sic] lands . . . known as the Baldy Russell Place together with all improvements . . . as follows: Houses barns corrals, wind-mills horse power wire fences . . . all of the wells . . . The said ranch and range being one [sic] unsurveyed land in Township Nine (9), South of Range Three (3) East.”</p>
67	129-131	8 Jan 1909	<p>CHATTEL MORTGAGE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Charles and Anna Lewis to State National Bank of Albuquerque - mortgage of chattels and personal property: all horses and cattle branded 7TX and L/X; ranch property, improvements, and wells - for \$7,346.16 payable in six months with interest at 10% per annum - notarized by E.H. Sweet, Probate Clerk
			<p>“unsurveyed Government lands known as the Ranch property of (Lewis) . . . eastern part of Socorro County . . . on the west side of the San Andres Mountains, about six miles therefrom and about ten miles south of Mockingbird Gap, together with all improvements . . . : An adobe house, barn, corrals, wind Mills [sic] horse power wire fence . . . and . . . wells . . . on said property . . . ”</p>
70	51-53	11 June 1910	<p>CHATTEL MORTGAGE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Charles and Anna Lewis, and E.H. and Sally Sweet, his wife to State National Bank of Albuquerque - mortgage of chattels and personal property: all cattle and horses branded 7Y+ . . . apprx. 317 head of cattle ranging near Swanee in Valencia Co.; 40 head in Socorro Co.; six head of stock horses . . . four at Swanee, two in Socorro Co.; ranch property, improvements and all wells - for \$3,964.70 payable in six months with interest at 10% per annum - executed by Lewises in Bernalillo Co., by Sweets in Socorro Co.; filed in Socorro Co. by E.H. Sweet, Recorder
			<p>“unsurveyed Government lands . . . on the west side of . . . San Andres Mountains, about six miles therefrom, and ten miles south of Mockingbird Gap, together with all improvements . . . : An [sic] Frame house, barn, corrals, wind mills, horse power, wire fence . . . all of the wells . . . ”</p>

Table 1. Summary of Legal Documents (cont.)

Book	Page	Date	Type of Instrument/Description	
70	390-391	14 June 1911	MORTGAGE CLAIM - claim by State National Bank of Albuquerque against Charles and Anna Lewis - unpaid balance of \$7,346.15 and interest - filed 17 June 1911 by E.H. Sweet	
70	391	16 June 1911	MORTGAGE CLAIM - claim by State National Bank of Albuquerque against Charles and Anna Lewis, and E.H. and Sally Sweet - unpaid balance of \$3,964.70 and interest - filed 17 June 1911 by E.H. Sweet	
76	203	6 July 1911	CERTIFICATE OF SALE FOR TAXES - public auction of "Land west of Oscura Mts. 160 acres" to satisfy sum of \$58.46 in taxes, penalties and interest owed by Chas. Lewis - Socorro Co. best and highest bidder - subject to right of former owner to redeem same within three years for purchase price plus interest at 1 1/2% per month.	
76	342	21 Feb 1912	BILL OF SALE - Chas. Lewis to H.M. Richards, of San Marcial - dated 21 February 1895	
	"Number of Animals"	Kind and description	Brands	Marks
	1	Studibaker [sic] Wagon and Double Set of Harness		
	2	Work Horses Dunn & Black		
	1	Bay Poney [sic]	G.V.	
	1	Dunn	T.A.T. & M.H Cross	
	1	Buggy & Harness"		
77	450-451	5 July 1913	BILL OF SALE—SPECIAL MASTER DEED (Socorro Co.) - bill of sale by Special Master Emile James to State National Bank of Albuquerque - property and premises of Charles Lewis, Anna Lewis, E.H. Sweet, Sallie [sic] Sweet, and Socorro State Bank, as directed 7th District Court, case 6286, 15 June 1912 - four weeks notice published in <i>Socorro Chieftain</i> - highest and best bid \$6,000 for:	

Table 1. Summary of Legal Documents (cont.)

Book	Page	Date	Type of Instrument/Description
			<p>“All . . . cattle and horses branded . . . 7YX, . . . approximately 317 head of . . . cattle . . . on the ranges of . . . Charles Lewis, Anna Lewis, E.H. Sweet and Sallie Sweet, Suanee, in Valencia County . . . ; approximately 40 head of . . . cattle . . . in Socorro County, . . . approximately 6 head of stock horses . . . four of which are on the ranges of . . . Charles Lewis, Anna Lewis, E.H. Sweet and Sallie Sweet, at Suanee, and two in the County of Socorro.</p> <p>“ . . . certain unsurvey [sic] Government lands . . . on the west side of the San Andres mountains, about 6 miles therefrom and about ten miles from Mocking Bird [sic] Gap, . . . with all . . . improvements . . . as follows: A frame house, barn, corral, windmills horsepower, wire fence . . . all of the wells . . .</p> <p>“Also all cattle and horses now ranging on the Jornada . . . in the following brands, viz. 7YXCRAZM . . . all improvements . . . on government land as [sic] wkat [sic] is know [sic] as the Baldy Russell well on the Jornada.”</p>
83	29	15 June 1914	<p>CHATTEL MORTGAGE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - E. H. Sweet of Socorro to A. E. Sweet of Topeka, Kansas - mortgage of goods and chattels - for the sum of \$ 2,500.00 - no specified due date, interest, or conditions - mortgagor retains possession and use of goods <p>“ . . . goods and chattels, viz; One Ford automobile No 157774 one No 29262, with all accessories thereto, One Columbus buggy and harnesses, one Moon roll top desk, letter file, one Underwood typewriter No 43703, one grey horse branded Y on left thigh, one jersey cow cow [sic] branded {symbol: L in flag} on right hip, one price and teeples piano, one Smith premier roll top desk, also all other furniture of whatsoever kind, now in the home of the party of the first part situated on Mt Caramel Ave in the City of Socorro.”</p>
			<p>Marriage Book</p>
A-1	19	1 July 1905	<p>APPLICATION & MARRIAGE LICENSE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Annie Newman, San Marcial, NM, 20 years of age born 28 January 1885, Graham Co., Texas - Charley Lewis, San Marcial, NM, 36 years of age born 22 May 1869, Leroy Coffee Co., Kansas - dated 1 July 1905

Texas Troubles

The stormy events that led Billy Mitchell to change his name to Henry Russell and move westward into the empty deserts of southern New Mexico began in March 1874, in Granbury, Texas, about 30 mi southwest of Fort Worth. After a week of unresolved litigation in a suit brought against neighbor Parminter Truitt by Bill's father, Nelson "Cooney" Mitchell, heated tempers reached the flash point when Bill Mitchell, Mit Graves, and three Truitt sons entered the woods 5 mi south of town. Only Billy, Mit Graves, and James Truitt emerged. Two Truitt sons, Sam and "Little Ike," lay dead. Billy Mitchell and Mit Graves fled. Sheriff Joe Walton's posse arrested the four remaining members of the Mitchell party, including Cooney's youngest son Jeff, who had been on the road behind Billy, Mit, and the Truitt boys, but had not been directly involved in the shooting. The Grand Jury indicted Nelson "Cooney" Mitchell, son-in-law William Owens, and neighbor D.A. Shaw, and the three were arraigned in August and convicted of murder. Shaw and Owens were sentenced to life; Shaw died two years later in Huntsville Prison; Owens was pardoned in 1880. "Cooney" Mitchell was finally hung in October 1875, after an unsuccessful jail-break attempt cost the life of his youngest son, Jeff. Here, we can close Sonnichsen's (1984) book on all but the two key protagonists—Billy Mitchell and James Truitt.

Bill Mitchell disappeared for nearly a decade. Not one shred of documentation bears his name nor his aliases (John Davis, Henry Russell) during this period. He may have remained in the southwest part of Texas. In 1884, Bill Mitchell, calling himself John Davis, joined the Calamese Beckett clan somewhere north of Brackettville, Texas, about 30 mi east of Del Rio, and later married newly divorced Mary Beckett Holliday at her sister's home in Seven Rivers, New Mexico.

Meanwhile, James Truitt had become a circuit-riding Methodist minister, first near Waco, Texas, and later at Henderson, in northeastern Texas, about 75 mi from Shreveport, Louisiana. He left the ministry in 1884 to support his growing family: wife Julia, a son, and two daughters. In the beginning of 1885, James became the owner and publisher of the *Timpson Times*, in Timpson, 25 mi northeast of Nacogdoches in extreme east Texas.

On the evening of July 20, 1886, while James was dictating an article to Julia, a dark stranger entered without knocking. He strode across the room, fired one fatal shot, striking James Truitt above the right eye, exited through the open door, and rode off. After 12 years, Billy Mitchell had reappeared, then he disappeared once again.

By 1888, Billy Mitchell, using the name of Henry Russell, was back in New Mexico, helping his sister-in-law's family move from Seven Rivers to Magdalena. The following year, he returned to Texas to move his own family west. In 1890 through 1891 he worked at Gold Hill, Thompson's Canyon, near Silver City, and then moved north into the Jornada del Muerto, the empty desert wasteland that became his home and refuge for the next 15 years.

The Russell family camped at Crawford's Tanks for several weeks in the spring of 1892, and then moved to Bill Sanders' ranch. Baldy worked for the Spence Brothers' Double S Bars ranch in the Tularosa Basin, immediately to the east. That same year he dug the first of five wells scattered along the east side of the Jornada.

The first well, known to the family as "Old Bitter," was 65 ft deep and located a mile west of Lava Gap along one of the old military trails from Fort Stanton in the Sacramentos to Forts McRae and Craig on the Rio Grande. Four additional wells followed between 1892 and 1898, and a sixth was dug in 1902. The second and fifth wells were near the first at Lava Gap. Well 5 was probably at what became known as the Olden Place, where Baldy built a rock house and stone corrals about 1898.

The third and fourth wells were north of Lava Gap and are probably in the vicinity of Lewis Tank, Lewis Well, and Old Well (Figure 6). Sonnichsen's construction date, between 1892 and 1895, suggests that Well 3 may have been at the ranch sold in 1895 to the Smith (or Schmidt) brothers. This ranch later became the McDonald Brothers' Ranch, used in 1945 for the Trinity Test. Fred and Frank Schmidt appear, along with the Russell family, in the 1900 census.

Well 4 was dug about 1898, and a "picket house" was built. From the location, given by Sonnichsen as 20 mi north of previous Lava Gap wells, and the description, which generally matches the jacal structure tested for this project, Lewis Tank is the best candidate for the Well 4 location.

Baldy must have continued developing the water in the same northern Jornada vicinity. Sonnichsen (1984) relates a dispute between Baldy and Bill McNew in 1902. Apparently McNew began digging a well on leased land near Baldy's northernmost well, attempting to crowd him out. Baldy solicited neighbor Jim Gililand's help in digging. At about that time McNew abandoned his efforts and moved to Ancho, about 75 mi to the east. This would have been Baldy's sixth well, and he may have completed the well started by McNew. This would account for the hand-dug wells at Lewis Well and Old Well.

That same year, Baldy's stepdaughter, Belle, married Frank Kraft, a blacksmith at the nearby copper mining boomtown of Estey City, and the couple settled at the cattle-shipping railhead town of Engle in the central Jornada. Throughout this period, Baldy and his family continued to reside at one or possibly several ranch properties in the Lewis Tank/Old Well vicinity. Henry Russell appears on the tax rolls for Precinct 6—Estey City—from 1903 through 1908. Itemized entries for 1903 and 1904 list his property as a dozen horses (ponies) and about 50 cattle, valued (with household goods) at just over \$600. Subsequent assessments through the final entry in 1908 show comparable values and ratios in livestock.

Meanwhile, two surviving Truitt brothers, Mint (Permitter Marion) and Lee (Leander), had trod the same trails as Mitchell with less success. The two families, including five children, left Yoakum, Texas, in 1900 for New Mexico and land. After spending the summer at Weed in the Sacramentos, they crossed the Tularosa Basin and made their way to the upper Gila River. The next spring they moved to Lordsburg and worked hauling ore from the mines. In 1904, the two families split. Mint and his wife Maggie and three (or more) children traveled to Deming and on up the Rio Grande, crossing at Hatch or on the Engle Ferry. Lost, their luck turned toward the worse on the barren Jornada del Muerto. With little water and a parched team, they finally spotted a windmill where they watered their horses for 15 cents a head and filled their barrel for a nickel. The family living at the windmill insisted that the Truitts camp overnight. Mint and Maggie visited their dugout home after supper to chat and pass on the news. Only gradually did Mint, who, as a child of nine years had seen Cooney Mitchell hang, identify their host. Maggie recalled that Mint "finally recognized the man who had killed out part of the Truitt brothers about twenty-five years before, by Mitchell's eyes." The Truitts left abruptly before breakfast the next morning.

Maggie's description of the Russell place is problematic—none of the sites known or suspected as Baldy's have dugout structures. It seems possible, however, that the term "dugout" may have been applied to adobes generically by Texans more accustomed to frame houses. All three residential structures at the three sites (Lewis Tank, Lewis Well, and Old Well) are adobe or jacal. The single-room adobe at Lewis Well or the two-room jacal at Lewis Tank seem the most likely candidates. In 1905, Baldy sold one ranch property for \$2,000 to E.H. Sweet by a Quitclaim Deed. The property was described as located "about the junction of Sections 14 & 22 or about one quarter mile south of road . . . with one three rooms [sic] house and outbuildings." Old Well (Figure 6) is the only one of the three sites with a three-room or larger house and outbuildings.

The same year, 1905, Maude (Mitchell) Russell married Riley Caldwell, a cowboy working for Charlie Lewis, whose place was 3 mi from the Russell's, according to Sonnichsen (1984). That distance separates Old Well from Lewis Well, suggesting that until the Sweet sale, the Russells had lived at Old Well and may have occasionally worked cattle from Lewis Tank. This scenario is also consistent with the name of Bole Russell Tank, an earthen stock tank about a mile from Old Well on the trail to Lewis Well.

Despite the fact that Mint and Maggie never seem to have turned him in, Baldy's troubles with the law increased after their 1904 visit, and he may have stayed on the move. In 1906, he was working for John Richardson, a butcher in Corona. By 1907 he had moved near Nabor's (Neighbors) Tank, north of Estey City, which had begun to collapse for the second time. Another Granbury, Texas, resident, Frank Crites, stumbled across a Russell homestead while on a wolf hunt that year, recognized Baldy, and went to town to have him arrested.

'Gene Rhodes' story about Baldy, *A Number of Things*, may have been written and based on events during this same period, although it was not published until 1911. Rhodes' character, Bally Russell, is well described. He wore "high-heeled boots, blue overalls, flannel shirt and gray hat. He was lean, hard, vigorous, brown and bald . . . Bally had a roan mustache, . . . looked to be anywhere from forty-five up. . . He was married, hasty, smoldering, subdued, silent and iron-stubborn . . . with a pipe and a rusty double-barrelled shotgun" (Rhodes 1975a:83-86).

On March 25, 1907, Otero County sheriff H.M. Denny and deputy Ben Wooten arrested William "Billy" Mitchell, alias Henry "Baldy" Russell, at his homestead near Nabors Tank, for the murder of Sam and Ike Truitt, 33 years before. The arrest was made at the behest of Hood County Sheriff Swofford, who took charge of the prisoner in El Paso and conveyed him back to Granbury.

On March 30, 1907, Baldy was arraigned for the 1874 murders and was released on \$6,000 bond posted by New Mexico friends and neighbors, Gene Thurgood and Charlie Story. Moments later, Baldy was rearrested for the 1886 murder of James Truitt and moved to Center, Texas, where he was indicted by the Grand Jury after being identified by James' widow, Julia Truitt Bishop.

A mistrial was declared in the James Truitt case in September 1907, and a new trial was scheduled for February 1908. Bail was set at \$20,000. In October 1907, Baldy was arraigned for the Sam and Ike Truitt murders in Granbury.

By the end of the month the case was dismissed when three key witnesses failed to appear: Baldy's brother, Dan Mitchell; Dan Randall, who had been working in the woods on the fateful day; and James Maxwell, who had apparently heard Ike's dying words.

On March 9, 1908, Baldy was rearraigned for the murder of James Truitt. Five days later, the judge declared a hung jury and changed the venue from Hood to Cherokee County, 150 mi to the east. Baldy returned to New Mexico in the interim and (according to Sonnichsen) attempted to start a new homestead in Red Canyon. Red Canyon had been part of the old Ozanne stage route until the turn of the century, when cattle and sheep ranching began in earnest. Most of the time he probably worked odd jobs in the Capitan-White Oaks-Carrizozo area and on the Hatchet Ranch, which merged with Albert Bacon Fall's vast Three Rivers holdings in 1912.

After delays of more than two years, a new trial commenced in Rusk, Texas, the Cherokee County seat, on December 23, 1910. Baldy was found guilty of the murder of James Truitt and sentenced to life in prison. After an unsuccessful appeal, Baldy finally entered Huntsville Prison on March 25, 1912. Two years later, on July 14, 1914, Baldy escaped. He was 62 years old.¹

¹ According to Sonnichsen (1984), Baldy was 61 when he entered Huntsville and 63 when he escaped, but no source for these ages is given. The 1900 U.S. Census shows Baldy's age as 48, and 1852 as his year of birth.

Baldy returned to his wife Mary and New Mexico, adopting the alias he was using at the time they had first met—John Davis. The couple lived in Chilili for a time, then Farmington, and finally settled in San Simon, Arizona. Occasional visits with friends and his daughters' families brought him back to the Tularosa, but never to stay. After several small strokes, Baldy died in April 1928.

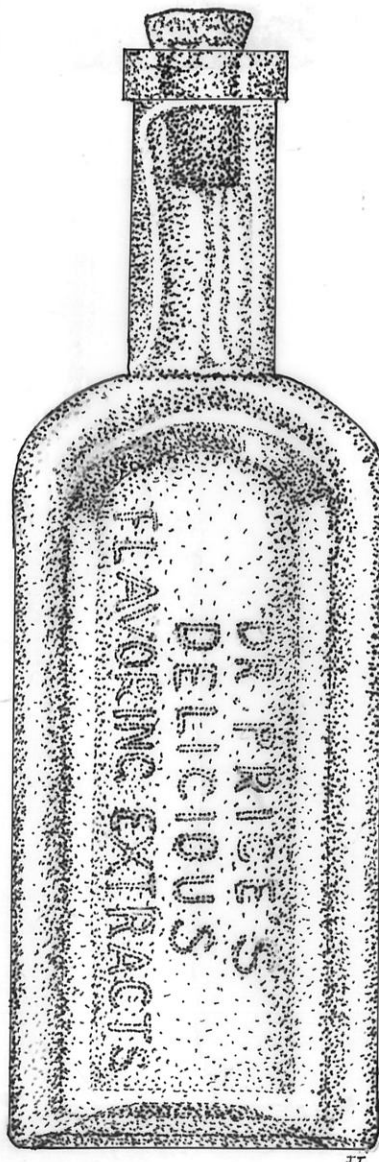


Figure 7. Extract bottle with cork, Lewis Tank (LA 82029) (actual size).

Table 2. Baldy Russell Chronology.

March 28, 1874: Bill Mitchell and Mit Graves enter woods outside Granbury Texas, followed by James, Sam, and “Little Ike” Truitt; Mitchell, Graves, and James Truitt emerge.

August 4, 1874: Nelson “Cooney” Mitchell, son-in-law William Owens, and neighbor D.A. Shaw arraigned for murder. Shaw was convicted, appeal to Supreme Court denied, sentenced to life, died in Huntsville Prison on Oct. 31, 1876. Owens was sentenced to life, pardoned on Jan. 11, 1880.

Fall, 1874: Billy Mitchell was seen by J.M. Balentine in Kinney Co., Texas.

December 5, 1874: Nelson “Cooney” Mitchell sentenced to hang, appeal denied.

October 7, 1875: Jeff Mitchell, youngest son, killed during jail break attempt.

October 9, 1875: Nelson “Cooney” Mitchell hung.

March 21, 1884: Mary Jane Beckett granted divorce from George Holliday.

April 28, 1884: Billy Mitchell (a.k.a. John Davis) married Mary Jane Beckett, Seven Rivers, New Mexico.

July 20, 1886: Billy Mitchell shot James Truitt just above right eye.

February, 1888: Billy Mitchell (a.k.a. Henry Russell) arrived at Therrell home, Seven Rivers, New Mexico, joined in move to Magdalena, New Mexico.

August, 1889: Henry Russell left Burkes cow camp near Tularosa bound for Texas to move his family west.

About 1890: Henry Russell worked at Gold Hill, Thompson’s Canyon, Silver City, New Mexico, through winter of 1891.

Spring 1892: Henry Russell and family moved to Crawford’s Tanks on the Jornada del Muerto, camped for several weeks, then to Bill Sanders’ ranch. Baldy went to work for Spence Bros. Double S Bars in Tularosa Basin.

- Baldy dug first well (65 ft deep), “Old Bitter,” 1 mile west of Lava Gap.

Table 2. Baldy Russell Chronology (cont.)

Post-1892: Baldy dug second well 1/4 mile from Well 1, built frame house, corrals.

- Tom McDonald of Tularosa dug out spring in Lava Gap, bought Well 1.
- Baldy dug third well north of first two.

1895: Baldy sold ranch and wells to Fred and Frank Smith (Schmidt) of Engle.

1897: Baldy worked for Bar N Cross on the southern Jornada.

About 1898: Baldy dug Well 4, 20 mi north of previous wells, built a picket house (possibly Lewis Tank) near Mockingbird Gap.

- Baldy dug Well 5 near Lava Gap, built rock house and stone corrals (Olden Place).
- Baldy bought violin from Sears Roebuck.

1902: Bill McNew began to dig well near Russell's Well (no. 4?) and tried to run off Baldy.

- Baldy solicited help digging from Jim Gililand. McNew finally moved to Ancho.
- Belle Holliday married Frank Kraft, blacksmith at Estey City, settled at Engle.

1904: Mint and Maggie Truitt, lost and short of water on the Jornada, were helped by the Russell family, living in a dugout.

- Jim Gililand leased grazing land from Baldy, leading to dispute in 1905.

April 1, 1905: Henry Russell sold ranch in Township 9S, junction Secs. 14 & 22, to E.H. Sweet by a Quitclaim Deed. Three-room house, well, windmill, outbuildings.

1905: Maude Mitchell (Russell) married Riley Caldwell, a cowboy working for Charlie Lewis, whose place was 3 mi from Russell's, at San Marcial.

1906: Baldy went to work for butcher John Richardson at Corona.

1907: Baldy moved to Neighbors' (Nabors) Tank, north of Estey City.

March 25, 1907: William Mitchell, alias Henry Russell, was arrested at Estey City by Sheriff H.M. Denny of Otero Co. and deputy Ben Wooten.

March 30, 1907: Baldy was arraigned in Granbury, Texas, released on \$6,000 bond by Gene Thurgood and Charley Story, rearrested for murder of James Truitt.

April 1907: Bill Mitchell was indicted by Grand Jury in Center, Texas.

Table 2. Baldy Russell Chronology (cont.)

September 13, 1907: mistrial declared in Mitchell's trial for James Truitt's murder; new trial scheduled for February 1908.

October 1907: Bill Mitchell was arraigned for Sam and Ike Truitt murders in Granbury, Texas.

October 31, 1907: case was dismissed; witnesses failure to appear.

March 9, 1908: Billy Mitchell was rearraigned for James Truitt murder.

March 14, 1908: hung jury; change of venue granted to Cherokee County. Mitchell returned to Red Canyon area, New Mexico, on \$20,000 bond.

December 23, 1910: after several continuances, Billy was brought to trial in Rusk, Texas, convicted, and sentenced to life; appealed, conviction confirmed.

March 25, 1912: Billy Mitchell entered Huntsville Penitentiary.

July 14, 1914: Billy Mitchell escaped from Huntsville.

April 1928: Billy Mitchell died of a stroke in San Simon, Arizona.

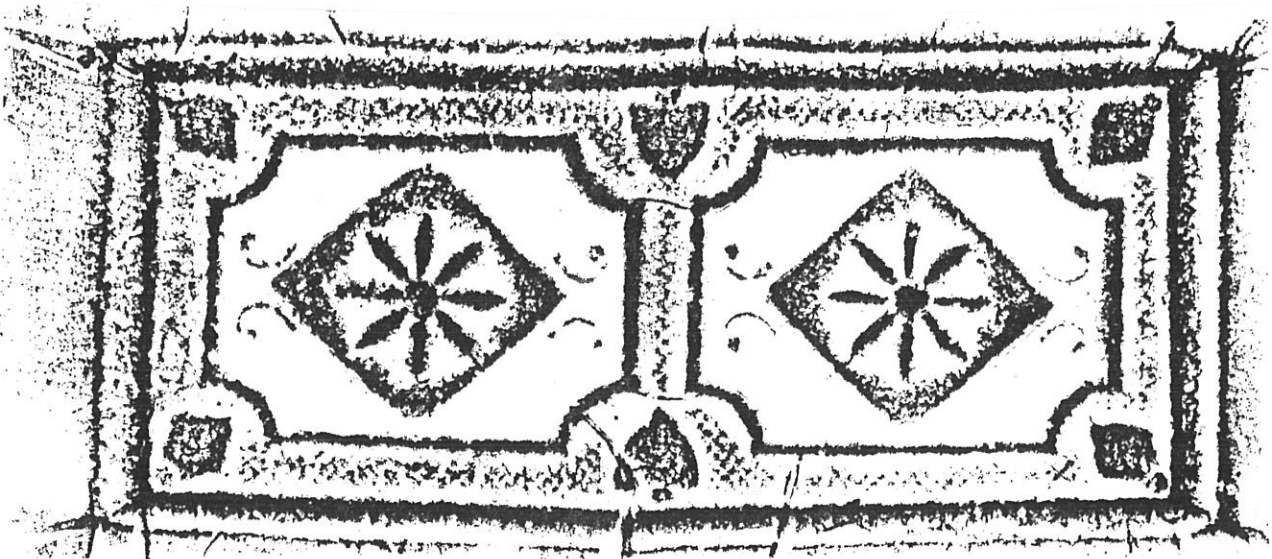
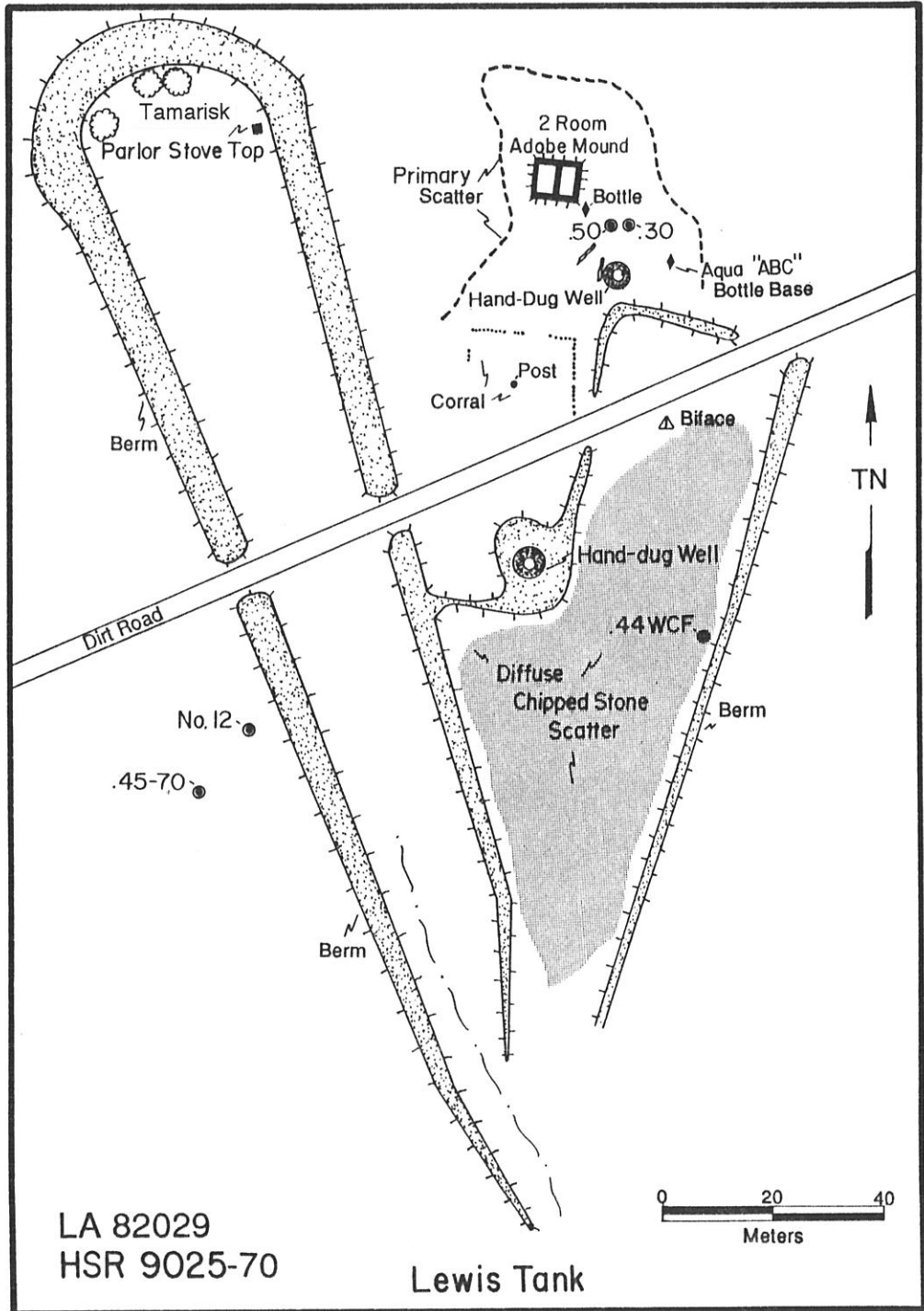


Figure 8. Rubbing of cast iron stove detail, Lewis Tank (actual size).



LA 82029
HSR 9025-70

Lewis Tank

Figure 9. Lewis Tank.

The Russell Ranches

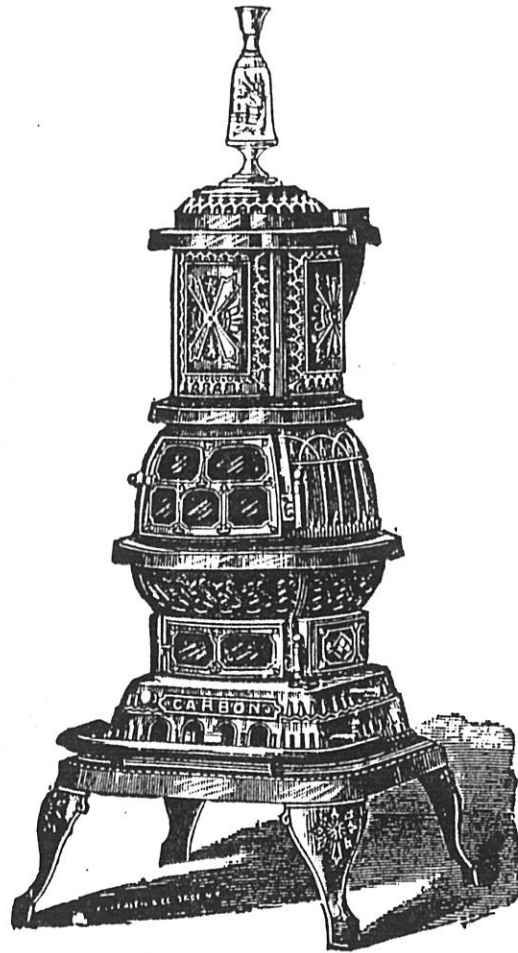
Lewis Tank (LA 82029)

The location identified as Lewis Tank (LA 82029) on modern maps occupies the wide, open grasslands on the northern Jornada del Muerto. The site lies along the margins of a large pan or playa on the east side of the alluvial plain. Two shallow, narrow earthen tanks constructed to impound surface water and channel runoff and to retain water from two hand-dug, shallow wells rise several feet above the flat, barren adobe surface (Figure 9). The remains of a small, lightly built post corral, a two-room adobe jacal house, and an extensive historic artifact scatter are visible at the northern end of the two tanks. The site is an archaeological site—the corral and house have been reduced to ground level—and apparently has never been collected or looted despite the fact that an underground cable line and primitive access road bisect the site center. A light scatter of prehistoric chipped-stone artifacts, testifying to prehistoric use of this location, lies along the eastern margins of the larger tank, within the original tank floodpool. Surface artifacts, chiefly shards of glass and expended cartridge casings, indicate that the site was occupied between the 1880s and early 1900s.

Clark's original subdivision survey mapped this area in 1860-1861, but no record of an original patent survives in Socorro County archives. Today, the grassland margins around the site are dominated by fourwing saltbush, tarbush, and tamarisk. The overall site plan is informal, clustered around the two wells.

The House

A slightly elevated, low adobe mound contains the remains of a two-room adobe or jacal building, presumably a small residence. The 16–18 in. thick walls are visible in outline as protruding plaster, but no window or door locations can be identified. The structure measures 18 by 22 ft, enclosing 396 sq ft of interior space. An exterior door may have existed in the eastern half of the south wall, and an interior door may have connected the two rooms in the south half of the inside wall. Carbonized materials, metal scraps, and stove parts in the northeast interior of the smaller east room may indicate the stove location. A second possible stove location may be in the southwest corner of the west room. Parts of a fancy vertical parlor stove and a variety of other metal, ceramic, leather, and glass artifacts are scattered here, particularly along the eastern and northern sides of the structure.



CARBON

For any Kind of Coal.

No. 11—Center Diameter of Cylinder 11 inches.....	\$11.00
No. 12— “ “ “ “ 12 “	14.00
No. 13— “ “ “ “ 13 “	17.00
No. 14— “ “ “ “ 14 “	19.50

Low Priced, Fancy Coal Heater, Direct Draft.

Bright Burnished Edges Nickel-plated Foot Rest.
 Nickel Plated Panels. Nickel Plated Name Plate.
 Nickel Plated Knobs and Hinge Pins.
 Tasty Winter Scene Urn. Mica Front Feed Door. Shake and Dump Grate.

Figure 10. 1887 catalog illustration of the “CARBON” stove made by the Comstock-Castle Stove Company, Quincy, IL. Compare with rubbing details illustrated throughout report.

The stove also helps date the site. According to Comstock-Castle Stove Co. Vice-President Tim Spake (personal communication 1994), this stove, the "CARBON," illustrated in an 1887 catalog (Figure 10), was no longer offered after 1895 by this Quincy, Illinois, foundry.

Diagnostic artifacts around the house include a complete "Dr. Price's Delicious Flavoring Extracts" bottle (ca. 1880), a dark brown glass bottle base embossed with "R & Co." (1880-1900), an aqua base embossed with "ABC" (1918-1930), and a bottle with a W in a diamond (1890-1918). Numerous cartridge casings in the calibers .38 CFW, .38-56 WCF, .45 Colt, .45-70 USG., and a No. 12 shotgun were also observed. Several casings in two sizes (probably .38 and .45) with no head stamps were recorded. Metal cartridge casing dates include .38 Long CFW-UMC (1876-1911), .38-56 WCF-WRA Co. (1887-1935), .44 WCF-WRA Co. (1873-1940), .45 Colt-WRA Co. (1873-1940), .45 Colt-UMC (1873-1911), and .45-70 USG-WRA Co. (1873-1910). Two clay pipe stem fragments, a plowshare, half of a pair of sheep shears, metal trunk or tub handles, numerous cut nails, plain white china, a brass collar pin (?), and a milk glass canning seal were also noted.

A subsurface test excavation (1.5 by .5 m in size, measurement units normally used by archaeologists) straddled the east wall of the two-room adobe house. This test pit was oriented roughly east-west, with its long axis perpendicular to the visible wall outline. The surface fill was loose, soft, recent alluvial wash covering mounded, irregular, melted adobe rubble, 3-4 cm (1-1.5 in.) below the surface. This melted adobe rubble was hardened and granular, with small pebbles, and friable, breaking into small, irregular chunks. Removal of loose fill above this rubble revealed the surface of the exterior wall plaster bearing traces of lime or whitewash surface coating.

The exterior rubble layer extended 20 cm (8 in.) below the surface. Below the rubble layer, occasional flecks of limey wall plaster occurred, and lower portions of the plastered wall were less well defined. The plaster may have flaked away from the base of the wall. The original ground surface below the rubble fill was softer, quite pebbly, and uniform in texture. The wall itself was stratigraphically complex and confused, including chunks of adobe mixed with melted adobe and alluvial fill. Below this mixed material, a darkly stained, softer fill occurred, probably representing decomposed soft wood, or wood mixed with rust. A large, square-head iron spike protruded from within the wall.

Adobe rubble similar to exterior fill occurred within the structure, with pockets of soft, dark brown organic material, probably decomposed wood, mixed with rust from decomposing metal, numerous small bits of white plaster, and occasional pieces of burned adobe. This rubble fill extended to about 25 cm below the surface, where several metal artifacts, including a large padlock and chain, lay on the earthen floor. The floor was medium hard with irregular, horizontal cracks. The interior surface of the wall was evident, but irregular and poorly defined. The wall may have melted and eroded away from the interior plaster.

Initially, the regular thickness and straight, even plastering of the wall suggested a conventional adobe wall. During excavation, no actual adobe bricks were located, and most rubble was too irregular in form to have represented bricks. Examination of the wall itself also failed to disclose any outlines of bricks or mortar joints. Large amounts of decomposed organic material were mixed throughout the rubble, but no “ghosts” or outlines of milled lumber could be identified. These several facts strongly suggest that the wall was jacal, or wattle and daub construction. The highly decomposed nature of the woody materials suggests that soft woods were probably used. The most likely local material might have been yucca stalks. Once the interior was opened, a musty smell was noted, indicating active decomposition and at least some pockets of air. Several of the metal artifacts, particularly the padlock on the floor, suggest that preservation within the structure is still good, and decomposition of perishable materials is still in progress.

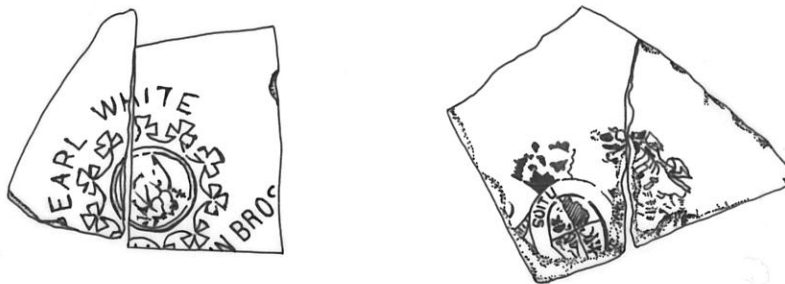


Figure 11. Late nineteenth century ceramic hallmarks, Lewis Tank, LA 82029 (actual size).

The Stock Pen/Corral

A small, vertical-post stock corral, approximately 45 by 60 ft, encloses a 2,700-sq-ft area south of the adobe house. Remnants of small juniper logs protrude several inches above the present ground surface, marking the east and north outlines of the enclosure. Most visible posts are closely spaced, from 2 to 6 in. apart. No gate is apparent. A central, large-diameter juniper snubbing post is also visible.

The North Well

The North Well at Lewis Tank is an unlined, hand-dug, shallow, cylindrical excavation, with spoil dirt discarded in a circular berm around the exterior. Several juniper posts suggest the remains of an aboveground structure, possibly for a rope and bucket winch. No evidence of a tower, mill, or pump remains. The excavation is conical, with a surface diameter of about 15 ft, extending to a depth of about 5 ft, where a 6-ft-diameter cylindrical shaft extends downward another 9 ft to a total depth of about 14 ft. The estimated volume of earth removed is 500 cu ft.

The South Well

The South Well is also an unlined, hand-dug, shallow, cylindrical excavation, with spoil dirt discarded in a circular berm around the exterior and extending west to connect with the earthen tank berm. No evidence of a tower, mill, or pump remains. The excavation is conical, with a surface diameter of about 17 ft, extending to a depth of about 6 ft, where a 7-ft-diameter cylindrical shaft extends downward another 7 ft to a total depth of about 13 ft. The estimated volume of earth removed is also 500 cu ft.

Earthen Dam/Stock Tank (Structure 5)

This earthen tank consists of an elongated, narrow berm enclosing the lower reaches of a small runoff channel. The two limbs of the berm diverge at a slight angle and join in a smooth circular curve at the downslope end, forming a narrow U. At its maximum, the berm is about 4 ft high and 8 ft wide. The overall dimensions of the tank are 165 by 750 ft, impounding an area of 48,500 sq ft. The estimated depth of the maximum pool is 2 ft, with an estimated volume of 97,000 cu ft. The earthwork has an estimated volume of 43,000 cu ft.

Earthen Dam/Stock Tank (Structure 6)

This earthen tank also has an elongated, narrow berm enclosing the lower reaches of a small runoff channel. The two limbs of the berm diverge at a slight angle and join in a squared-off, downslope end, forming a narrow, acute triangle. This tank appears to have been the first constructed, and portions of the west limb have apparently been removed during construction of the larger, more recent tank immediately to the west. At its maximum, this berm is about 2 ft high and 5 ft wide. It is likely that it was deeper when in active use. Overall structural dimensions are 115 by 390 ft, impounding an area of 35,500 sq ft. The estimated depth of the maximum pool is 2 ft, with an estimated volume of 71,000 cu ft. Earthwork has an estimated volume of 6,300 cu ft, but appears to have been reduced by erosion.

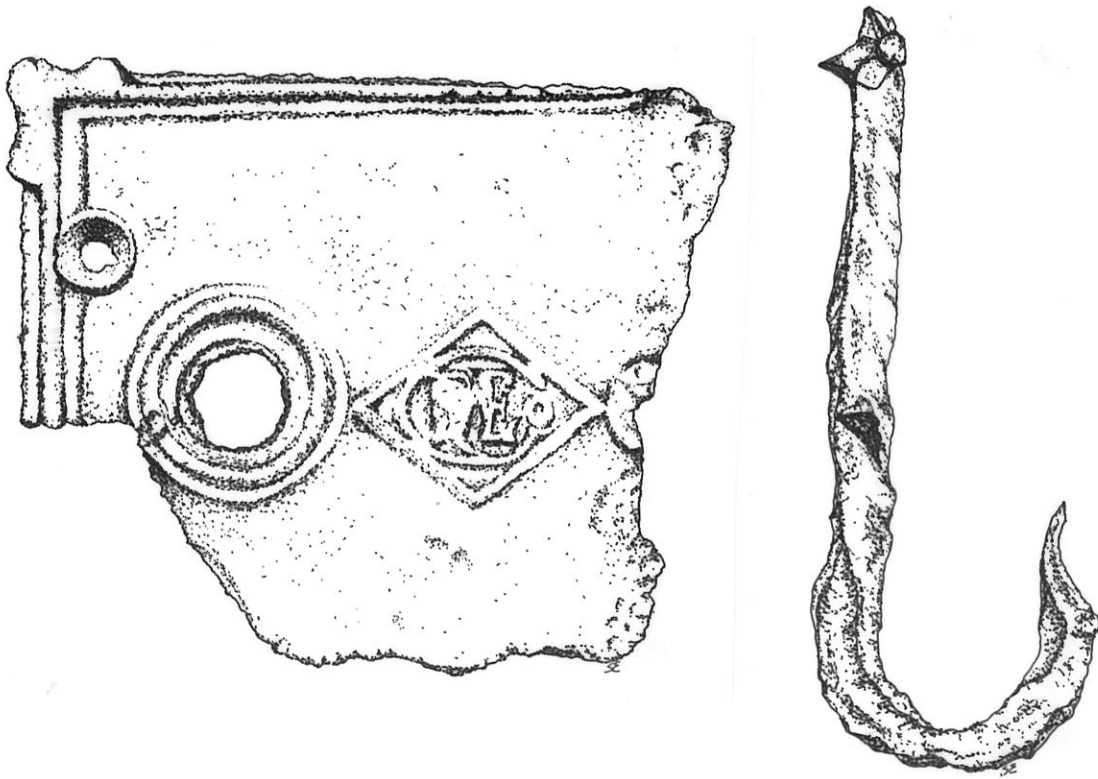


Figure 12. Hand-forged iron hook and iron box lock plate, Lewis Tank, LA 82029 (actual size).

Lewis Well—the Mike Arrieta or Harriet Ranch (LA 82031)

The Mike Arrieta Ranch has been identified by a number of names in archival records and on historic maps. The site consists of an extensive, complex set of stock corrals, probably for use with horses, sheep or goats, and cattle; an earthen-berm tank; two hand-dug wells and one drilled well; a board and batten residential building in a state of collapse; and an earlier archaeological component including an adobe residence and possibly several additional structures. The location lies at the focus of several pasture fence lines.

The early history of this ranch remains unclear, but it may have first been occupied during the 1880s to 1890s. Evidently, this was Charlie Lewis' ranch during the early years of the century and may be the property purchased from Emile James, which is referred to in a 1904 chattel mortgage (Table 1). No original patent has been located in county archives. This ranch was still active in the early 1940s when the property was acquired by the Department of the Army.

The Arrieta Ranch occupies semidesert grassland on the vast alluvial plains of the Jornada del Muerto. The vicinity is dominated today by creosotebush, mesquite, and fourwing saltbush. One large cottonwood was planted in the berm of the stock tank but has died and fallen in the years since the ranch was active. The ranch plan is informal and accretional, tightly clustered around the wells. Converging pasture fences and roads provide some internal divisions.

Residence

This collapsed, single-story, rectangular board-and-batten building measures 10 by 20 ft. The foundation consists of an adobe footing with inset vertical corner posts. The ceiling is built of lumber rafters and sawn lumber planks to form a shed roof sheathed in corrugated metal. Wall interiors are unfinished; the floor consists of 1 by 12 in. planks with no covering. One 1-leaf exterior doorway is centered in the north wall. It is hinged on the west edge but no longer retains its door. No interior doors were evident, and the structure apparently consisted of a single room. No window sash remains but a window opens in the center of west wall; one (or two) windows in the south wall probably were double-hung sash. Sills and lintels are plank lumber. Heat was provided by a stove vented through the roof in the southwest corner. This building probably dates to the 1920s–1930s and may have been built over an earlier structure.

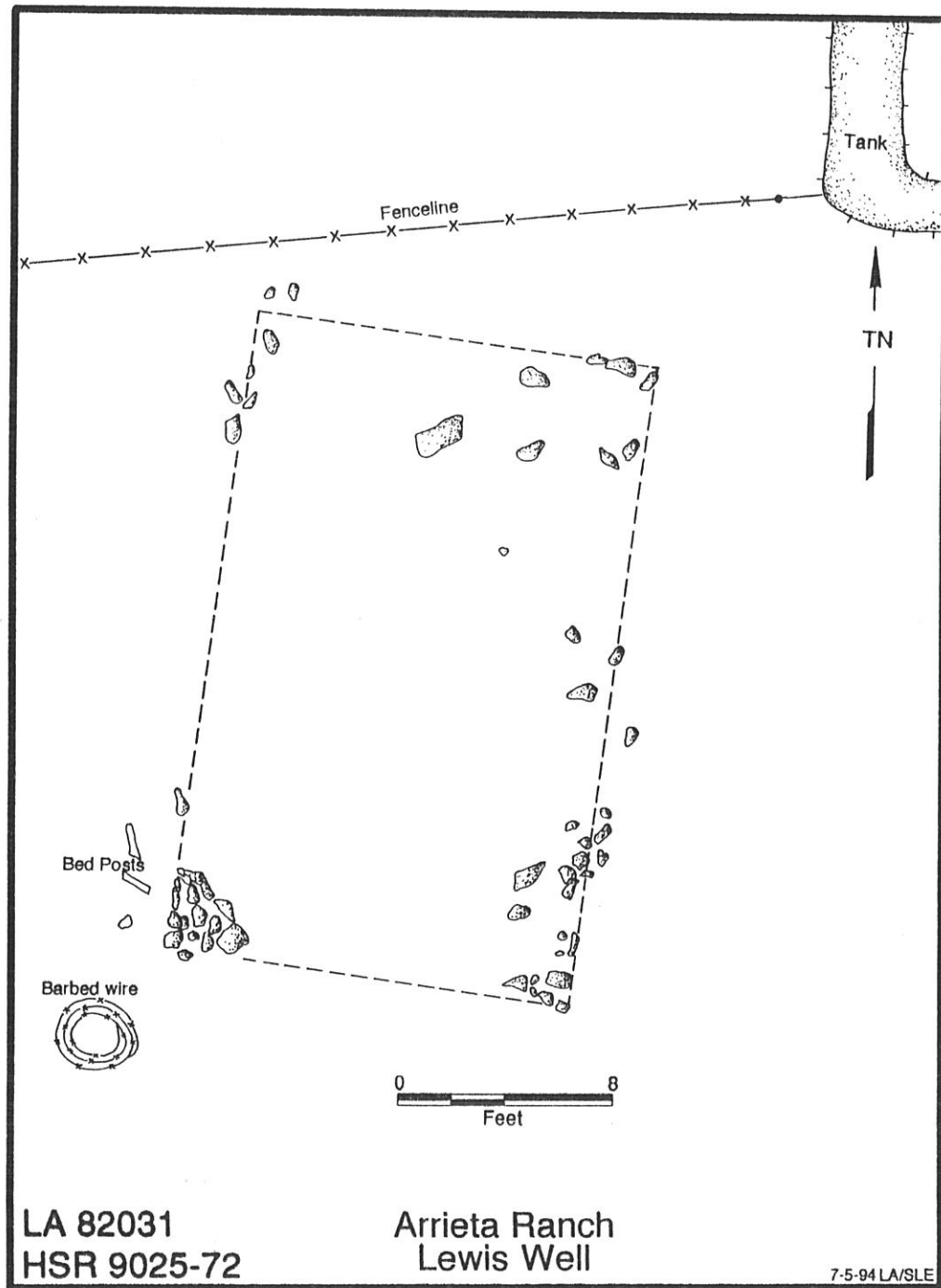


Figure 13. Original adobe residence at Lewis Well (Harriet or Arrieta Ranch).

Adobe House Ruin

The eroded remnants of a rectangular adobe building are evident just to the southwest of the main earthen stock tank. The structure is approximately 16 by 30 ft in size. Its entrance may have faced east toward the corral/tank complex. Remnants of a fieldstone foundation are visible at the corners, and a stone fireplace footing is evident in the southwest corner. A diffuse ash pile lies about 15 ft northwest of the north wall, suggesting a north doorway. A corbeled, rock-lined subterranean cistern with stuccoed interior occurs about 30 ft southwest of the southwest corner of the ruin.

Double Hand-dug Wells

An 18 to 20 ft wood windmill tower built of 8 in. timbers lies over the top of an 8-ft-sq, hand-dug well pit. A second well pit adjoins along the south. Depth could not be ascertained because of the wood and metal debris, which may represent remnants of a well house, in the pits. Sheet-metal tern plate sheathing may have roofed this structure. The position and construction of these wells suggest that they are associated with the adobe ruin.

Earthen Tank and Well

This large, deep oval to subrectangular earthen berm tank was fed by water from a drilled well at its south edge. The earthen tank measures 110 by 120 ft impounding an area of 5,382 sq ft. At an estimated maximum depth of 5 ft, the tank would have held 27,000 cu ft. The estimated volume of earthwork is 20,000 cu ft. The drilled well at the foot of the berm is cased with 4-in. pipe and reinforced with heavy boards and railroad timbers that may have supported a windmill tower. Steel pipe exits through the berm to supply smaller metal watering tanks and troughs throughout the adjacent corral complex. A very large, 3-ft-diameter cottonwood tree, now dead, down, and cut into segments, once grew on the top of the berm, along its southern margin. The tank is bordered on three sides by corral fences, but may not have been fully enclosed by a stock exclusion fence.

Corrals

This elaborate corral complex, 260 by 590 ft in size and enclosing a total area of 66,000 sq ft, lies at the focus of four pasture fence lines converging from the north, northeast, west, and southwest. The

complex includes at least six separate paddock areas adjacent to a fenced residential/yard area that is immediately south of the corral structures. The separate paddocks are of several different sizes and configurations, and the complex appears to have been constructed gradually by accretion. All but one of these paddocks incorporate watering facilities that were pipe-fed from the main earthen stock tank in the southwest corner of the complex. The northwest paddock is constructed of wood posts and barbed wire on three sides, built onto the closely spaced vertical-post north-central paddock. It has two semicylindrical water troughs set in wooden lumber frames. The square north-central paddock has tall, closely spaced vertical-post fences on three sides and a fourth post-and-board fence/retaining wall along the side adjacent to the earthen tank. Gates open to pastures at three corners and to another round, vertical-post corral on the fourth corner. A 4-ft-high, 12-ft-sq board pen containing a 3-ft-deep, concrete-lined, cylindrical metal tank occupies the south side of the paddock. A pipe from this tank feeds a narrow rectangular box-formed concrete trough near the center of the paddock. Remnants of timbers and posts suggest the presence of an additional structure next to this trough. A small, round timber-and-cross-tie pen or corral abuts the southeast corner of the north-central corral. Heavy gates open in three directions to adjacent paddocks. Another gate opens into a narrow paddock, with a small pen at its southern end. This paddock also contains a semicylindrical metal water trough fed by a pipe from the earthen stock tank and a lumber feed trough. To the southeast, a large, more lightly built vertical post and wire corral with semicylindrical water trough and lumber feed trough lies adjacent to the main north-south primitive road. Another rectangular corral with lumber feed troughs straddles the road, extending to the east fenceline. The main corral fences are continuous with those enclosing the residential/yard area to the south, which enclose the water-production facilities, two distinct residential components, and work areas.

Other Possible Buildings

Two additional structures may have existed at the Arrieta Ranch. The first may have been an earlier adobe residence, partially below the existing board-and-batten standing structure. What appear to be remnants of adobe walls are apparent to the west and south, and a light scatter of turn-of-the-century artifacts would appear to predate the existing residence.

The second possible structure may have been a shed or small barn/garage. It is tenuously suggested by a distinct, rectangular, bare area within the sparse cover at the center of the yard, immediately east of the two hand-dug wells, and north of the existing wood building. The structural remnants that have fallen into the hand-dug wells may be the remains of this structure.

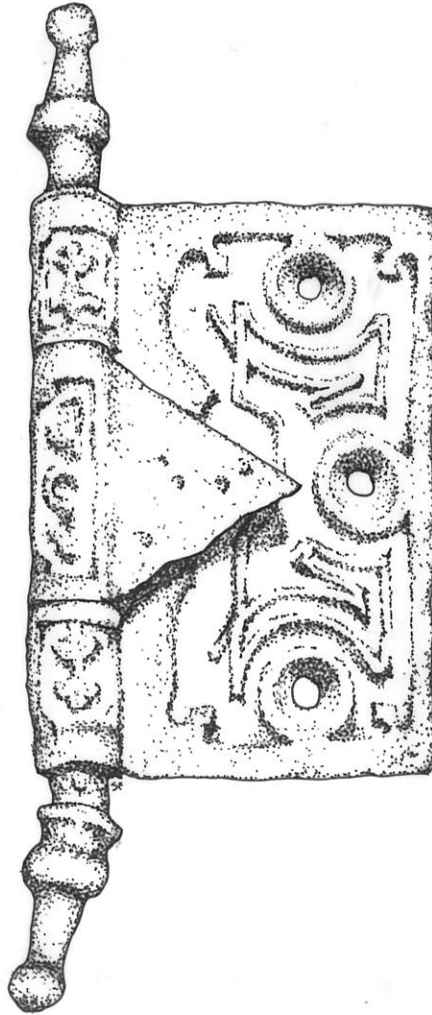


Figure 14. Ornamental iron hinge, Old Well, IA 82030 (actual size).

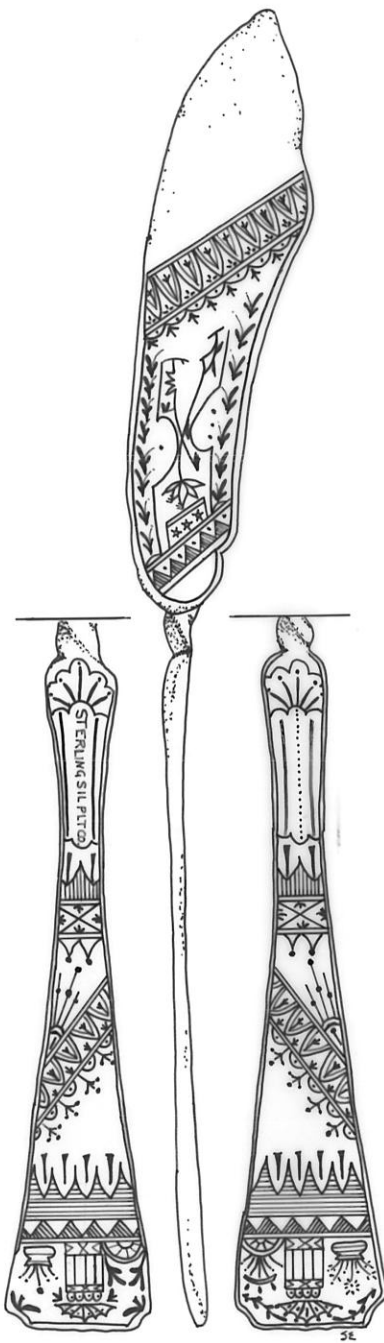


Figure 15. Ornate silver plate butter knife, Old Well, LA 82030 (actual size).

Old Well–Component 1 (LA 82030)

Three distinct components are present at Old Well. These components lie at the focus of two converging fence lines in the flat grasslands of the Jornada del Muerto. Scattered mesquite, creosotebush, and fourwing saltbush occupy shallow erosional channels, and recently introduced tamarisk now crowd the damp interior of the earthen tanks. The residential complex (Component 1), with its associated storage and water-production facilities, and the modern large earthen tank (Component 3) lie north of these fences. The isolated windmill/well and metal storage tank (Component 2) lie just outside the gate, south of the apex of the fence lines. A shallow pan or mud flat lies along the north side of the site.

Component 1 represents a turn-of-the-century residential ranch complex; no standing buildings remain. This component includes a burned adobe residence, four unidentified outbuildings, two earthen-berm tanks, a hand-dug well, and two drilled wells. An extensive surface artifact scatter securely dates this component to before 1917. Cartridge calibers and manufacturers' marks associated with Component 1 closely match those at Lewis Tank, suggesting the two sites may be associated.

Component 2 is more recent and includes a drilled well, a metal and wood windmill tower, and a metal storage tank located by a corner fenceline gate. The mill tail reads "The Wonder Model, made at Elgin, Ill." Component 3 is a large earthen-berm stock tank with some evidence of prior berms and dikes probably built by bulldozer.

The original subdivision survey in this vicinity took place between 1854-1860 under Pelham's administration, predating surveys to the east in the vicinity of Lewis Tank and Arrieta Ranch. The early date of this survey may account for a discrepancy in its original legal description. This ranch is the only likely candidate for the property sold to E.H. Sweet in 1905 by Henry and Mary Russell with a Quitclaim Deed and later identified in a 1908 mortgage as "the Baldy Russell Place" on "unsurveyed . . . land" (see Table 1).

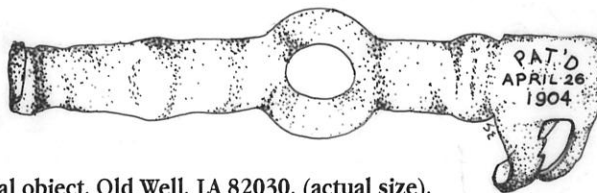


Figure 16. Unidentified metal object, Old Well, LA 82030. (actual size).

Residence

All that remains of this structure is a low, eroded adobe mound, with a moderate to dense scatter of associated artifacts. Many of the latter are burned or melted, but otherwise in good condition, suggesting that the structure may have been in active use at the time it burned. No interior walls, window or door locations, or other structural features are evident. Stubs of burned or scorched adobe walls are visible and outline an L-shaped building, 32 by 45 ft, enclosing an area of 1,260 sq ft. An additional scatter of artifacts and burned adobe immediately to the west suggests what may have been a less-substantial addition or a small outbuilding. The height of the mound versus the surrounding surface suggests that up to 3 ft of deposits may remain in places. Artifacts noted on the mound and in the immediate vicinity include several varieties of china; bottle, window, culinary, and lantern chimney glass; an 1889 U.S. nickel; china doll parts; table utensils; a spur rowel; and other domestic items. Other domestic and ranching items are scattered in the general vicinity, in and around this and neighboring structures. Cartridge cases found at this location and throughout Component 1 suggest occupation dates from the late 1880s–1890s to the early 1920s. The calibers, manufacturers headstamps, and in some cases the firing-pin impressions suggest strong similarities with the smaller adobe building at Lewis Well, approximately 4 mi to the northeast.

Barn/Garage (?)

This large rectangular structure is outlined by an artifact scatter and gravel-free area measuring 40 by 50 ft. It may have been a large (2,000 sq ft) wooden barn or garage. Rodent disturbance and tumbleweed growth coincide with its outline, apparently restricted to softer soils which accumulated within and below the building. The artifacts suggest ranching, stock handling, and equipment and automotive maintenance. A scatter of canning glass occupies the northeastern corner, suggesting food storage.

Unidentified Structure

This location, immediately north of the adobe residence, is similar to the possible barn, although its outlines are indistinct. A dense artifact scatter is associated with surface gravels, rodent disturbance and tumbleweed growth which may be characteristic of aboveground building locations at this component. The approximate dimensions of this possible structure are 40 by 50 ft, but outlines are very indistinct.

Blacksmith Shop (?)

This small structure had at least two, and possibly four adobe walls which have collapsed and melted into a low mound. The presence of cinders, charcoal, scrap metal, horseshoes, etc., suggest the structure may have been a blacksmith shop. Its overall dimensions are 20 by 23 ft, enclosing an area of 460 sq ft. Isolated juniper fenceposts around the exterior may be remnants of an enclosure or pen.

Stable (?)

This 12-by-16-ft structure contains traces of an adobe wall and what may be the remains of two parallel wood partitions. Its size, form, structure, and its proximity to the probable blacksmith shop strongly suggest that it may have been a small stable, with several straight stalls.

Hand-dug Well and Earthen-berm Tank with Drilled Wells

These water-production and storage features include one hand-dug well south of a 65-by-95-ft low, oval, earthen-berm water tank, and two cased, drilled wells immediately to the west. The tank had a maximum depth of 3 ft and a maximum pool of 6,800 cu ft, enclosed by 5,300 cu ft of earthwork. The remains of posts, timbers, and planks around the well suggest it may have once had a windmill and tower, but these have been removed. Several inlet/outlet pipes penetrate the south side of the tank berm and probably connected with the hand-dug well. The tank is surrounded by the remains of a juniper-post and barbed-wire stock exclusion fence enclosing 6,200 sq ft. Remnants of two other parallel fence lines extend along the north side of the tank and may mark the margins of the original road. Another remnant fenceline lies nearby, to the west. All three are made from closely spaced juniper posts. A wing berm extends eastward from the south side of the tank, probably to retard surface erosion of the tank berm. Two well casings protrude slightly above the surface to the west of the tank, where scatters of lava boulders may represent some kind of structural footing.

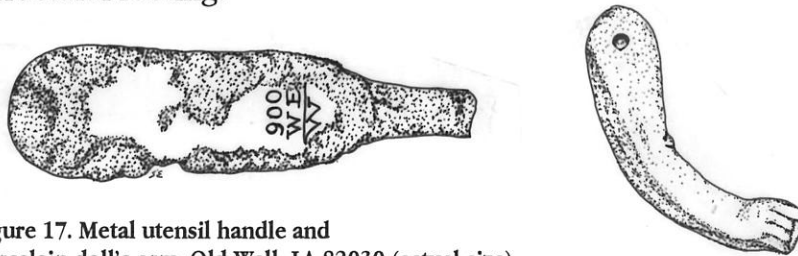


Figure 17. Metal utensil handle and porcelain doll's arm, Old Well, LA 82030 (actual size).

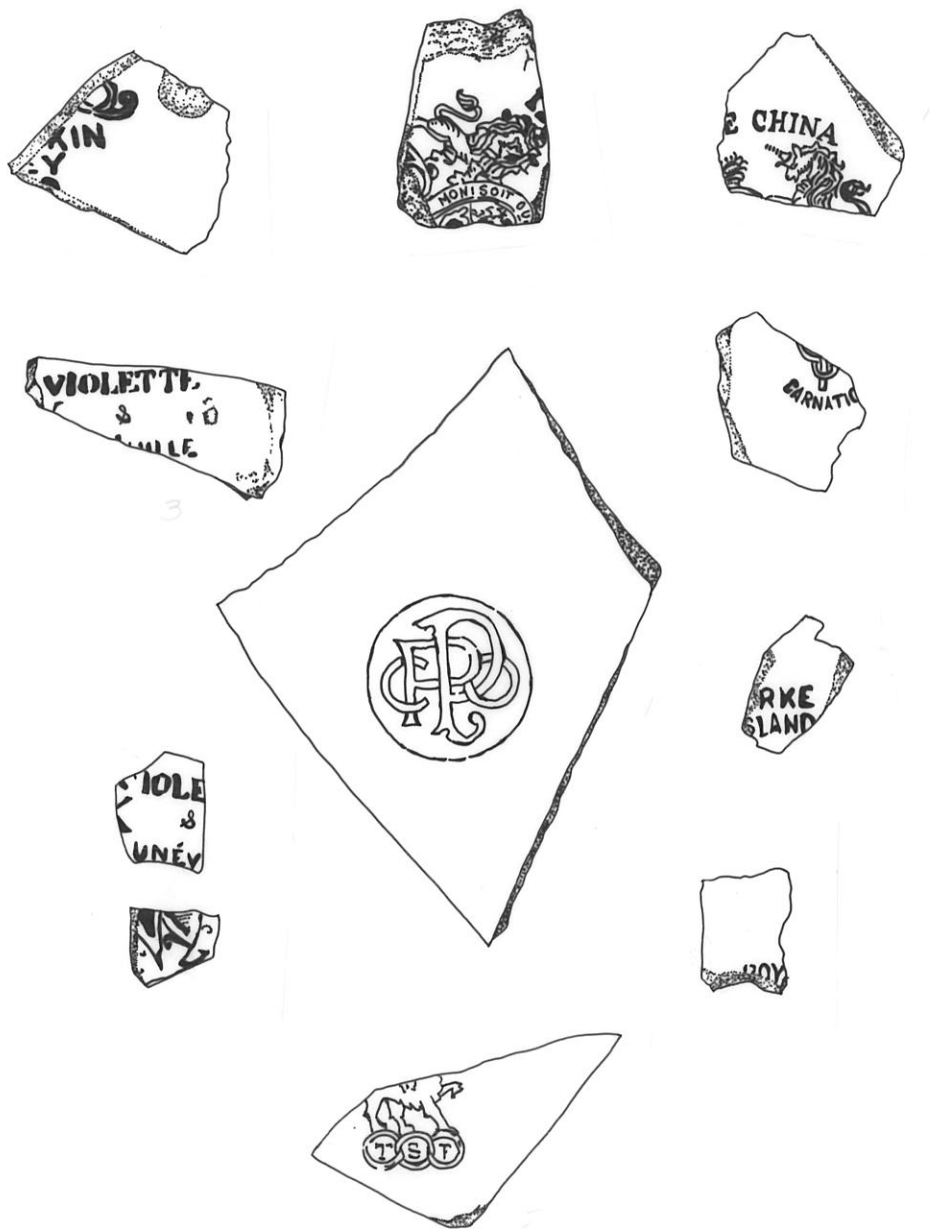


Figure 18. Ceramic hallmarks, Old Well, IA 82030 (actual size).

Earthen-berm Tank

This long, narrow 100-by-310-ft earthen-berm tank lies at the extreme north end of the residential and production complex comprising Component 1 at Old Well. It consists of a narrow, closed U-shaped earthen berm that probably impounded the several shallow, erosional channels that now cut diagonally across the structure. The tank is completely silted in, but at its maximum probably held no more than 2 ft of water impounding a maximum of 37,000 cu ft within 7,400 cu ft of earthwork. It strongly resembles the two tanks at Lewis Tank, and the scatter of cartridge casings and other occasional artifacts closely match those recorded at Lewis Tank, minimally suggesting contemporaneity and possibly construction and use by the same individuals.

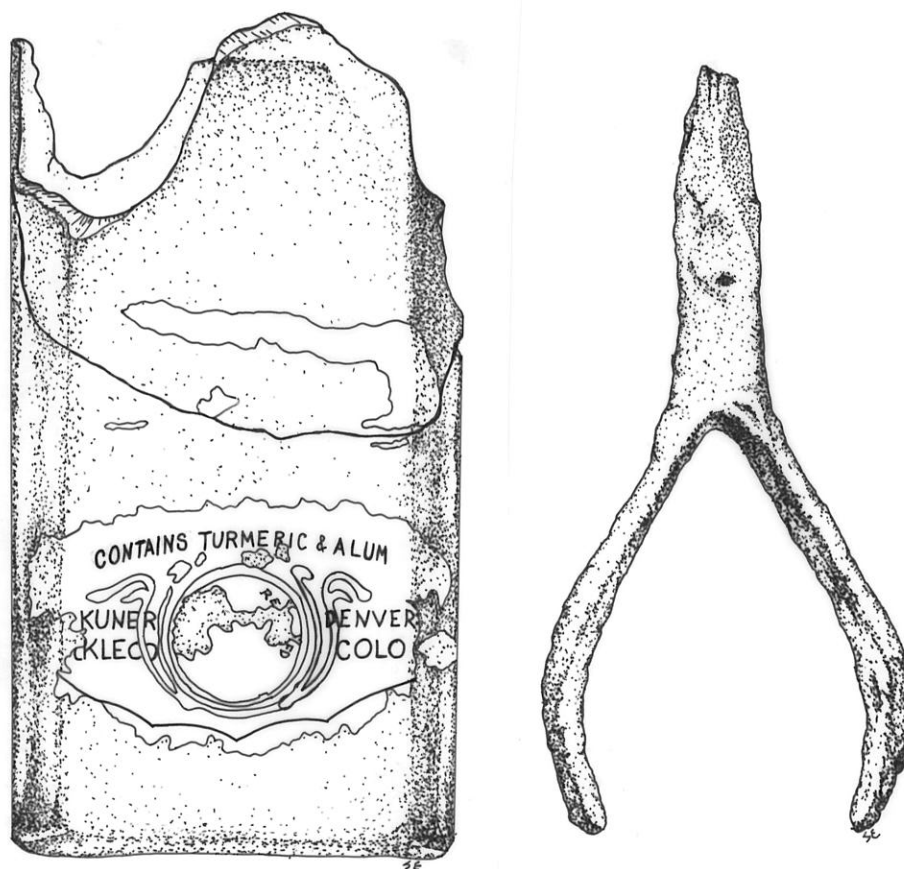


Figure 19. Glass pickle bottle with label, and pliers, Old Well, LA 82030 (actual size).

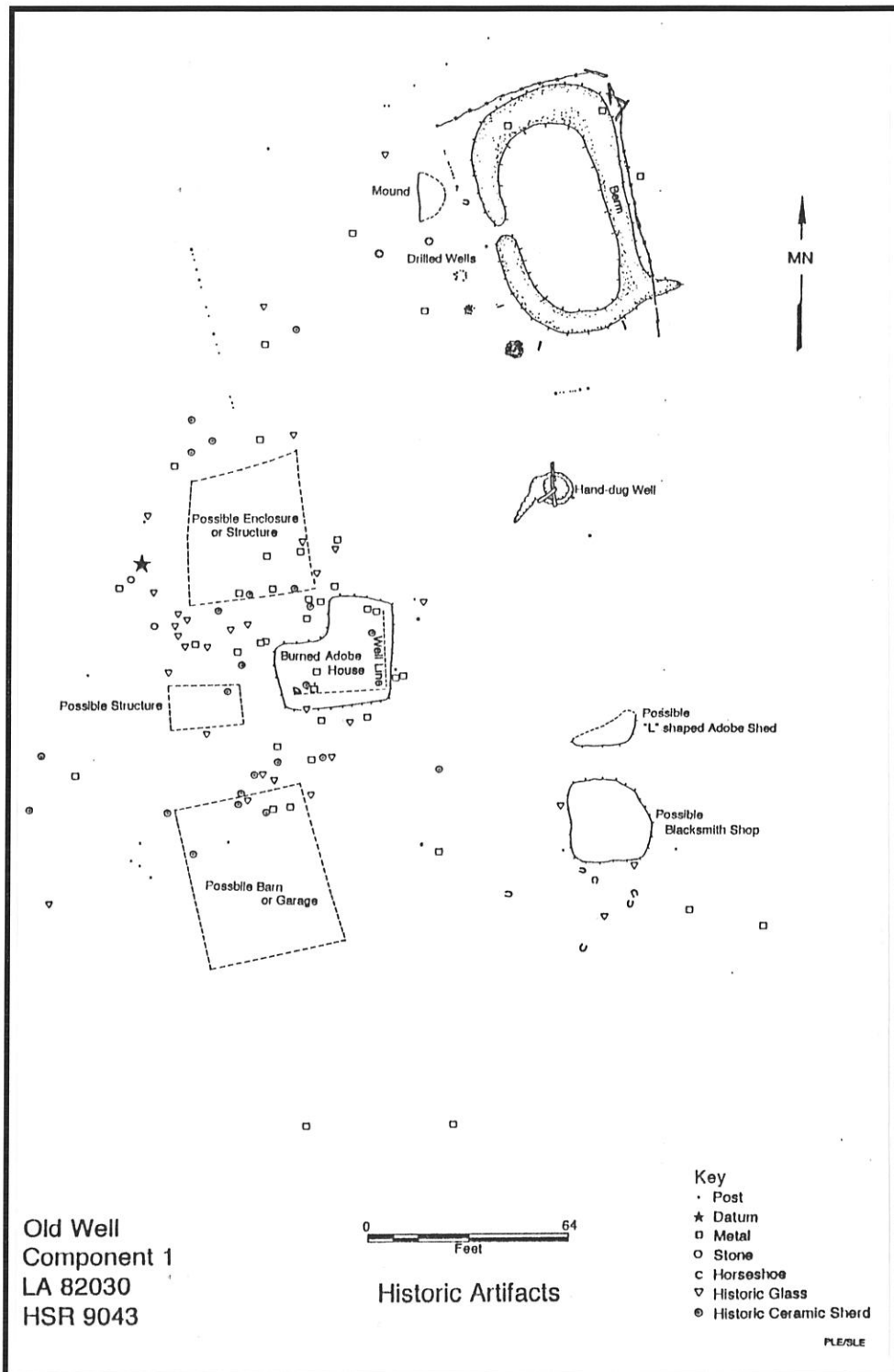


Figure 20. Historic artifacts, Old Well.

Cartridge Data

The combination of remote location, archaeological condition, restricted access, and a stable landscape have contributed to the preservation of unique assemblages of cartridge casings at Lewis Tank and Old Well, as well as other ranching sites in the vicinity. Both Lewis Tank and Component 1 at Old Well represent single, relatively short occupational episodes with a well-preserved surface assemblage of artifacts. Both sites, which were originally documented during surveys in support of the Aerial Cable Test Capability project (HSR Staff 1991) were recorded in detail. Cartridge casings and other diagnostic artifacts were mapped and collected, establishing a comparative profile for availability and popularity of ammunition during the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries in south-central New Mexico. Only one other extensive cartridge assemblage is currently reported within the Tularosa Basin/Jornada region—the Oliver Lee Dog Canyon Ranch. These several assemblages, together with limited data from two other Jornada sites, are presented in Table 3. No extensive collections were made at the Arrieta (Lewis Well) or Martin Ranches because they represent much longer and more recent periods. The limited presence/absence of data from both sites do, however, illustrate an assemblage shift during later periods.

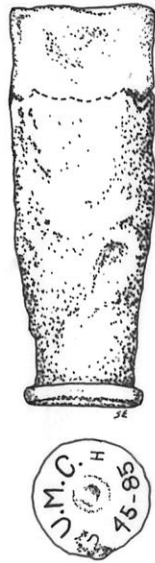


Figure 21. Cartridge casing, .45–85 UMC SH, 1886–1911, Old Well, IA 82030 (actual size).

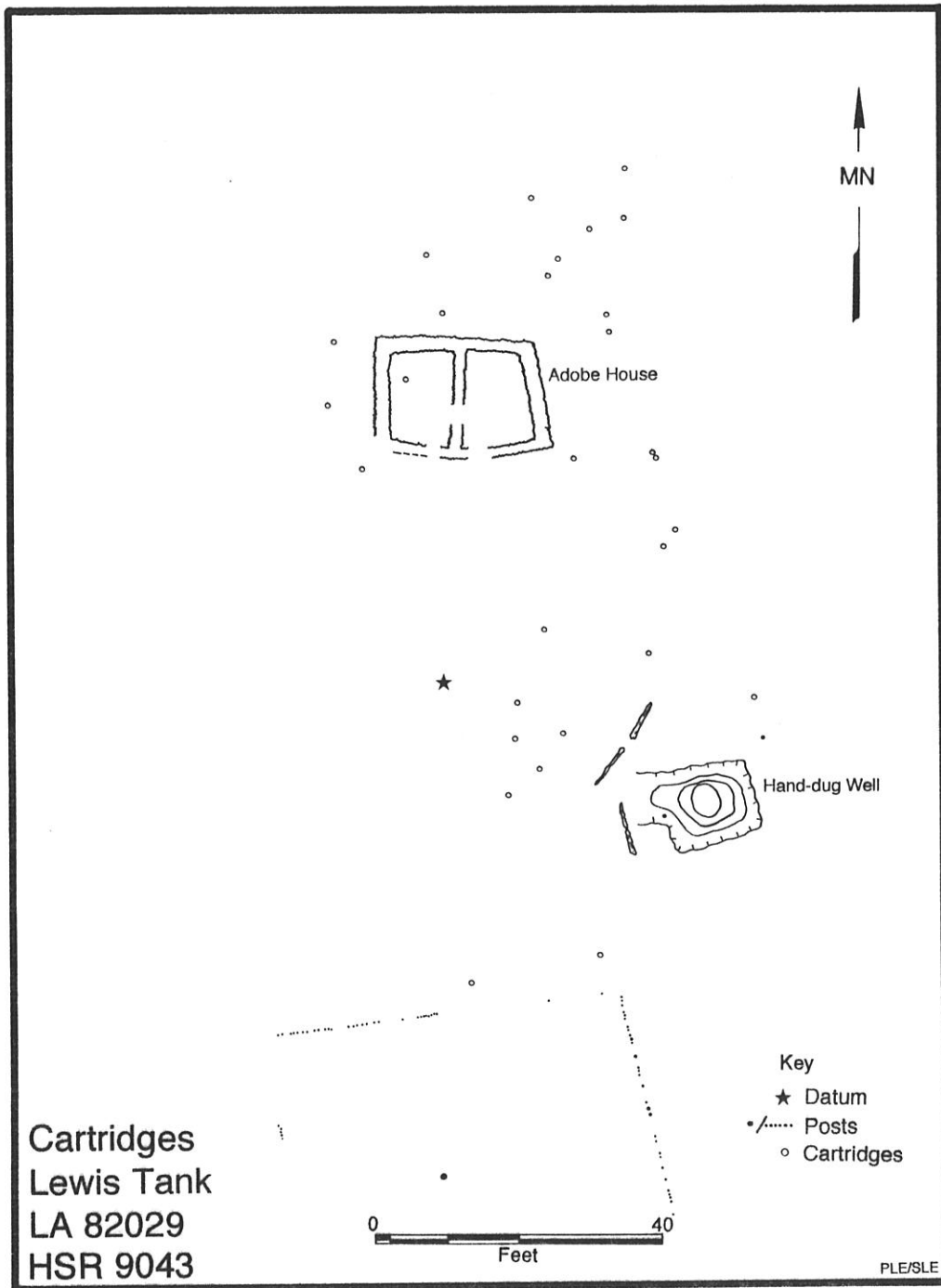


Figure 22. Cartridges, Lewis Tank.

Table 3. Cartridge Cases at Lee, Russell, and Martin Historic Ranch Sites.

Cartridge Caliber/Headstamp	Date	Lewis Tank	Old Well	Arrieta Ranch	Lee Ranch	Martin Ranch
.22					106	
.22 P	1887-1934		X			
.22 Peters HV (lr)	1889-1934			X	2	
.22 F (lr)	1917-present			X	3	
.22 U (lr) HS	1930-present			X	2	X
.22 Super X (xlr)	1932-present			X	5	
.22 Super X (lr)	1920-present				3	X
.22 U (l)	1890-present		2	X		
.22 H (s)	1917-present		1	X	6	
.25 auto	1932-					1
.25-20 WCF-WRA Co.	1892-1940		2		2	
.25-20 REM-UMC	1892-1911		1			
.25-20 UMC	1892-1911(?)		1			
.25					1	
.25-35 WCF-WRA Co.	1895-1940		9	X		
.25-35 UMC	1895-1911		5			
.25-35 Peters	1907-1934		1			
.270 WCF-WRA Co.	1940-present			X		
.270 Superspeed	1940-present			X		
.30	1895-				17	
.30 USA-UMC	1895-				4	
.30 WCF-WRA Co.	1895-1940		22		8	
.30 USG-WRA Co.	1905-1935(?)		6		10	
.30 Army WRA Co.	1896-1940		X		1	
.30 G 1903	1903				1	
.30-06 LC54	1954					X
7.62 NATO LC44	1944			X	22	
7.62 NATO EC43	1943			X		
.30-30 Win. R-P	1960-				1	
.30-30 Win. Rem.-UMC	1895-				1	
.30-30 Win. FC	1917-				1	
.30-30 UMC	1895-1911		3			
.30-30 Peters	1907-1934		1	X		X
.30-30 WCF-WRA Co.	1895-1940		2			
.30-40 Krag Supspd.	1896-1940		1			
.30-54 SL						1
.303 Savage REM-UMC	1895-1945				2	

Table 3. Cartridge Cases at Lee, Russell, and Martin Historic Ranch Sites (cont.)

Cartridge Caliber/Headstamp	Date	Lewis Tank	Old Well	Arrieta Ranch	Lee Ranch	Martin Ranch
.32					6	
.32 S&W WRA	1878-1940				3	
.32 WCF-WRA Co.	1882-1940		5	X	3	
.32 ACP UMC	1900-1911		1			
.32 WCF REM-UMC	1911-ca. 1920(?)		4			X
.32 WS WRA Co.	1902-1940		1			
.32 AC WRA	1903-1940				1	
.32-20 Western	1917-1932			X		X
.32-40 WRA Co.	1882-1940	3				
.32-40 Peters	1907-1934		2			
.35 WCF-WRA Co.	1905-1935			X		
.38 Short -----	1873-1920(?)	1				
.38					16	
.38 Long WRA	1875-1900				3	
.38 Long SH UMC	1875-1911				1	
.38 Long WRA	1875-1900				1	
.38 Long CFW-UMC	1876-1911	1				
.38 WCF-WRA Co.	1880-1930(?)	2	2			
.38 WCF -----	1880-1930(?)	1				
.38 Peters HV	1920-1934			X		
.38 S&W U rimfire	1877-1910	1				
.38 S&W -----	1877-present	1			3	
.38 S&W S-UMC-H	1877(?) - 1911(?)		1		1	
.38 Special	1902-				1	
.38 Auto						1
.380 Auto	1917-					1
.38-55 WRA Co.	-1940				2	
.38-56 WCF-WRA Co.	1887-1935	4				
.40-82 WCF	1886-1935				1	
.41 S. DA. WRA Co.	1877-1930	2				
.41 Long UMC	1877-1911	5				
.41 Long -----	1877-	2				
.41 Long Colt	1877-1930				1	
.44 S&WR UMC	1878-1911		X(?)			
.44 S&W AM WRA Co.(?)		1				
.44 WCF-WRA Co.	1873-1940	14	19	X	7	
.44 CFW-UMC	1873-1911	4	2		2	
.44 WCF-UMC	1875(?) - 1911			2		
.44 WCF -----	1873-1911					

Table 3. Cartridge Cases at Lee, Russell, and Martin Historic Ranch Sites (cont.)

Cartridge Caliber/Headstamp	Date	Lewis Tank	Old Well	Arrieta Ranch	Lee Ranch	Martin Ranch
.44 Colt UMC	1878-1911		2			
.44-40 UMC	1873-1911		1			
.44-40 Peters	1907-1934		5			
.45 Colt ----	1873-1930s	1	2		24	
.45 Colt WRA Co.	1873-1940	10	12		7	
.45 Colt UMC	1875-1911	2	4		13	
.45 Colt US	1873-1936		2		3	
.45 Colt DC Co.	1890(?) -1948		2		1	
.45 Colt Peters	1887-1911		2		1	
.45 Colt REM-UMC	1911-				1	
.45 Colt Auto	1905-present				X	2
.45-70 USG-WRA Co.	1873-1910	1			1	
.45-85 SH-UMC	1886-1911		1			
Win. No. 10 Leader	1894-				2	
UMC No. 10 Smokeless	1895-1910(?)		1			
No. 10 Nitro Club					1	
No. 12 Arrow UMC	1899-				1	
Win. No. 12 Repeater	1912-1920	2	1	X		
Win. No. 12 Leader	1894-1920	1	7			
Win. No. 12 Blue Rival	1913(?) -1920s(?)			2		
Win. No. 12 New Rival	1913-1920s(?)	1	2			
WRA Co. No. 12 Rival		1				
PCC No. 12 League	1887-1934		1			
UMC No. 12 Nitro Club	1899-1911		4		1	
UMC No. 12 New Club	1891-	1			1	
Peters No. 12 HV	1907-1934			X		
W.C.Co.No. 12 Sure Shot	1898-1932			X		
Rem. No. 12 Express	1900-1911			X		
M.F.A. Co.No. 12 Pointer	1920(?)			X		
No. 12 (?) WRA Co.	1890-1940s(?)	1				
Win. No. 16 New Rival	1913(?) -1920s(?)		1		1	
Win. No. 20 Super X	ca. 1920			X	1	
No. 20 Monark Federal					1	
Win. No. 20 Leader	1894-				1	

X - identified on survey/uncollected

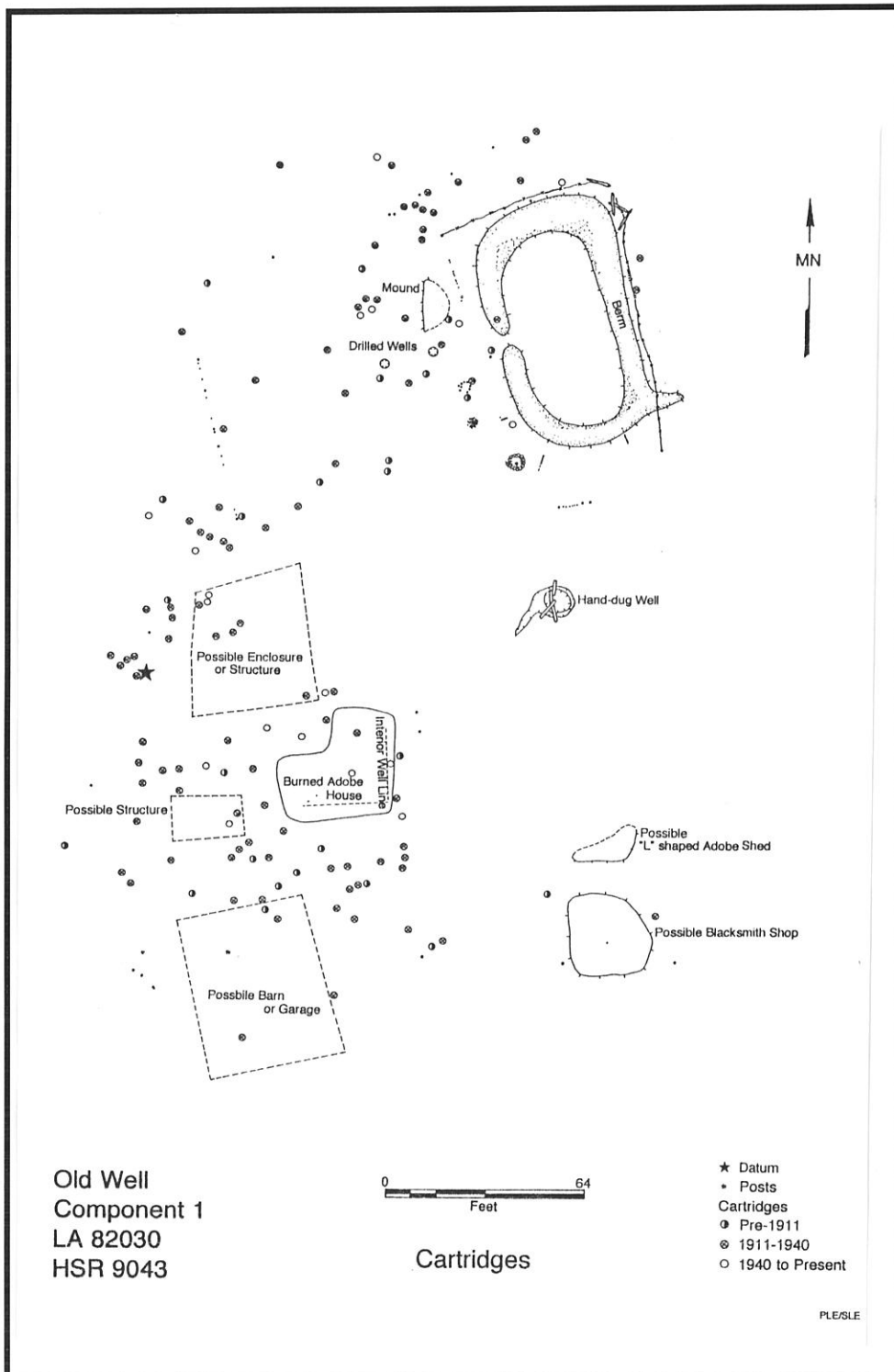


Figure 23. Cartridges, Old Well.

Risky Business

We may never know with certainty which ranches were first homesteaded by Baldy and his devoted wife, Mary, but several lines of evidence suggest a plausible scenario linking the Russells with all three northern Jornada sites and a number of other locations along the western slopes of the San Andres and Oscura Mountains.

We know from family testimony gathered by Sonnichsen (1984) that Baldy dug at least five wells between 1892 and 1898 in a variety of locations, ranging from Lava Gap northward. The Russells remained in the area until about 1905 when their daughter, Maude, married Riley Caldwell, a cowboy working for Charlie Lewis.

Baldy dug the first well in Lava Gap in 1892. He dug a second well later the same year, built a frame house and corrals nearby, and sold the first location to Tom McDonald of Tularosa. A third well, north of the first two, may have been started the same year.

Three years later, Baldy sold a second ranch to Fred and Frank Smith (or Schmidt) of Engle, whose families are listed, along with the Russells, in the 1900 census. This ranch was later sold to the McDonalds and became known as the George McDonald Ranch, the assembly site of the first successful atomic device exploded during the Trinity Test in 1945. The Schmidt or George McDonald Ranch lies about 20 mi north of the Lava Gap area.

According to Sonnichsen (1984), Baldy dug his fourth well and built a “picket” house in 1898, 20 mi north of his previous efforts at Lava Gap. Although Lewis Tank is only 10 mi as the crow flies from Lava Gap, the location closely matches this description. The “picket” or stick house could easily have been a jacal, like the example tested at Lewis Tank.

Hand-dug wells similar to those at Lewis Tank, associated with turn-of-the-century artifacts, occur at Lewis Well (Harriet Ranch) and Old Well. Distinctive, narrow, U-shaped (or “fence-staple”) earthen tanks occur at two of the three sites: Lewis Tank and Old Well. Two similar, more conventionally shaped tanks are located between Lewis Tank and Old Well. One of these bore the name “Bole Russell” as recently as the 1950s. All three sites are close to another McDonald Ranch (McDonald Brothers), which was used as base camp for the Trinity Test.

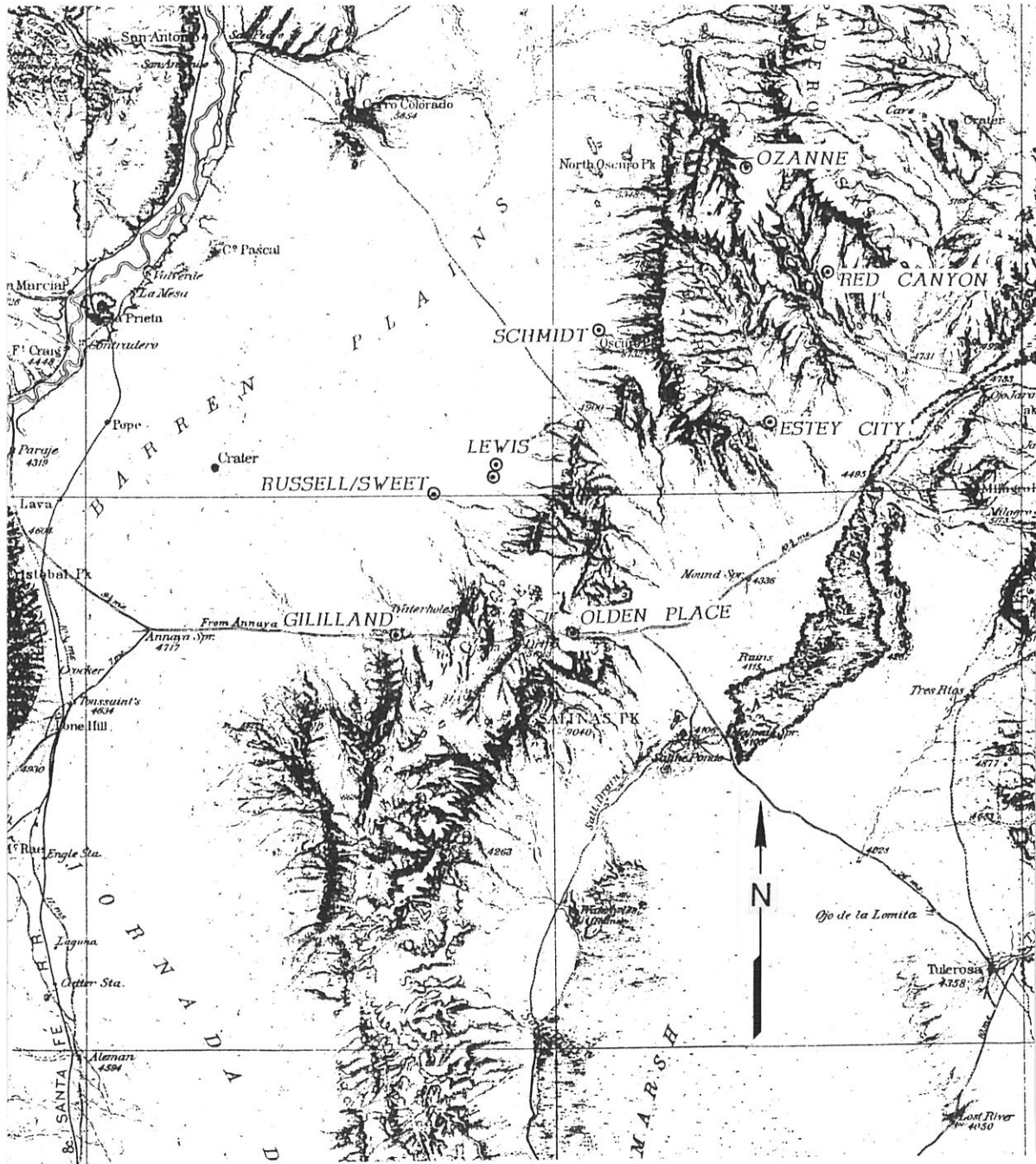


Figure 24. Principal locations discussed in text in the northern Jornada del Muerto and Tularosa Basins, circa 1900. Based on Wheeler (1878).

Baldy then moved to the south again to dig another well west of Lava Gap, where he built a rock house and stone corrals, probably those still standing at the Olden Place.

In 1902, Charlie Lewis began to acquire cattle in the Engle vicinity, and in 1904 acquired the "Blackington Place" from sheriff Emile James with a bill of sale and a chattel mortgage. The location and description of this ranch closely match the early remains at Lewis Well, and the "two wells situated about three fourths of a mile north of the place . . ." included in the description match Lewis Tank (see Table 1).

In 1905, at the time of Maude "Mitchell" Russell's marriage to Riley Caldwell, one of Charlie Lewis' cowboys, the Russells lived at Old Well, 3 mi west of Lewis Well. Shortly thereafter, Baldy and Mary Russell sold Old Well to E.H. Sweet, who, with his wife Sally, became partners with Charlie and Anna Lewis. The two couples lost both ranches to satisfy outstanding mortgages and taxes through a Special Master's Sale in 1913.

The Russells moved east into the southern margins of the Oscura Mountains where the trail fades until the final, fateful day when Sheriff Denny and Deputy Wooten arrested Baldy at a new homestead near Estey City. Sonnichsen (1984) identifies that location as Nabors (Neighbors) Tank. If his information is correct, the board-and-batten frame house at nearby Gwinn Tank may have been the Russell homestead.

Our picture of Baldy's activities during the 15 years spent on the Jornada is obscured by inadequate archival sources and inaccurate civil survey locations. Undoubtedly, Baldy's interest lay in avoiding legal documents bearing his name. The only such document, the Quitclaim Deed to E.H. Sweet, dates to 1905, but was not filed until 1908, when the Sweets negotiated a mortgage on the property with the State National Bank of Albuquerque. In addition, local custom apparently dictated substantial delay between execution and filing of legal documents. While some of his neighbors may have been motivated to withhold filing to protect Baldy's anonymity, similar cases at the Oliver Lee Ranch and in the Rhodes Canyon area suggest that deeds were often held indefinitely and officially filed only when the property was about to be sold or transferred.

The pattern painted by the available circumstantial evidence, however, seems fairly clear. We can be fairly certain that Baldy developed the water and in most cases built a homestead at five northern Jornada ranches: the Tom McDonald Lava Gap site; the Schmidt (McDonald) Ranch; Lewis Tank; Old Well; and the Olden Place. In addition, the best available evidence, scanty though it may be, suggests that Baldy may also have developed Lewis Well and the McDonald Brothers Ranch. These seven ranch sites form the core of the early ranching homestead economy on the northern Jornada until after 1910, when the area began to fill rapidly. If this scenario is accurate, then we can discern Baldy's real business—Baldy, the outlaw, was the region's first land developer, digging the wells and tanks, building initial housing, then selling and moving to another prospective development property.

By the end of the year, Baldy had returned to Texas to face his final trial and conviction on the charge of murder. His Jornada friends, like Gene Thurgood and Charles Story, and his family had stood by him until the end. In March 1912, Baldy entered Huntsville. One era had ended, another had begun. The last of the old outlaws had been replaced by the citizenry of the twentieth century.



Figure 25. Rubbing of CARBON stove part, Lewis Tank, IA 82029 (71% of original).

A Peek at the Neighbors

The U.S. Census and New Mexico Tax Rolls help round out our picture of Russell family life in the northern Jornada. When Baldy moved his family to the Jornada in 1892, the southern New Mexico cattle boom was long past. Only the toughest outfits had survived, practicing open-range grazing, spread thinly over the vast reaches of the desert in the Tularosa Basin and on the Jornada del Muerto.

Many cattle outfits used the shipping point at Engle after the railroad reached it in 1880, but two outfits dominated on the Jornada (Hutchinson 1959:91). The 7TX, or “Grant outfit,” grazed 6 townships within the Pedro Armendaris Grant, from below Engle to San Marcial. The original TX brand was brought from Texas with 600 yearling heifers; the 7 was added as a tally. The 7TX was later acquired by the Diamond A. Charlie Lewis’ first Jornada herd (as best we can tell) was purchased from J.C. and Lee Baldwin out of 7TX stock in 1902.

The second big outfit running the Jornada in Baldy’s time was the Bar Cross, formed in 1886 as the Detroit & Rio Grande Livestock Co., a Michigan syndicate, out of Kim Ky Rogers’ KIM, which had been formed just three years earlier. The Bar Cross, headquartered at Engle and later, Aleman, ranged from below the Armendariz Grant to Fort Selden, reaching a maximum tally of 14,000 head, and lasted until 1898, when the stock was sold to Levi Baldwin and shipped out.

The drought of 1890–1893 extinguished many outfits and damaged those that remained. The few survivors continued into the next century, but never achieved the dominion over the range they had enjoyed in the first decade after the rails arrived. Baldy and his family entered an empty landscape. By 1900, their neighbors were limited to the Schmidt family, north of Mockingbird Gap. From that point on, new neighbors flooded into the northern Jornada, many probably buying from the Russells. For 15 years, Baldy’s efforts developing local water laid a firm basis for the first phase of homesteading that is vividly reflected in the Census of 1910 (Table 4).

By 1910, the district held 12 families, most of whom left their names on canyons, ranches, mines, and stock tanks—McDonald, Lewis, Murray, Gililand, and Thurgood. The Hanson Newman family had a private school teacher, Henry Smith, 48, from Kentucky. John Murray had begun to develop the copper mining town that bore his name (Murray) for a few years until prospects faded in 1913. Robert Mackinson, with his wife Julia and nine children, had introduced goats.

Table 4. Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900 Population.

Precinct 43, La Mesa, Socorro County, New Mexico Territory
(selected entries of families in the northern Jornada del Muerto)

Household	Relation-ship	Age	Years		Number Children		Birthplace		Profession	Read/Write/English		
			Married		Born	Living	Born	Father		Mother		
122. Schmidt, Fred	head	40						Germany	Ger.	Ger.	stock raiser	Y Y Y
	Anna	wife	25					Texas	TX	TX		
	Anna	daughter	6/12					New Mex.	Ger.	TX		
123. Schmidt, Frank	head	37						Ger.	Ger.	Ger.	stock raiser	Y Y Y
125. Russell, Henry	head	48	18					Arkansas	AR	AR	day laborer	Y Y Y
	Mary	wife	45	18	1	1		AR	AR	AR		Y Y Y
	Maude	daughter	13					AR	AR	AR	at school	Y Y Y
	Holiday, Belle	step-dau.	19					AR	AR	AR		Y Y Y
	Dudee, Alack	boarder	32					New York	NY	NY	miner of ore	Y Y Y

Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population.

Precinct 6, Estey, Socorro County, New Mexico Territory

Household	Relation-ship	Age	Years		Number Children		Birthplace		Profession	Read/Write/School		
			Married		Born	Living	Born	Father		Mother		
1. McDonald, Thomas	head	39	21					TX	unk.	TX	rancher-cattle	N N
	Jannis (?) B.	wife	38	21	8	6		TX	TX	TX		Y Y
	George	son	20					NM			home-rancher	Y Y N
	Em	daughter	16					NM				Y
	Ross	son	11					NM				Y
	Day	son	9					NM				Y
	Rick (?)	son	7					NM				Y
	Annie	daughter	4					NM				
2. Newman, Hanson	head	52	30					So.Carol.	SC	SC	rancher-cattle	Y Y
	Ema Wayne (?)	wife	48	30	12	8		Georgia	GA	GA		Y Y
	Samuel Wayne	son	17					NM				Y
	William E.	son	14					NM				Y
	Ida R.	daughter	10					NM				Y
	Ruby	daughter	7					NM				Y
	Charles J.	son	4					NM				
	Smith, Henry S.	boarder	48					KY	Scot.	France	school teacher	priv. fam.
3. Lewis, Charles W.	head	38	5					Kansas	unk.	unk.	rancher-cattle	Y Y
	Anna N.	wife	25	5	2	2		TX	SC	GA		Y Y
	Charles H.	son	4					NM				
	Edward H.	son	1 2/12					NM				
4. Murray, John P.	head	35	9					Tenn.	TN	TN	supt.-copper mine	Y Y
	Mona S.	wife	35	9	3	2		Ohio	OH	OH		Y Y
	Marjorie	daughter	6					TN				Y
	Frederick McV	son	15/12						TX			
	Bagbee(?), George	boarder	28					Scotland	Scot.	Scot.	miner-copper	Y Y
	Bagbee(?), John	boarder	26					Scotland	Scot.	Scot.	miner-copper	Y Y

Table 4. Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population. (cont.)
Precinct 6, Estey, Socorro County, New Mexico Territory (cont.)

Household	Relation-ship	Age	Years Married	Number Children		Born	Birthplace		Profession	Read/Write/School		
				Born	Living		Father	Mother		Y	Y	
5. Brown, Steven R.	head	22	3			NM	TX	TX	cow-man	Y	Y	
	Eva H. wife	21	3	2	2	OK	MO	TX		Y	Y	
	Margie M. daughter	2				NM						
	Phillip E. son	7/12				NM						
6. Mackinson, Robert(?)L.	head	39	15			unk.	unk.	unk.	goat-man	Y	Y	
	Julia B. wife	32	15	9	9	TX	unk.	ND		Y	Y	
	Natile (?) J. daughter	13				TX					Y	
	Frank L. son	12				TX					Y	
	John son	11				TX					Y	
	Vonnie (?) B. son	9				NM					Y	
	Liddia M. daughter	7				NM					Y	
	Vernon V. son	5				NM						
	Violet C. daughter	3				NM						
	Violar C. daughter	3				NM						
	Marion son	5/12				NM						
7. Gililand, William F.	head	69	39				Missouri	MO	MO	stockman-horses	Y	Y
	Rosetta M. wife	59	39	9	7		Illinois	PA	IL		Y	Y
	Richard L. son	21				NM			stockman, home ranch	Y	Y	
8. Gililand, James R.	head	36	13			TX	MO	IL	stockman	Y	Y	
	Adela G. wife	33	13	1	0	TX	TX	AR		Y	Y	
9. Messer, John A.	head	31	1			KY	unk.	unk.	miner-copper	Y	Y	
	Ellen P. wife	30	1	1	1	TX	AL	TX		Y	Y	
	Lee M. son	9/12				NM						
	-----, William (?) boarder	34				TX	AL	TX	copper miner	Y	Y	
	Charles boarder	26				TX	AL	TX	miner-copper	Y	Y	
	Jones(?), George W. boarder	35				unk.	unk.	unk.	miner-copper	Y	Y	
10. George, Sidney W.	head	34	9			TX	unk.	unk.	stockman, hors.	Y	Y	
	Lucinda (?) J. wife	29		9	5	5	TX	TX	unk.	Y	Y	
	Roy R. son	8				NM					Y	
	Flossie V. daughter	6				NM						
	Carrie W. daughter	5				NM						
	Frederick A. son	3				NM						
	Callie V. daughter	1				NM						
11. Johnson, Jessie F.	head	33	8			TX	TX	TX	ranchhand-cat.	Y	Y	
	Emilia (?) C. wife	22	8	4	3	TX	TX	TX		Y	Y	
	William P. son	4				NM						
	Irma (?) N. daughter	3				NM						
	Franklin H. son	1				NM						
12. Thurgood, Eugene E.	head	45				England	Eng.	Eng.	ranchman-cat.	Y	Y	
	Woods, Wm. J. boarder	45	20			Eng.	Eng.	Eng.	cowman-cattle	Y	Y	
	Constance A. wife	45	20	1	0	Eng.	Eng.	Eng.	housekeeper	Y	Y	

The Jornada and neighboring Tularosa Basins were the last frontier. The new immigrants flocked from every direction. Many of the adults came from the Old South by way of Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, but others were from New York, Ohio, Illinois, and even from Europe. Thirteen states of origin and three foreign countries, England, Scotland, and Germany, are listed as the birthplace of adults among the dozen families on the northern Jornada in 1910 (Table 5).

Table 5. Origins: Places of Birth Listed in the 1900 and 1910 Census.

Children	Parents	Grandparents
New Mexico	New Mexico	
Texas	Texas	Texas
Arkansas	Arkansas	Arkansas
Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
	Kentucky	
	Kansas	
	Oklahoma	
	New York	New York
	South Carolina	South Carolina
	Georgia	Georgia
	Ohio	Ohio
	Missouri	Missouri
	Illinois	Illinois
	England	England
	Germany	Germany
	Scotland	Scotland
		North Dakota
		Pennsylvania
		Alabama
		France

Baldy's story was not the only chapter closed that year. Another dream had ended in 1910 with final demise of D.M. Estey's copper mining venture just south of Baldy's final homestead. Ironically, these two entrepreneurs, the outlaw individualist and the company man, appear together in the New Mexico Tax Rolls. One built a small but lasting reality, the other left little more than his name on the barren desert landscape. Perhaps they once met.

Table 6. Assessment Roll for Socorro County, Precinct 6, Estey.*

Year		Value of Horses & Mules	Value of Cattle	Total Assessed Value
Name of Property Owner	Description (assessed value)			
1902				
Estey Mining & Milling Co. G.P. Smith, Agt.	2 Ponies (\$30), 4 Burros (\$10), Vehicle (\$20), T&H (\$20), Mdse. (\$2,000), Imprts. (\$10,000), Machinery (\$5,000), & Mining Claims (\$20,000),			\$22,080.00
1903				
Estey Mining & Milling Co.	2 Ponies (\$30), 1 Wagon (\$20), S&H (\$20), Machinery on Mining Claims (\$20,000),			20,070.00
Russell, Henry	13 Ponies (\$245), 50 Cattle (\$550), HHG (\$10)			605.00
1904				
Dividend Mng. & Milling Co. J.M. Bryson	4 Ponies (\$80), 2 Wagons (\$60), Harness (\$10), Mdse (\$600), HHG (\$300), Machinery (\$3,500), Tools (\$150)			4,700.00
Russell, Henry	10 Ponies & Colts (\$150), 40 Cattle (\$440), HHG (\$20)			610.00
1905				
Dividend Mining & Milling Co.		90.00		4,710.00
Russell, Henry		150.00	450.00	655.00
1906				
Dividend Mining & Milling Co.			6,350.00	
Russell, Henry		150.00	450.00	655.00
1907				
Dividend Mining & Milling Co.		90.00		4,710.00
Russell, Henry	Imprts. on Govt. land	200.00	450.00	905.00
1908				
Dividend Mining & Milling Co.		90.00		4,710.00
Lewis, Chas., p.o. San Marcial	Imprts. on Govt. land west of Oscura Mt.	75.00	2,700.00	3,020.00
Russell, Henry	Imprts. on Govt. land	200.00	450.00	905.00
Rhodes, Eugene, Tulerozo [sic], NM	NE 1/4, NW 1/4, S12, T13S, R2E, 80 acres	450.00	540.00	1,185.00
1909				
Lewis, Chas., San Marcial, NM	Land west of Oscura Mts., 160 acres	75.00	900.00	1,220.00

* Selected entries

Abbreviations used in tax rolls:

HHG: Household Goods

S&H: Saddle and Harness

Imprts/Imprts: Improvements

T&H: Tack and Harness

Mdse: Merchandise

From 1910 onward, the Estey Precinct, Socorro County tax rolls no longer contain listings for any of the subjects of this research—Dividend Mining & Milling was defunct; and Henry “Baldy” Russell had been tried, convicted, sent to Huntsville Prison, and had escaped to parts unknown. Gene Rhodes had fled for his 20-year exile to New York, following a fight in Orogrande in 1906.

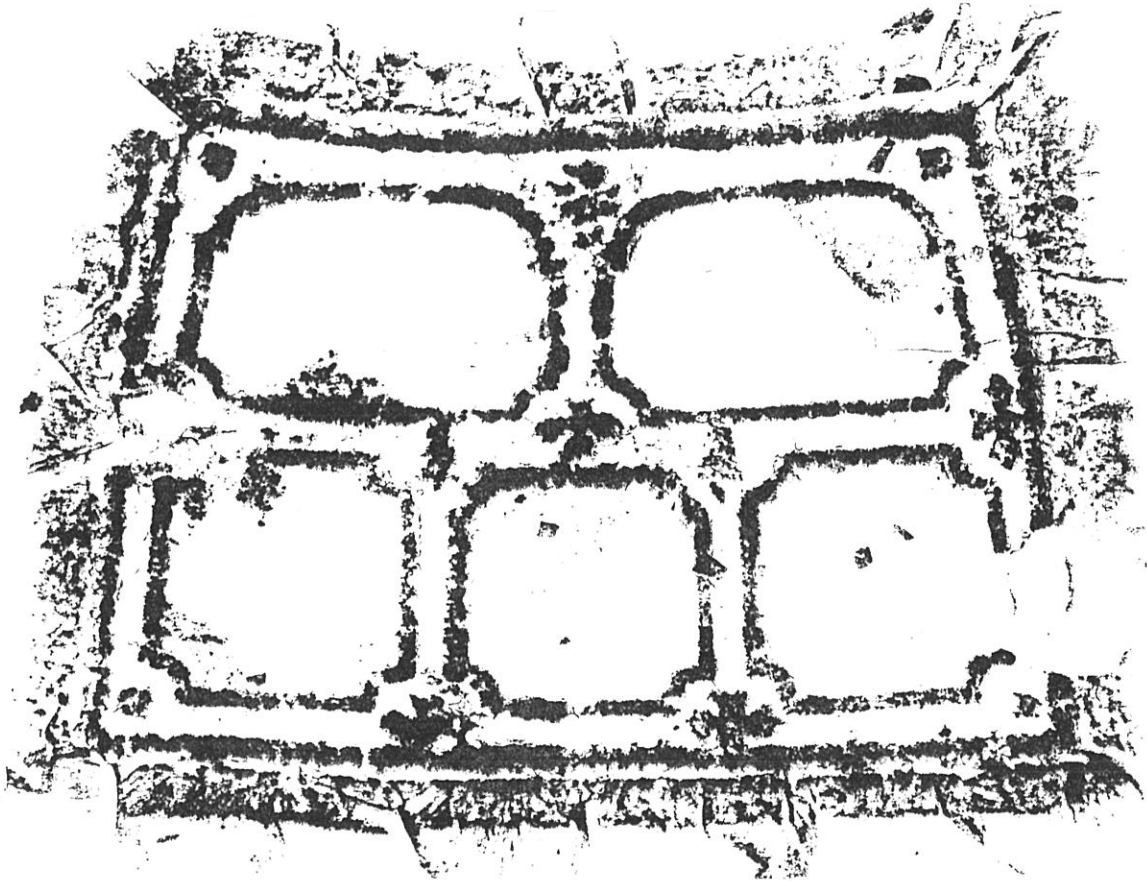


Figure 26. Rubbing of front feed door from CARBON stove,
Lewis Tank, LA 82029 (77% of original).

NOTHIN' FOR SOMETHIN'

The ruins of Estey City lie hidden in plain sight, on the desolate, arid foothills of the Oscura Mountains of western Lincoln County in south-central New Mexico. Estey City was a turn-of-the-century boomtown born from the dreams of local New Mexico mining entrepreneurs; a false-front facade that added credibility to a tent city based on unfounded speculation. Estey City was a double failure, gradually fading even in local memory, transformed into an eastern banking investment scheme whose final traces are lost in the financial districts of Boston's satellite cities, in Providence, Rhode Island, and New Haven, Connecticut.

Estey City has persisted as a faint echo in local memory since its final abandonment in 1931. The town has been the subject of one popular article for *New Mexico Magazine* (Zimmerle 1963) and has been mentioned frequently in federal cultural resources management documents (Beckes et al. 1977; Breternitz and Doyel 1983; Pigott et al. 1981), state historic preservation and architecture reports (Oakes 1987), and overviews (Wilson et al. 1989). The property was briefly assessed by Brenner and Buchanan (1984) during a HABS/HAER historic properties inventory and has been recorded in the New Mexico Laboratory of Anthropology files by John P. Wilson (1975) for the Bureau of Land Management, but no in-depth research was conducted until the location was proposed for a National Register District by White Sands Missile Range.

Estey City lies within the Department of the Army's White Sands Missile Range, a vast 4,000-sq-mi. area off-limits to the public. In 1989, the Environmental Office, White Sands Missile Range, initiated these studies, including field reconnaissance, mapping, recording, and archival research, to develop a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (Eidenbach 1992), in compliance with the Programmatic Agreement among WSMR, the State Historic Preservation Officer, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

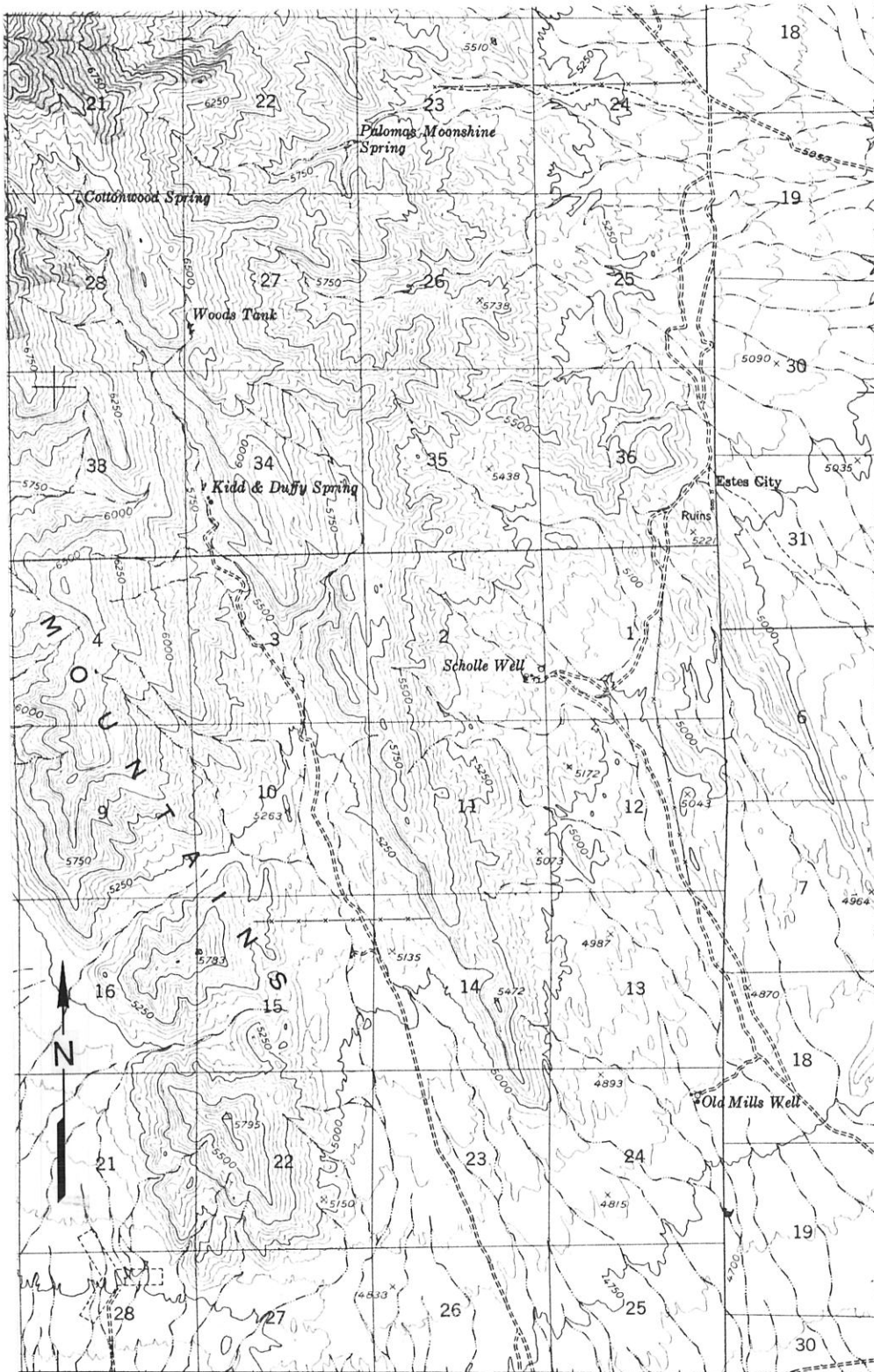


Figure 27. 1948 Quadrangle map, showing Estes City vicinity. Note misspelling.

The Setting

The ruins and surrounding mining features occupy the eastern flank of the arid, red sandstone foothills at the southern toe of the Oscura Mountains, which border the northern margins of the vast Tularosa Basin in south-central New Mexico. Across the desert basin floor, the higher Sacramento Mountains are dominated by Sierra Blanca, which rises to 12,000 ft and is snow-capped six months of the year.

The Tularosa Basin is bounded by semiarid, uplifted mountains to the east, north, and west, which surround a hydrologically closed desert basin about the size of the state of Connecticut. Conditions are dry most of the year, interrupted during the summer months by brief, violent monsoonal storms that roll in from the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California. The summers are hot, alternating with cool, mild winters in the basin lowlands. Vegetation, climatic regimes, and past and present human occupation are strongly conditioned by steep elevational gradients that rise from 4,000 to over 12,000 ft within 15 linear mi, to the east of Estey City.

The upland mountain topography immediately west and northwest of Estey City consists of rugged, broken outcropping hills of sedimentary rocks, including sandstones and limestones, which are the source of the low-grade copper ores that formed the basis of Estey City's short-lived economy. The processing plant and townsite lie on either side of a large seasonally flowing arroyo that remains dry except during exceptionally wet years. Soils are locally derived sandy, gravelly loams that support a *bajada* or desertscrub vegetation characteristic of the Chihuahuan desert. Creosotebush or "greasewood" (*Larrea tridentata*) and honey mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora*) occur on the site as low, densely growing shrubs. Local ground cover consists of sparse grasses and annual weeds. One surviving juniper tree occurs lower, along the arroyo drainage, suggesting the natural condition of the area prior to historic occupation. Occasional large juniper stumps mark locations within the townsite where trees were cut, probably to supply firewood.

Broad, gently sloping alluvial plains covered by desertscrub stretch to the east and south of the Estey City townsite. To the east 20 mi across these plains, the vast bulk of the tree-covered Sierra Blanca escarpment lifts abruptly to the high mountain crest, the tallest mountain range in New Mexico. Occasional mule deer browse in the broken red hills to the west, but their numbers are severely restricted by the almost total lack of naturally occurring surface water in the Oscura Range. Pronghorn antelope and exotic oryx are occasional visitors on the plains to the east. Wildlife, even rabbits, ubiquitous in most of the region, and birds are rarely seen at Estey City.

Today, the human presence is limited to occasional military activities near Oscura Range Camp, 8 mi to the southeast, and low-altitude practice target bombing on the Oscura Bombing Range, 4 mi to the east. Access to Estey City by road is restricted to unimproved, unmaintained gravel tracks that generally mark historic routes.

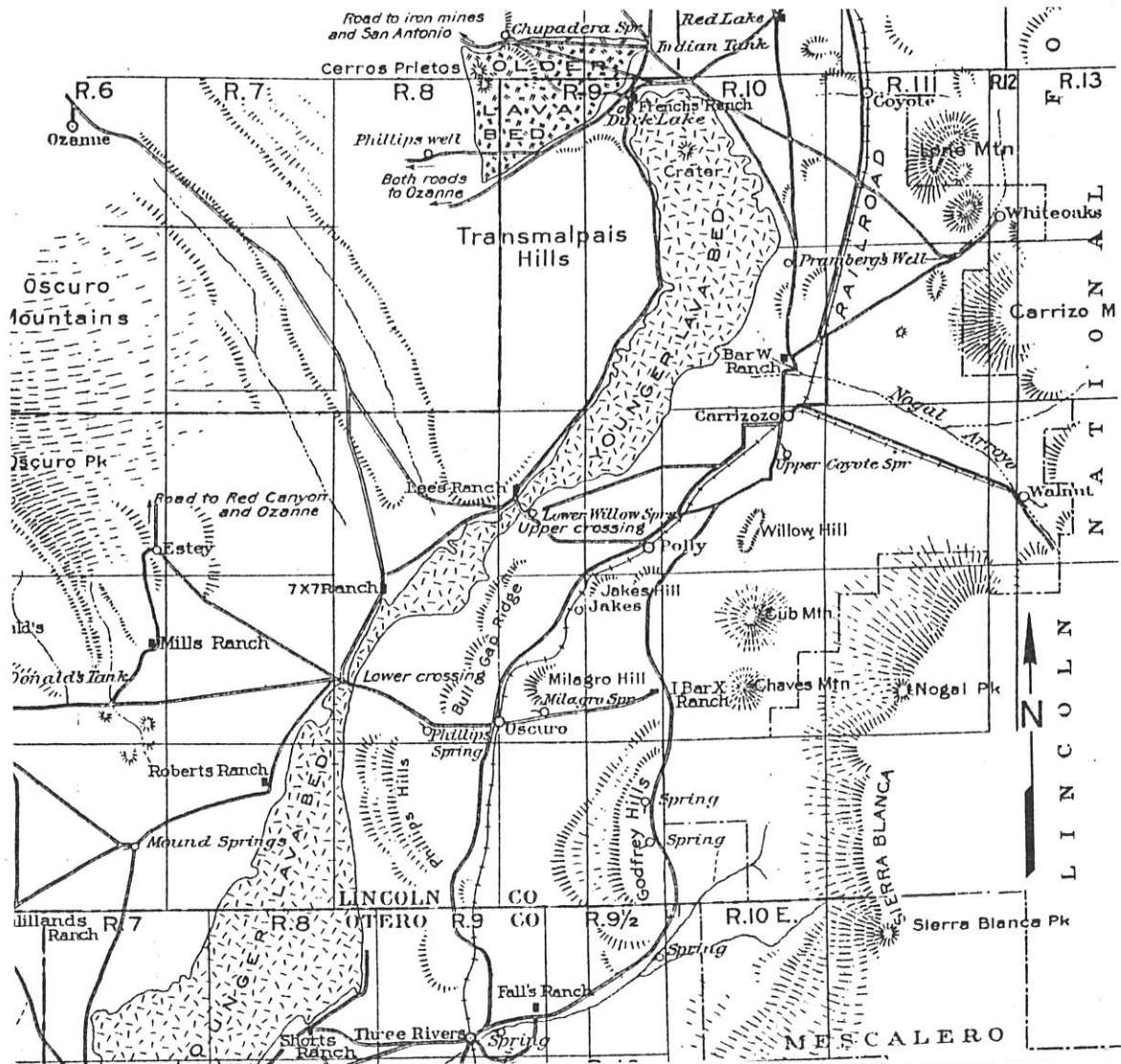


Figure 28. Northern Tularosa Basin, 1914 (from Meinzer and Hare 1915).

Narrative History of Estey City

Hugh Stephenson's discovery of gold in the Organ Mountains in 1849 marks the earliest record of actual mining in south-central New Mexico (Freeman 1981). Stephenson's strike initiated several decades of small-scale exploration in the Organ, San Andres, Sacramento, and Sierra Blanca Mountains, extracting gold from gravels by washing dirt over riffles. Extensive coal fields at Carthage, mined by Fort Craig troopers since the 1850s, developed rapidly. Mining in the region began in earnest after the Civil War, which brought Carlton's California Column to the Territory. The Nogal district on the eastern flanks of the Sierra Blanca Mountains developed in conjunction with the military presence at nearby Fort Stanton, but it was rapidly eclipsed by a major gold strike at White Oaks in 1879, sparking a steady influx of miners, which was accelerated by the arrival of the railroad along the Rio Grande in 1880. Spur lines rapidly opened into booming mining districts throughout the Black Range and San Mateos. By the turn of the century, just after the arrival of the railroad and founding of Alamogordo in 1898, numerous small mining towns were scattered throughout the mountains of the region, mining traces of gold, silver, lead, copper, and coal. Murray, near Mockingbird Gap, lasted from 1909 to 1913; Kent, northeast of San Augustin Pass, survived from 1904 to 1911; Brice and Ohayse (OIC) near Orogrande were active from 1899 to the 1920s; Hansonburg on the west slopes of the Oscuras was active from 1906 to 1910. Most of these ventures were commercially unsuccessful, because of the low-grade ore, the broken, discontinuous nature of the stratigraphy, and lack of available water.

At the close of the nineteenth century, major mining districts had developed in two regions of southern New Mexico. The western region contained the widely separated Mogollon-Cooney, Silver City-Santa Rita, Magdalena-Socorro Peak, and Lake Valley-Black Mountains Districts, which included deposits of copper, silver, gold, and lead. The eastern districts were centered in the Jicarilla, Capitan, and Sierra Blanca Mountains and were generally limited to deposits of gold, low-grade copper, and coal.

The Jicarilla, White Oaks, Bonito, and Nogal mining districts, the scene of earlier and more successful gold, silver, copper, and coal mining, are only a day's travel from Estey City. White Oaks, just 35 mi northeast of Estey City, was the site of the largest gold strike in the region, producing more than 142,000 ounces between 1879 and 1903. These were worth nearly \$3 million at turn-of-the-century nominal prices, equivalent to more than \$50 million in modern times.

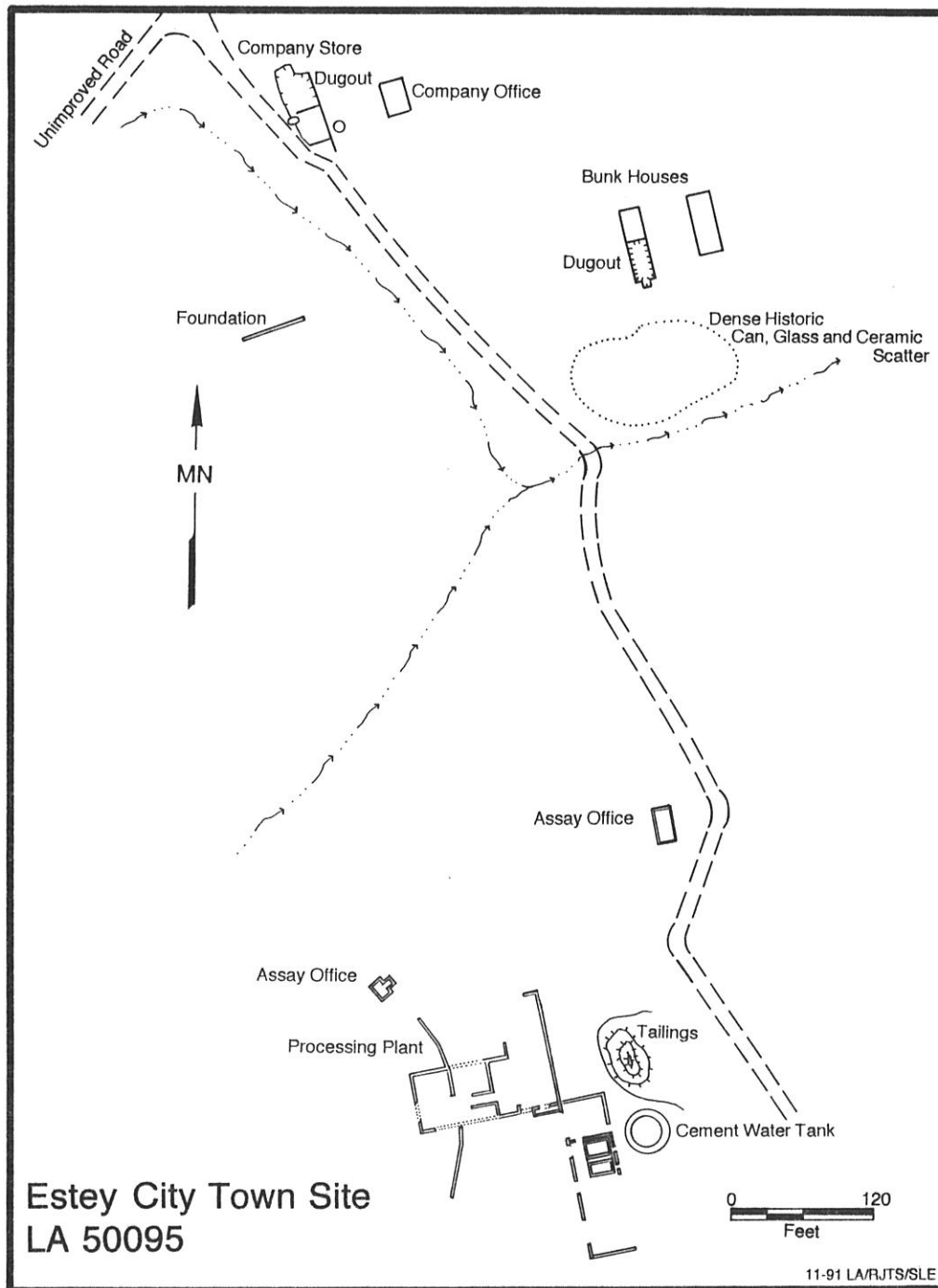


Figure 29. Estey City town site.

As the initial boom sparked by the gold strike at White Oaks matured, other minerals attracted interest: coal at Carthage northwest of Estey, on the west side of the Ocuras; copper, lead, silver, and gold throughout the San Andres Mountains, immediately to the west and southwest; even gypsum in the Lucero lake bed and at nearby Ancho. In the very center of this new mining region, Estey City was born—premised on a new copper-reduction process and the entrepreneurial skills of D.M. Estey of Owosso, Michigan—“a man who does things,” according to *The Industrial Record* (second edition), which termed “Estey City a Marvel.”

In April 1901, Estey began construction at the town and mill site with materials and equipment hauled 16 mi from the El Paso-Northeastern line at Oscuro. By July 20, the date of *The Industrial Record* article (1901:49), that source claimed that “the reduction works, boiler and engine rooms, ore bins, two story store and office building, commodious boarding house and dormitories, blacksmith shop, laboratory, magazine, stables, carpenter shop and dwellings for employes [sic] and their families are complete. . . . All the motive power, electric lighting and other machinery is installed, and in a few days the arc lights will shine like stars at night, and will be visible to the people of other towns across the valley” (1901:49).

After a few years of higher copper prices in 1897-1898 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1975), the scene was set for Estey City. The success of the venture rested on the new reduction process discovered by E.L. Sharpneck, a Chicago metallurgist, and owned by the “Imperial Ore and Reduction Company of Boston, controlled by wealthy Boston, Connecticut and New York men” (1901:49). According to *The Industrial Record* correspondent, the Estey reduction plant was the “first and only one of its kind in the world . . . extracting copper from low-grade silicious ores [using the] cheapest process known” (1901:49).

Estey gambled on an adequate supply of water, both for processing and domestic needs. *The Industrial Record* (1901:49) quotes his belief that “flowing water can be secured in the great Tularosa valley . . . where living springs are, artesian water is, and he is willing to spend sufficient money to demonstrate his theory.”

Estey’s hopes proved groundless. The few springs near Estey City, while shallow, are dependent on local precipitation and often are high in carbonates and iron. Palomas Moonshine Spring, about 3 mi to the northwest, may have been the sole reliable water source throughout Estey City’s history, despite repeated attempts to drill deep wells, one of which was claimed to be over 700 ft in depth.

According to contemporary accounts, D.M. Estey began development in April 1901. By July, the mill and most of the townsite were complete. A number of copper mines had been opened in the surrounding hills, and an electric tramway to carry ore was contemplated. A post office was established, but was closed by 1904; mail was held at nearby Oscuro on the El Paso-Northeastern railroad line from 1904 to 1931.



Figure 30. Portrait of D.M. Estey from Dividend Mining and Milling prospectus, 1905.

In 1901, Estey City was portrayed in glowing terms: “The management encourages music and healthful recreation . . . There is a photographer, barber, . . . and soon a newspaper will be established. The utmost harmony prevails, the people are contented, and all are earning and saving money” (1901:41).

According to Fayette Jones (1904), who visited Estey City in 1902, about \$200,000 were spent on development prior to the crash in copper prices during the European panic of 1901–1902. Jones notes D.M. Estey’s death in September 1903, stating that “At the onset this company practically covered the whole country and at one time controlled, it is said, about three hundred claims” (1904:105).

In July 1903, *The Mining World* (19(4):30) reported the purchase of the entire Estey property by J.M. Bryson for the Dividend Mining and Smelting Co. in “one of the largest copper deals ever made in New Mexico.” The next year, Jones (1904:105) indicated that Dividend was “now rehabilitating the wreckage and mistakes of its predecessor.”

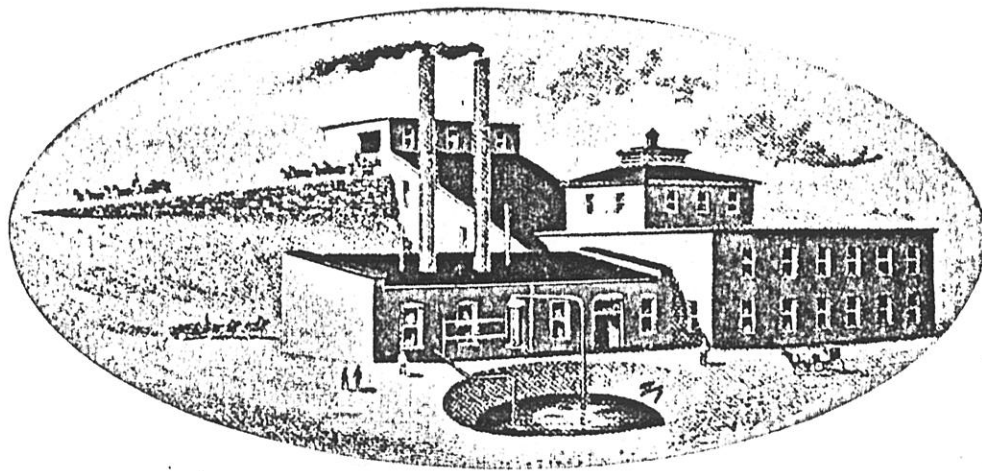
John M. Bryson, a local mining engineer, apparently helped D.M. Estey develop the original property as an employee or partner. A 1905 Dividend Mining and Milling Company prospectus lists Bryson as President of the Company and General Manager. Bryson also served as local postmaster at Estey during both its active periods, from June 1901 to May 1903, and from January 1904 to March 1910, when service was permanently discontinued.

Dividend Mining and Milling Company’s (1905) investors’ prospectus portrays the Estey property in glowing terms, claiming that its preferred stock, offered at \$1 a share and carrying a 10% cumulative dividend, “Offers a Better Investment for Capital Than 95 per cent of the Mining Propositions Before the Public.” This preferred stock was presented as an income bond, to be retired by 80% of the earnings of the operations set aside for that purpose.

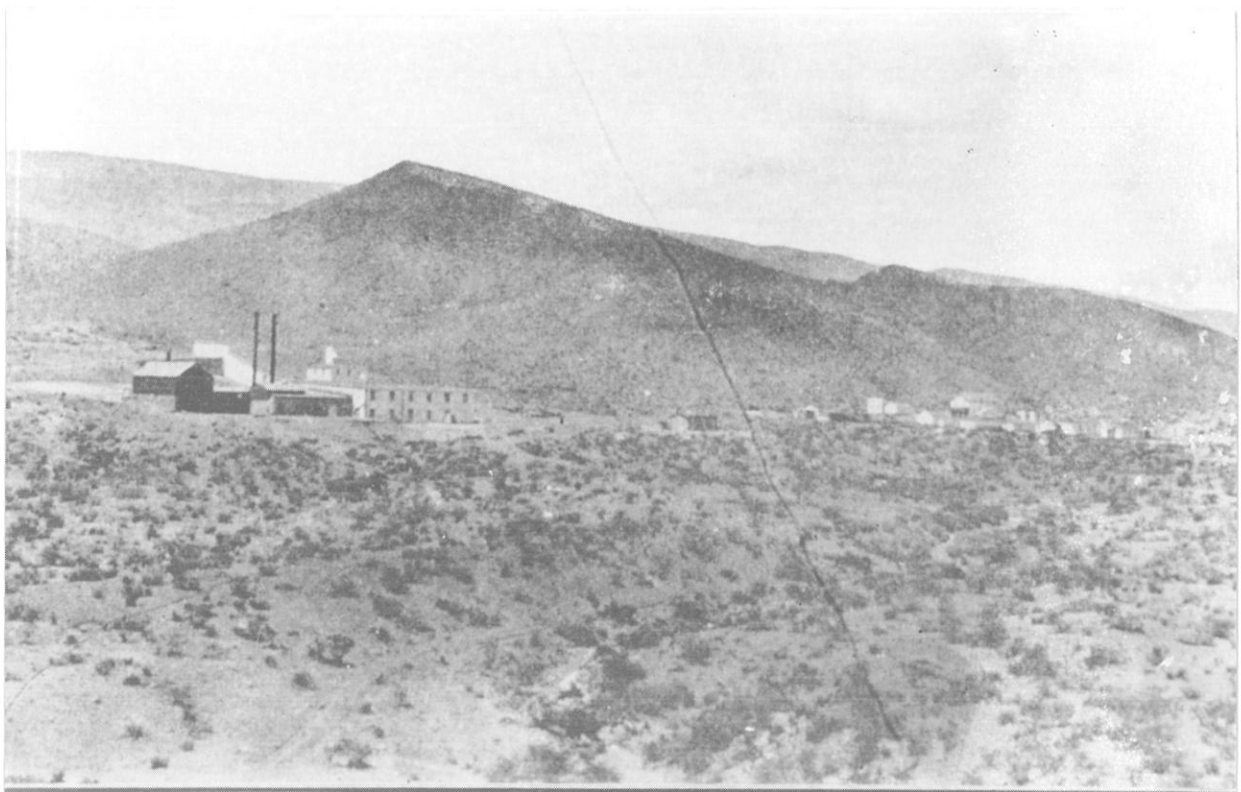
Our preferred stock, carrying a 10 per cent cumulative dividend, is offered at one dollar a share.

Do you know of any better proposition?

Figure 31. Promotional claim from Dividend Mining & Milling prospectus, 1905.



VIEW OF MILL BEFORE COMPLETION OF SMELTER



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF COMPANY'S PROPERTY AT ESTEY CITY

Figure 32. Idealized artist's sketch and photograph of Estey City, from D.M.&M. prospectus.

The prospectus also contains the only known photographs of Estey City at its apparent peak, assays, and various testimonials, including an article from the Boston *Herald*, March 20, 1904, as well as a detailed description:

The Dividend Mining and Milling Company holds title to over two thousand acres of valuable mineral land . . . about twelve miles distant from Oscura Station on the El Paso and North Eastern Railroad, part of the Rock Island System.

In addition to its mines, the Company owns a large reduction plant, comprising a building 50 by 88 feet, for crushing and storing ore; a precipitating building 60 by 112 feet, two stories high; a stone engine room 36 by 40 feet, with steel roof; a stone boiler room 30 by 80 feet; a stone assay office; a company store, two stories high with cellar; an office building; two boarding houses; a blacksmith shop; and several dwelling houses.

The . . . ore bins have a capacity of 15,000 tons each, are heavy steel lined, and are so arranged that the ores are handled by gravity.

The machinery and equipment for the mill is of modern construction and . . . consists . . . of two 125 horse-power multitubular boilers, and one 25 horse-power Marine boiler with heaters, pumps, and all necessary attachments; four engines, three dynamos for electrolytic work, one dynamo for lighting, one Sturtevant crusher, capacity 250 tons per day; two sets of Sturtevant Cornish rolls, 20 acid tanks, one mixing tank, and one precipitating tank, wired and completely equipped for electrolytic work; one 90,000 gallon tank for storing water for use in operating the concentrating plant and smelter; and one tank on the building for fire purposes.

In addition, there is a new Allis-Chalmers water-jacket smelting furnace, complete, with all tools and appliances for smelting work.

The assay office is fully equipped with all necessary scales, furnaces, crucibles, tools and chemicals for making both wet and dry assays of all kinds of ores and minerals.

The Company's equipment also comprises horses, wagons, harness and tools of all kinds for mining, operating the mill, and making repairs. They also operate a general store and post-office. The nearest competitor for the store is 28 miles distant. [Dividend Mining and Milling Company 1905]

Dividend Mining and Milling Company Officers

J. M. BRYSON, President

B. F. COBURN, Secretary and Treasurer.

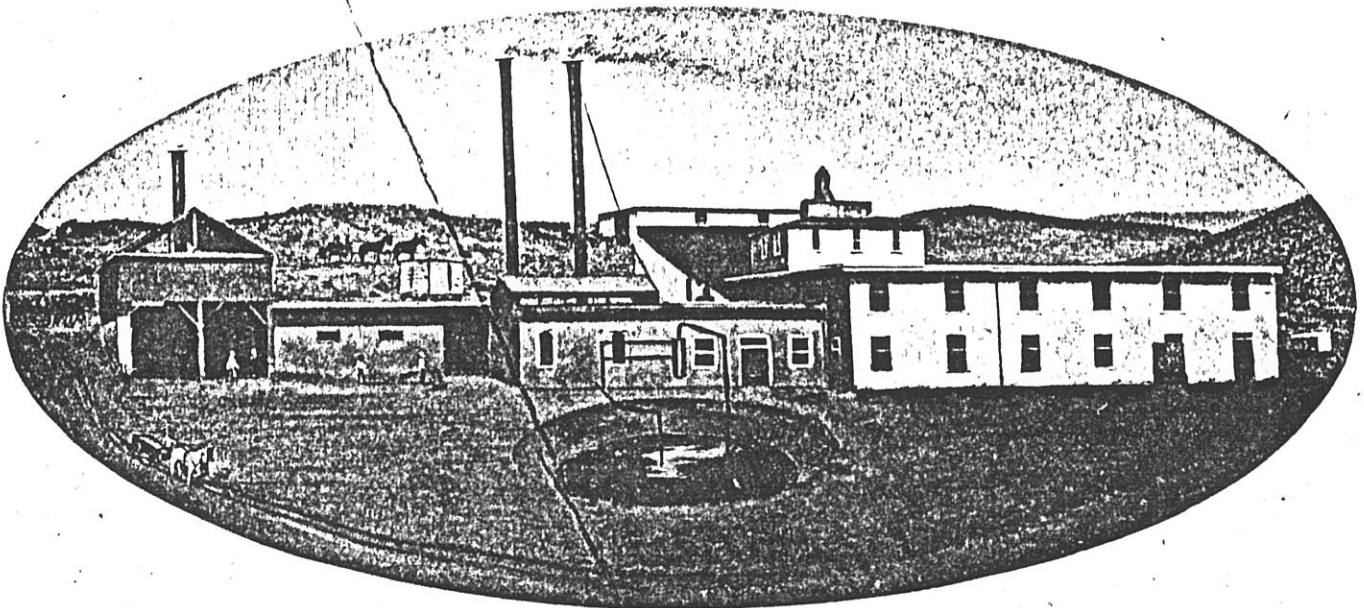
J. E. SIMPSON, Vice-President

OFFICES:

No. 65, Journal Building, 262 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

J. M. BRYSON - - - Estey City, N. M. Banking and Mining	SAMUEL PORTER - - - Florence, Mass. President of the Florence Savings Bank
J. E. SIMPSON - - - Lawrence, Mass. Wholesale and Retail Grocer	A. G. SPEAR - - - Athol, Mass. Lumber Dealer
BENJ. F. COBURN - - - Newton, Mass. Formerly of the firm of Claflin, Coburn & Co., Shoe Manufacturers, Boston, Mass.	JAMES E. PUTNAM - - - Fitchburg, Mass. Well known in Railway and Commercial Enterprises of Fitchburg
J. WILLIAM RICE - - - Providence, R. I. President of the Gutta Percha Paint Co. of Providence	HALBERT E. PARKHURST, Fitchburg, Mass. Large Real Estate Owner
F. B. STREET - - - New Haven, Conn. President of the United Grocery Co. of New York City	



MILL AND SMELTER

Figure 33. Corporate slate and artist's sketch of Estey City, from D.M.&M. prospectus.

The only significant secondary historic source available on Estey City offers an even more elaborate picture, one which remains unconfirmed by the present-day material remains.

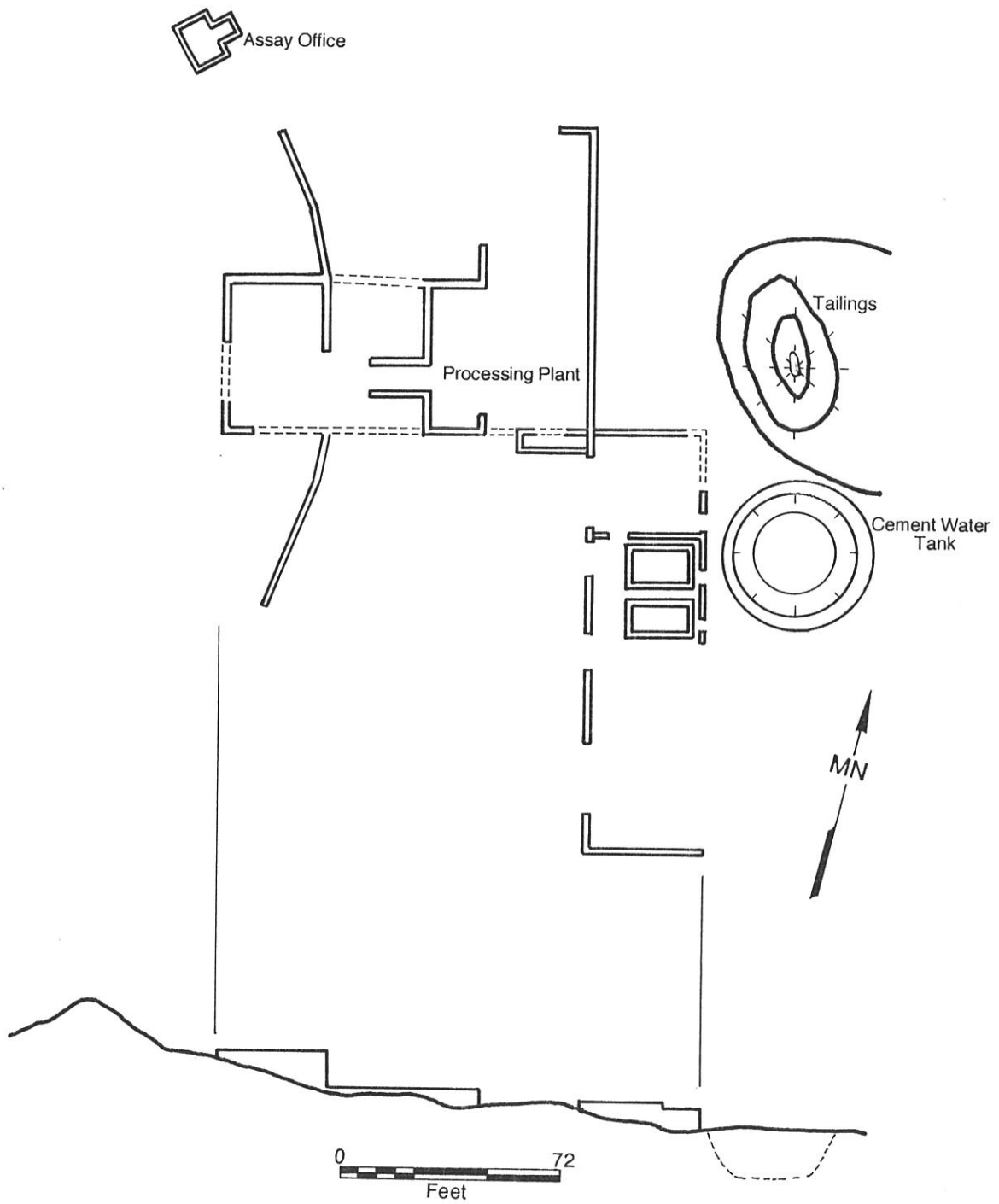
R.W. Zimmerle, in *New Mexico Magazine* in 1963, writes (apparently on the basis of contemporary newspaper sources) that, by spring of 1901, the Estey City Mining and Milling Co.

. . . constructed a four-story mill and smelter; a large warehouse, a general merchandise store and saloon followed . . . The camp tents were replaced with some fifty permanent dwellings made of native stone and lumber. . . After the saloon came the school and churches. The archives name two preachers at this time. . . (Reverends Wood and Ball).

A 'commodious hotel' with 'sumptuous [sic] table' was erected to accommodate up to sixty guests. [Zimmerle 1963:24]

Zimmerle (1963:24) mentions "four to five hundred people" and "business offices from doctor to real estate to meat market . . ." and a graveyard on "the second ridge north of town." He claims that the population dropped after the panic of 1901-1903 to five, four of whom were women.

Minor variants of Zimmerle's account reappear in several other sources, including *Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of New Mexico* by James E. and Barbara H. Sherman (1975), and a USDI Bureau of Land Management "Antiquities Site Inventory" listing prepared by John P. Wilson (1975). The details and even phrasing of both make it clear that Zimmerle served as the principal source for these later authors.



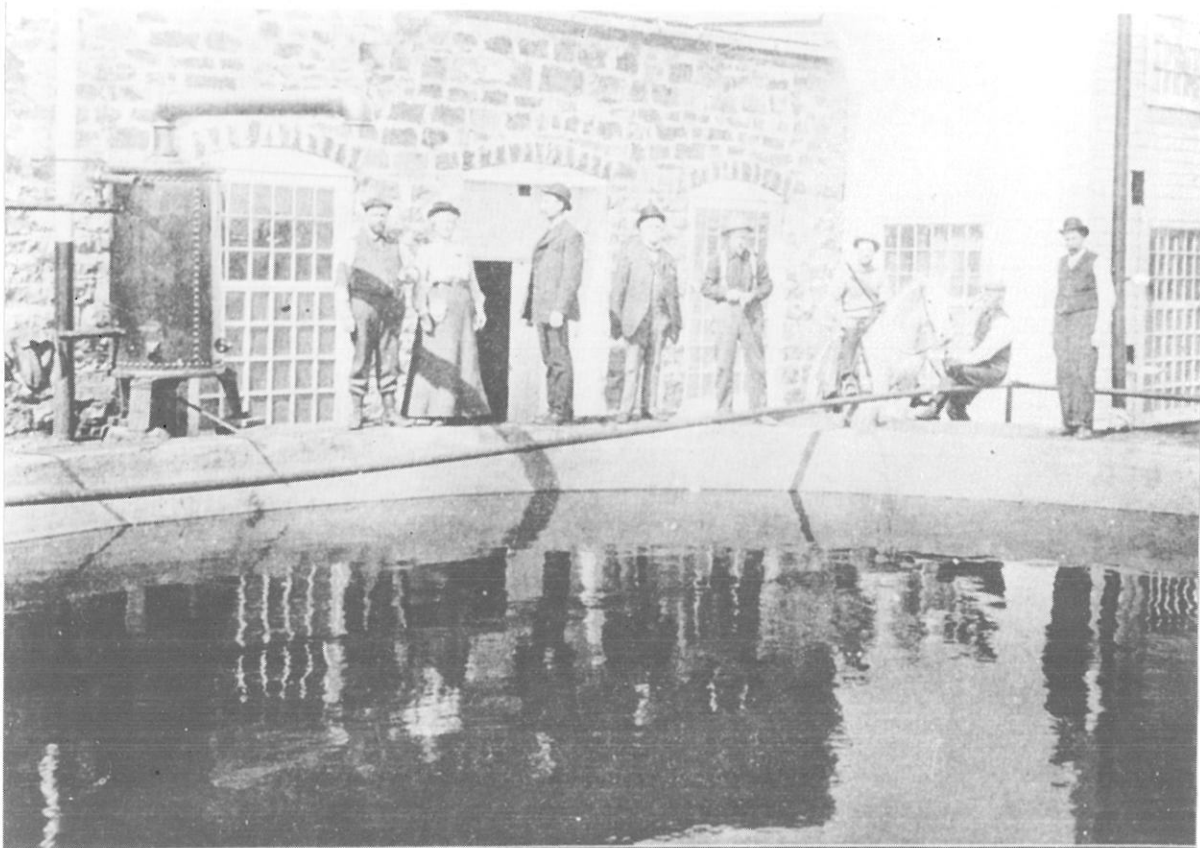
**Estey City Processing Plant
LA 50095**

Figure 34. Estey City Processing Plant, LA 50095.

The Estey City Ruins

Ore Processing Plant Complex (Ruins)

The ore processing, crushing, and reduction works occupy an east-facing hillside, south and across the main arroyo channel from the townsite. The plant consists of stone-masonry ruins with free-standing walls; the foundations for a two-story frame building; stone-faced berm terraces; and a large hemispherical stone and concrete holding tank. The plant walls are made from ashlar masonry of rough-hewn native stone with mud mortar, surficially pointed with a thin concrete veneer. Remaining doorways and front windows have segmental arch lintels in a vernacular industrial style vaguely patterned after Richardsonian Romanesque. Various stone masonry and concrete tanks, equipment footings, and steel tie-downs are visible within the ruin. No equipment remains. Photographs in the Dividend Mining and Milling prospectus (ca. 1905) illustrate interiors and exteriors.



FRONT OF ENGINE ROOM, SHOWING STORAGE TANK IN FOREGROUND, CAPACITY 90,000 GALLONS

Figure 35. Estey City; photograph of engine room and storage tank.

The Assay Office (Ruins)

Most portions of the assay office walls of rough ashlar masonry remain standing, but are deteriorating rapidly because of the loss of mud mortar in exposed joints and separation at the wall corners (Figure 36). The structure is rectangular and single storied, built to match the main plant buildings, including arched windows and doorways. This assay office occupies the bluff above the main arroyo between the plant complex and the town site. Interior photographs illustrate assay operations (Figure 37).

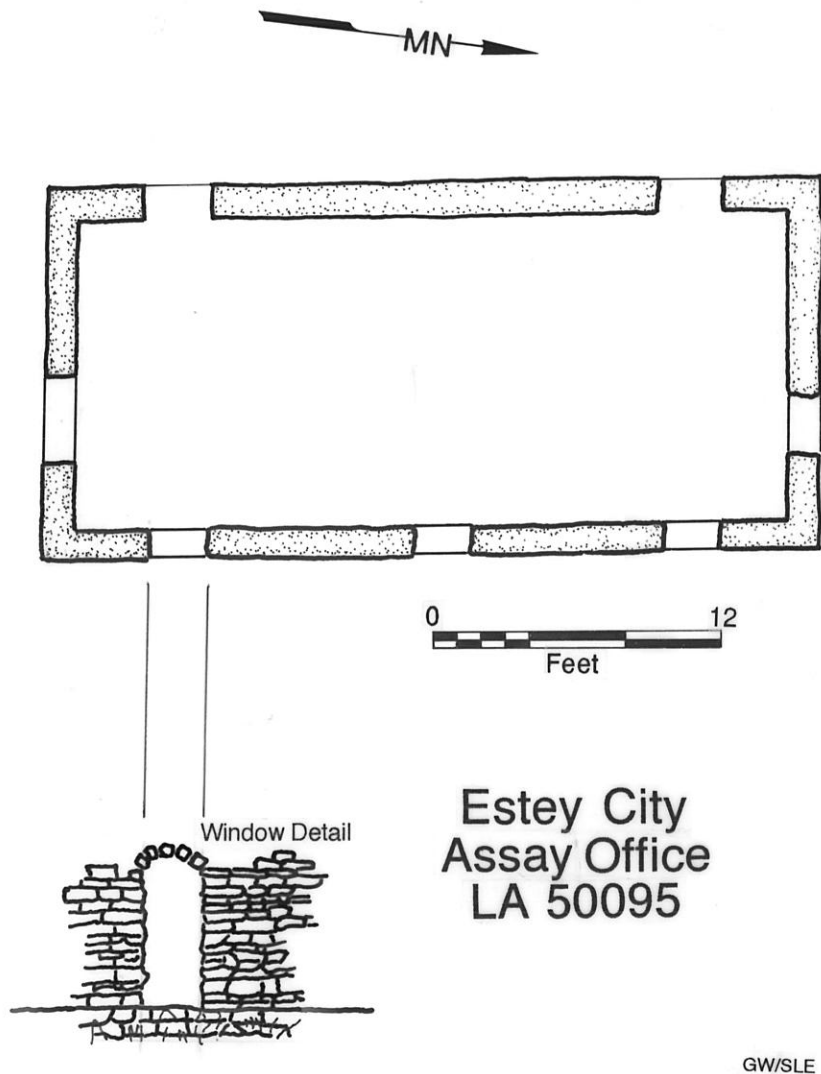


Figure 36. Estey City Assay Office, LA 50095.



ONE OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE ASSAY OFFICE, ESTEY CITY, NEW MEXICO

The status of copper as a marketable commodity is on a firm basis, and no combination of conditions can affect it. The demand for copper is on the increase each year, as new uses for it develop and as the demands increase along the lines where it is already in use.

The rapid development of electrical devices adds enormously to the demand, and is constantly on the increase. There is, in fact, no one commercial commodity outside of food products that has so firm and steady a market as copper. It follows, then, as a logical conclusion, that a company owning an inexhaustible deposit of copper ore from which the metal may be extracted cheaply, and having a complete plant to treat this ore, is in a most promising position viewed from any business standpoint.

This Is Not a Speculative Investment—The Property Is in Sight

The mines have been opened and have thousands of tons of ore on the dumps. The Reduction Works have been built. A complete mining camp has been established, with dwelling houses, store, and post-office with daily mail established by the United States Government.

The officers of the Company are large investors, and their interests are bound up in its success.

This, together with the business standing of its officers and directors, is a guarantee of economical and conservative business management.

Figure 37. Estey City: photograph of assay office interior and text from Dividend Mining and Milling Company prospectus, 1905.

The Townsite

The Estey City townsite lies north of the main arroyo, which bisects the developed area, across from the mill and assay office. No buildings remain standing in this portion of the site. Locations of the principal buildings are marked by stone foundations and/or artifact scatters. Several 1905 prospectus photographs compare well with the physical remains visible on the surface (Figure 38). Identifiable structures include

- the two-story clapboard company store, now marked by a stone foundation and partial earthen cellar (Figure 39, top);
- the single-story company office, marked by foundation remnants;
- two long, rectangular boarding houses (one with a partial earthen cellar), with exterior entry, marked by stone foundations;
- dense artifact scatters marking at least four other residential structures; a barn-livery structure; a blacksmith shop-garage; two other outbuildings; and small depressions marking several privys. A large concentration of broken beer and whiskey bottles, occasional champagne kickup bottles, broken crockery, and tin cans marks the probable saloon location, set south from the main town area, on a bluff along the arroyo across from the assay office; and
- foundations of three or more half-dugout structures, with associated trash. These may have been started as prospect pits, later walled with excavated rubble for residential use.

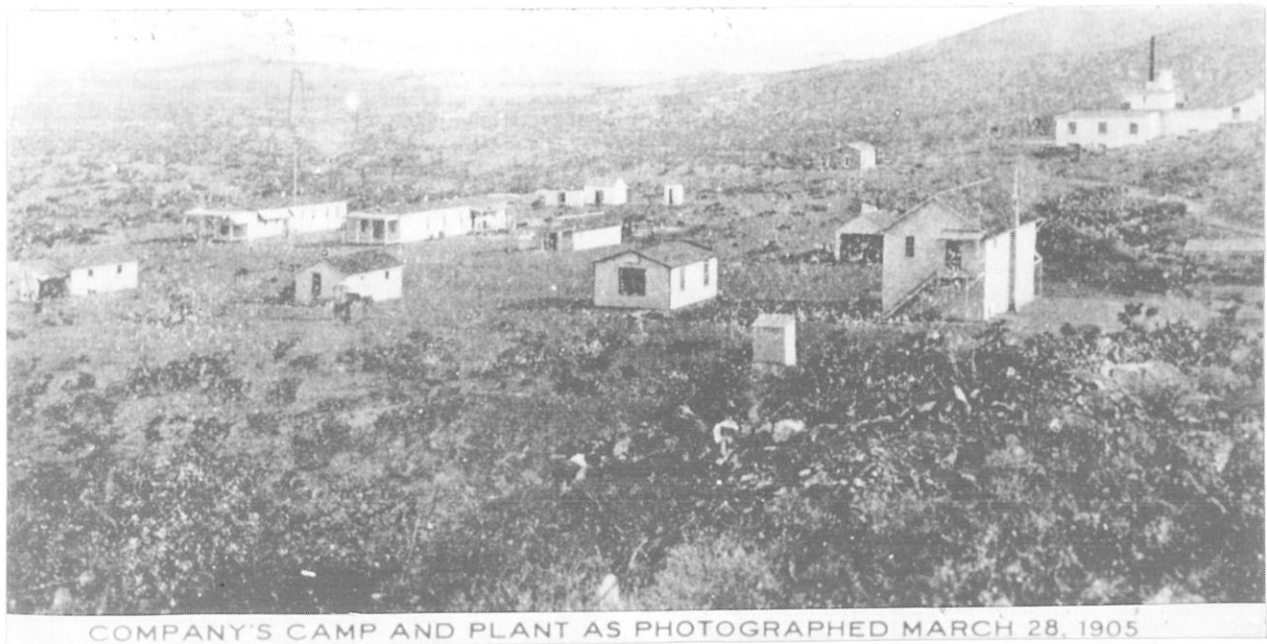


Figure 38. Estey City: photograph of townsite.



POST OFFICE AND COMPANY'S GENERAL STORE



INTERIOR VIEW OF COMPANY'S GENERAL STORE, ESTEY CITY, NEW MEXICO

Figure 39. Estey City: photographs of Company's general store.

Outlying Residential, Mining, and Other Features

Other features include

- numerous outlying isolated artifacts and scatters, associated in some cases with rock alignments or other minor features that probably mark tent locations;

- a cluster of stone features whose function is problematical, including a rectangular foundation outline, northeast of the town, which occur in the probable vicinity of the cemetery; and

- several dozen outlying prospects, shafts, and adits with ore and spoil piles, scattered to the north, west, and south of the townsite in valley and ridge-top locations. Many of these are quite small, and complete identification will require intensive survey.

Palomas Moonshine Spring

Palomas Moonshine Spring, the primary water source for Estey City, lies about 3 mi northwest of the Estey City townsite. A large, wooden windmill occupies the floor of the rocky draw, feeding an iron pipeline hung from the canyon wall.

Linear Features and Small-scale Elements

Various trails and road traces radiate from the townsite to the southeast toward Oscura, north toward Palomas Moonshine Spring, and west into the Oscura foothills to various mine locations. Most small-scale elements, like road traces, trash scatters, and small prospects, lie within or immediately adjacent to larger features.

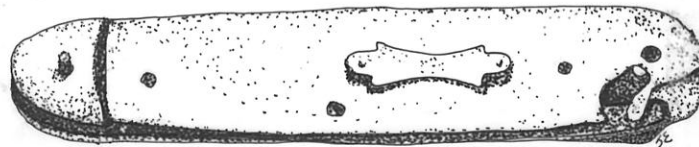


Figure 40. Folding pocket knife, Estey City townsite, LA 50095 (actual size).

The Historic Estey City Landscape

The Estey City landscape contains archaeological and structural evidence of turn-of-the-century copper mining and processing, including prospecting and mining of ore from the surface and from fissures; crushing, milling, and reduction; assaying; and the various ancillary commercial, residential, social, and recreational activities that formed the infrastructure supporting the mining enterprise.

Most of the larger mines retain massive piles of ore, ready for transport to the crusher plant. Ore was hauled by wagon to the top of the ridge above the plant and unloaded at a rock-walled, open chute, where the crusher broke the raw ore into finer pieces. The ore was then milled and transported by chute to a lower level, where it was leached with sulfuric acid. Copper was precipitated from the solution, probably through replacement with iron. The iron may have come from scrap, including tin cans, which are relatively rare in trash dumps. The precipitated “cement copper” was then smelted and refined by the electrolytic process. Apparently small amounts of gold and silver were also recovered.

One small, isolated rock structure on the ridge top by the haul road may have been a preliminary assay office. The main assay office was adjacent to the plant, not far from where fine ore was stockpiled prior to processing.

The company store was housed on the lower floor of a large, two-story, gable-roofed clapboard frame building with a cellar. One interior photograph shows the store to be a typical period example: heavily stocked with shelves of canned and bottled goods, lanterns, metalware, horseshoes, dry staple commodities in sacks, small kegs also serving as seats for loitering customers, scales for dry goods, a marble meat counter with brass rail and paper roll, a curved glass case for notions and gimcracks, and pigeonhole postal boxes, with a wood stove central to the planked wood floor.

Additional interior photographs of the company office and assay office supply glimpses of other activities. The business office boasts factory-produced furniture, a spittoon, a wire trash basket, a safe, and large bound ledgers. A kerosene lamp suggests that the town’s electricity was not as reliable as claimed.

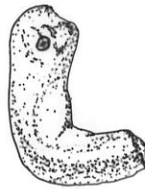


Figure 41. Artifacts from Estey City town site (LA 50095): harmonica plate; ceramic doll leg and arm; glass marble; stickpin with horn-shaped ornament; medicinal salve tin (front and back) (actual size).

The largest trash scatter testifies to the popularity of the saloon— hundreds of broken beer bottles, principally from the Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Company, indicate a typically proletarian thirst of the local miners, although an occasional champagne bottle base with kickup base can also be found to indicate more bourgeois tastes.

Only one of the residential structure locations clearly hints at a domestic family presence. Here all the items common to rural frontier life lie scattered and forgotten on the desert pavement: porcelain doll fragments, a silver plate pocket watch back, a swirled glass marble, a teapot lid, pressed milkglass canning seal, buttons, an umbrella rib, quill pen nib, and even a small metal tin marked “DeWitt’s Witch Hazel Salve—The Great Pile Cure.”

Fragments of English china from Johnson Bros. and Knowles, Taylor & Knowles, in popular patterns like blue willow are scattered here and there over the townsite. A sherd of Majolica indicates imports from nearby Mexico. Several harmonica fragments, including one top plate marked “Silver Tongues” “Made in Germany;” porcelain figurine fragments; bits of jewelry; and snuff bottles suggest economic ties to national and world markets.

Undoubtedly, local diet relied heavily on dry commodities, especially beans, and canned goods. Local game and range meats, including mutton, goat, and beef, provided fresh meat. Condiments and medicinals are represented by container fragments and include Gebhart’s Chili Powder, Walter Baker & Co. Breakfast Cocoa, Lea and Perrins sauce, and Bromo-Seltzer from the Emmerson Drug Co. in Baltimore.

Patterns of Spatial Organization

Patterns of Estey City’s extractive activities were diffuse. Small clusters of prospects and mines are scattered throughout the surrounding hills and valleys, reflecting a search for ores, in several strata exposed throughout the uplifted red sandstone ridges. Jones (1904:105-107) observed after a 1902 visit that “If a success is made working these low-grade ores, it will require the greatest metallurgical skills and the strictest economy.” Industrial activities are informally focused on the processing plant, whose location at the mouth of a small canyon may have been convenient for ore transportation, but does not appear to be conditioned by any other resources or advantages, except perhaps for its spectacular view across the valley.

In contrast, residential patterns are more complex. The townsite itself represents the imposition of a typical, formally gridded street pattern, with several parallel main streets and perpendicular alleys suggesting blocks that never fully materialized before the town expired. This formal, Euro-American

urban pattern is surrounded by an informal, rural array of isolated dugouts and tent camps on nearby hillsides to the west and along the main trails to the north and east.

The short span of a single decade in the town's life created very little of permanence—what once were town streets have revegetated and erosion has recontoured much of the townsite into natural patterns. Faint traces of Estey City's roads and trails are still visible on the stable desert-pavement surfaces that dominate the local landscape. A complex series of haul roads cross the main arroyo and climb the ridge above the processing plant to a stockpile dump and turnaround. Cuts in the outcrops to form roads mark the principal improvements made during their construction. The modern dirt road through the hills to Estey City seems to follow the original route. Little but a trace through the creosotebush flats marks what was once the main road to Oscura.

Most of the wagon roads are oriented to the local topography. Straight trails stretch across the flat alluvial plains, deviating only when crossing dry runoff drainages. Trails into the hills wind up into canyon bottoms, following graveled arroyos to the mines in the valleys, or climbing steep ridge backs to reach prospects located in the outcropping escarpment cliffs that cap the red hills.

No clear natural or artificial boundaries enclose the Estey City Mining District. Claims to 2,000 acres of patented land and 93 mining claims in the Dividend prospectus remain unsubstantiated by exhaustive records searches. Two possibilities could explain this lack of deed and claim records. The region was subject to several county boundary changes during the historic period, and many records are known to have been lost, misplaced, or misfiled. Alternately, but less likely, the Estey claims may have been purely a matter of possession—patent and claim documents may never have been filed. This situation is common among ranches during this period throughout the San Andres and Oscura Mountains. Many ranches were never patented until just before they were sold or relinquished to the U.S. Government in the 1940s (Eidenbach 1989).

Response to the Natural Environment

The extensive use of local stone for masonry, made readily available by local mining activity, represents a major and successful response to the natural environment and its available resources. Several of the half-dugout cabins may have maximized this strategy, by transforming mine prospects and already quarried spoil into stone-masonry residential structures.

The choice of the town's location was less successful. Expectations about the subsurface availability of potable and industrial water led D.M. Estey to select a site distant from known surface sources, a mistake which proved fatal for both the town and the enterprise.

The lack of water and overall aridity of the Estey City Mining District have obliterated any domestic or landscape vegetation resulting from historic activity, if any ever existed. Creosotebush and other desert shrubs have reclaimed all but the mine areas themselves. Revegetation has even obscured spoil piles, most of which contain nothing but broken rock. No artificial landscaping or ornamental plantings are known from historic documents, accounts, or photographs. Estey City was born and died too soon for such amenities to be attempted, much less to become established.

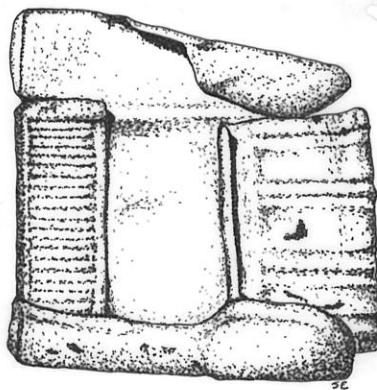


Figure 42. Metal match safe, Estey City townsite, LA 50095 (actual size).

Cultural Traditions

The eastern Euro-American traditions of the town's founder, D.M. Estey, and the subsequent Dividend Mining and Milling owners and officers are vividly reflected in the gridded town layout and the rural vernacular version of eastern Romanesque industrial architecture. The sources of these traditions are confirmed by personal information supplied in the contemporary press and in the Dividend brochure.

D.M. Estey himself was from Owosso, Michigan, formerly quite successful in furniture manufacture. With the exception of J.M. Bryson, whose origin is unknown but may have been more western, the later Dividend Mining officers and directors represented New England banking, real estate, manufacturing, and retail interests. The Dividend corporate offices were located in Boston, while the officers were from several of Boston's satellite cities (Lawrence, Newton, Florence, Athol, Fitchburg), Providence, Rhode Island, and New Haven, Connecticut. The list of their business interests confirms their New England business backgrounds: banking, wholesale and retail grocery, boot and shoe manufacture, paint manufacture, silk import, lumber, street railways, real estate, and food products. This same eastern Euro-American perspective and expectations based on earlier strikes in other western venues are echoed in the names of the mines themselves: Colorado, Homestake, Jackpot, McKinley, and Trinidad.

This urban eastern tradition is typical of the period in the region. Planned urban development had arrived with the railroad at nearby Alamogordo in 1898, creating the first direct transportation links between the Tularosa Basin and mainstream America. Earlier patterns, based on Hispanic and Mexican models, focused town plans on a central plaza, occasionally surrounded by a formal street grid, like that in 1860s Tularosa. More typically, these earlier patterns were less formal, reflecting agricultural land use patterns and the gradual accretional growth of village centers such as La Luz.

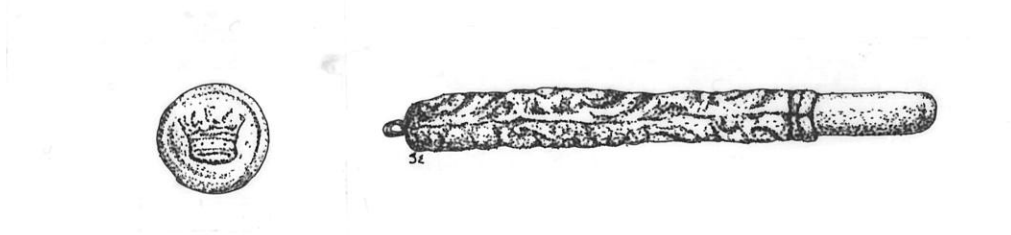


Figure 43. Metal button and embossed metal pencil case, Estey City townsite (actual size).

The Historic Significance of Estey City

The Estey City Mining District, active for a short period between 1901 and 1910, is an intact example of numerous mining enterprises promoted by interests with eastern capital in the Southwest, some more successful than others. Estey City exemplified the turn-of-the-century economic transition from rural agrarian to extractive and service industries that transformed southern New Mexico after the arrival of railroads. It represents the many ephemeral boom or bust communities founded amid high expectations, only to collapse when those expectations were not realized. Estey City was one of several ventures that encouraged the extension of the El Paso & Northeastern Railroad north of Alamogordo, connecting this last undeveloped region with the northern half of the state and the Rio Grande Valley to the south.

The Estey City Mining District remains also contain information important in history and historic archaeology. The industrial ruins and townsite represent a unique, rich resource for understanding turn-of-the-century mining technology and its associated daily life. These remains are especially valuable because they span such a short time period, equivalent to a time capsule at the turn of the century.

The milling and processing plant and assay office are distinctive and noteworthy both symbolically and architecturally. While these two structures are in ruins, they are highly distinctive examples of rural industrial architecture that is relatively rare in the region. Both are examples of a commercial vernacular style executed in locally available rough stone, with segmental arched windows and doors, a style distinctly foreign in the desert Southwest, symbolizing the strong Eastern financial connections that underlay this venture. Construction in this style here represents the influence of the railroad and the gradual and often delayed influence of eastern industry and capital investment on the Southwest. The size, scale, and capabilities of the plant reflect eastern expectations, widely shared at the time in the infant mining industry and modeled on eastern and midwestern predecessors rather than the harsh realities of the desert landscape. Estey City's architecture is typical of the period, relying on established Euro-American commercial building techniques, adapted to locally available materials, and using cost-efficient methods of construction, such as segmental arches over doors and windows.

F. G. BARTLETT. J. M. TYLER.
BARTLETT & TYLER,
 Wholesale and Retail Dealers in
L U M B E R
 OF ALL KINDS.
 Hardware, Cutlery, Stoves, Windmills and Pumps.
MAGDALENA, N. M.

MAGDALENA
Blacksmith and Wagon Shop.
WM. ELDERTON, Prop'r.
 All kinds of Shing Work a specialty. Horses Shod promptly and in good style. Repairing neatly done, and all work guaranteed.
MAIN STREET, MAGDALENA, N. M.

W. M. CHEWNING,
 Successor to M. BURK,
Staple and Fancy Groceries,
Family Bakery.
AT THE OLD STAND, SOUTH SIDE OF PLAZA.

CHEAP CASH STORE!
D. WEILLER & CO.,
Dry Goods, Notions, Gents Furnish-
ing Goods.
LADIES FINE WEAR A SPECIALTY.
 Also, a Full Line of Boots and Shoes, Hats and Caps, &c.

AUGUST GUENIER,
 DEALER IN
STAPLE AND FANCY GROCERIES,
 Domestic and Imported Fruits,
 Fine Tobacco and Cigars, Confectionery, Smokers' Supplies, Stationery, Fresh Bread and Pastry,
 Oysters, Poultry and Game in Season.
SOUTH SIDE OF PLAZA, SOCORRO, N. M.

J. M. ROBINSON, Manager. WM. WATSON.
SOCORRO FURNITURE CO.
 For QUEENSWARE AND CUTLERY,
Undertakers Goods
 AND
ALL KINDS OF FURNITURE,
 CALL AT
HARRISON BLOCK, MANZANARES AVENUE, SOCORRO, N. M.

ALBUQUERQUE National Bank,
ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.
CAPITAL, \$100,000.
Does a General Banking Business.
 STOCKMEN'S BUSINESS A SPECIALTY.
 JOHN A. LEE, Pres. S. M. FOLSON, V.-Pres. W. S. STRICKLER, Cashier.

The A. M. CODINGTON
FURNITURE COMP'Y,
ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.
The Largest Stock in New Mexico to select from. Wholesale and Retail.
Prices and Catalogues furnished on Application.

CHAS. NEUSTADT,
 Dealer in DOMESTIC AND IMPORTED
C I G A R S,
 AND A FULL LINE OF
 Smokers' Material, Wholesale and Retail,
ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

PIONEER FOUNDRY.
ALBUQUERQUE.
IRON AND BRASS CASTINGS of all
 Descriptions.
 Iron Fronts for Build'gs, Grate Bars & Babbit Metal.
 Orders should be addressed to Pioneer Foundry, Box 236, Albuquerque, N. M.

Mrs. M. C. Weiler,
 Lately from San Francisco, Cal.
Fashionable
FRENCH DRESSMAKER,
 Just South of Park House, Socorro.
 Ladies' Underwear made to order promptly. All Work strictly First-class.

The PARK HOUSE
 MRS. JESSIE E. BROWN, Proprietress.
On the EUROPEAN PLAN,
 Neat, clean Rooms, and the Table supplied with the best in
 the Market.

Figure 44. Front-page commercial advertising, Socorro Bullion, vol. 4, no. 44, February 19, 1887.

GALLERY

AN ASSORTMENT OF NEWS,
RECOLLECTION,
AND
MISCELLANY

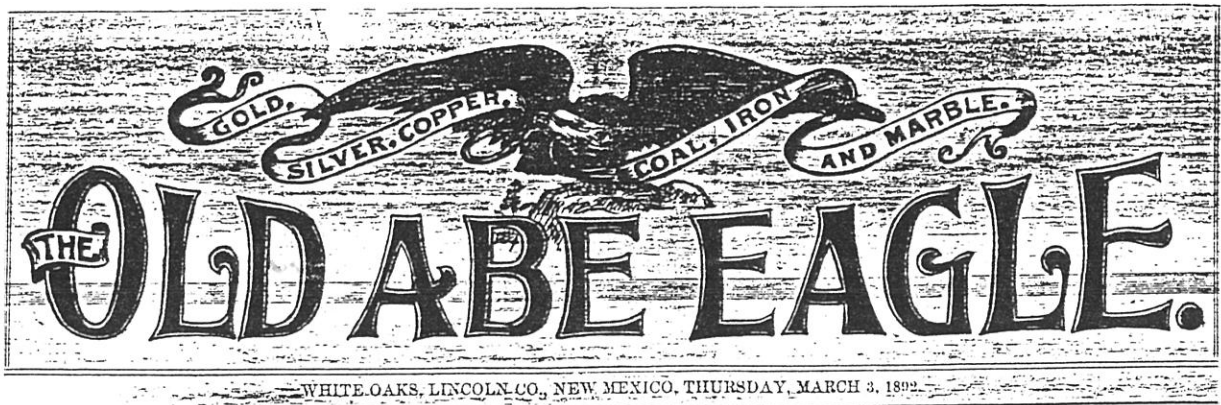


Figure 45. Masthead from the *Old Abe Eagle*,
vol. 1, no. 16, March 3, 1892, White Oaks.

Groceries,

HAY, GRAIN,

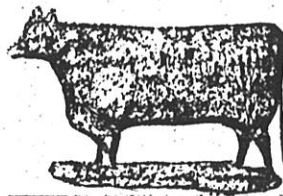
Ice, Etc., at

BLANCHARD & CO'S.

S. E. COR. OF PLAZA.

Brooks & Dedrick,

Successors to YOUNG & BELL,



Socorro Meat Market

South Side of the Plaza.

Beef, Mutton, Pork, Veal and Sausage.

Orders by mail promptly filled.



DAVIS & CO.

Druggists,

SOCORRO, N. M.

At Home Day & Night.

Figure 46. Front page commercial advertising, *Socorro Bulletin*, vol. 4, no. 44, February 19, 1887.

OSCURAS AND SAN ANDRES

**The Jornada del Muerto loses its Death-Like Character
and is Becoming a Garden of Eden.**

**An Interesting Account of the Mines and Ranches
Visited by our Scribe.**

**The Silver King and Little Dick Mining Claims,
and How They Look.**

The Ranch of H. Goujon at Mountain Spring, and his Artesian Well.

Other Mines and Ranches too Numerous to mention.

San Antonio, N.M., Feb. 1, 1887.

Editor Socorro Bullion:

Last Wednesday, your correspondent, in company with C. Loufersweiler of Ft. Dodge, Iowa, J.C. McBride of Pennsylvania, and Col. J.H. Crane, the good-looking, big-hearted merchant of Carthage, took a five-day trip to the San Andres and Oscura Mountains.

Leaving Carthage about 11 a.m., with a Mexican match team, which consists of a small Spanish mule and a sore-backed black horse about a foot taller, we took the old Sandreas [sic] road, with the peaks five miles southeast of Carthage, and crossed the great Jornada del Muerto via Capt. D.D. Field's well. For the benefit of those who have not heard of this place, we would say that Jornada del Muerto means "the Journey of Death." It is a vast level plain, from 30 to 40 miles wide and 150 to 200 feet [sic] long, commencing at the southern end of the Manzano range in Valencia county and extending southward along the Oscura and Sandia ranges through Socorro and into Grant and Dona Ana counties.

The road from Carthage to Field's well, a distance of 14 miles, is hard, and good time can be made. Mr. Field has found plenty of water at a depth of 60 feet, and has a windmill to hoist the water into a tank. He has no live stock on his place, and grass is knee-high right up to his residence. The balance of the road to San Andres, 22 miles, is rather sandy in spots, and slow time is the result. It got dark,

and we had some difficulty in finding the cabin. Shout after shout went up in air for Dunn and Sniffen, the only prospectors now at work on the north slope of the mountain, but no light could be seen or answer heard. After giving up all hope, and expecting to be compelled to camp out without water for ourselves or team, Mr. Crane, our guide, who once accompanied Fremont, the pathfinder of the Rocky Mountains, after several miles of tramping, suddenly discovered the old Silver King dump of the San Andres Mining Co. He then knew just where Dunn's cabin ought to be, and after another half hour of driving and more shouts, with firing of a Winchester, a light was seen up a narrow canon some two miles off, which proved to be the cabin of Dunn and Sniffen.

After feeding our horses and eating supper, the cabin being small, some of our party spread their blankets on the ground in the open air and slept comfortably—this, too, in midwinter, high up in the mountains, and two of the parties were direct from the East, yet they did not catch cold. After eating breakfast, the forenoon was spent in looking over the mines in company with Mr. Dunn, the Socorro miner. We passed the Silver King, where a 60-foot shaft has been sunk, and considerable ore lies on the dump, and other mining claims of the San Andes [sic] company, half a mile further on, and reach the Little Dick, with three other claims adjoining, including the Senator Beck lode, located and named in honor of the Kentucky senator, after his famous speech a year ago. All these rich claims are the property of J.H. Crane and Geo. W. Dunn; and the principal work, so far, has been done on the Little Dick, a 50-foot shaft and two levels some 50 feet long, having lately been opened, and they have just commenced to sink 50 feet deeper on the lead, which is a true fissure vein.

After dinner we hitched up the teams and took a ride up to the east side of the mountains, along a beautiful valley between the Little Burro and San Andres, with grass knee high all the way—a splendid stock country. We passed three of the main springs in the mountains, including the Mocking Bird spring, and came within two miles of Capt. Jack's mining camp on the east side of the San Andres facing the White Mountains. We came back on the old Tularosa and Belen road, at the bottom of the valley, by the Little Burro. We met Ed Balls, the cow minister, who is just opening a ranch there, and has dug a well and found water at 16 feet and plenty of it, with dark blue gramma grass knee high right up to the well. No doubt water can be found all around the bottom of the Little Burro and Oscura mountains by digging, as has been demonstrated by what few wells have already been sunk: Field's well, 14 miles from Carthage, at 70 feet; Irven & Marsh, 8 miles from Carthage, at same depth; E. Montoya & Sons, 15 miles from Carthage, at 60 feet have plenty of water, pumped by horse-power, and keep a big lot of steers which they are fattening for the beef market; and Luis Chavez, 10 miles from Carthage, has three wells, one only 9 feet deep, with plenty of water. All these wells are on the Jornada del Muerto, where there is room for hundreds

more, with plenty of grass and range for thousands of cattle. There is no better chance in New Mexico than right on this big prairie for a poor man to get a stock farm and secure his title by living on it. The larger part of this land is capable of agriculture; for with water all kinds of grain and fruit will thrive here just as well as in the valley, with no danger of overflow from the river. Wheat, potatoes and all kinds of grain and vegetables are raised at Manzano, 20 miles north, some without irrigation, on same character of land as this.

Friday morning we left the San Andres, on the hard Tularosa and Belen road, for Mountain Station, distant 40 miles, in the northern end of the Oscuras. We arrived at Hansonburg about noon, and camped there for dinner. Found plenty of water in the old Broad Gauge shaft, which cost us nothing. Five years ago, the writer paid 15 cents a gallon for water for himself and mule, the water being hauled from Mountain Station, some 15 miles off in the mountain, and hundreds of others did the same during the excitement of the copper discoveries there. Hundreds of dollars were spent hauling water 15 miles, when a well could have been dug close by, and abundance[t] water obtained at 70 or 80 feet.

There is no work being done now at Hansonburg, but considerable copper is piled up on the dumps of the old Broad Gauge and Compromise mines. Hansonburg is about 18 miles direct east of Carthage and the San Pedro branch ought to be extended direct to these copper mines, and then pass along the lower end of the Oscuras and Little Burros, and pass up the valley between the San Andres and Little Burros, where they would not encounter a grade of more than 75 feet to the mile. This would tap all the mines at Hansonburg and on the west slope of the Oscuras, all the copper mines of the Little Burros, and all the silver and lead mines on the northern and western slopes of the San Andres.

We arrived at the mouth of the canon at Mountain Station about 6 p.m., and found the Cutler outfit driving a 5-inch artesian well for H. Goujon, the well-known French ranchman and owner of Mountain Station spring. They were down some 300 feet, having passed thro' red rock most of the way. Mr. Goujon hopes to find a flowing well. Three miles further up the winding canon brings us to Mountain Spring, the home of Mr. Goujon, who is putting a couple of thousand of bright French silver dollars in circulation by sinking the artesian well spoken of, which is going down at the rate of about 24 feet a day. Mr. Goujon has his ranch stocked with horses and breeding mares, and he has a number of colts from his Norman stallion, Bismarck. Mr. Goujon's residence is built on the side of the hill, and romantically constructed, nearly all the side walls being put there by nature thousands of years ago, and will stand for ages to come. A few feet of mason[ry] work around the window and door casings constitute the total work done by man in the construction walls of this rustic home. The only two windows and the door face the east, and catches the early sun as it kisses the canon at daybreak.

After a good night's rest, we hitched up our team and continued our journey up the canon. One mile further, on the right, is the ranch of Bell & Taylor, well stocked. Two miles further up, on the right, is the ranch of E.A. Gardner, formerly station agent at Carthage [sic]; he has a house on it, and has located 40 acres of the land surrounding the Spring with Sioux scrip, giving an absolute title to his ranch. One mile further up is the ranch of J.V. Bryant, with plenty of water; and two miles still further up is the ranch of Dr. Gleason, the Carthage physician, which has abundance of water, and would make a splendid place for breeding Angora goats. We stopped half an hour, on our return, at Mr. N. Ozanne & Son's ranch, half a mile south of the main White Oaks road. Mr. Ozanne has his home 2 1/2 miles above Mountain Station; it is nicely fitted up, and is a splendid place for travelers to put up at: good accommodations and plenty of feed for man and beast. His spring is located only a short distance from his residence, and has about the largest flow of the best water in the mountains.

We left the same afternoon for Prairie Spring, over the old Socorro road, Mr. Crane leaving us at the mouth of the canon, and taking the new short-cut via Montoya's well, which makes the distance ten miles shorter than by Prairie Spring (Ojo del Jono) to Mountain Station from Carthage or San Antonio. Prairie Spring is the property of Mrs. Jean Miera of San Pedro. It is well stocked with cattle and horses, and has a splendid range on all sides, being almost in the middle of the prairie.

Sunday morning we took the old Manzano road to the north; three miles up we passed Coyote Spring, the ranch of Juan Jose Baca of Socorro. It is well stocked with hundreds of cattle, and there is sufficient water for their use. Three miles further up, nearly opposite Luiz Chavez's well, is the ranch lately opened by H.O. Bursum, the San Antonio butcher. He has a splendid range for cattle, with grass knee-high, and when the water is more developed, he will have a good place.

We now turned back and started for home, arriving at Carthage at 3 p.m., where a splendid dinner was waiting for us, prepared by by [sic] the estimable wife of J.H. Crane, the Carthage merchant. We found our friend, Mr. Crane, who had been our guide the four previous days, dressed up like a Presbyterian minister going to deliver a sermon. He said he was not exactly going to preach, but there was to be a social gathering of the miners at one of the houses, and he had been assigned to deliver the well-known toast of "Church in the Coal Trade," which he always makes a signal success of, after dinner. We then left for home, and arrived at the great coke-producing metropolis about 6 p.m. We found the usual vim and stir characteristic of a real live town, and were glad to get home after being away five days, and crossing the great Jornada del Muerto in three places or in other words a hundred and fifty mile drive over the Journey of Death. A.



San Antonio, N. M.

Ed. BULLION :

On the 5th inst., in company with Mr. J. F. Towle, the genial secretary of the Oscura Copper Mining Co., I left Socorro for the purpose of making a trip across the Jornada del Muerte to the San Andres and Oscura mountains. The air was cool and bracing and we accomplished our journey in less than a day's drive. When we arrived at Carthage, the end of the San Pedro division of the A. T. & S. F. R. R. I was surprised to see the amount of building going on in that thriving little city. I noticed more than twenty new frame buildings in process of erection. At this point are the vast coal fields of the San Pedro Coal & Coking Co., which are now being extensively and profitably worked. Undoubtedly the company has unlimited confidence in their inexhaustibleness, from the amount of development now going on and the great expenditure of money. Large amounts of coal are now being mined and coked at the company's ovens at San Antonio, twelve miles distant.

THE JORNADO DEL MUERTE

From this point we took the well traveled wagon road across the famous Jornada del Muerte. I must confess I can see nothing on this plain which justified the old Spaniards in giving to it the dreaded appellation. It reminds me of some of the great prairies of Illinois and Iowa that are now so thickly settled with comfortable farms. I never yet have seen such beautiful pasture land. With such rich and luxuriant grama grass, thousands of cattle could be fed upon this vast plain. From all indications, I am satisfied that artesian wells could be bored and a continuous flow of water obtained. It appears to be a great basin with high ranges of mountains on the east and west. I wonder why some enterprising capitalists do not make the attempt. The expense would be slight in comparison to the vast range secured. In a few years it will be accomplished and will be made to sustain large herds of cattle and much of the rich soil will be irrigated from these wells, and trees and fruits will grow and homes will be made by the efforts of pluck, enterprise and industry.

MOCKING BIRD SPRINGS

We soon arrived at Mocking Bird springs. This is the finest spring of pure water that I have ever seen, as pure and cool as ever gladdened the heart of a traveler upon the desert of Sahara. It is situated upon the eastern slope of the San Andres mountains, about one hundred yards from its base. As it trickles down from the granite rocks it mingles its music with the songs of the mocking birds that ever hover around it among the bushes and trees.

THE GYPSUM PLAINS

From the spring one can obtain a splendid view of the white gypsum fields that lie about forty miles to the south and east. They look like vast fields of snow that have strayed off from some cold region of the north and got lost in this plain. It is most beautiful when the sun shines down upon it, to see it glisten and to see it whirled about by the sport of the winds. Thousands of acres are thus covered and in a few years, if I mistake not, railroads will run to these great beds and the gypsum will be utilized, ground into plaster and made to fertilize the worn out farms of New England and will add another important industry to the many in the great territory of New Mexico.

THE SALT RIVER

One can catch a glimpse of the vast lava beds, the wonderful mal pais and the old extinct volcano and looks in vain for the fire and smoke to issue from the crater that once covered this plain in fire and melted rock and sunk forever a great inland sea. From the south end of this mal pais runs a stream of salt water and all along its banks large quantities of salt are deposited from evaporation, which in time will be utilized and become most valuable.

THE SIERRA BLANCA

No grander picture could be presented to the eye than the view of mountains and plains here presented. To the south and east the Organs, Jarilla, and Sacramentos and directly to the east the Sierra Blancas that tower aloft their giant forms against the clear blue sky and crowned with snow, they look the hoary sentinels of the ages. A little to the north are the Little Burros and a little to the north and east, the grand Oscuras in shadowy outline. The picture is one of beauty and most impressive and while we gaze upon its grandeur and loveliness, we realize our insignificance. Yet, with a delighted eye and saddened heart we turn from the scene to muse upon its grandeur and beauty and the author of their being.

OSCURA MINES

After having refreshed ourselves here, we made a visit to the Oscura mines. We first saw the Rowena and Jessica, both undergoing development and yielding considerable pay ore. The ore is copper, bearing well in silver. The owners intend to sink one hundred feet before the advent of the railroad in order to ship ore to more advantage. We then visited the property of the Oscura Copper Mining Co., consisting of seven claims, all more or less developed [and] most favorably located, not more than two miles from wood, water and coal and about twenty from the present terminus of the railroad, which will soon be extended to White Oaks and will run within a short distance of this camp. The Mountain King [misplaced heading]. This property has a well timbered shaft of one hundred feet. The ore body is the width of the shaft and shows good ore throughout. The mineral is copper bearing silver with good indications for gold. I am satisfied that even under the present disadvantages in transportation, this ore could also be made to pay for its development. It is similar in character to the Mountain King as are also the Little Joe and Katie. The company intends soon to erect reduction works, with every prospect of success. We re-crossed the Jornada over the route surveyed by the railroad which will soon drive the deer and antelope from the plains.

A. N.

<p>CIGARS! La Ma Sima. (Mexican). Sanders Favorite. (Imported). U. S. Bouquet. (Key West). President's Choice. (Domestic). Sour Mash. Red Strip. Los Banos.</p>	<p>When in want of anything in my line, do not fail to call at the</p>	<p>WALL PAPER, Fine line of Society Stationery, NOTIONS, Time Books, Blank Books, etc.</p>
<p>White Oaks Book Store</p>		
<p>As I have just received a new lot of goods to select from, Have just received another fine invoice of</p>		
<p>JEWELRY, Watches, Clocks, Pins, Etc. Albums, Playing Cards.</p>	<p>Ella G. Timoney, P. O. ROOM. WATSON BLOCK.</p>	<p>BOOKS, NOVELS, Seaside and Globe Libraries, MAGAZINES, School Books, Slates, Pencils.</p>

Figure 47. Front-page commercial advertising, the *Old Abe Eagle*, March 3, 1892.

Letter Written to the *Home and Farm*, by Olive R. Ozanne

How and where I met my husband—

A ROMANCE

I want to give the sisters the true story of a little romance in which *Home and Farm* played an important part. Women are naturally inclined to the romantic, and this little history will furnish food for thought for those who believe in "fate," "attraction of kindred spirits," "love on sight," etc.

Something over nine years ago a young Southern girl of eighteen summers picked up a scrap of paper. It was not larger than your hand, but on it was printed a letter to *Home and Farm* written by a resident of New Mexico, who gave his name and address. In this letter was mentioned the high price paid for labor of various kinds—cowboys, farm hands, servant girls, etc. Being a young woman of independent ideas, she had taught a few months in the country schools of the South, remuneration being about the same as that of a servant girl in New Mexico, according to the above mentioned scribe. Very naturally it occurred to the young lady that if farm hands and servant girls received shree [sic] prices for their services, why not teachers? and immediately she opened a correspondence with the author of the New Mexico letter, which resulted in a situation being offered and accepted and the speedy departure of our young friend for the West.

On arriving at S., a small railroad station, she found ninety miles of "staging" between that point and her destination. The night was passed at the little hotel kept by a garrulous old Scotchman and his wife, who lost no time in learning all her history, past, present and future, which endless questioning would reveal. During the conversation, and a short while before the stage was to leave, a young man entered the little parlor and was introduced as the proprietor of the stage line and informed by the landlord that the gentleman would be her traveling companion throughout the journey.

It is hardly necessary to state that a more considerate companion or a more pleasant stage ride would be hard to imagine. Various incidents of the journey could be mentioned to show that this particular passenger received many delicate attentions not usually accorded passengers. But for the sake of brevity we will only add that less than seven weeks after that meeting in the hotel parlor at S. the proprietor and the passenger were pronounced "man and wife" and the village of N. was minus a teacher. Nine years have passed, and the husband is still a lover, but he has two sweethearts—one a bright little "four-year-old."

With best wishes to all the readers of *Home and Farm*, I am yours truly,

OSCURA.

Las Cruces Leader

Story on the Alfred Ozanne Wedding
from an undated clipping
in the Owens collection

Last Tuesday evening, at the hour of 8:30, Alfred J. Ozanne was united in matrimony to Miss Beulah Olive Rencher, Rev. Lund officiating, and Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Shannenhouse appearing as groomsman and bridesmaid. The attendance of friends was large and composed of our prominent citizens, and the supper served by Mr. and Mrs. Brothers was sumptuous and toothsome. Emile Ozanne, brother of the groom, caught the first slice of the bride cake, in which was embedded the ring. The list of presents, and the donors, so far as we could glean them, were as follows:

Gold watch and chain, from groom to bride.
Ladies' gold scarf pin, from Mrs. V. E. Rencher, bride's mother.
Toilet set, from Mr. and Mrs. J. Everett Bird.
Buckeye cook book, Mrs. J. G. Shannenhouse.
Wisp broom and holder, from Mr. J. G. Shannenhouse.
Tea set from Mr. Chas. D. Mayer.
Electric lamp, from Messrs. E. B. Homan and Jones Taliaferro.
Set silver knives and forks, from Mr. and Mrs. John Y. Hewitt.
One doz. silver tea spoons, from Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Parker.
One 8 day cottage clock, from Paul Mayer.
One plush clock, from F. W. Moon.
One glass pitcher, from Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Kempton.
One Persian rug, from Goodman Ziegler & Co.
Rocking chair and bolt muslin, from U. Ozanne.
Lamp, 2 towels and tidy, from W. H. Weed.
Four towels and bedspread, from Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Brothers.
Two oil paintings, from Mr. and Mrs. G. R. Young.
Water set and tray, from Mr. and Mrs. M. G. Paden.
Set vases, from Miss Emma A. Brothers.
Span white ponies and buggy, from Ozanne & Co.
Bed room furniture, complete, from Henry and Paul Ozanne,
Wichita, Kansas.

Those who have the honor of an acquaintance with the now Mrs. Ozanne, inform us that she is possessed of much intellectual force, and has been endowed with a superior education—that her disposition is as loveable as her face is pretty. The groom is too well known to require comment. No young man among us ever better withstood the temptations which environ youth here. Among us he has grown to the stature of full manhood, and commands by his deserts the good will of everybody. The couple start out in double harness with the LEADER'S fond wish that neither neck-yoke, breechen, or other portion of their gear will ever break.

Obituary of Urbain Ozanne

reconstructed from a partial copy of an unidentified newspaper clipping in the Owen collection

ENTERED INTO REST

Death of Urbain Ozanne at White Oaks, N. M.

After an illness of over two years duration, suffering intensely, Urbain Ozanne, an old and respected citizen of White Oaks, N. M., entered into rest at 5 o'clock a. m., August 1?

Urbain Ozanne was born at Chateau Brillente, Province of Brittany, France, May 8, 1835. His father was a government teacher of considerable merit. He received three medals of honor from Louis Phillippe. These same medals are now in the possession of his great grandson, Henry Ozanne of Wichita, Kas. Owing to political troubles, he emigrated to the United States in 1850, Urbain then being 15 years old. He, with his family (wife and five children) left La Havre, France, in a sailing vessel November 1, 1850, and arrived in New Orleans December 25, 1850. The family resided in New Orleans (some) months, and removed to Paducah, Ky where he entered the mercantile business. In 1853, while in New Orleans replenishing his stock, he died of yellow fever. In June, 1856, Urbain [son] was married to Miss Fannie Bearevon of whom he had five children. The eldest, a daughter, died in January 1864, the other four (boys) are still living. Henry, the eldest, a druggist in Wichita, Kas.; Emile, a resident of New Mexico; Alfred, a hardware merchant at Centerville, Ala., and Paul, the youngest, in the Title Insurance business in Butte, Mont. All of the boys received a thorough education at the Jesuit (Catholic) school, Univ. St. Louis, Mo. During the civil war, Urbain was engaged as government contractor for the army at Nashville, Tenn. In June, 1865, he with his family, visited France. During the visit his youngest child, Paul, was born in Paris.

Returning to this country he purchased a plantation in Panola county, Miss.

He was a member of the constitutional convention in 1868, and during the reconstruction days was a power in Mississippi politics. He was appointed sheriff of Panola county by Governor Alcorn, the first governor under the reconstruction and he was afterwards elected United States senator.

After serving as sheriff under a government appointment two years he was elected by the people for . . . consecutive terms (eight years). His wife died in 1873. In 1874 he revisited France, with a partial vision of remaining there, but he found that he was too thoroughly an American to ever be content in any other country save the one of his adoption. He returned to this country, served out his unexpired term as sheriff, then removed to Wichita, Kas., and engaged in the grain and cattle business. N ing successful, he came to New Mexico, and since that time has been a resident of White Oaks. From 1886 to 1892 he was mail contractor and ran a stage line from Carthage, N. M. to Fort Stanton and Lincoln
. . . so efficient was the service that it is still spoken of and admired by its patrons. Since 1888 he has been engaged in the hotel business.

In 1897 he married a lady from Minneapolis, Minn., who, with his four sons, survive him. Requiescat peace.

[Sardis, Miss., Memphis, and Nashville, Tenn. papers please copy.]

The Ups and Downs of Eighty Years

Life Story of Mrs. A. J. (Olive R.) Ozanne

(typescript of an original manuscript by Olive R. Ozanne)

Born July 20, 1868 near Enterprise, Mississippi, and until her marriage, Beulah Olive Rencher, a daughter of Dr. Charles Rencher, a dentist.

At the age of four, a plump, auburn-haired youngster, I begged to be allowed to go to school. My older sisters were being taught at home by a governess and I beat on the door with book so often that I was finally permitted to enter.

Soon after this, my grandfather died and we moved in town to live with my grandmother in her big house. There was no need for a governess now, as the girls could go to school in town.

I well remember my first day, going in a drizzling rain barefooted—in those days, all small children went barefoot—and I wore a pink calico dress. The school was taught by a sweet-faced, gray-haired lady who lived to be 90 years old. She had a young lady assistant who taught the first graders and we were amused to see Miss Laura get up and go to the window when a train passed. She came from a town in south Alabama that had no railroad.

After a few years, Mrs. Holman left the school room and kept house for her widowed daughter who opened school in the abandoned courthouse after the County Seat was moved to Quitman. Time passed swiftly and pleasantly. I loved my books and made rapid progress. When I was thirteen, my father took me out of school and had me teach my two younger sisters and brother. Then I was sent back to school and given music lessons for a year or two before I was sent to college in the next town. I was a good student and doubled on some subjects and was able to graduate before I was seventeen.

In September, I was teaching a neighborhood school in Neshoba County, 35 miles northwest of Meridian, Mississippi, where there was no railroad and life was, indeed, primitive. This venture was short-lived as the little schoolhouse burned and back home I went, but not for long as another position was offered and accepted. This was governess in the home of a wealthy planter in Choctaw County. Four daughters and two small sons were my pupils. I was expected to teach music and french. The eldest girl was about my age but I did not dare admit it. About the 1st of June, the weather was warm and I decided it was time for a vacation. They were all lovely people and we remained close friends for years.

When I was about sixteen, an old bachelor cousin of my mothers, who lived in Virginia, visited us. He took quite a fancy to me and we corresponded. He wrote several times and insisted that mother should visit them in their Virginia home, and bring me with her. Mother finally consented and on July 19, 1886, we left our Mississippi home to spend two delightful months in the lovely Shenandoah Valley.

The family we found consisted of Uncle John, 84, and three old-maid daughters, 60 to 70 years of age. They were all lovely to us. In fact, all the people we met seemed to try to make us welcome. Cousin Mike, the bachelor brother, spared neither time or expense in entertaining us. He took us to Baltimore where he had friends. They were very kind to us. I recall the blocks of houses all joined wall-to-wall, no streets or alleys, and all had white marble steps.

We had to see Washington also, and he took us to all the points of interest: strolled through the Senate halls, went in the White House, Smithsonian Institute, Washington Monument, Arlington Cemetery, Lee's home, Treasury Department. In fact, everywhere there was something to see.

He was with us a part of every day. Mother and I were entertained in the home of some old friends who had moved to Washington from our home town. I do not know where Cousin Mike stayed but he seemed to know his way around. At home in New Market, he took us out to Valley View Springs and to the Endless Caverns. That had just lately been discovered. He had a nice horse and buggy and we had nice rides and saw wonderful mountain scenery.

Before we went to Washington, I got in touch with a girl friend who lived in West Virginia. She had spent months in our home town with an aunt who was a near neighbor and we became close friends. I wrote her that I was in Virginia and, as I was near, would like to spend a few days with her. She seemed delighted to have me come but said I should stop at Oakland, Maryland as she was there visiting in the home of her fiance. Mrs. Ison and daughter both wrote and invited me to spend a few days with them. There were lovely people and showed me every courtesy, took me to Deer Park and showed me where President Cleveland had spent his honeymoon four weeks earlier. The son and brother, Major W. O. Ison, worked in the Treasury Department in Washington and when I went there later, he called and took me out for a ride on a tricycle built for two, and for a visit to the Treasury Department, where I was allowed to stand in the vault with money piled from floor to ceiling.

While I was making the side trip to Oakland, mother had got in touch with a cousin on her mother's side of the house. The New Market family were father's kin. This cousin lived in Staunton, Virginia and we planned to stop there on our way back to Mississippi.

Cousin Gilbert had a nice wife and a lovely home just out of the city. The two youngest boys were at home. They were about my age and we had a grand time while the old folks talked over the past.

It was mid September when we left the state of Virginia, taking with us many pleasant memories that linger to this day. Back home, I had to think about something besides pleasure. I had spent about all my money and a place to teach had to be found. This was easy but this was a county school and I had to go to Quitman to the courthouse to stand an examination before I could get a certificate to teach. My first county school was about six miles out from Shubuta, Mississippi, where a few families clustered around a church and school house.

I boarded with an agreeable couple who lived very near the school house. The shelter they offered me was crude, but I was young and in good health and did not mind when I found snow on my bed. The room was not sealed and there were lots of cracks, but all in all, the four months spent there were pleasant, and I closed my school with an exhibition of local talent that astonished the natives. In those days, four months of public school was all the state or county provided.

The first of June, I went to Washington to attend the Competitive Drills of the National Guards. A couple from our town were going and I joined them. We went up on the same train that carried the Lomax Rifles of Mobile, and I had plenty of attention. I enjoyed the colorful uniforms and the drills on the parade grounds, and was more than happy when the Lomax Rifles captured the \$5,000 prize.

As soon as I reached home, I had to go to another county school. This was five miles out of Enterprise, where I had forty pupils from A-B-C to algebra and science. Three of my pupils were older than the teacher but that fact was not made public.

While at this school, I had to walk a mile and a half from my boarding house to the school. Most of the way was a path through thick woods and I saw snakes almost every day, so I carried a stout stick and killed them when they did not run too fast.

While at this school, I went home for occasional weekends as my brother was at home and would drive back and forth. Along in July, on one of my visits, I happened to be reading the *House and Farm* and saw a letter written to the Editor, written from New Mexico. The description he gave of the country made such an impression on me that I wrote to the party and asked if there was a chance to teach in his part of the country. He wrote that the principal of the school near him was in need of an assistant, said he had let the professor read my letter and he knew I was well educated and competent to teach, and advised me to come out at once.

His wife also wrote me. I was now nineteen and craved adventure. After much persuasion, my parents consented for me to go. Looking back now over the past, I feel that it was God's purpose and His hand that led me, for I had been in New Mexico but a few hours when I met the man that was to become my husband. I arrived in San Antonio about eight o'clock. A little girl I had made friends with told me she was going to San Antonio to visit her Grandpa, who kept a hotel, so I had no trouble finding a place to spend the night.

The next morning, as I waited for the train to Carthage, where I was to take the stage, the old gentleman asked me a lot of questions and found out where I was going. As we chatted in the little parlor, a young man walked in. The old man introduced us and told me that the young man was owner of the stage line on which I was to continue my journey to White Oaks, ninety miles inland. My first stop was at what was known as Ozanne's Ranch, a stone house where the drivers changed horses and ate. Mr. Ozanne's aunt, a widow with a small son, was housekeeper. After supper, the mail went on but I did not care to ride all night with a stage driver and was glad to find that I could spend the night and go on to White Oaks the next day. Mr. Ozanne was going and would drive me up. We got pretty well acquainted on that trip and I was sorry to learn that he would leave at the stage office in White Oaks.

I spent the night at a small hotel run by a nice couple, and continued my journey by stage. Arriving at my destination, I was met by Mr. Hughes and, at once, I felt he was not a man to be trusted. He borrowed a horse and buggy and drove me out about two miles to a rough log building that was being used as a miners boarding house, where I endured unspeakable hardships. I had to sleep on a cot hidden behind a blanket in the room that held the heater where the men came in to wash before they ate. I remained two days, found that the school needed no assistant, and I had been tricked to get help for his wife.

Some way, the word got around, a young girl stranded among strangers, and friends appeared. The principal of the school called and advised me to get away from that place. Two of the miners came to me and said that I was in the wrong place, and offered to lend me money if I was broke. A nice couple who had a store offered me shelter and I spent several days with them, trying to decide what to do next. These were fine people and we became warm friends.

While still undecided, a letter came from White Oaks telling that there was an opening there, and I went at once to apply to the school board. I found one of the trustees was from my home state, Mississippi, and that he had a nephew clerking for my brother-in-law in Meridian. God had found me, friends. Mr. Young was like a brother, took me right into his home and made me feel welcome.

There was some delay about opening the school as the building was under repair. Before the time set to open school, my plans had changed materially. Mr. Ozanne had asked me to become his wife and I had consented. We set a date and issued invitations and were married in the hotel parlor, just seven weeks from the day we met. Mr. Ozanne's father had ordered a fine dinner and after the ceremony we and our guests retired to the hotel dining room to enjoy a wonderful meal (December 27, 1887). We had a room adjoining the parlor and were very comfortable for about three months, while additional space was being provided at the ranch where my husband spent most of his time, while his father, a widower, had charge of the office in White Oaks.

At the ranch, the stage horses were kept and the drivers had a room where they slept when not on the road. They drove day and night, stopping at way stations to change horses. The trip from the railroad to Lincoln, the County Seat, 140 miles, was made every day. The government paid \$6,500 for carrying the mail and passenger fares, and express charges paid \$4,000 or \$5,000, so our income was around \$10,000 a year.

Mr. Ozanne's aunt was keeping house at the ranch when we married and stayed on a year, too, but she had a boy who should be in school. I taught him to read before they left. After Auntie left, the cooking was a nightmare. I was brought up in the South, where everybody had negro cooks and I thought I had to have one. So, through the wife of the storekeeper, who was from Texas, I got one, but her stay was brief. She said it was too lonesome, and I know it was. There were no negroes anywhere near and few white people. The nearest neighbor was 2 miles away, and the next, 10. A rancher from about 100 miles south came by on his way to the railroad to buy supplies. He had a negro truck driver and when they came back by, Clorinda went with them. A short time later we found a white woman from St. Louis. She was a smart woman and I learned a lot from her, and found out that my little white hands could do lots of things besides crochet and play the piano. When our good cook found she could get a job in White Oaks cooking for a rich old man, she left us and later married the old man.

After she left, I took over. Breakfast and supper for the drivers, and if there were passengers, they had to be fed. Often, they did not want to ride all night and I had to keep a couple of rooms to take care of that situation. Sheets and tablecloths to be washed added to my other duties made up a full-time job. Some way, I got it all in and had the opportunity to meet people from everywhere. A millionaire and his wife, the Mayor of St. Louis and his wife, and the Governor of New Mexico were among the important people who slept under our roof and shared our meals.

We had been at the ranch about two and a half years when I became pregnant. When I was about five months, we left the ranch in care of a driver who had gone to Missouri on a visit and come back with a wife and two sons. We moved to White Oaks and boarded with my husband's brother. It was well that we had made this move for it was not long before we needed a doctor. My baby was born prematurely and dead. This was in December, and we began to plan to build a home. I thought it would be a good time for me to make a visit to my old home in Mississippi. I made quite a long visit waiting for the house to be finished. It was a very nice brick house and I enjoyed it, although my husband had to spend a good deal of time at the ranch. About two years later, a dear little baby girl was born. She was a very pretty child with big brown eyes and golden hair.

Sometime before she was born, my husband and his father began to have money troubles. The old man had married and he and his wife wanted all the property. We found that the ranch was located on unsurveyed land and when the government survey was made, found that it was on school land and we could not get a deed to the place, though we had lived on it the required five years and had put thousands of dollars in buildings and improvements on the place. The Silver Bill had been repealed and mining camps were being deserted. The stage company had run at a loss for the last two years, so we did not apply for another four year contract. My husband had made up his mind to go to California, so we sold all our cattle and what real estate we could, rented our house, and decided to visit my people before we went further west.

In Mississippi at my old home, we had a nice visit. My mother wanted us to meet my three married sisters. She went with us to show off her western son-in-law and her pretty grandchild. We had a fine time 'til we got to the one that lived in Perry County, Alabama. There, we got in trouble. Her husband was a farmer, had a nice farm where he lived and owned another thousand acres ten miles from his home. He drove Mr. Ozanne out to see the land and talked him into renting it for a hay farm. My husband had plenty of experience with hay in New Mexico. The plains were covered with grass; nothing to do but cut and stack it—no rains for months. So, my city-bred husband—who spoke three languages and was an expert bookkeeper but did not know corn from oats when he saw it growing—looked at the acres of waving Johnson grass and decided to become a hay farmer. Little did he dream of what was ahead.

We went back to Mississippi and, with my father's help, rounded stock and machinery for farming. An English family who were living in a shack near our home found out what was going on and asked to go along and help with the farm and share crop. I was glad to have Mr. Hillman and Jim Lewsby, a single man who was living with them, go as I knew how little my husband knew about a farm and how he would need help. I stayed with my mother and the men took the wagon and teams and what they could load on the wagon, and led our jersey cow that my father had given me.

When they had got about halfway to the farm, they got into the black sticky land where the mud was so deep that it was said that it took four miles to pull an empty wagon. It was not quite that bad, but they had to stop at a railroad station and ship a big lot of the load by freight. The team just could not pull it. The Englishmen were hard workers and soon built a roomy log house. There was only a new two-room house and large barn on the place; the old house had burned.

I did not go to Alabama until March. My mother gave me some furniture and my sister gave me an oil stove, so I started housekeeping on a very limited scale. The Englishmen worked hard: plowed and planted oats and a field of peas, also made a garden. We found that the sticky mud was not all we had to fight, but crayfish, things that come out at night and eat up your crops. We had never heard of anything like it and we hired negroes to go out at night with torches and catch the things. But, that was expensive and we found where we caught one, two came to the funeral. The men all worked and put in quite a lot of cotton and corn. But the married man got discouraged and just walked off and left his wife and three children. Jim kept on working; he helped Mr. Ozanne with the hay and made a little money while waiting for his corn crop to mature. When he harvested his crop, he bought himself a suit of clothes and went to Mobile where Mr. Hillman had found work and sent for his family. Despite rains on fresh cut grass and green negro labor, we managed to save and bale a lot of good hay. But it was not

intended that we should be farmers, for cotton went down to five cents a pound and hay to the lowest price known. We had acquired some chickens, turkeys, and pigs, and the second year was not so bad. We had plenty to eat but no money. The first year's crop lacked one dollar and thirty cents of paying the rent, and stock and machinery cost money. Our cow had a calf and one of our mares had a colt. We were accumulating.

We got acquainted with some northern families that lived in a community near us and we got to be good friends. The natives called us all Yankees. Through these friends, we heard of a place to rent that was much more desirable than where we were, so we decided to move. The house was roomy and comfortable, good barn and out houses, a flowing well of soft water. We were away from the sticky mud and the crayfish, had kind neighbors, could sell our hay in Selma, 12 miles away on a good road. But the price of hay and cotton remained too low for profit. I sold good Jersey butter, two pounds for a quarter, and fat two-pound fryers at the same price, two for a quarter. A man came by once a week and took my chicken eggs and butter to Selma. I do not know what he got, but that is what he paid me.

I had a sister who lived in Centreville, about 45 miles away. Her husband was a doctor and a very fine man. He wrote to my husband that if he cared to leave the farm, he could give him a job of managing a cotton warehouse. Office work sounded better than farming, so we decided to move. We killed and cured several nice pigs, so we had plenty of meat to last a long while. We took our two mares and our Jersey cow, sold our other team, and shipped our furniture and half a ton of baled hay by freight. We made the trip in real pioneer style: Mr Ozanne rode one mare and led the cow; I drove the other mare hitched to our cart, her colt following, and my six-year old daughter sitting by my side. We had two nights at farm houses on the road because, you know, a cow is not a fast walker, and a storm drove us to seek shelter one night.

At last, we were in Centreville, where Dr. Schoolar had a cottage ready for us to move into as soon as our furniture came. The cottage was only two blocks from their home and they had a little daughter near the age of my little girl, and they had happy times together. We united with the Methodist church and Mr. Ozanne was made Sunday School Superintendent. He was brought up in the Roman Catholic faith and educated at the University of St. Louis. While we were on our second farm, we attended revival services at a church nearby, and he was soundly converted and joined the Methodist church at Marion Junction, about two miles from the farm.

Our financial outlook was brighter. Mr. Ozanne was employed as bookkeeper by the largest firm in Centreville. We had sold our home in New Mexico and bought a nice place in Centreville. A little later, Mr. Ozanne and two friends formed a company and opened a hardware store and did a good business.

In the meantime, Dr. Schoolar and family had moved to Birmingham, and three years later, we followed them. We bought a home just one block from them and renewed our former friendly relations. We made many friends and were active in Sunday School and church work. Mr. Ozanne was elected Sunday School Superintendent, and I was a state officer in the W.C.T.U. for fifteen years, was a Sunday School teacher and president of the Women's Missionary Society for two terms. About three years after we arrived in Birmingham, my life pattern changed completely. I could no longer attend all the meetings as had been my habit. I had to stay home and nurse a dear little girl baby who was our joy and pride. When she was about three years old, I began to pick up my neglected activities. My sister and her 12-year old daughter adored the child and were happy to care for her when I went to meetings.

Also, my eldest daughter had graduated and was at home, so it was not long before I was busy with my church and W.C.T.U. work.

Then, we had a wedding at our house. My daughter Frances married Paul Lanier, a fine young man. They boarded with his parents awhile but came to be with us when dear little Edith was born. She lived just one year and twenty days, then slipped away to be with the angels. Our household was sad. Then came a lovely brown-eyed boy to make his home with us and cheer his parents. Very soon, they left us and set up housekeeping just one block from us, where they lived until the second son was born. My baby girl Ruth was now going to school and had found her soul mate, Sara, who lived one door from us. Sara's mother was a widow and worked and had a dear old negro mammy to take care of the house and children. Sara had a brother and sister older than herself. When Ruth was 12 years old, I decided to help my husband in his real estate office, which was only a block from our home. Ruth was in school most of the day and after school she was at Sara's with Mammy to keep an eye on her, so I felt she was cared for. I did not have to get to the office at any set time; I took care of my housekeeping very nicely. I enjoyed the office work and felt that I was a help to my husband. I spent five years there. Ruth was not 17 and I felt she needed more of my time to do her sewing and entertain her friends. About this time, Mr. Ozanne had given desk space and divided commissions with a man I did not like or trust, so I left the office. It was not long before Mr. Ozanne had reason to regret taking this man and letting me leave.

Business was good; the West End Real Estate Company was making money. We bought a big seven-passenger Studebaker car and took several nice auto trips. We went to Biloxi, Mammoth Cave, Chattanooga, Virginia, Delaware, and Washington. Each time, we took a friend or two, and had wonderful times camping and cooking out-of-doors. Then, Mr. Ozanne decided that he wanted a fine house and bought a couple of lots in a high-class residence section and built a beautiful home. Before it was finished, the depression was on and about the time we moved in, the bottom dropped out of everything. His health began to fail but we made two trips that year, one with a couple in their car and a trip to the Rio Grande Valley on the train.

Mr. Ozanne had sold his real estate business but had his own private interests to look after; owned some land below Powderly and had built and sold a number of negro houses. Before the depression got so bad, we had a comfortable income from that source. He had mortgaged several pieces of rental property to raise cash to put in the new house, and when the depression was on in full force, he could not collect rents. We let the tenants stay on in the houses, hoping to collect something later, also to protect the property from vandals, but we finally had to let them go for the mortgages. I recall three places that the tenants owed more than a year's rent, two or three thousand dollars, and not one cent could we collect. I took a school teacher to board and then an old lady who paid me fifty dollars a month. That helped, but our finances were in bad shape, so we got a Home Owner's Loan, which proved to be a mistake, as they appraised the place so high that the interest and payments were too heavy. My husband's health continued to fail and the reverses he met made things worse. He had a slight stroke and his mind began to fail, although I did not realize it at the time. He let his insurance lapse and made some unprofitable deals. My daughter Ruth went to work for a Cash-and-Carry dry cleaners, but we just could not carry the load. So my son-in-law, God bless him, offered to rent his house and move in with us. We had nine rooms and two baths. Paul said there was no use paying two utility bills. We managed very well. I did the cooking as it was my kitchen and I understood the stove.

Ruth married Chris King and went to housekeeping in an apartment near us. Frances' two boys were in school, the eldest in college. I enjoyed the boys; their mother said I spoiled them. Mr. Ozanne was growing weaker all the time, and when Ruth had been married a year, [he] took his bed. I had him x-rayed twice but the plates did not show anything. The doctors were puzzled. After four months in bed, he died. I asked the doctors to have a post-mortem as I could not bear to have him put in the ground without knowing what killed him. They found two cancers, one on the spleen and one on the lower bowel. I felt relieved then, as I knew nothing I could have done would have saved him. I went through his papers and found very little I could salvage from the wreck. I found three negro houses that he had sold and the tenants had quit paying. I foreclosed these mortgages and took possession of the property, and found some good paying tenants. But with that big house, taxes of \$156.00 a year and interest on the Home Owner's loan, I saw my case was hopeless. I offered to give my daughter my interest in the place if they cared to take over the loan, but they had their own place on their hands and could not take on any more. I told my son-in-law and daughter that they could stay in the house as long as the loan company would let them, and I went to the Home Owner's Loan Company office and told them that I was not going to pay another cent on the place, they could take it.

I had a sister living in Uniontown, who was almost blind, had an operation for cataracts but it was not successful and she needed someone on whom she could depend as she was so blind she could not tell a five dollar bill from a ten. I wrote to her married daughter, who lived in the next town, that I would come and stay with her as long as she lived. She was 79 and died eight months after I went to her home. I was glad that I was able to take care of her the last months of her life.

Now, I began to look around for some kind of work; saw an ad in the *Birmingham Post*, wanted a housekeeper for an elderly man and invalid wife in a farm home on Shades Mountain. I answered the ad and got the place. The man was very kind and thoughtful, and very patient with his wife. I spent five months with them and had the satisfaction of knowing that I had made them comfortable and given them good food. I knew I could not stay there when it got cold, although it was delightful in summer—large apple orchard, grapes, cherries, and other fruits; also plenty of chickens and eggs. I am very sensitive to cold and I told them in September that I was leaving in October.

I had a friend in Florida that I had known for 40 years, one of the Yankee families I had known in Marion Junction. I wrote to her and asked her if there was a chance for a job in her town. She was delighted to hear from me and insisted that I come on down. Her husband was dead and she was living alone upstairs over her dry goods store, trying to keep house and run the store. I helped her some in the store, but more about preparing her meals. I insisted on paying half of the grocery bills and did the marketing and knew what was spent. The town was full of people from everywhere, spending the winter. There was a trailer camp on the lake just a nice walk from town, and with Mrs. Woods, a widow who lived at the hotel and had lots of time on her hands, we often walked to the camp and met people from every state. One family was from California. I joined the Tourist Club and made many friends. A shuffle board park was just across the street from our store and I spent many pleasant hours playing that game. The weather was fine and Mrs. Woods and I took walks through the orange groves and enjoyed the beautiful flowers.

All this was very pleasant but was not bringing in any income. One of my negroes had fallen down on his payments, so I put an ad in the little paper for a job as housekeeper or caretaker. A big doctor

appeared promptly and engaged me to go to San Antonio, about 15 miles away. He lived in a ten-room house with a semi-invalid wife. She had her breakfast in bed but came to the table for her midday meal. She was unsteady on her feet and had to hold onto someone or the wall or furniture to walk. They had children living in Tampa. A daughter and husband came up often to spend the weekend; also, a single son I never knew, who would be out for breakfast Sunday mornings. They would come in at night, after I had gone upstairs to my room. I got along well with the family. They seemed to like me and enjoyed my meals. Mrs. liked to have me read to her. I enjoyed the fruit and flowers; it was nice to walk out and bring in a basket of oranges or grapefruit right off the trees. But after five pleasant months, the dear lady tried to go to the bathroom without calling me and fell and broke her hip. She was carried to Tampa, put in a hospital, and I never saw her again. I had already notified them that I wanted to leave as soon as they could find someone to take my place. So, after this happened, Dr. Bradshaw told me that I could leave whenever I saw fit.

I went back to Zephyrhills and spent a few days with my friend, Mrs. Penry, then went to Birmingham. Ruth and her husband were then living in Beaumont, Texas. Ruth wrote that they were planning to visit me in Florida on their vacation. As I had left Florida, I suggested that they go West and take me and my daughter Frances and let me show her where she was born; no one else knew her father was dead. I offered to pay half the gas. They agreed to this, so Frances and I went to Beaumont and spent a few days before Chris was ready to begin his vacation. We had a wonderful time. Chris belonged to the Greeters Club. Wherever we stopped he showed his card and we were given rooms without cost. We went through Galveston, Houston, and San Antonio, saw the Alamo and on and on across miles of plains covered with cactus and mesquite. Lots of cattle, but few signs of civilization.

In New Mexico, we visited Carlsbad Caverns, the most beautiful that I had ever seen, passed through Lincoln and saw the courthouse and jail, the scene of Billy the Kid's hectic career, then to White Oaks, where Frances was born. The brick house was in good condition and the family occupying it were polite. When I told them my errand, they invited us in and I was able to show Frances the very spot where she had first seen the light of day, more than 43 years ago. I could see the home of my doctor and the people said he was still living in the house, so we drove by and had a chat with him. He said he was 86, but looked to be about 60. Then we went on to a mining camp where my husband's brother was living. He was at the store and post office when we drove up. We had a short visit with him and then we were on our return trip.

We reached Lubbock, Texas that night, the next was spent in Dallas, and we reached Meridian, Mississippi about nine o'clock the next night, where we left Ruth and Chris with his parents. Mr. King drove us to the bus station where we got aboard a Greyhound and, by four a.m., were in Birmingham. I stayed with Paul and Frances 'til Ruth and Chris came back by on their way back to Texas. I went with them at their insistence, having nothing else on my mind.

I had not been in Beaumont many days when my eye fell upon something that sounded interesting. I answered the ad, met the people, and got the job, and that opened another chapter in my life story. Sixteen miles out of Beaumont, I found my new home: a small, new place. It had a dining room and kitchen downstairs, living room and bedroom upstairs, with an outside stairway. I occupied a one-room cabin about fifty feet from the kitchen door. A brick walk led to my abode. The house was surrounded by fifty acres of flat, treeless land, owned by an intelligent couple who had been married thirteen years

and had their first baby. My job was to take over the house and care for the baby, so the mother could keep her position as Librarian at the Beaumont High School, driving herself back and forth. Mr. Mackan was a rice farmer and used land some miles away, so we saw very little of him during the day. So, baby and I had the place to ourselves all day and, often 'til six o'clock in the evening. Mrs. Mackan did the marketing and brought home what I should cook the next day. Mr. Mackan was ex-Navy man, had crossed the ocean thirteen times. Mrs. Mackan was well educated, had taught school. We often lingered over our evening meal, enjoying pleasant conversation. Baby had her bottle and was fast asleep upstairs. I had plenty of reading matter, Mrs. Mackan would bring home the latest magazines on Friday. We could read them and she would return them Monday. The baby was two months old when I took charge of her and, for nine months, I bathed, dressed, and fed her. She was a healthy child and gave me no extra trouble.

While at this place, I had the pleasure of seeing my daughter Ruth quite often. She would come out on Sunday afternoons and take me for a ride. I spent Christmas with her and had a fine dinner at the hotel. Chris was auditor for Hotel Beaumont for eight years before he was drafted for the Army. When school was out in June, Mrs. Mackan did not need me through the summer, and I did not care for the place the next winter. I knew the child would be walking and I did not feel equal to looking after her running all over the place.

I went to Ruth's for a few days and then on to Birmingham, Alabama. Frances was moving to Knoxville and I went with her. It was the last of June and, in July, I made a visit to Washington to see my husband's nieces. They were very pleasant and I enjoyed my stay. A little later, Paul had some business in Chattanooga and we rode down with him. When he reached the hotel where he was to meet his party, he gave us the car 'til three p.m. We drove all over Lookout Mountain and out to the big hotel, which was perched right on the tip top. I spent the rest of July in Knoxville and came back to Alabama to spend some time with my sister in Birmingham. Then I visited my sister on our old home in Enterprise, Mississippi.

While I was there, Ruth and Chris came to Meridian to visit his parents and when they went back to Beaumont, I went with them. While there, I looked over the paper and found an ad that I decided to investigate. Both my daughters invited and insisted that I make my home with them, but they needed neither my help or my company. I wanted to be doing something useful and not be a parasite. The place that I investigated was at Alvin, 135 miles from Beaumont, where an old couple who owned their home were too feeble to keep up the home and needed help. They had lived in this place for 45 years, and their children did not want to make them give up their home. The old man we called Grandpa was 83 and almost blind, but strong and healthy for his age. The wife had a stroke and was partly paralyzed; she could walk with someone supporting her. I saw here a wide field of usefulness. I could be feet for the lame and eyes for the blind. A son and two daughters lived not so far away; one daughter's home was in sight of the old home place. They all had cars and came often to look after the comfort of their parents. They gave me full control and I managed the house and yard as if it was my own. The family seemed pleased with everything I did. I kept the house clean and did the cooking and carried the meals to Grandma. She sat in her easy chair most of the time and had her meals on a card table. Grandpa always set up the table for me. We had our meals together in the kitchen. We never used the dining room unless we had company. Grandpa had a good appetite and was easy to please. I looked

after the chickens, set the hens, and brought in the eggs.

The daughter who lived nearest bought our groceries or took me to town to market. They had a dairy farm and gave us our milk. The other daughter took care of our laundry. I had to shave Grandpa and bathe Grandma. They were almost like children—I would read to them and get the programs on the radio that they liked. They had a good deal of company. Their preacher came often and some of their children came almost every day. The family all seemed to approve of me and think whatever I did was just right. I was happy to be so useful.

On November 6th, I had a message that my dear son-in-law had died very suddenly in Knoxville. On the 18th, I slipped on a wet step and dislocated my right wrist. Mrs. Casey took me to town to a doctor and he said it was only a bad sprain and bandaged it. But he was mistaken, and surprised when he took off the bandage and saw my wrist bone sticking out. I suffered terribly, but continued to keep on with my work with Grandpa's help. He dried the dishes and stirred the batter. I could not comb my hair, so cut off my braids. I managed to live through three weeks of intense suffering and by Christmas, I was able to use my hand, though it looked out of shape. I spent Christmas and until January 4th in Beaumont with Ruth and Chris. Then, back to Alvin with Grandma and Grandpa with nothing unusual happening. We took nice rides often, going to Galveston every week. On June 4th, I left for a vacation; they could get a high school girl through the summer. I went to Beaumont and spent ten days with Ruth, then went to Birmingham and attended the wedding of my grandson, Paul, Jr., on June 18th.

I met Frances and her son John there and returned with them to Texas. Frances had moved from Knoxville after Paul's death and was living in Maryville, a nice little town and much nearer John's work. I spent five weeks there with them, then to Birmingham, spent several days with my sister, Mrs. Scholar. Then to my old hometown, Enterprise, for a visit with my youngest sister, who lived in the old house where I spent my childhood. August 20th, I left there to go back to Texas, spent ten days with Ruth and Chris, and back to my old job at Alvin.

The days and weeks slipped by with the usual duties and pleasures, and Christmas was here again. I did not go to Beaumont this year. The four families met and had dinner at Fellowship Hall. None of them had a house that would take care of so many, also had relatives from the north. Flu was raging at that time and Charles Strait began to feel ill before he drove us home. In a day or two the three at our house got sick. The daughter got a nurse who took care of us. The first day that I was up, the nurse left; her son was sick. I tried to call a doctor. He said that I should give up and rest. Charlie, Ida, Lizzie, and Grandpa drove me to Beaumont. I had a high fever and stayed in bed three days and spent several days very pleasantly resting, then went back to Alvin to my old folks.

We had a lot of cold weather in February and March. Grandma was getting weaker and I was up with her often at night. Ethel sent her studio couch down and she slept on that; too weak to walk to her bedroom and had to be near the fire. In April, I had a letter from Frances asking me to come and live with her. She had moved back to Birmingham and rented an apartment. She was alone; one son in Illinois and the other in Kentucky. I told the daughters that I felt my place was with my child and I would leave May 8th, but not to tell Grandma, her birthday was May 1st and I did not want her to be worried. She had a nice day: fifty callers and presents and flowers. We served cake and coffee to all who would partake. I did not tell Grandma I was leaving until the last day that I was there. Charlie, Ida, and Ethel took me to Beaumont. They all hated to see me leave, but thought it was my duty to go as my

child needed me. Grandma was getting more helpless and I was about to break down.

I had decided before I left Alvin that I would take a trip to California before I left Texas, as I was closer to it than I was likely to be again. I spent five days in Beaumont, getting rested and ready for my long trip. I bought a round-trip ticket [railway] to San Francisco with stop-off privileges. I spent a day and night in Mesa, Arizona with Mrs. Frank Owen, my husband's niece, had a very pleasant visit. Next stop was Los Angeles, where I spent a day and night; had an all day sight-seeing trip. The bus driver talked on a horn that threw the sound to the passengers. He pointed out where the movie actors lived in Beverly Hills, drove all over Hollywood and to the Huntington Home and Art Gallery. We saw Rose Bowl Stadium and about everything of interest, left the next morning. Fine trip—miles and miles near the Pacific coast.

Went to the Evangeline Hotel, owned by the Salvation Army and run for use of women and girls; no male guests allowed. It was a large building just off Market Street. Everything was very nice but the weather, and that was too cold to suit me. I put on my warmest clothes and was not comfortable. They had a Sunday morning service in the hotel parlor. I attended, then rode the street cars most of the day. You could buy a ticket for a quarter that was good on all lines, so I saw the city from the cars that day. The next day, I rode the sight-seeing bus. I went to Oakland and Berkeley, saw the Cliff House and Seal Rock, Chinatown, and Little Italy, Fisherman's Wharf, Telegraph Hill, and out to Muir Woods, where I saw 425 acres of big trees. It was late when we got in and I was tired, and had begun to feel ill. I decided I had seen enough of San Francisco, so the next morning I took a taxi to the Ferry and started to go back to Los Angeles on a route that took me through the fruit and vineyard section, which was a change from the coastline. I was feeling really ill all day, taking flu.

I went to Rosslyn Hotel and went to bed, hoping that I would feel well enough to go to Catalina Island the next day, but when I got up, I was too sick to go anywhere. I ordered breakfast but could not eat it, so I got myself to the station and aboard the Southern Pacific, headed east. I wired Ruth from El Paso when I would arrive. Chris met me, as Ruth had a date. I felt awful, had high fever and a bad cough. I went to bed and felt ill for several days, but had to pull myself together and get ready to leave for Birmingham. I had told Frances that I would be there on June 1st. Now begins a new chapter.

Frances had rented an apartment in a nice section of the city and had rented a room to a middle aged lady who was very pleasant. She had a job but did not have to leave early. I fixed her breakfast; only meal she had here. I was not feeling strong yet, but helped to keep the apartment clean. When Frances started to take a business course, I took over the marketing, cooking, and cleaning. We had good neighbors in the four-unit apartment, owned by a widow who lived on the other first floor apartment opposite to us. She was an ideal landlady, and we became very good friends. The occupant of one of the upper apartments was a widow near my age and we were very congenial. I missed her when she moved. Her doctor told her she must stop climbing stairs. After a few months, our roomer changed jobs and left. We had a nice young girl from south Alabama for a few months, then another girl for awhile. Our last roomer was a fine young woman from Bellville, Illinois. I was very fond of her and she appreciated my interest. I looked after her clothes and did her mending.

In November 1941, I had a strange illness: my liver swelled 'til it was frightful. Frances sent for Ruth. The doctor and my family thought I could not live but, suddenly, the swelling went away and I was able to let the nurse go. Ruth stayed with me two weeks. Three days after she left and had just moved into

her new house, Pearl Harbor was bombed. I kept well and busy through the winter. Paul and Dorothy were over for meals quite often.

In June 1942, I went back to Beaumont for a visit and went to Alvin for a few days, saw all the children of the old couple I had stayed with so long. Grandpa was still living but Grandma had passed on two months after I left. Before I left Beaumont, Chris was elected delegate to International Lions Club, to be held in Toronto, Canada. So, I stayed longer than I had expected so I could be with Ruth while Chris was away. As the place was new, there was plenty of work to do in the yard. I enjoy working with growing things and kept pretty busy. I would get up early and work 'til the sun got hot, then come bathe, dress, and read and rest, or ride around with Ruth. She had lived in Beaumont several years before they built the home and she had made lots of friends who showed me many courtesies. Chris had been auditor for a 200-room hotel for several years. We always had our Sunday dinners in the coffee shop there, and often during the week we would have a meal. Chris got back from Toronto on July 30th and I left that night.

After I got back to Birmingham, I began working with the Red Cross, first cutting out garments and then I joined the production center and spent several hours each week making bandages of various sorts for use in hospitals. When my health failed and I had to stop working, I had given more than 400 hours. When the Draft was ordered and our boys had to go in training, Ruth and Chris sold their home in Beaumont. Chris went to camp and Ruth came here to live with us on May 15, 1943. Ruth got her[self] a job and kept busy, wrote to Chris every day and he did likewise. After he had been in training six months at different camps, he was sent to New Jersey and wrote for her to come to him. She left here the day before Thanksgiving and spent the winter and spring in Newark, New Jersey. He had office work and was allowed many privileges. He was sent overseas July 1st, and Ruth came back here.

I broke myself down trying to do all the housework, cooking, ironing, and cleaning besides Red Cross three times a week. In March, my sister fell and broke her hip and was in Jefferson Hospital two months. I tried to go see her twice a week and that gave me no time to rest and relax. By May, I was so tired that I had to give up my Red Cross work.

I kept on dragging around, doing the marketing and cooking. I gave up the ironing but got so weak and lost so much flesh that the doctor said I should go to the hospital and take blood transfusions and rest for hours a day. I never got in that much time but the rest helped me and after several months, I felt about as well as usual. I now had more cooking to do—Chris was back after his discharge from the Army—he was a hearty eater and enjoyed my meals. I had several nice friends who lived within short walking distance. Two were shut-ins and I visited them often.

The spell of flu I took in San Francisco affected my hearing and I was getting so deaf, I could not hear a sermon or hear the phone or doorbell. I was about 80 now, and as active as a young woman and my health was good. Just before I was 81, I was stricken with arthritis and suffered untold agony. The doctor said I was in a dying condition and that nothing would help me but injections of glucose. I stayed in the hospital fourteen days and saw little improvement. I came home so weak that I had to stay in bed five months before I began to mend.

I am now 81 and feel pretty well, but I'm still weak and very deaf. THE END.

—Mrs. A. J. (Olive R.) Ozanne, no date

My sister Ruth, sixteen years younger than me, and her husband bought a home in 1950. Mother thought she had lived with me about nine years, so moved over with them. I had gone to work after she came to live with me. She moved out in the fall of 1950 and lived until August 7, 1952. She was not bedridden for more than two or three weeks. She was 84 on July 20, 1952. Hers was a full life and she was ready to go. She was a wonderful character.

—Frances (her daughter)

A rectangular advertisement for A. L. Parker Hardware. The text is centered and reads: "A. L. PARKER, -DEALER IN- HARDWARE, Stoves, Tinware, Mining Supplies, Powder, Fuse, Agricultural Implements, Barbed Wire, Steel and Iron. TINSHOP—ALL KINDS OF REPAIRING. Sole Agent for Studebaker Wagons." The advertisement is flanked by two starburst symbols on the left and right sides.

A. L. PARKER,
-DEALER IN-
HARDWARE,
Stoves, Tinware, Mining Supplies,
Powder, Fuse, Agricultural Implements, Barbed Wire, Steel and Iron
TINSHOP—ALL KINDS OF REPAIRING
Sole Agent for Studebaker Wagons.

Figure 48. Front-page commercial advertising, the *Old Abe Eagle*, March 3, 1892.

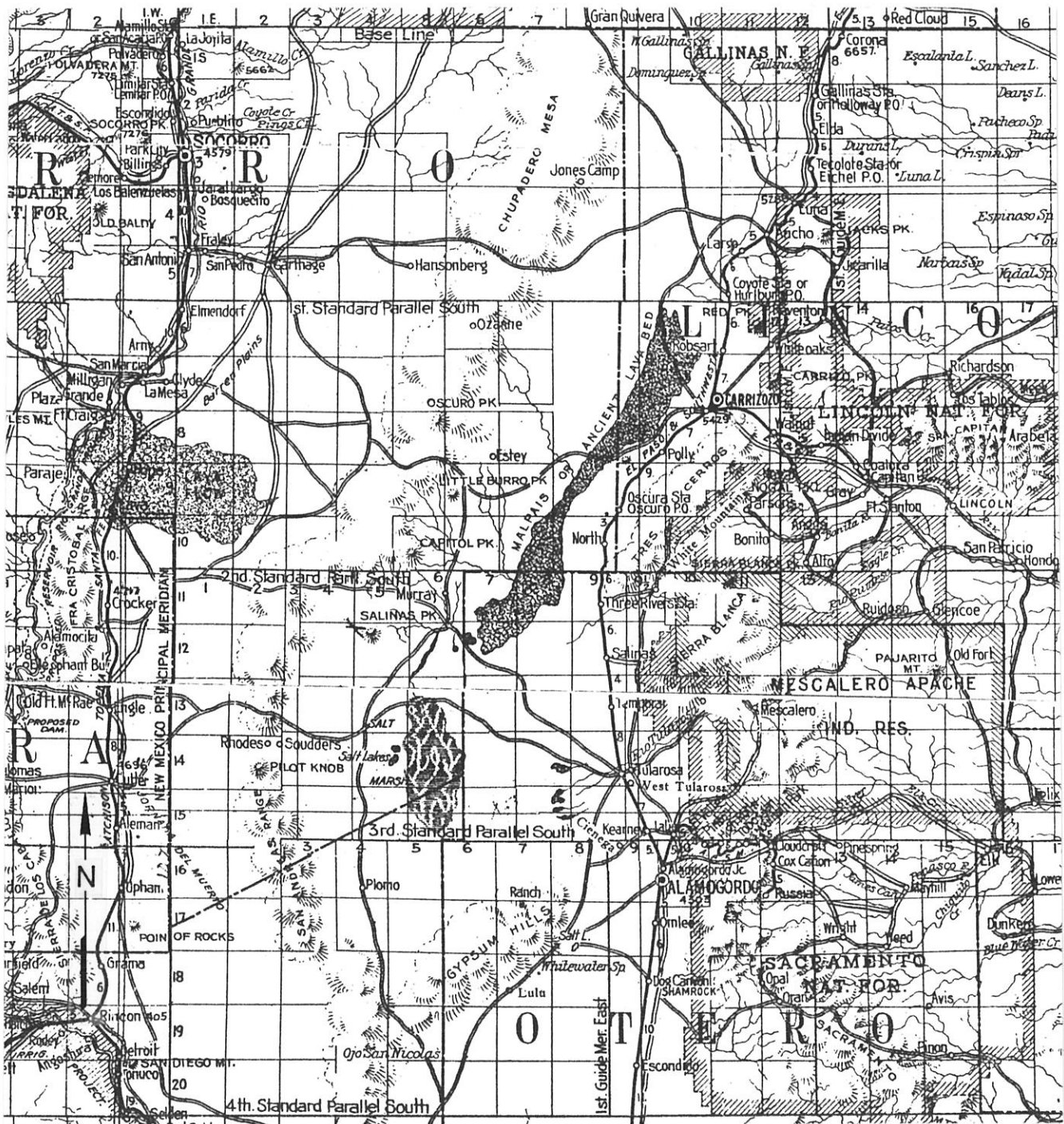


Figure 49. The northern Jornada del Muerto and Tularosa Basin, post-1910, from an undated reproduction distributed by Donaco Enterprises, Las Cruces.

HEART'S DESIRE

Stagecoaching in Socorro and Lincoln Counties

Mail service has traditionally been a function of governments, transportation routes, and technology. The northern reaches of today's White Sands Missile Range remained relatively isolated until the coming of the railroads during the last century. With the discovery of gold at White Oaks in 1879, Lincoln County and adjacent eastern Socorro County became the focus of increased mining activity. When the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad reached Socorro in 1880, better communications, including an improved mail route with Lincoln County, became possible.

For 20 years horse-drawn stage lines delivered mail between the Rio Grande communities and Lincoln County. Although several contractors handled the mail, Ozanne & Company of White Oaks became identified with the service. But the penetration of railroads into the territorial interior, first in the Pecos Valley at Roswell (1895), and next in the Tularosa Basin at Carrizo Springs (1898-1899), brought this brief, romantic era of long-distance stagecoaching to an end.

The stage routes to White Oaks from the Rio Grande traversed 90 mi of the Jornada del Muerto, Oscura Mountains, and Tularosa Basin. The region is classified as Upper Chihuahuan Desert. Regional elevations vary almost 7,000 ft from the floor of the Tularosa Basin near the Malpais to the peak of Sierra Blanca. Vertical changes along the stage route can best be illustrated by point elevations along the route: San Antonio, 4,500 ft; Carthage, 5,000 ft; Hansonburg, 5,200 ft; Ozanne, 6,000 ft; the head of the Malpais, 5,450 ft; and White Oaks, 6,425 ft.

Early Settlement and Exploration

Prehistoric Jornada Mogollon peoples ranged throughout the area later served by the stages. Historic Pueblo settlements could be found at Gran Quivira to the north and originally at Socorro. But permanent European settlement in New Mexico awaited the arrival of Juan de Oñate and his colonists in 1598. Oñate travelled from south to north along the Rio Grande corridor. Later European settlement expanded back down the Rio Grande Valley from northern New Mexico.

Large scale settlement in the southeastern corner of the state had to wait more than 2¹/₂ centuries after the Spanish *entrada*. The southern settlement focus on the Rio Grande had to do with the continued availability of fertile land within the Rio Grande Valley, as well as the dangers lurking beyond the valley's mountains. Mescalero Apache ranged seasonally through the Jornada del Muerto, Tularosa Basin, and surrounding areas. Although not permanently occupied, these lands beyond the great river were certainly claimed and ably defended by native peoples.

Communications with Mexico were maintained along *El Camino Real* in the Rio Grande corridor. But south of Socorro the Rio Grande Valley is constricted, flowing between rocky outcrops and canyon walls. Here vehicular, foot, and animal traffic all detoured east onto the Jornada del Muerto, the Journey of Death. The Jornada is a 90-mi-long, nearly waterless, inhospitable stretch of the route, paralleling the Rio Grande.

Following the Mexican-American War, the U.S. Army established additional military posts in New Mexico to carry out the responsibilities enumerated in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). One of those responsibilities was to control Apache cross-border raiding. Significant posts for the White Oaks area were Fort Union (1851), Fort Craig (1854), Fort Stanton (1855), and Fort Sumner (1862).

Fort Union was the supply depot for the New Mexico military posts. Fort Stanton was connected by military roads to both Fort Sumner and Fort Craig. These roads formed the basis for the first mail routes between the forts.

Former Mexican citizens began settling the upper Tularosa Basin shortly after the Mexican-American War. Settlements grew up first on the eastern slopes of the Sacramento Mountains along the Rio Bonito,

Rio Ruidoso, and Rio Hondo. Some of these settlers were there when the Army established Fort Stanton, as a local sawmill supplied lumber for the fort (Breternitz and Doyel 1983:91). The settlement at Tularosa (1862) is the oldest Euro-American settlement in the Tularosa Basin proper.

Cattle ranchers from Texas, exemplified by John S. Chisum, moved into the neighboring Pecos Valley to the east, beginning in 1867. Helped out by a particularly wet decade in the 1880s, small ranchers began to flourish in the Tularosa country.

Settlement on the upper Jornada del Muerto, as in the Tularosa Basin, was dependent on water. Grazing was originally restricted to areas convenient to the few natural springs. But as improved drilling equipment became available, water wells were drilled. Well drilling on the Jornada began with Jack Martin in 1867; Martin's Well was also known as Aleman Well (Wilson 1975:21). So many other wells followed that the *Socorro Bullion* of February 19, 1887, subtitled a report on a mining and ranching reconnaissance, "The Jornada del Muerto loses its Death-Like Character and is Becoming a Garden of Eden" (see Gallery, pg. 89).

Going for the Gold in Them Thar Hills

Spanish and/or Mexican period mining is reported by various sources but is unverified. Local tradition relates that the church bells of the Rio Grande Valley were cast from the copper ores of the Oscura Mountains (Stearns 1987:45). The White Oaks Historical Association has an *arrastra*, a set of Spanish or Mexican ore-crushing stones, on exhibit at their Old Schoolhouse Museum.

Spanish and Mexican settlers from as far away as El Paso regularly visited the southern Tularosa Basin in order to collect salt from the dry lake bed at Lake Lucero. Conflict between the *salteros* and Anglo-Americans trying to privatize similar beds at the foot of Guadalupe Peak led to the El Paso Salt War of 1877, which required the intervention of U.S. troops.

Hard-rock mining first began in the southern Tularosa Basin with Hugh Stevenson's gold mine in 1849. The first Lincoln County gold strikes were reported in the Jicarilla Mining District beginning in 1861. However, extensive mining did not develop further north in the Basin until after the Civil War.

The arrival of General William H. Carleton's California Column in New Mexico coincided with an upswing in mining exploration; many of Carleton's men were recruited from California's mining districts (Miller 1982:5-6). The garrison at Fort Craig apparently mined coal at Carthage, beginning perhaps in 1864 (Abandoned Mine Land Bureau 1992:9-10, 12). The Nogal Mining District strikes began in the late 1860s, and eventually caused a boundary change to the Mescalero Apache Reservation (Sonnichsen 1973:233-234).

In 1879 the White Oaks District came into being with the discovery of gold on Baxter Mountain. White Oaks rapidly eclipsed the county seat of Lincoln in population and became the biggest town in Lincoln County. In 1892, its population is estimated to have peaked at 2,500 (Parker 1971:94).

Socorro enjoyed a brief period as New Mexico's premier mining town. Beginning in 1883 with the establishment of the Billing Smelter, the largest in the region, Socorro enjoyed 11 years of prosperity. The key to that prosperity was silver ore (Duran 1991:13-14). Cave-ins at the nearby Kelly Mine, import duties on Mexican ore, and the 1893 repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, brought eventual closure to the smelter (Duran 1991:14-15). During its heyday, which encompassed the Ozanne & Company stagecoaching period, coke ovens had been established at San Antonio, and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe ran a spur line to Carthage to supply the coking coal, which in turn was supplied to the Billing Smelter.

The magnitude of the resources in the White Oaks Mining District caused an upsurge of interest in prospects throughout the surrounding area. In an 1895 report to the Secretary of the Interior, the Territorial Governor stated: "White Oaks is situated in the center of the largest mineral belt in the Territory. . . . Situated as it is, nearly 100 mi from a railroad, the development of necessity has been very slow Transportation without a railroad is impossible for any of the products of these mines except gold" (Thornton 1895:52). The Governor was not exaggerating. Between 1879 and 1903, White Oaks mines had produced more than 142,000 ounces of gold, valued then at \$3,000,000 (Eidenbach 1992:7). But, as the governor indicated, White Oaks was hampered by the absence of a close rail connection for shipping processed ores and machinery.

The same Governor's report also summarized White Oaks' railroad hopes: either a line from the west, from the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe (AT&SF) railway or from the east, from the Pecos Valley Railway

(Thornton 1895:56). The San Pedro Line from Carthage was licensed to continue on to White Oaks, had that decision ever been made (Joe Hereford, personal communication April 7, 1994; Spencer Wilson, personal communication April 7, 1994). But when the White Oaks rail connection finally came, it was from the south. The arrival of the El Paso and Northeastern in 1899 heralded a short boom period and many small area mines—like those at Estey City—flourished for a short time (Eidenbach 1992:7).

Mail Routes Across the Desert

A regular north-south Spanish mail route on El Camino Real from El Paso to Santa Fe was in regular use by 1805; mail was carried not by coach, but by courier (Latin American Institute 1990:34). Beginning in 1852, passenger service between Santa Fe and El Paso became a reality, mail service having begun 2 years earlier. Passengers were carried in the “light carriages” and “spring wagons” of the San Antonio and Santa Fe Mail Line (Latin American Institute 1990:34; Wilson 1975:26). Five years later, passenger and mail service was offered via “celerity” wagons between San Antonio and San Diego by a mail line of the same name (Wilson 1975:27). This service, in turn, was supplanted in 1858 by the first true transcontinental passenger and mail operation, the Butterfield Overland Mail. This east-west route between St. Louis and San Francisco measured more than 2,800 mi and took 21 to 23 days (Wilson 1975:28). It ceased operation with the onset of the Civil War.

Stagecoach lines were “the only means of regular commercial transportation” for Southwestern New Mexico before the arrival of the railroads; the description is also apt for south-central New Mexico (Wilson 1975:88). In 1880, regular mail and passenger service for White Oaks at first originated from Las Vegas, almost 135 mi to the northeast on the new AT&SF Railway. When rail service was extended to Socorro, the county seat of Socorro, in the summer of 1880, a new mail route to Lincoln County was established; the new distance was only 90 mi. Though there were other mail contractors traveling this route, Ozanne & Company, the contractors from 1886-1894, became closely identified in the public mind with the stagecoaching period.

The National Mail Service obtained the first mail contract for White Oaks (Parker 1971:6), and its vehicles traveled the military road from Fort Sumner to Fort Stanton. The Greathouse & Kuch Ranch, scene of an 1880 gun battle involving Billy the Kid, was a stage station along

this route (Keleher 1962:70). Col. D.J.M.A. Jewett described the service thus, “An occasional hack sent by Llewellyn, from Las Vegas as he caught a chance passenger, constituted the ‘means of communication’ for the mail and all else” (Jewett 1889:72). A National Mail Service competitor advertised travel to White Oaks as a four-day trip (Wallace 1957:206)!

With the new Rio Grande Valley rail terminals much closer, what was needed in the summer of 1880 was a new Lincoln County wagon road west to Socorro. This route became a reality within a year’s time, though not without protest from Las Vegas interests (*Las Vegas Daily Optic* 1881). Heavy Concord stages might have traveled the old military road from Las Vegas, but the new Socorro-White Oaks route was rough and dry. Vehicle references about this route record only lighter coaches, hacks, and buckboards. Photographic evidence also indicates the absence of Concords (see Figure 62).

Credit for one of these mail routes is due to Fort Stanton’s post commander, Lieutenant Colonel August V. Kautz, 15th Infantry. His impatience with circumventing the Malpais enroute to Fort Craig led to a route across the lava beds (Wallace 1975:249). Kautz demonstrated in 1870 that the Malpais could safely be crossed; Captain McCleave and a Fort Stanton work party performed the first road work (Wallace 1975:249). By the time of the stage routes a decade later, the crossing point had moved 8¹/₂ mi north to Upper Crossing, reflecting Socorro as the destination point, some 30 mi further north along the Rio Grande than Fort Craig.

The new Socorro-White Oaks route was formalized in October 1880 as Star Route 67,132 (*Lincoln County Leader* 1882). National Mail Company Agent W.H.H. Llewellyn directed operations over a more northerly route from Socorro to White Oaks than would be followed later. Mining engineer Dr. E.D. Peters wrote an account of an 1882 stage trip to White Oaks on the National Mail Company line, the first mail contractor on the Socorro-White Oaks route:

The journey from Socorro to the Oscura Range in winter by no means partakes of the nature of a pleasure trip. A daily stage line runs from Socorro to White Oaks, a distance of about one hundred miles; and at that point some sixty miles from Socorro, branches off the canon that leads to the districts now pretty well known under the name of the Oscura Copper-Fields.

A sixty-mile stage drive, to one accustomed to Western travelling, presents no particular hardships; but in this case, the stage consisted of a rickety buck-board, and the team a pair of ancient mules, the trip was exceedingly cold and tedious.

We left the town of Socorro about eleven in the morning, and skirting the Rio Grande for some three miles, crossed the quicksands of this treacherous and ever-changing river by swimming the mules across, while the wagon and solitary passenger were ferried over on a species of raft, attached to a strong rope which spanned the stream, and the raft was thus rapidly forced across by the action of the powerful current.

The horns of several oxen protruding from the quicksands in various places showed the danger attendant on crossing this river with heavily-loaded wagons, and should serve as a warning to the merchants of Socorro that, if they desire to retain the trade of White Oaks, and other important mining camps on the eastern bank of the Rio Grande, they should take some action toward rendering the passage of this stream safer and more expeditious.

A long and tedious pull through the sand hills on the eastern shore brought us to a canon some ten miles in length, and cutting deeply through stratified rocks, apparently dolomitic limestones and sandstones of the Carboniferous period.

About five miles beyond the canon, we reached the station of Prairie Springs, where a vicious-looking Mexican keeps a jealous watch over a wretched solution of sulfate of soda, which he calls "agua pura," and sells at five cents a bucket; and then, with a pair of fresh mules before us, we actually started at a trot on the second stage of our journey.

This lay over a sandy plain, covered with scanty cactus, soap-weed, and Spanish bayonet, and forming the northern extremity of the celebrated desert so well known to all New Mexican freighters under the name of "Jornada del Muerte."

Far in the east, the dark lines of the Oscuras stretched across our path, and it was well toward dusk when our tired mules pulled us out of the sand into the little canon which forms an easy pass over this range. About midnight, my silent companion nudged me vigorously with his whip-handle, and, warning me that my journey was completed, assisted

me to untie my horse from the tail-board of the wagon, and, without a word of leave-taking, vanished in the darkness. A fallen cedar supplied the materials for a camp-fire, and with a plentiful supply of canned provisions, and a huge roll of robes and blankets, I passed a very comfortable night on the ground, in spite of the chattering of the coyotes and the sharpness of the mountain air. In the morning, following explicit directions that I had received in Socorro, a ride of about fifteen miles brought me to the camp of the gentleman I had come to visit, and who was already expecting me

The Oscura range is a low, detached mountain chain, some fifteen miles in width and fifty in length, being a continuation of the Gallinas Mountains on the north, and of the San Andreas on the south, separated from the latter by an isolated peak, known as the Little Burro. Its eastern slopes are covered with dense forests of pinon and cedar, and in the neighborhood of the copper district which forms its chief attraction are two springs of inestimable value in the arid region, capable of sustaining a population of perhaps two hundred men, with the ordinary complement of animals. Deer and bear are plenty, and it has been with much reluctance that the Mescalara [sic] Apaches have yielded their favorite hunting-grounds to the dominant race. At the present time, I am informed that all fear of annoyance from the Indians is over; but during my sojourn, although we were not molested, we had every reason to adopt the greatest precautions, and just before my party entered the district, an Indian scare had entirely driven out the very scanty population already settled there.

For a distance of at least twelve miles north and south on the eastern slope of the Oscuras, the Permian formation, overlying the Carboniferous, occurs with its marked characteristics. Immense hills of red marl; huge beds of gypsum with subterranean cavities of unknown depth, into which stones rolled from the surface crash and thunder for a great distance . . .

Remounting the buck-board at midnight, a gentle down-grade of twelve miles, as it passes the outlet of the Oscura District, brings us to the edge of the celebrated Mal Pais, which if the moon favors us, can be seen black and threatening for many miles before it is reached. A more ugly and dangerous bit of travelling cannot well be imagined than across this lava-bed. Vomited forth from a low mound some fifteen miles to the northward, this black stream of lava, from two to twelve miles in breadth, has pushed along its viscous mass, cooling on the front and sides as it proceeded, and curling over, broken into the most fantastic shapes by the

tremendous impelling force in its rear, for a distance of fifty miles, parallel to the Oscura range, and has terminated in low mounds of volcanic sand, from which issues a large stream of water, arid and nauseous, and soon burying itself in thirsty soil.

Until a few months since, this lava stream formed an insurmountable barrier to all teams, and even to a dismounted man, unacquainted with its geography, excepting near its southern extremity, where the United States government has constructed a crossing at a heavy expense, for the purpose of connecting Fort Stanton with the settlements on the Rio Grande. But thanks to the combined efforts of Mr. Llewellyn [sic] (the White Oaks mail contractor) and some of the Socorro merchants, a road has been constructed over the Mal Pais on the direct line between Socorro and White Oaks; and this we crossed on a night so dark that even the ears of the mules were invisible from our seat beside the driver, and our nerves were spared the sight of the yawning chasms and jagged slopes on each side of us, until a torch, improvised from the last number of the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, showed us in ten seconds such a wilderness of appalling [sic] abysses in every direction, and such a tiny tight-rope of a road before us, that we were glad to drop the torch into one of the crevices almost under our wheels, and, holding our breath, to await the welcome sight of the fire on the opposite bank, which showed us that our perils were over, and that a cup of hot coffee was awaiting us to counteract the chill night air, while fresh mules were harnessing.

In spite of this very narrow and dangerous crossing, serious accidents are rare. The driver entrusts entirely to his mules, who are selected for their steadiness and sureness of foot; and with ears turned forward to the extreme limit of possibility, and noses almost touching the ground, they pick their way slowly but surely for more than a mile of such travelling.

Just as the sun rises, we enter the one long street, on each side of which is built the town of White Oaks . . . (Peters 1882:270-272)

Note that there was no bridge over the Rio Grande at Socorro, the route utilized Prairie Spring, Col. Kautz's efforts to span the Malpais are recognized, and the stagecoach was a buckboard!

During the new contract cycle, a new contractor, Southwestern Stage Company, was selected. This company also provided stage service for Socorro County's Black Range mining towns (*White Oaks Golden Era* 1882). Southwestern Stage Company advertised a mail route 35 mi

longer than its predecessor's, extending from White Oaks to Fort Stanton. In turn, Ozanne & Company's route would extend to Lincoln, adding an additional 10 mi. It is quite possible that the Ozanne & Company route was the longest contract route in the territory.

The White Oaks mail route's Western terminus successively changed from Socorro to Carthage to San Antonio within two decades. These changes reflected AT&SF rail construction along the Rio Grande and the subsequent construction and abandonment of spur lines to the coal mines at Carthage (Myrick 1990:172).

Within the same 20-year span, the El Paso and Northeastern Railway extended northward through Lincoln County, and the Pecos Valley Railway extended northward to Roswell, bringing mail to the interior and spelling doom for long-distance stage routes. Urbain Ozanne's successors, W.H. Lane, Paul Mayer, and A.H. Hilton, all worked with shortened routes from the earlier heyday.

The White Oaks *Lincoln County Leader* of December 9, 1882, had this to say about stage service:

The people of White Oaks have known for a long time that travel and capital have been diverted to other places on account of the miserable accommodations furnished by this company who had monopolized the route, and it has cost our people thousands of dollars for this same company to find out that it would pay to put on decent accommodations, and we do not see the use of patting them on the back for doing a thing that in all reason and all justice should have been done long ago. We also reiterate our former statement that fifteen cents a mile is an exorbitant rate to charge for travelling across a level country where roads are built at little cost. It has scarcely been three months since Helphingstine [editor of the *Era*] dropped curses fast and furious over the hind end of a buck-board all the way from Socorro to White Oaks, not only at the rates charged, but at the whole management . . .

From the above invective, it can be assumed that the Southwestern Stage Company, the mail contractor immediately preceding Ozanne & Company, was not universally popular with the town's boosters. Perhaps the business was also hard-pressed to meet its expenses. Civil suits were brought against the Southwestern Stage Company not less than 11 times during the period from January 1883 to August 1885; the debts ranged from nonpayment for mercantile goods to nonpayment for a blacksmith labor and materials (*Justice Docket*

1883-1885). Amounts ranged from \$40.42 to \$92.90. Ozanne & Company proved to be run by better businessmen and was far more popular, although ultimately financially unsuccessful.

White Oaks, Carthage, and San Antonio, the termini of Ozanne & Company's mail and passenger operations, were significantly important in the development of the Territorial mining frontier in south-central New Mexico. The communications link between them was the romantic stage line of old. Though we may today view stagecoaches with nostalgia, the era's demise was applauded. According to the *White Oaks Eagle* of August 10, 1899:

It is now time to drop the San Antonio and White Oaks mail route. The mails will reach us several hours sooner to come by the way of the El Paso and Northeastern, and will come within 10 miles of us by rail. The disappearance of these old rawhide stage routes will be good riddance and the sooner we get this change the better the people will like it. [Stearns 1987:134]

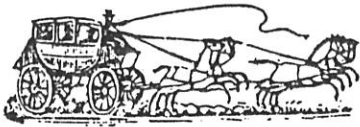
Heralding progress has long been an American trait.

Ironically, a major goal of White Oaks boosterism was the construction of a rail line to the town. When the railroad finally came, the result for both the town and stage line was the same. The stage was reduced to shorter routes by competition with the railroad. It thus was replaced on the local mail routes by the automobile and truck. Bypassed by the railroad, White Oaks' speculative balloon burst, and the populace left for greener pastures.

We still find remnants of the colorful stagecoach era in our language. Bus lines still use the term "coach" to describe their vehicles, and some car makers continue to use wagon models to describe automobiles (Landau, Brougham, Victoria, Lincoln, station wagon).

Leave Carthage Daily
 AT 10:30 A. M.
 On arrival of Santa Fe Train.
 CONNECT AT LINCOLN WITH
BUCK * BOARD * LINE
 —→ FOR ←—
 Roswell, Seven Rivers and
 Pecos Country.
 CONNECT AT NOGAL
 (FOR)
BONITO CAMP
White Oaks Nogal * Bonito,
 The Coming Leadvilles
 OF
 → NEW * MEXICO. ←
 COME AND BE CONVINCED
 AGENTS.
W. B. Palmer Carthage.
 Nogal
 Stanton.
 Lincoln.
 Roswell.

U. OZANNE. A. J. OZANNE.



OZANNE & Co.,
 —→ DAILY ←—
 U. S. Mail & Stage Line
 FROM
 * Carthage *
 TO
 White Oaks, Nogal, Fort Stanton and
 Lincoln, N. M.
 Address
 OARTHAGE & WHITE OAKS.

Figure 50. Ozanne Stage Line brochure, circa 1888
 (E.V. Long Collection, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe).

The Ozannes: Brittany to White Oaks

Urbain Ozanne was born in Brittany at Châteaubriant, France, May 8, 1835. Francois Ozanne, Urbain's father, received imperial recognition as an exceptional teacher. But he emigrated to the United States with his family in 1847, arriving in New Orleans, Louisiana (Haines 1891).

Urbain married another French *émigré*, Frances Stephanie Bouvard, in 1857. Five children came of the union; the family made its home in Nashville. Urbain was in the mercantile business before the Civil War, and served during the war, presumably as a Union army contractor. Wartime tragedy struck when their eldest child, Adeline, died before she was 10 years old.

Following the war, Urbain acquired property in Mississippi and became a cotton planter. He began public life as a member of the Reconstruction era state constitutional convention, and he served at least two terms as Panola County sheriff. His wife Fannie died in 1870. Although family tradition relates that Urbain sold his agricultural interests before the Panic of 1873 struck, financial considerations were not the only motivating factor for leaving Mississippi.



Figure 51. Urbain Ozanne and family at home in Sardis, Panola County,

Ozanne lamented to radical Republican Senator Thaddeus Stevens in a letter posted from Panola County, dated July 9, 1868, "The feelings against Northern men who entertain Republican sentiments exceed by far those displayed in 1860 & 61 against Union men." White Republicans and black Mississippians were "on the same footing in the eyes of the Rebels." The letter further describes outrages committed against freedmen who "could not be induced or compelled to vote the Democratic ticket." Ozanne predicted that Northerners would have to leave the state unless Congressional protection was forthcoming. He said of Union men like himself,

They came and settled in the South with no desire to meddle in politics, but for the purpose of engaging in agricultural pursuits, and are being grossly and unjustly persecuted, because they have not seen fit to trample down the flag of our country, and especially because they have upheld Congress in the reconstruction of the State civil government. [Current 1988:119]

As Reconstruction ended, Ozanne and his boys moved to Memphis, and later to Kansas. In Wichita, sometime after 1875, he engaged in the wholesale feed business. By 1880, Urbain had moved again, and listed himself as a resident of the railroad town of Las Vegas, New Mexico.

Urbain's financial interest in Lincoln County began with mining investments near the new town of White Oaks. Within 2 years he became a town resident and began doing business as Ozanne & Son, with son Alfred as partner. Together they ran a continental restaurant and bakery. The family also owned a small grist mill and storage facilities. Eldest son Henry was by 1884 a partner in a Las Vegas drug store, Goodall & Ozanne, and probably also ran a business in Wichita. In 1886, Ozanne & Company received the U.S. mail contract between Carthage, White Oaks, and Lincoln and operated for a decade as the Ozanne & Company Stage Line. The Mountain Station Ranch served as a hotel and way station for the stages from Carthage to White Oaks, and by 1888 the brick Hotel Ozanne stood in White Oaks.

Author Emerson Hough (1905:17, 20-21, 23, 25) wrote of his 1880s White Oaks experiences in a novel entitled *Heart's Desire*. He mentions the importance of canned oysters for special occasions. Curiously, eldest son Henry Ozanne advertised his Las Vegas specialty items in the White Oaks newspaper. Of particular note is that oysters were available by special arrangement with the express line,

presumably his father's. By 1892 Henry's brother, Emile, was running a White Oaks dry goods store in the west end of what would become the Brown Store Building. Emile was a college-trained civil and mining engineer.

In July 1894, after two financially punishing years, Ozanne & Company let the mail contract go to another White Oaks resident, William Lane. Urbain inaugurated a thrice weekly express service with new vehicles, but began selling off his assets within a year. The furnishings for the Hotel Ozanne, the Taylor's Well Stage Station, and their associated animals and vehicles went first in 1895; the Mountain Station Ranch followed in 1896 (Lincoln County Courthouse, Bill of Sales, Book D:242-243; Mortgage Deed Book B:600-601).

Urbain Ozanne was a classic nineteenth-century entrepreneur. He successfully ran businesses varying from hotels and restaurants to cotton plantations. All four sons were sent to St. Louis University. Two of his sons became White Oaks residents, married, started families, and built homes there. Urbain also found time to serve in various public offices from sheriff to road superintendent, as well as director of the local school association. The two-story brick White Oaks Schoolhouse was constructed in the early 1890s, and Ozanne family tradition proudly attributes much of the credit for its construction to the drive of Urbain.

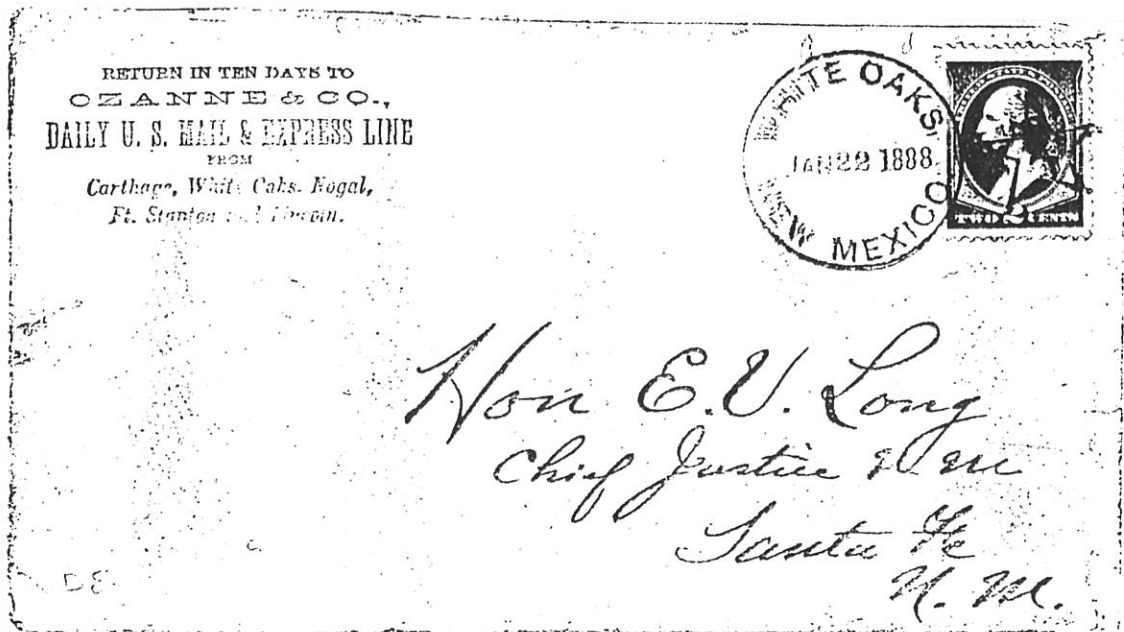


Figure 52. Postal envelope from Ozanne & Co. (Denny McCoy Collection).

Unfortunately the story does not have a happy ending. Urbain was married again by 1892. Of Ella Ozanne, who apparently ran the hotel and boarding house, Alfred's wife, Olive, infers an inordinate interest in controlling the family real estate (Ozanne 1949:3). A less charitable interpretation might be that Ella married Urbain for his money. The union ended in divorce before Urbain's financial collapse.

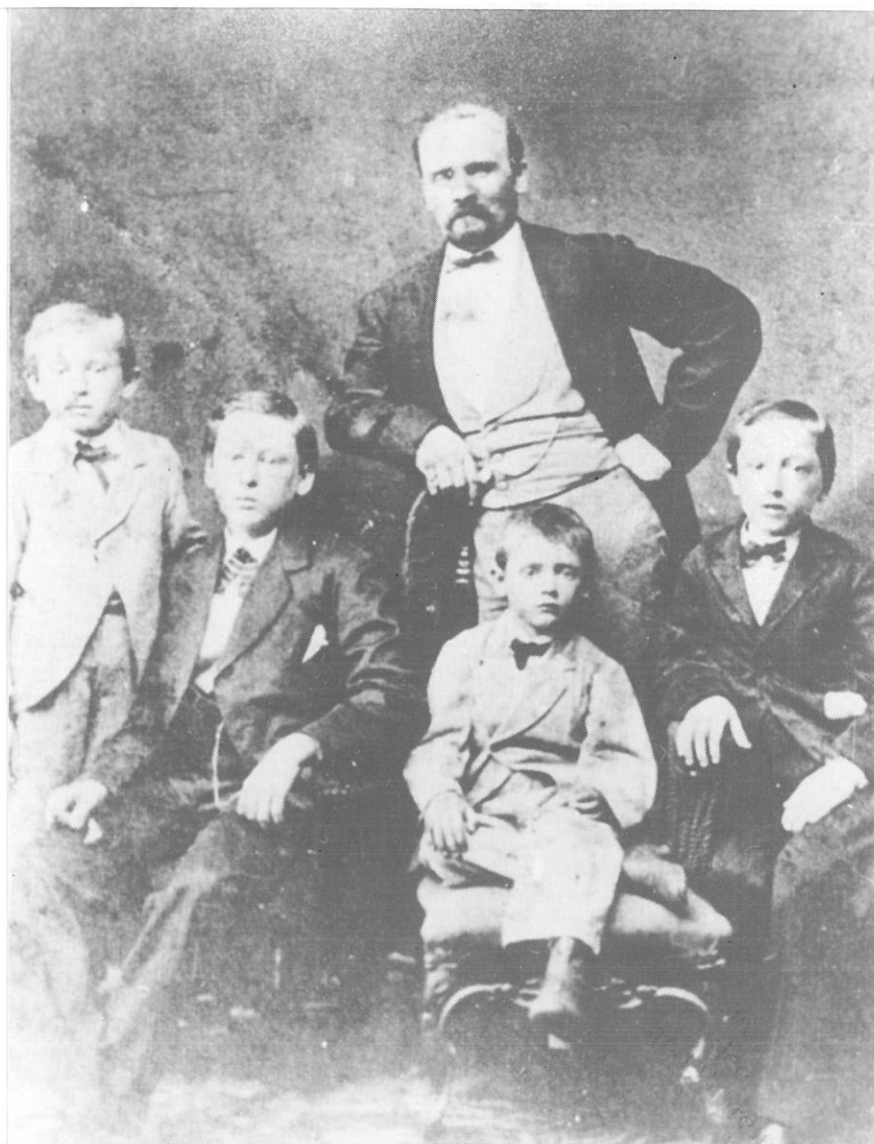


Figure 53. Urbain Ozanne and sons (l to r) Alfred, Henry, Paul, Emile, Sept. 7, 1872, Memphis, Tennessee (Garry Owen Collection).

Urbain remarried in 1897. This union was fated to experience the rapid decline of family fortunes. Property purchased with the certainty that the railroad would eventually arrive in White Oaks was now nearly worthless, for the railroad had bypassed the community. The ultimate indignity for Urbain Ozanne must have been the sale of his various properties for back taxes in 1899 (Lincoln County Records, Justice Docket, Book C: Case 1113). Urbain Ozanne died of Bright's disease in 1903. Although buried in White Oaks' Cedarvale Cemetery, this important pioneer's last resting place has been lost.

Urbain's last wife, Helen, did not stay in White Oaks. She probably alienated the entire family and much of the town by suing anyone concerned with the Hotel Ozanne. Her legal maneuvers successful, she received a tax deed for the premises in 1904. The following year she left town one step ahead of the sheriff! The sheriff could find no property to attach for her unpaid bills (Lincoln County Records, Justice Docket, Book C: Case 1574).

Local tradition continues the Hotel Ozanne operation beyond Urbain's death. Jane Malcolm Gallacher and her mother, Margaret Malcolm, were associated with the hotel operation for at least 20 years. They were probably among the first employees when the hotel first opened in 1887-1888. In 1908, Jane moved to ranch at the head of the Malpais. Her mother may have continued working at the hotel until her death in 1913 (Adams and Adams 1983:v, x). The hotel apparently closed the next year (*Ruidoso News* July 25, 1947).

Mining engineer Emile Ozanne stayed in the area. He became the postmaster at Jicarilla, operated a small store, and worked a patented mining claim, The Dark Cloud Lode. He and his wife Belle (nee Wiener of White Oaks), raised three girls and one boy there. There they also buried their firstborn daughter, Belle. Eventually the need for schooling caused their departure. The family lived in El Paso, Santa Rita, and Orogrande. The girls all graduated from New Mexico Normal School, now New Mexico Western University. Emile's wife Belle died in 1930, and Emile returned to Jicarilla to live out his days.

Local historian and writer Herbert Lee Traylor thought Emile worth a biography and proceeded to make arrangements to write it. In the spring of 1941, before the project could begin, Emile died. Emile's grandson, Garry Owen of Roswell, made much of the information available, which allows this story to be told.

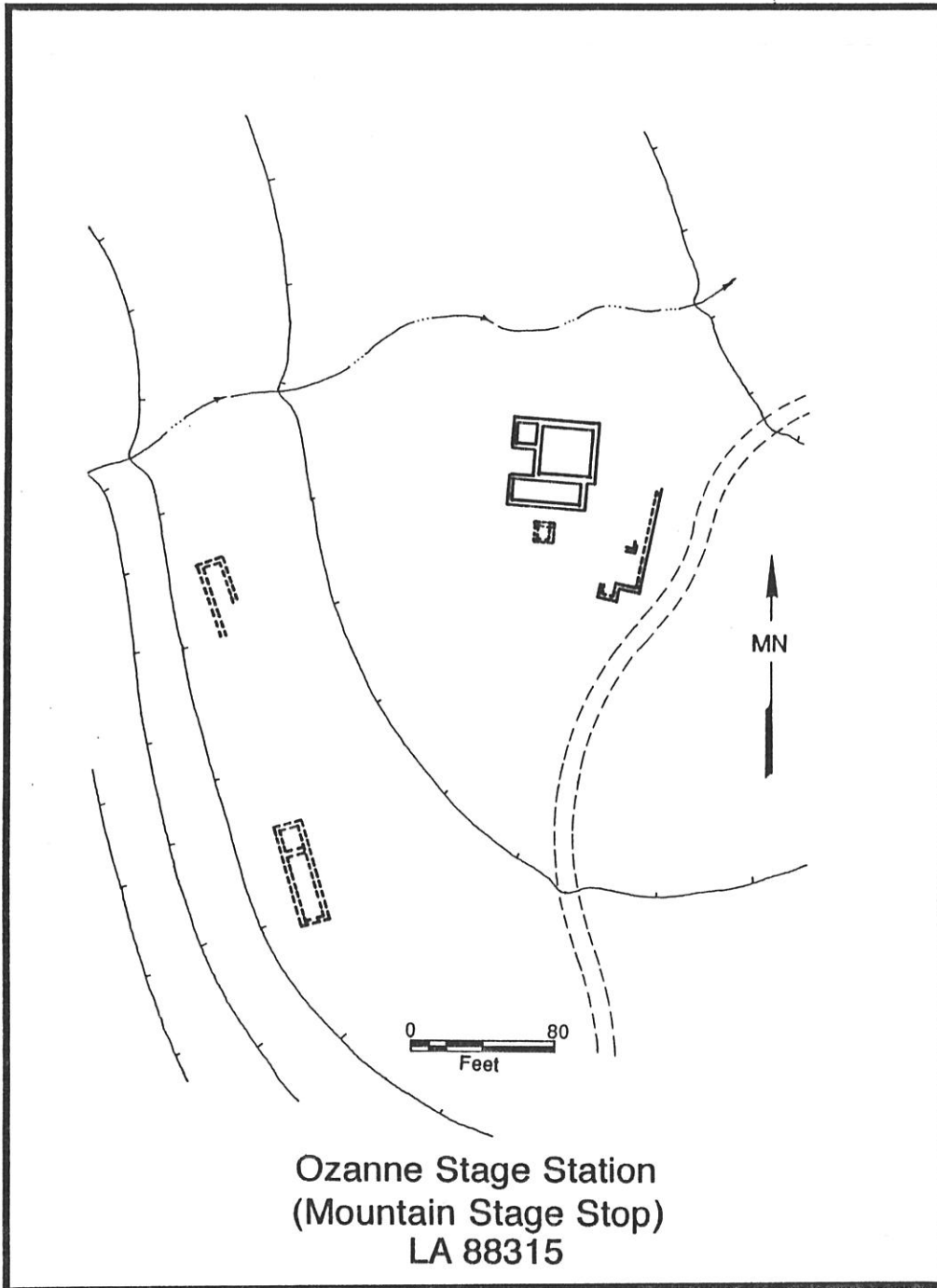


Figure 54. Ozanne Mountain Station.

She'll Be Comin' Round the Mountains: The Stage to White Oaks, 1886-1895

Ozanne & Company

Urbain Ozanne and his son, Alfred, operated as Ozanne & Company, the White Oaks mail carrier, for two mail contract cycles, from July 1, 1886, through June 30, 1894. National, Western, and territorial economic development have been described by boom and bust cycles. These cycles were favorable for Ozanne & Company during the first mail contract period and unfavorable during the second.

Ozanne & Company offered passenger and express service, coupled with U.S. mail delivery. As did others, they modeled their operations after the successful transcontinental operations (Wilson 1975:88), but it is also likely that the most influence on their planning came from smaller scale ventures such as the Lake Valley, Hillsboro, and Kingston Stage Line, which both preceded them and served a presumably identical clientele. (Their predecessor, Southwest Stage Line, presumably served as a negative example.)

Mountain Station Ranch, then, became a "home" station, *a la* the Butterfield Overland Line's example, with maintenance facilities and food service, while the other "swing" stations, such as Red Canyon, were modest and only offered horse changes and/or water. Stops were spaced approximately every 10 mi, a far cry from the average of 18-20 mi traveled between stations on the Overland Line (Wilson 1975:28). The frequency of stops on this line qualified it for first class status (Banning and Banning 1928:399).

Two routes were followed, both approximately the same distance in length; they are reconstructed below. Superficially, the routes only differ significantly by how many stage stations are required. However, the terrain for Route 2 is the easier on the teams. Route selection may have varied seasonally.

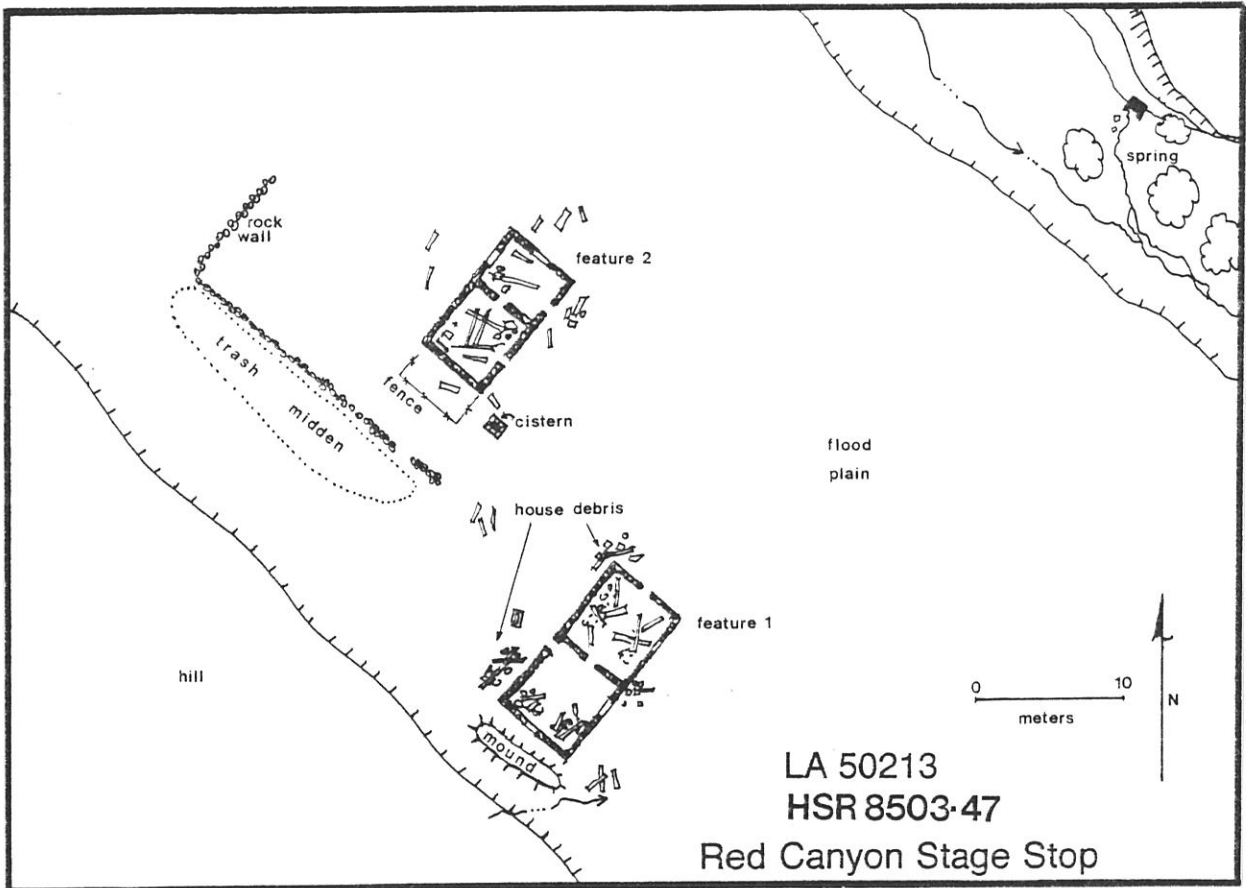


Figure 55. Red Canyon Stage Stop.

Table 7. Reconstructed San Antonio-White Oaks Stage Routes, 1886-1895.

Depart	Arrive	Distance	Station	Purpose
ROUTE 1: ACROSS THE MALPAIS				
San Antonio	Kinney Well	11	No	Water
Kinney Well	Carthage	2	Yes	Horse change/ Passengers
Carthage	Montoya's Well	9	No	Water
Montoya's Well	Hansonburg	7	Yes	Horse change
Hansonburg	Mtn. Sta. Ranch	12	Yes/Home Sta.	HC/W/ Food/Overnight
Mtn. Sta. Ranch	Red Canyon	10	Yes	HC/W
Red Canyon	Mal Pais Sta.	15	Yes	HC/W
Mal Pais Sta.	Anchor Spring	8	Yes	W
Anchor Spring	White Oaks	15	Yes/Home Sta.	HC/W/F/ON
	Total Mileage:	89		
ROUTE 2: AROUND THE MALPAIS				
San Antonio	Kinney Well	11	No	Water
Kinney Well	Carthage	2	Yes	Horse change/ Passengers
Carthage	Montoya's Well	9	No	Water
Montoya's Well	Hansonburg	7	Yes	Horse change
Hansonburg	Mtn. Sta. Ranch	12	Yes/Home Sta.	HC/W/F/ON
Mtn. Sta. Ranch	Wash Hale	7	No	Water
Wash Hale	Taylor's Well	11	Yes	HC/W
Taylor's Well	Crater Station	11	Yes	HC/W
Crater Station	Coyote Spring	10	No	Water
Coyote Spring	White Oaks	10	Yes/Home Sta.	HC/W/F/ON
	Total Mileage:	90		

Ozanne & Company planned well, and the operation proved lucrative. Olive Ozanne, Alfred's wife, reported years later that Ozanne & Company grossed approximately \$11,000 per year from their stage line; \$6,500 was from mail delivery and \$4,000-5,000 was from passenger fares and express deliveries (Ozanne 1949:3).

A company promotional flyer described the route, distances, and schedule (see Figure 56).

«Schedule of Distances & Time-Table.»

From Carthage to Ozanne's Ranch: Supper Station—30 miles.	Arrive at 5 P. M.
" Ozanne's Ranch to White Oaks Breakfast Station— 60 miles.	" 6 A. M.
" White Oaks to Nogal 17 "	" 10 A. M.
" Nogal and Fort Stanton. 18 "	" 1 P. M.
" Fort Stanton to Lincoln. 10 "	" 4:30 P. M.

—•••••—

Passengers have a stop over of two hours at Fort Stanton where can be seen one of the most beautiful forts of Uncle Sam.

—•••••—

«To the Railroad.»

Leave Lincoln at 8 A. M.— Fort Stanton at 10:30 A. M., Nogal 2:00 P. M., White Oaks at 5:30 P. M. and arrive at Carthage following day at 1:30 P. M., Supper at White Oaks, Breakfast at Ozanne's Ranch.

• —••••• •

From White Oaks to Ozanne's Ranch and from Ozanne's Ranch to White Oaks, the travel is by night but passengers desiring to avoid night travel can be provided with daylight accommodations without extra charge.

The entire journey may thus be made by daylight affording passengers an opportunity of seeing **THE MAL PAIS**, one of the greatest wonders of New Mexico.

NO EFFORTS SPARED TO MAKE OUR PATRONS SAFE AND COMFORTABLE.

Good Teams. Fine Rigs. Careful and Sober Drivers.

MILLISON & SONS, PRINT, WICHITA, KANS.

Figure 56. Ozanne Stage Line schedule, circa 1888
(E.V. Long Collection, State Records Center & Archives, Santa Fe).

Based on a 135-mi trip, a one-way ticket was \$16.56, or 12.3 cents per mile, slightly more inexpensive than its unlamented predecessor (Ozanne & Company 1888:1). Previous stagecoach research suggests 10.5 cents per mile as normal, which would make the White Oaks trip high (Wallace 1957:210). Other research has found fares as high as 16.33 cents per mile for difficult stretches of road (Wallace 1951:97). Ozanne & Company included 40 pounds of baggage in the price of a ticket; excess baggage was charged the express rate, for which no data have been discovered (Ozanne & Company 1888:1). Black Range Concord stages charged 10 cents per pound (Wallace 1951).

The journey from Carthage to White Oaks took 16 hours (*Rocky Mountain News* May 29, 1892), and on to Lincoln was 30 hours in length (return trips were half an hour faster). Consistent themes in the flier and newspaper advertisements were safety and comfort, “Good Teams, Fine Rigs, Careful and Sober Drivers.” The prospect of night travel must have frightened many passengers and could be avoided by overnighting at either the Hotel Ozanne or the Mountain Station Ranch and traveling during the daytime only.

Ozanne & Company was a proper booster of the communities it served. All passengers got a two-hour layover at Fort Stanton, “where can be seen one of the most beautiful forts of Uncle Sam.” And an additional inducement for daytime travel was “seeing the MAL PAIS, one of the greatest wonders of New Mexico” (Ozanne & Company 1888; see Figure 56).

Both company fliers and local newspapers advertised additional travel connections at Nogal, Fort Stanton, and Lincoln (*Lincoln Independent*, 1889-1893; Figure 56). Advance arrangements were necessary for a buckboard at Nogal to the mining camps of Bonito and Parson City. Regular buckboards connected at Fort Stanton for Ruidoso, Weed, and Peñasco. And the Buck Board Line departed Lincoln for Roswell, Seven Rivers, and the Pecos country three times weekly on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. Whether the Buck Board Line was an Ozanne & Company subsidiary is unknown.

Ozanne & Company, along with other White Oaks businesses, advertised not only in the expected fliers and newspapers, but utilized a crude version of the modern billboard. Passengers passing Manchester and ascending the canyon to White Oaks were treated to advertisements painted on the flat faces of the rock-lined canyon. One of the advertisements read “Stop at the Hotel Ozanne” (Harman n.d.:3-4).

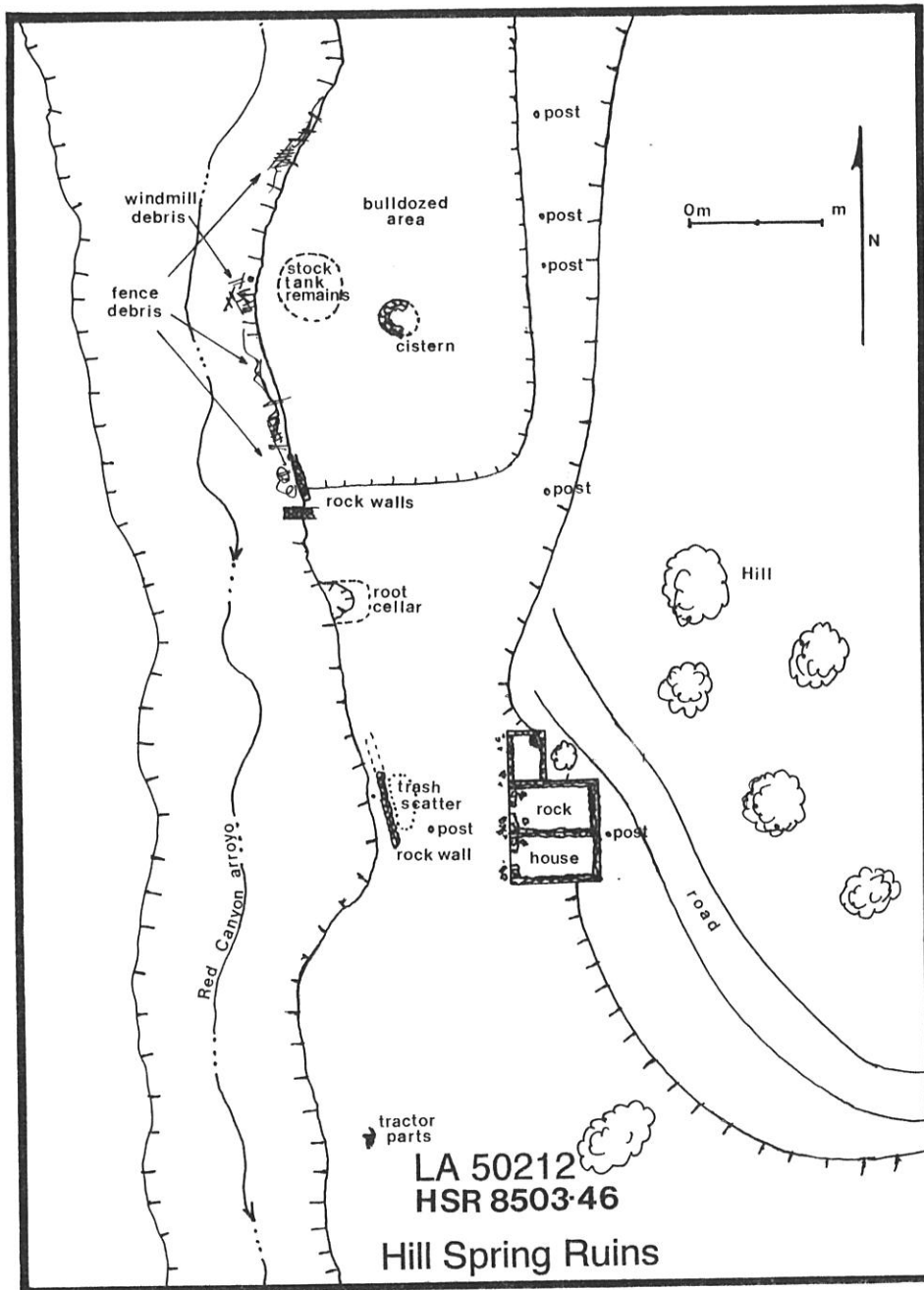


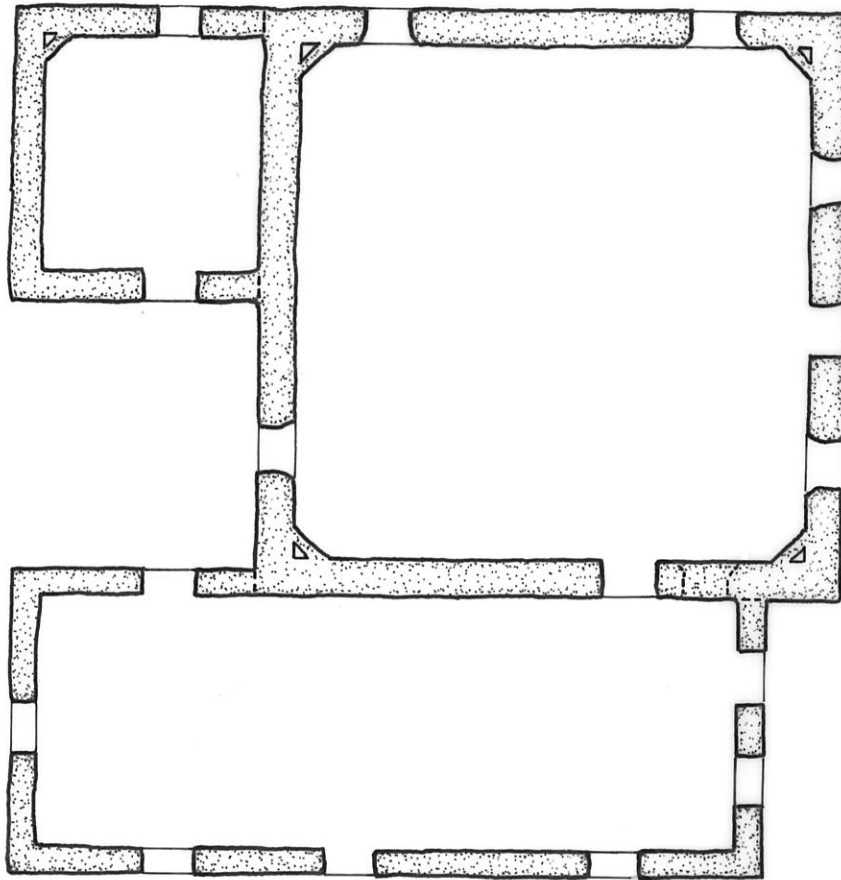
Figure 57. Hill Spring Ruins, LA 50212.

Ozanne & Company's good fortune, however, played out during the 1890 contract period. White Oaks' prominence peaked in 1892. The Panic of 1893 and the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act greatly affected the mining industry in the Territory (Duran 1991:14-15). The seriousness of the local situation may be gauged by the fact that the AT&SF Railway went into receivership in December 1893, and the branch line to Carthage saw no service during 1894 (Hereford 1994:2)! Olive Ozanne reported, "The Silver Bill had been repealed and mining camps were being deserted. The Stage Company had run at a loss for the last two years, so we did not apply for another four year contract" (see Gallery, pg. 104).

The brick Hotel Ozanne and its annex, Ozanne House, functioned in concert with the Mountain Station Ranch as supper and breakfast stops, as well as optional overnight accommodations for through passengers. The Hotel Ozanne was located on the southeast corner of Carrizo and Livingston Streets, with the annex a block away at Carrizo and Harrison. Having run a successful White Oaks continental restaurant and bakery at least two, and possibly three, years prior to going into the hotel and stagecoaching business (Stanley n.d.:12; *White Oaks Golden Era* 1882:1), the Ozannes probably could make good on their boast that "Our facilities for supplying our table cannot be surpassed in White Oaks" (*Lincoln Republican* 1892:2).



Figure 58. Brass hotel key fob, late nineteenth century
(Jack and Chris Harkey collection; actual size).



Scale: 3/32 Inch = 1 Foot

Ozanne Stage Station
(Mountain Stage Stop)
LA 88315



Figure 59. Plan view of Ozanne Stage Station.

Alfred's father attempted to run a follow-on, thrice weekly passenger express service as the Ozanne Stage Line beginning in July 1894, but the business apparently failed and he began selling off the firm's assets by July of the following year (*Old Abe Eagle* 1894:4; Lincoln County Mortgage Deed Book D:242-243). Within 13 months, the Ozanne Stage Line's assets were gone (Lincoln County Bills of Sale, Book D:242-243; Socorro County Deed Book 41:600). The hotel, however, apparently continued to operate into this century (Adams and Adams 1983:ix, x, 6; Traylor and Runnels 1986:74).



Figure 60. Emile L. Ozanne with his children, Henry and Adeline, on the porch of the Jicarilla, NM, store (Garry Owen collection).

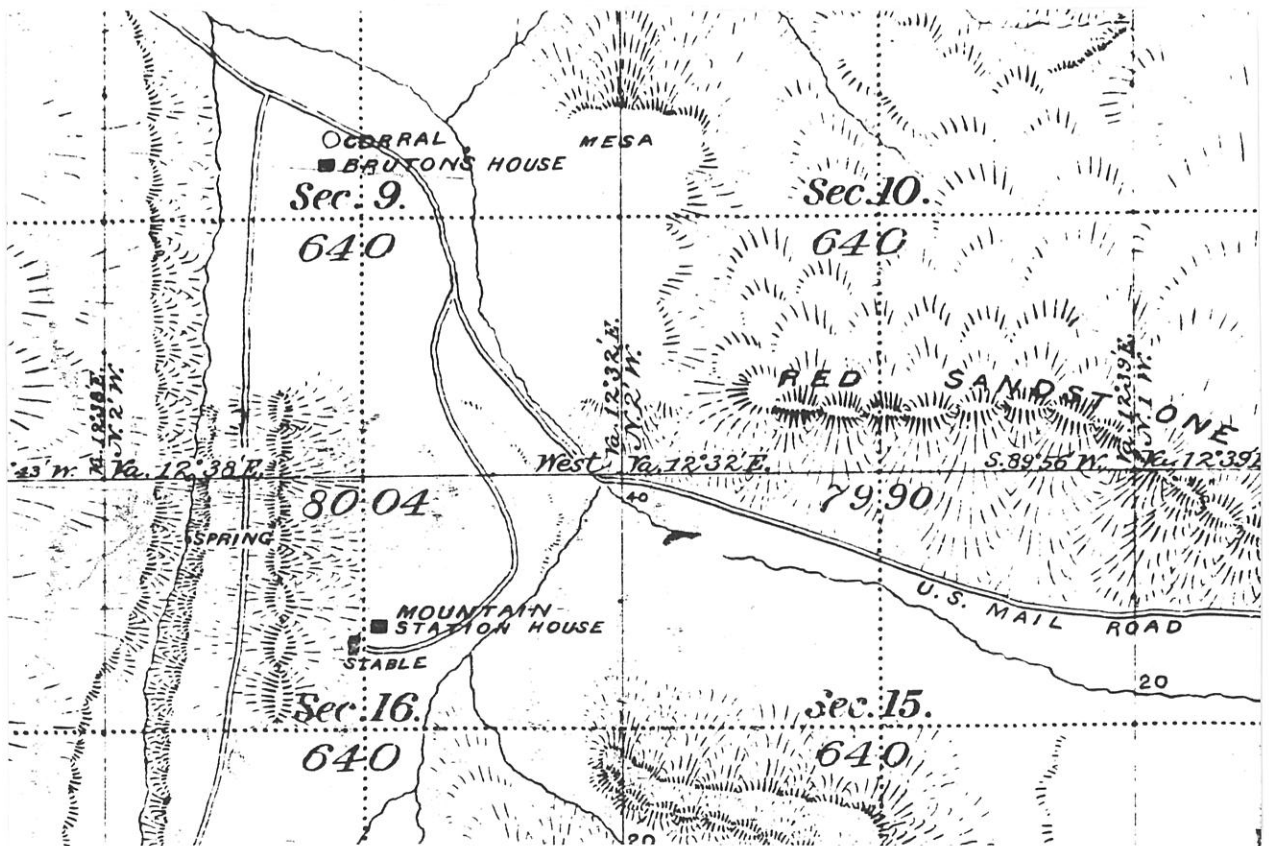
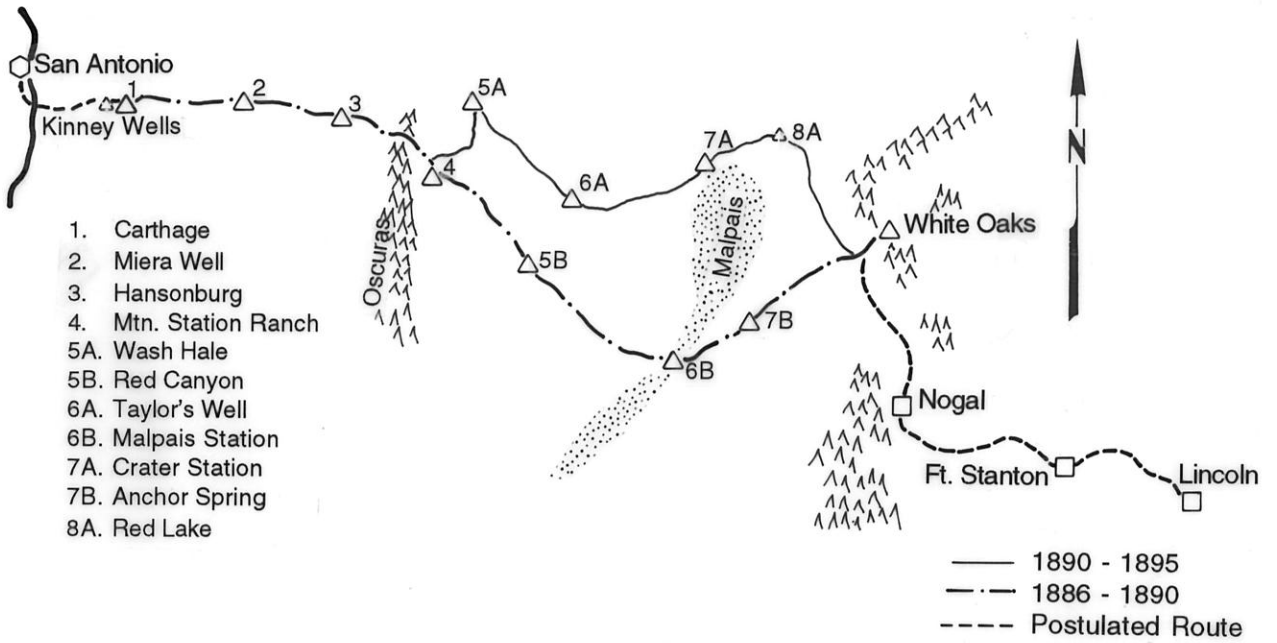


Figure 61. Schematic reconstruction of Ozanne Stage route, circa 1890 (top).
Ozanne Stage Station vicinity, U.S. Surveyor General Land Office records, 1890 (bottom).

Ozanne Mountain Station Ranch and Red Canyon Stage Stop

The Mountain Station Ranch was the most important station on the route between White Oaks and Carthage, San Antonio and Socorro. As a “home station,” there would have been a small blacksmith shop for repairs, food for man and beast, and overnight accommodations for passengers. A smaller “swing station” would customarily provide only a change of animals and water (Winther 1964:66)

The importance of the Mountain Station Ranch was underscored by junior partner Alfred Ozanne’s residence there. His father, the senior partner, ran the White Oaks office. Alfred and his new bride, the former Olive Rencher, lived at the Mountain Station Ranch for almost 2¹/₂ years, beginning in the spring of 1888. They are shown in Figure 62 standing on the front porch of the station. Expecting a child, they moved into White Oaks during the fall of 1890. Although she never again lived at the Mountain Station Ranch (she and Alfred built a fine brick home in White Oaks), Olive noted that Alfred “had to spend a good deal of time at the Ranch” (see Gallery, pg. 103).

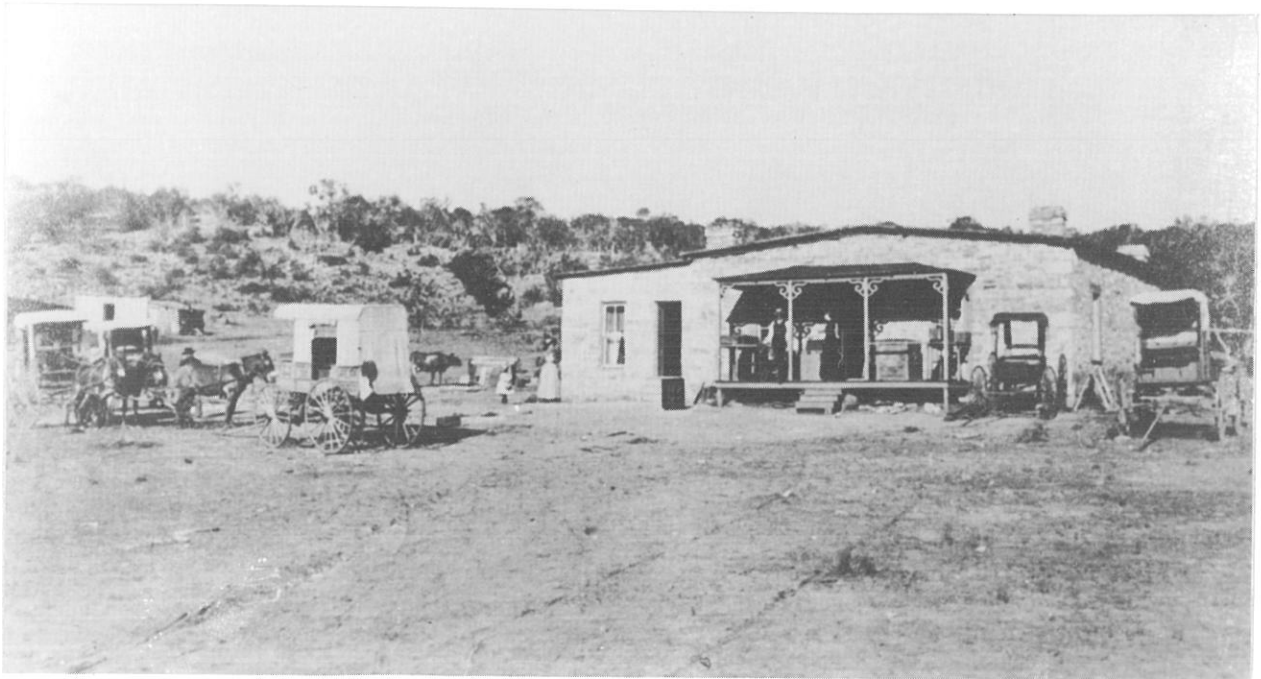
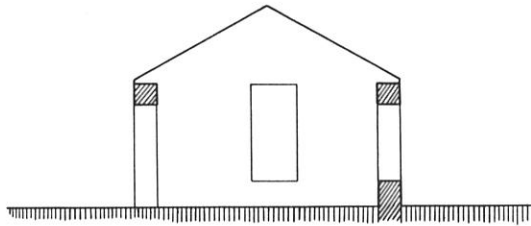
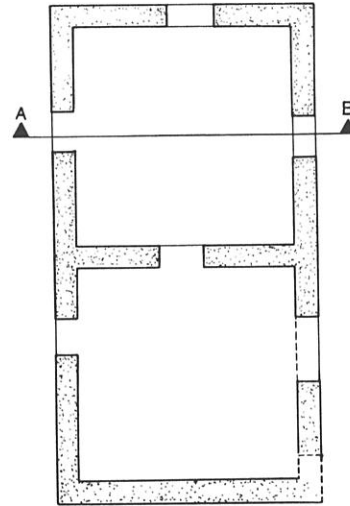


Figure 62. Ozanne's Mountain Station, circa 1890. Victorian porch trim is visible; five single-tree hacks are parked; a wagon-side (left foreground) reads: US MAIL—OZANNE STAGE LINE—CARTHAGE WHITE OAKS FT. STANTON LINCOLN (Garry Owen collection).



Plan and Section

Feature 1 Utility Structure ?
Red Canyon Spring
LA 50213



Feature 2 Residence

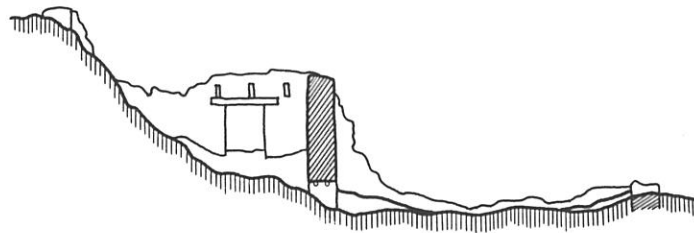
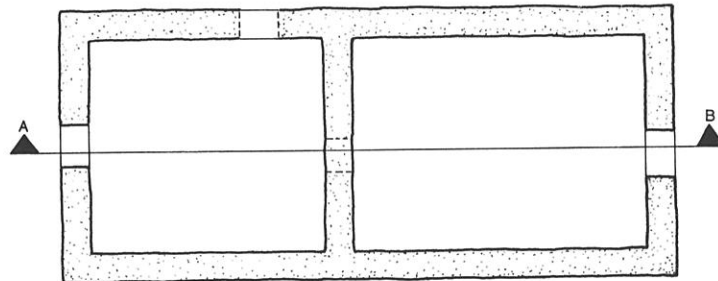


Figure 63. Plan views and sections of structures at Red Canyon Stage Stop.

Olive's first experience with Ozanne & Company was as a passenger. She wrote:

My first stop was at what was known as Ozanne's Ranch stone house where the drivers changed horses and ate. Mr. Ozanne's [Alfred] aunt, a widow with a small son, was housekeeper. After supper the mail went on but I did not care to ride all night with a Stage Driver and was glad to find that I could spend the night and go on to White Oaks the next day [see Gallery, pg. 102].

When she returned as Alfred's wife the following spring, she had a different perspective on the isolated location and difficulty in keeping help:

Mr. Ozanne's [Alfred] aunt was keeping house at the Ranch when we married and stayed on a year or two, but she had a boy who should be in school. I taught him to read before they left. After Auntie left the cooking was a nightmare. I was brought up in the south where everybody had negro cooks and I thought I had to have one, so through the wife of the store keeper who was from Texas I got one, but her stay was brief, she said it was lonesome, and I know it was. There were no negroes anywhere near and few white people. The nearest neighbor was 2 miles away and the next 10. A rancher from about 100 miles south came by on his way to the railroad to buy supplies. He had a negro truck driver, and when they came back by, Clorinda went with them. A short time after this we found a white woman from St. Louis. She was a smart woman and I learned a lot from her. and found out that my little white hands could do lots of things besides crochet and play the piano. And when our good cook found she could get a job in White Oaks cooking for a rich old man she left us and later married the old man.

After she left I took over. Breakfast and supper for the drivers, and if there were passengers, they had to be fed. Often they did not want to ride all night and I had to keep a couple of rooms to take care of that situation. Sheets and tablecloths to be washed added to my other duties made up a full time job. Someway I got it all in and had the opportunity to meet people from everywhere. A millionaire and his wife, the mayor of St. Louis and wife, and the Governor of New Mexico were among the important people who slept under our roof and shared our meals. We had been at the ranch about two and a half years when I became pregnant. [see Gallery, pg. 103]

The homestead claim on the Mountain Station Ranch, filed March 22, 1894, was denied. As Olive explained,

We found that the Ranch was located on unsurveyed land, and when the Government survey was made found that it was on school land [160 acres in center of T. 6S., R. 6E., S. 16] and we could not get a deed to the place though we had lived on it the required five years and had put thousands of dollars in buildings and improvements on the place. [Ozanne,1949:3]

Ever since the Northwest Ordinance of 1785, Section 16 of each surveyed township was set aside as a school section and the Ozannes had the misfortune to have filed on part of such a section. When Olive and Alfred left White Oaks, they returned to Olive's home state of Alabama.

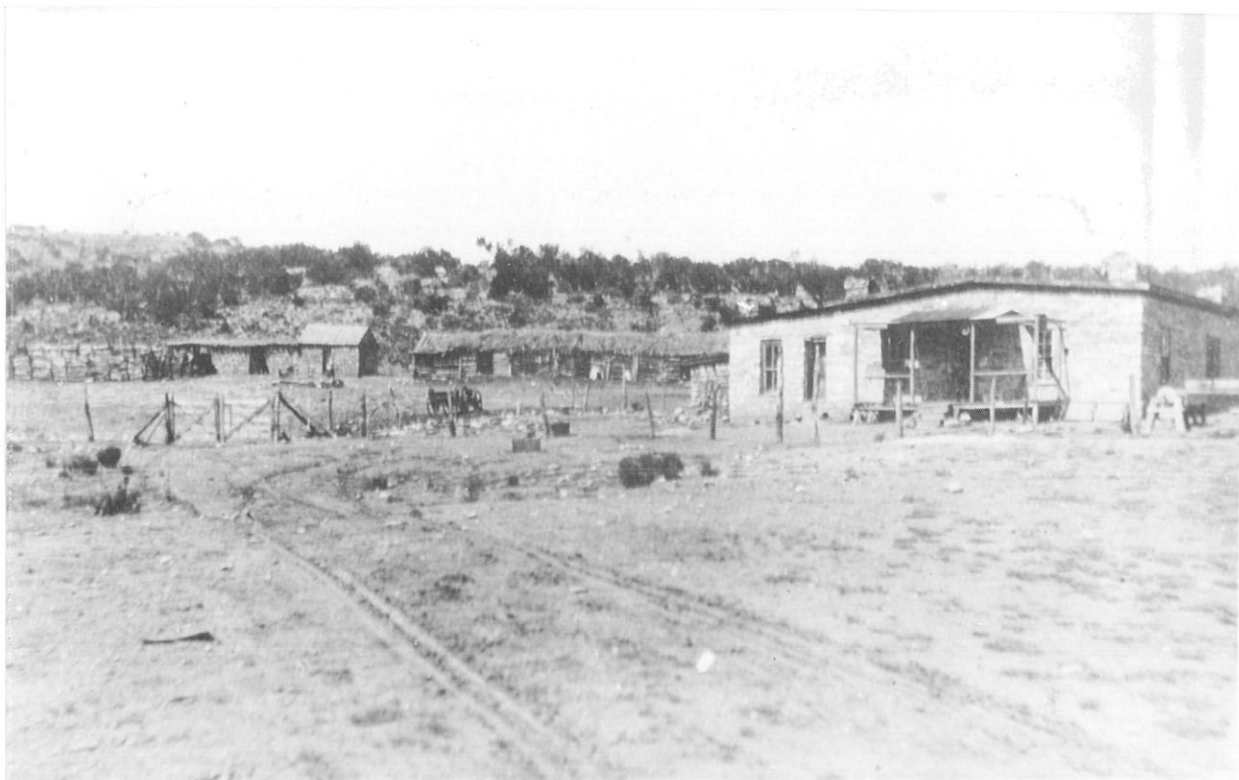


Figure 64. Ozanne Mountain Station , circa 1910, part of the Bruton Ranch. A round log corral, stone stables, and log barns are visible toward the rear.

Narratives About the Ozanne & Company Mail Line

During the summer of 1890, the *Lincoln County Leader* reflected that

Recent heavy rainfalls have made it difficult to get the mail through on schedule time. They may, if the rainfall continues, be compelled to perform by boat instead of stage. Their name is Eli and they will get there sure.

Heavy rainfalls, high water, and late mail apparently led to a formal Post Office Department complaint against Ozanne & Company. When a postal inspector came to investigate, he was driven along the edge of Duck Lake at the head of the Malpais after dark. He was thus able to certify that he had witnessed high water (Harman n.d.:2)!

During White Oaks' heyday, Colorado's *Rocky Mountain News* of May 29, 1892, devoted the cover page of an entire section to its allure. An artist's likeness of Urbain Ozanne is included, along with other White Oaks luminaries. The following observations on the Ozanne stage line were included: "It [White Oaks] is reached by the excellent stage line of Ozanne & Company . . . The distance is eighty miles and the ride is made in about sixteen hours in a light and comfortable hack."

Passengers seemed to find the trip more exhausting than the advertisements suggested. The Reverend Jacob Mills Ashley, an Englishman, wrote to a cousin the following description of his travels during 1888 to and from White Oaks with Ozanne & Company:

I left here March 24th at 7 a.m. for Carthage 96 miles by railway, preached there twice on the 25th, then on Monday 26th left there about 1 p.m. for White Oaks 90 miles. We had a full stage of passengers. We first crossed a range of low Mountains, then came to a vast shady plain, called the Journey of Death, because so many had perished on it for want of water. But 12 miles from Carthage a man has dug a well near 90 feet deep and here we watered horses and took water ourselves. This was the first place where a human being lived. We had not got more than three miles from there, when it commenced snowing and when we got to the next house 32 miles from Carthage at 9 o'clock at night, the snow was 6 in. deep. At this place we took supply, changed horses and at 10 o'clock were away on our route. The snow and darkness hid everything around us and the driver must have been well acquainted with the road, or he would not have found

his way over the Mountains and Lava beds. About 5 in the morning we reached the next stage station being about 7 hours going 30 miles. At that time it was blowing heavy gale and the snow blinding so we got breakfast and waited till 7 o'clock when there appeared a lull in the storm. We had not got more than 5 miles when it awoke again in all its fury. To make it worse, the track was covered with snow so deep, it was impossible to see where to drive. Remember this is a wild country, where there are no regular roads, and often deep ruts it was so dangerous to get into. Into one of these ruts at last we sank and it did seem as though we should have to remain there until the storm was over, if we lived so long. The gale was furious, the snow blinding, and the cold intense and no house or help for many miles. This was at an altitude of about 8,000 feet above sea level, hence the cold. After about two hours hard work we at last got out of the rut and on our way, and at about 1 o'clock came to the first farm house. Here we had to stop and feed the horses, for they were about worn out. While waiting here the wind went down and the storm cleared off and it became pleasant overhead. The roads, however, were bad and the snowdrift heavy. We rested here until about 4 p.m. and then started for the rest of our journey, 12 miles, which we reached between 7 and 8 p.m. being thus 30 hours on our journey of 90 miles.

It was the hardest and roughest journey, I have ever had in my life. I had intended to start back on Wednesday night, but on account of fatigue and bad roads, waited until Monday April 2nd. I preached twice and addressed the Sunday School on Sunday and left for home at 7 a.m. on Monday. It was a very pleasant morning and the evidence of the storm was all gone except water and mud holes here and there. We rode along nicely, saw thousands of cattle grazing here and there, and the Mountain tops in different directions covered with snow which they had been all the winter. Near noon we came to the first stage station. Here we got our dinner and changed horses. Soon we came to a scene, which would have filled you with amazement. At some previous history of the world, a volcano had belched out a black stream of lava, which had flowed down the Valley 30 miles or more and was from two to five miles wide. As it had cooled it had broken up into thousands of fantastic shapes, with deep pits and hollows, with rough rugged edges, that neither man nor beast could cross except in one place. There it was so rough that passengers generally preferred to walk the two miles across, rather than ride, for indeed it was dangerous for the stage in places. Having crossed this we had about 15 miles of plain, then came to the Oscuro (dark) Mountains, then it was climb up and down, thro' narrow passages and steep places such as you in England could

not conceive, that it was possible for a stage to go up or through. I must say that even with my experience in some places I was nervous. Well, at about 6 p.m. we reached the end of the day's journey and stopped at a stage station, which was hid in the foothills of the Mountain, far away from any other house. Here I took the opportunity of cutting some cacti for walking canes. I wish I had the opportunity of sending some to you, they would be a novelty. We stayed there until 7 o'clock the next morning, and for a miserable supper, bed, and breakfast paid 6/.

When off, in a few miles we were clear of the Mountains and again upon the 'journey of death.' For about 12 miles not a living thing to be seen as far as the eye could reach except now and then a bird. We then came to the well 12 miles from Carthage, here after watering our horses and filling our water bottles, we leisurely continued our journey, reaching Carthage in time to take the railway train and reached home at 1 o'clock the next morning.

Except soreness and stiffness I did not seem the worse for the journey there, but I have felt its effects since. [Ashley 1949:159-161]

During the 1930s, Albert Zeigler recalled his journey to White Oaks via an Ozanne & Company stage:

I left Socorro, New Mexico in December 1886, for White Oaks, New Mexico. I went by stage coach, which was a buck board drawn by two little Spanish mules. We left Socorro about ten o'clock in the morning and got to Ozanne's ranch, which was about half way between Socorro and White Oaks, about six o'clock in the evening. We had our supper there at the ranch and changed the team and started on the last half of the journey. It was a bitter cold night and we arrived at White Oaks about four o'clock in the morning. There were lots of sandy places on the road and at times the mules could only make about two miles an hour. It was a very cold and tiresome trip. [Lincoln County Historical Society 1994:154]

Since stage robberies were not unknown in New Mexico Territory, concern for possible bandit activity preceded the opening of Roswell's first bank in July 1890. Bank financial assets (\$36,000 in currency, silver, and gold), fixtures, furnishings, and four officers were transported from San Antonio to Roswell by Ozanne & Company; the bulky safe had been shipped earlier (Poe 1981:282-283). But the Albuquerque to San Antonio night train was late and the would-be bankers missed their connection to Carthage. Urbain Ozanne was

duly telegraphed and, with two four-horse rigs, picked the party up in San Antonio. The first night of the journey by wagon was spent at the company's Mountain Station Ranch; the second night in White Oaks; and a third night in Lincoln. Roswell was reached on the fourth day. Of this trip E.A. Cahoon later wrote: "As we were expected, I did not know what we might run up against, and we were pretty well 'heeled.' We were ready for any kind of trouble. However, nothing happened" (Poe 1981:283). The bank opened on schedule.

Surprisingly, Ozanne & Company apparently suffered no robberies during its eight-year operation of the route. Wm. Lane's stage line suffered holdups of both the eastbound and westbound stages at the head of the Malpais on October 7, 1896 (Lincoln County Historical Society 1994:18-19; Moorman 1964:335).

As the final days of the Ozanne & Company mail contracts approached, the *Old Abe Eagle* of June 28, 1894, had this to say about the mail contractor:

On Saturday next Mr. Ozanne, who for the past eight years has been performing mail service between San Antonio and Lincoln, will close his contract with the government. During the past eight years the patrons of the post office in this section of the country have been favored with a most excellent mail service under Mr. Ozanne, regardless of the elements, which had to be overcome during the rainy season and winter storms, and notwithstanding that the mail service has been performed for the last two years at a heavy loss to the contractor. It is hoped that his successor will maintain Mr. Ozanne's record. [*Old Abe Eagle* 1894:4]

Ozanne & Company's mail and passenger operations were of signal importance in the development of the Territorial mining frontier in south-central New Mexico. For an eight-year period, they provided communication between White Oaks and the outside world as well as commercial transportation to it. The communications link was the now-romantic stage line of old. And the stageline that would be remembered was Ozanne & Company, Carthage/San Antonio-White Oaks-Fort Stanton-Lincoln.

The Ozanne Mountain Station ranch remained in use long after the stages ceased to roll in 1899. It served primarily as ranch quarters and briefly as a post office during a mining boom (1906–1909) (Pearce 1965:115). It became part of the 200,000-acre Holm Bursum family ranch holdings. Holm Bursum originally started a sheep operation; by the 1920s, the owner had diversified into cattle as well (Holm Burson,

personal communication 1994; Eidenbach and Morgan 1996:xiii). Second- and third-generation New Mexico Bursums were temporarily removed from their land for the new White Sands Bombing Range during the Second World War (Corps of Engineers Acquisition Map 1947). Trinity Site, the location of the world's first atomic bomb test, is only 12 mi to the southwest. Later, the old stage station and ranch were permanently incorporated into the White Sands Proving Ground, to become White Sands Missile Range.



Figure 65. Ozanne Mountain Station , circa 1938, part of the Bursum Ranch (Holm Bursum III Collection).

REFERENCES

Abandoned Mine Land Bureau

- 1992 *Environmental Assessment, Carthage Project*. New Mexico Mining and Minerals Division, in cooperation with Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement, U.S. Department of the Interior, Project No. 35071. Albuquerque.

Adams, Clarence S., and Joan N. Adams

- 1983 *In the Shadow of the Malpais*. Privately printed.

Ashley, Jacob Mills

- 1949 Notes and Documents. *New Mexico Historical Review* 24(2):159-161.

Banning, Captain William , and George Hugh Banning

- 1928 *Six Horses*. The Century Company, New York.

Beckes, Michael R., David S. Dibble, and Martha Doty Freeman

- 1977 *A Cultural Resource Inventory and Assessment of McGregor Guided Missile Range*. University of Texas, Austin.

Brenner, William, and David Buchanan

- 1984 *Historic Properties Report: White Sands Missile Range, N.M. and Subinstallation Utah Launch Complex, Green River, Utah*. Building Technology, Inc., Silver Spring, Utah.

Breternitz, Cory Dale, and David E. Doyel

- 1983 *A Cultural Resources Overview and Management Plan for the White Sands Missile Range*. Soil Systems, Inc., Phoenix.

Corps of Engineers

- 1947 White Sands Bombing Range Acquisition Map. U.S. Army. In files of Human Systems Research, Inc., Las Cruces.

Current, Richard N.

- 1988 *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers: A Reinterpretation*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Dividend Mining and Milling Company

ca. 1905 *Mines and Mills at Estey City, N.M.* Investment prospectus (xerox in author's possession).

Duran, Meliha S.

1991 *Application for Registration, New Mexico State Register of Cultural Properties: Billing Smelter Site.* On file, Human Systems Research, Inc., Las Cruces.

Eidenbach, Peter L.

1989 *The West that Was Forgotten: Historic Ranches of the Northern San Andres Mountains, White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico.* Human Systems Research Report No. 8824. Tularosa, New Mexico.

1992 *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Estey City Historic Mining District.* Prepared by Human Systems Research, Inc., Las Cruces.

Eidenbach, Peter L., and Beth Morgan (editors)

1996 *Homes on the Range: Oral Recollections of Early Ranch Life on The U.S. Army White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico.* WSMR Archaeological Report No. 94-24. HSR Report No. 9333 and 9429. Human Systems Research, Inc., Tularosa, New Mexico.

Freeman, Martha Doty

1981 *An Assessment of the Historic Resource: A Regional Perspective.* In *A Cultural Resource Inventory and Assessment of Doña Ana Range, New Mexico*, by D.F. Skelton, M.D. Freeman, N. Smiley, J.D. Piggott, and D.S. Dibble, pp. 105-182. Research Report No. 69, Texas Archeological Survey, The University of Texas at Austin.

Haines, Helen

1891 *History of New Mexico.* New Mexico Historical Publishing, New York.

Harman, Roy

n.d. *White Oaks.* Roy Harman Collection, Carrizozo, New Mexico. Story related by Dave Jackson. Unpublished manuscript.

Hereford, Joseph P.

1994 Letter to Bob Hart, April 18, 1994. Human Systems Research Library Files, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

Hillerman, Tony (editor)

1991 *The Best of the West*. Harper Collins, New York.

Hough, Emerson

1905 *Heart's Desire: The Story of a Contented Town, Certain Peculiar Citizens, and Two Fortunate Lovers*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Human Systems Research, Inc., Staff

1991 *The Aerial Test Capability Project: an Archaeological Evaluation of the Jim Site and Fairview Alternatives, White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico*. Human Systems Research Report No. 9025. Tularosa, New Mexico.

1994 Transcripts of Interviews, the White Sands Missile Range (WSMR) Legacy Ranching Oral History Project. On file at HSR, WSMR, and the Rio Grande Historical Collections, Las Cruces.

Hutchinson, W. H.

1959 *A Bar Cross Liar*. Redlands Press, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Industrial Record

1901 Estey City a Marvel. *Industrial Record*, 2nd ed. Vol. 3, no. 25. El Paso.

Jewett, D. J. M. A.

1889 Letter to Maj. William Caffrey, published in *Lincoln County Leader* of October 5, 1889, in "Pioneer Stories," a collection of Works Project Administration Writers Project interviews and newspaper extracts, Lincoln County Historical Society, Lincoln, New Mexico. Unpublished manuscript. Partial publication of this manuscript as *Old Lincoln County Pioneer Stories: Interviews from the WPA Writer's Project*, Lincoln County Historical Society, 1994.

Jones, Fayette Alexander

1904 *New Mexico Mines and Minerals*. The New Mexican Printing Co., Santa Fe.

Justice Docket, White Oaks, Lincoln County, New Mexico

1883-1885 White Oaks Historical Association, White Oaks, New Mexico.

Keleher, William A.

1962 *The Fabulous Frontier: Twelve New Mexico Items*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Latin American Institute

- 1990 *El Camino Real*. University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. El Camino Real Project, Santa Fe.

Las Vegas Daily Optic

- 1881 January 7, 17, 22, 29; February 14, 16; April 16, 18; September 5. On file at Lincoln County Heritage Trust, Lincoln, New Mexico.

Laumbach, Karl W., and David T. Kirkpatrick

- 1985 *A Cultural Resource Inventory of the Southern Edge of the Chupadera Mesa: the Sgt. York Archaeological Project, Volume 1*. Human Systems Research Report No. 8503. Tularosa, New Mexico.

Lincoln County Historical Society

- 1994 *Old Lincoln County Pioneer Stories: Interviews from the WPA Writer's Project*. Lincoln County Historical Society, Lincoln, New Mexico.

Lincoln County Leader

- 1882 December 9. Lincoln County Courthouse, Carrizozo, New Mexico.

- 1890 June 14, August 2. Lincoln County Courthouse, Carrizozo, New Mexico.

Lincoln Independent

- 1889 October 25. Lincoln County Courthouse, Carrizozo, New Mexico.

- 1893 January 27. Lincoln County Courthouse, Carrizozo, New Mexico.

Lincoln Republican

- 1892 May 13. Lincoln County Courthouse, Carrizozo, New Mexico.

Meinzer, O. E., and R. F. Hare

- 1915 *Geology and Water Resources of the Tularosa Basin*. USGS Water Supply Paper No. 343, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Miller, Darlis R.

- 1982 *The California Column in New Mexico*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

The Mining World

- 1903 July. Vol. 19, no. 4.

Moorman, Donald R.

1964 Holm Bursum. *New Mexico Historical Review* 39(4):333-344.

Myrick, David F.

1970 *New Mexico's Railroads: A Historical Survey*. 2nd ed. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Oakes, Yvonne R.

1987 *Archaeological Survey of Mine Lands at Carthage, Socorro Co., N.M.* Laboratory of Anthropology, Note No. 412, Santa Fe.

Old Abe Eagle

1892 March 3. White Oaks Historical Association, Carrizozo, New Mexico.

1894 June 28. White Oaks Historical Association, Carrizozo, New Mexico.

Ozanne, Olive R.

1949 *The Ups and Downs or [sic] Eighty Years: Life Story of Mrs. A. J. Ozanne*. Unpublished manuscript, copy in Garry Owen Collection, Roswell, New Mexico.

Ozanne & Company

1888 Company flier, approximate date. Printed by Millison and Sons, Wichita, Kansas. From E.V. Long Collection, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Parker, Morris B.

1971 *White Oaks: Life in a New Mexico Gold Camp, 1880-1900*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Pearce, T. M.

1965 *New Mexico Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Peters, E. D.

1882 Notes on the Oscura Copper Fields, and Other Mines in New Mexico. *Engineering and Mining Journal*, November 18, 1882, pp. 270-272. From the files of Robert Eveleth, New Mexico Bureau of Mines, Socorro.

Pigott, John D., Nancy Kays Smiley, and Duford W. Skelton

1981 *A Cultural Resource Inventory and Assessment of Doña Ana Range, N.M.* University of Texas, Austin.

- Poe, Sophie
 1981 *Buckboard Days*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque . Originally published 1936.
- Rhodes, Eugene Manlove
 1917 *The Rhodes Reader, Stories of Virgins, Villains, and Varmints*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
 1975 *The Rhodes Reader, Stories of Virgins, Villains, and Varmints*, pp. 81-111, 157-171. 2nd ed., University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Rocky Mountain News*
 1892 May 29.
- Ruidoso News*
 1947 July 25.
- Sherman, James E., and Barbara H. Sherman
 1975 *Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of New Mexico*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Socorro Bullion*
 1884 June 1. vol. 2 no. 3.
 1887 February 19. vol. 4 no. 44. Lincoln County Heritage Trust, Lincoln, New Mexico.
- Sonnichsen, C. L.
 1973 *The Mescalero Apaches*. 2nd ed. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
 1984 *Outlaw: On the Dodge with Baldy Russell*. Swallow Press, Athens, Ohio. Originally published 1965, *Outlaw: Bill Mitchell alias Baldy Russell; his Life and Times*. Sage Books, Denver.
- Stanley, Father
 n.d. *The White Oaks Story*. Pampa Print Shop, Pampa, Texas.
- Stearns, Johnson
 1987 *The Carrizozo Story*. Private printing.
- Taylor, Morris F.
 1971 *First Mail West*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

- Thornton, W. T.
 1895 *Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Traylor, Herbert L., and Louise Coe Runnels
 1986 *The Saga of the Sierra Blanca*. Old-Time Publications Roswell, New Mexico.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census
 1975 *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part I*. Washington, D.C.
- Wallace, Andrew
 1975 Duty in the District of New Mexico: A Military Memoir. *New Mexico Historical Review* 50(3).
- Wallace, William S.
 1957 Stagecoaching in Territorial New Mexico. *New Mexico Historical Review* 32(2):204-213.
 1951 Short-Line Staging in New Mexico. *New Mexico Historical Review* 26(2):89-100.
- White Oaks Golden Era*
 1882 February 11. Lincoln County Heritage Trust, Lincoln, New Mexico.
 1884 January 25. Lincoln County Heritage Trust, Lincoln, New Mexico.
- Wilson, Chris, Stanley Hordes, and Henry Walt
 1989 *The South-Central New Mexico Regional Overview—History, Historic Archaeology, Architecture, and Historic Preservation*. New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, Santa Fe.
- Wilson, John P.
 1975 *Historical Profile of Southwestern New Mexico*. Cultural Resources Management Division Report No. 21. New Mexico State University, Las Cruces.
- Winther, Oscar Osburn
 1964 *The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

U.S. Bureau of the Census

1975 *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*,
Bicentennial Edition, Part 1. Washington, D.C.

Zimmerle, R. W.

1963 El Dorado's Ghost. *New Mexico Magazine* 41(9):24–25. Santa Fe.

