

**VICTORIO--HALFWAY FROM NOWHERE  
ON THE EL PASO AND SOUTHWESTERN:  
RESULTS OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING PROGRAM  
ALONG NM ROAD 9, LUNA COUNTY, NEW MEXICO**

**NATASHA WILLIAMSON**

**MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO**

**OFFICE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES  
ARCHAEOLOGY NOTES 183**

# MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO

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## OFFICE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

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by  
Natasha Williamson

Submitted by  
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Principal Investigator

## ARCHAEOLOGY NOTES 183

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SANTA FE

1998

NEW MEXICO

## ADMINISTRATIVE SUMMARY

At the request of the New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department (NMSHTD), and in conjunction with a proposed paving project on NM 9, an archaeological testing program was conducted at LA 44811, the former site of Victorio, a siding of the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad. Testing was carried out August 7-11, 1995, by Museum of New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies archaeologists Regge Wiseman and Natasha Williamson. Ten person-days were spent in the field and an additional two days spent conducting research at the archives of the EP&SW, which are held in the C. L. Sonnichen Library, University of Texas at El Paso.

Approximately 6 ha (14.83 acres) were included in the project, of which 2 ha were in the highway right-of-way and the remaining 4 ha under the management of the Bureau of Land Management, Las Cruces District, Mimbres Resource area, Luna County, New Mexico.

Thirty-five features were mapped and 371 artifacts recorded in the field. The boundaries of the site were redefined. Oral interviews and archival research were conducted. Recording and mapping have exhausted the research potential of the area within the right-of-way; however, it is recommended that the NMSHTD structure the paving project to cause minimal further disturbance to the cultural remains in the right-of-way, which were disturbed by a previous road realignment.

BLM Cultural Resource Permit No. 21-2920-95-S  
NMSHTD SP-OU-0009 (205)  
CN 2391  
J00122

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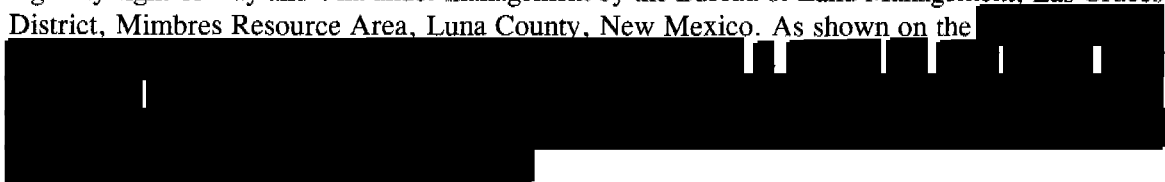
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## INTRODUCTION

At the request of the New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department (NMSHTD), and in conjunction with a proposed paving project on NM 9, an archaeological testing program was conducted at LA 44811, the site of Victorio, a siding and whistle stop on the former El Paso and Southwestern Railroad (EP & SW) (Fig. 1). Testing was carried out August 7-11, 1995, by the Museum of New Mexico, Office of Archaeological Studies archaeologists Regge Wiseman and Natasha Williamson.

Approximately 6 ha (14.83 ± acres) were included in the project area, with 2 ha in highway right-of-way and 4 ha under management by the Bureau of Land Management, Las Cruces District, Mimbres Resource Area, Luna County, New Mexico. As shown on the



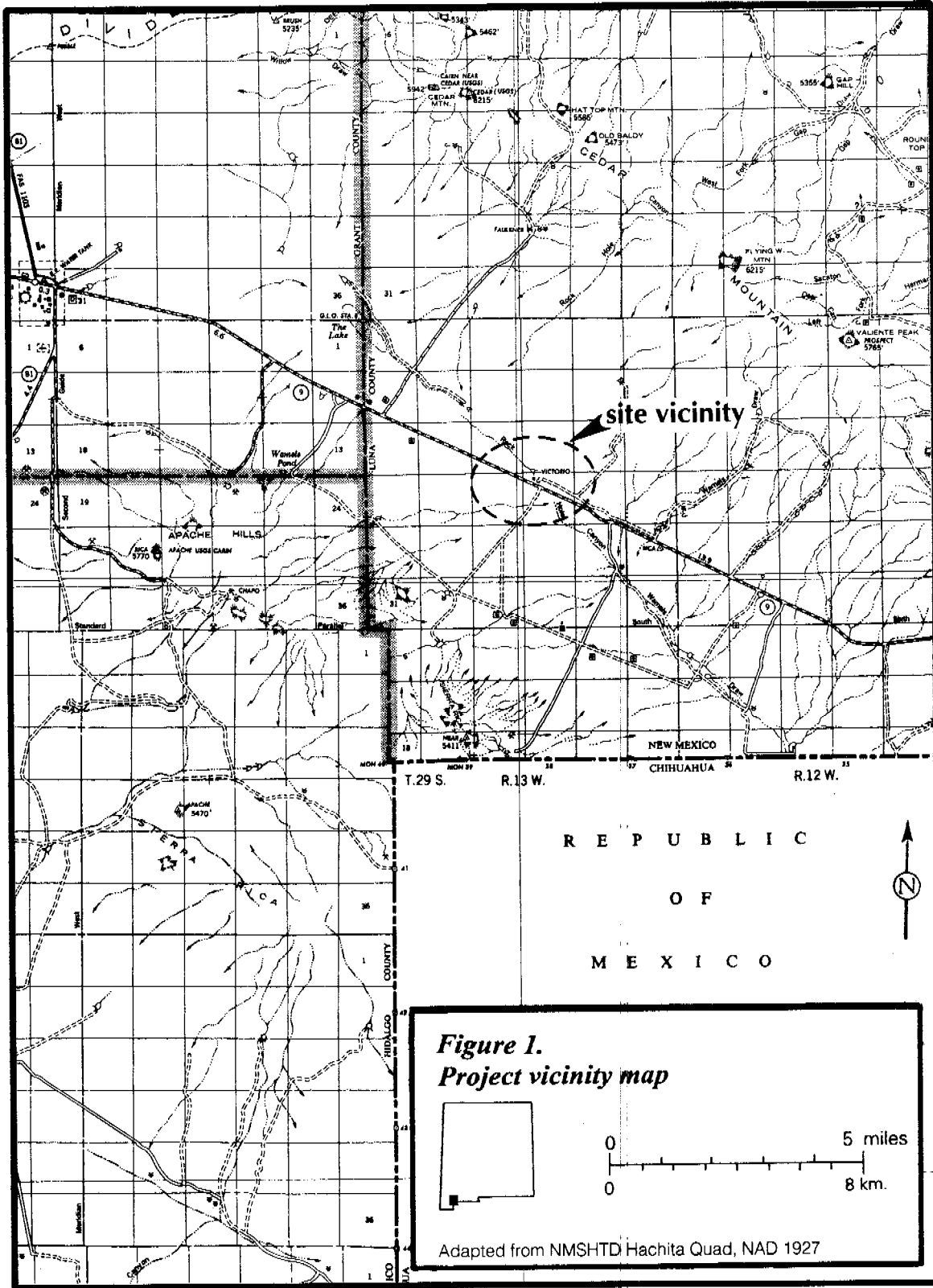
Thirty-five features were mapped and 371 artifacts were recorded in the field; 14 artifacts were collected for further study. The parameters of the site were also redefined. Oral histories were taken from area residents and former railroad workers. Census records and birth and death registers were consulted. Research was conducted at the University of Texas, El Paso, Special Collections at C. L. Sonnichen Library, where the archives of the Southern Pacific Railroad, which bought the EP & SW, are located, as well as the Richard C. Hagerty Collection.

Recording and mapping have exhausted the data potential of the right-of-way materials, which are all on the surface. However, it is recommended that the NMSHTD structure the paving project to cause minimal further disturbance to the cultural remains in the right-of-way. Because of its isolation, Victorio is a time capsule of life in the first three decades of the twentieth century, virtually unmixed with later debris.

The author wishes to express her appreciation to the residents of Hermanas and Columbus, who gave unstintingly of their time and knowledge, always with warmth and graciousness. I would also like to thank the dedicated volunteers at the Columbus Historical Society and the Deming Luna Mimbres Museum and Archives, especially Dolly Shannon, DLMM archivist, and Marilyn Elliott, curator of the Columbus Historical Museum. The staff of the Luna County Clerk's Office was also helpful and courteous.

Special mention should also be made of the Special Collections Department of the C. L. Sonnichen Library at the University of Texas at El Paso. This department contains several valuable collections, including the Southern Pacific Archives (MS 649), the Rio Grande Division (MS 077), which incorporates the El Paso and Southwestern archives; and the Richard C. Hagerty Collection (MS 306), which subsumes the Margaret Stephenson Collection and the Frank P. Roesch papers. In the interest of brevity, these collections are referred to as SP or Hagerty, followed by the box and file numbers.

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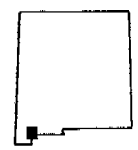
T.27 S

T.28 S.

T.29 S. R.13 W. R.12 W.

R E P U B L I C  
O F  
M E X I C O

Figure 1.  
Project vicinity map



0 5 miles  
0 8 km.

Adapted from NMSHTD Hachita Quad, NAD 1927

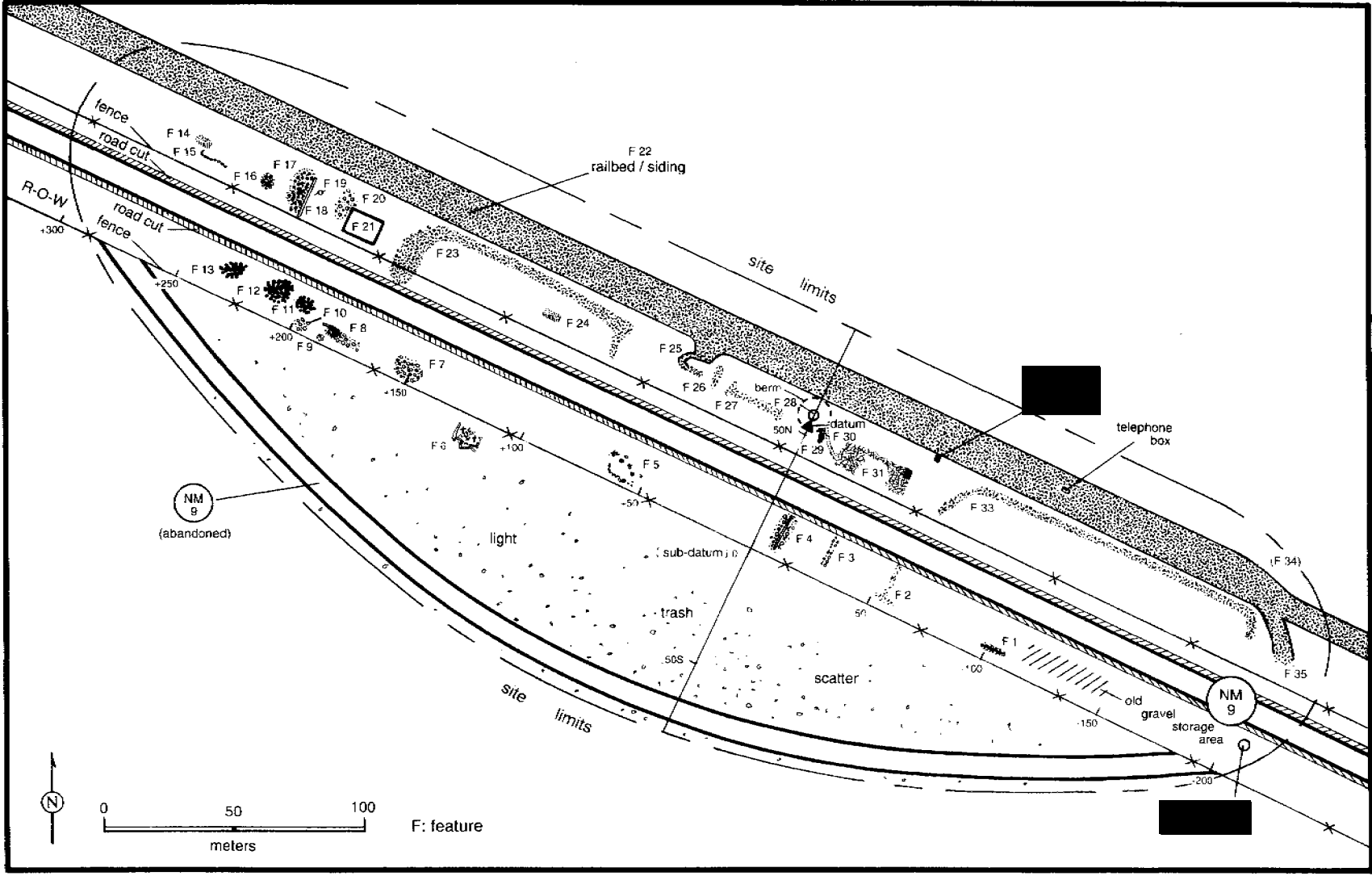


Figure 2. LA 44811, site map.



## PROPOSED ACTION

The New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department plans to pave the remaining dirt portion of NM 9 between Hachita and Hermanas. Construction activities may affect portions of the site lying within the right-of-way, but these can be minimized by placing turn-outs or material dumps outside of the site area. Cultural remains within the right-of-way are all on the surface and most are trash scatters which have been inventoried. The features that are not trash scatters are material piles, usually of rock, slag or coal, which have been mapped. Increased traffic may result from paving the road, but as the traffic load is light and almost exclusively of local origin, it should present minimal disturbance.

It may be pointed out that a previous road project, involving the straightening of NM 9, seriously impacted the site. Fortunately the site was recorded prior to that work (Clifton 1983), which has facilitated the task of interpreting the cultural remains (Fig. 3).

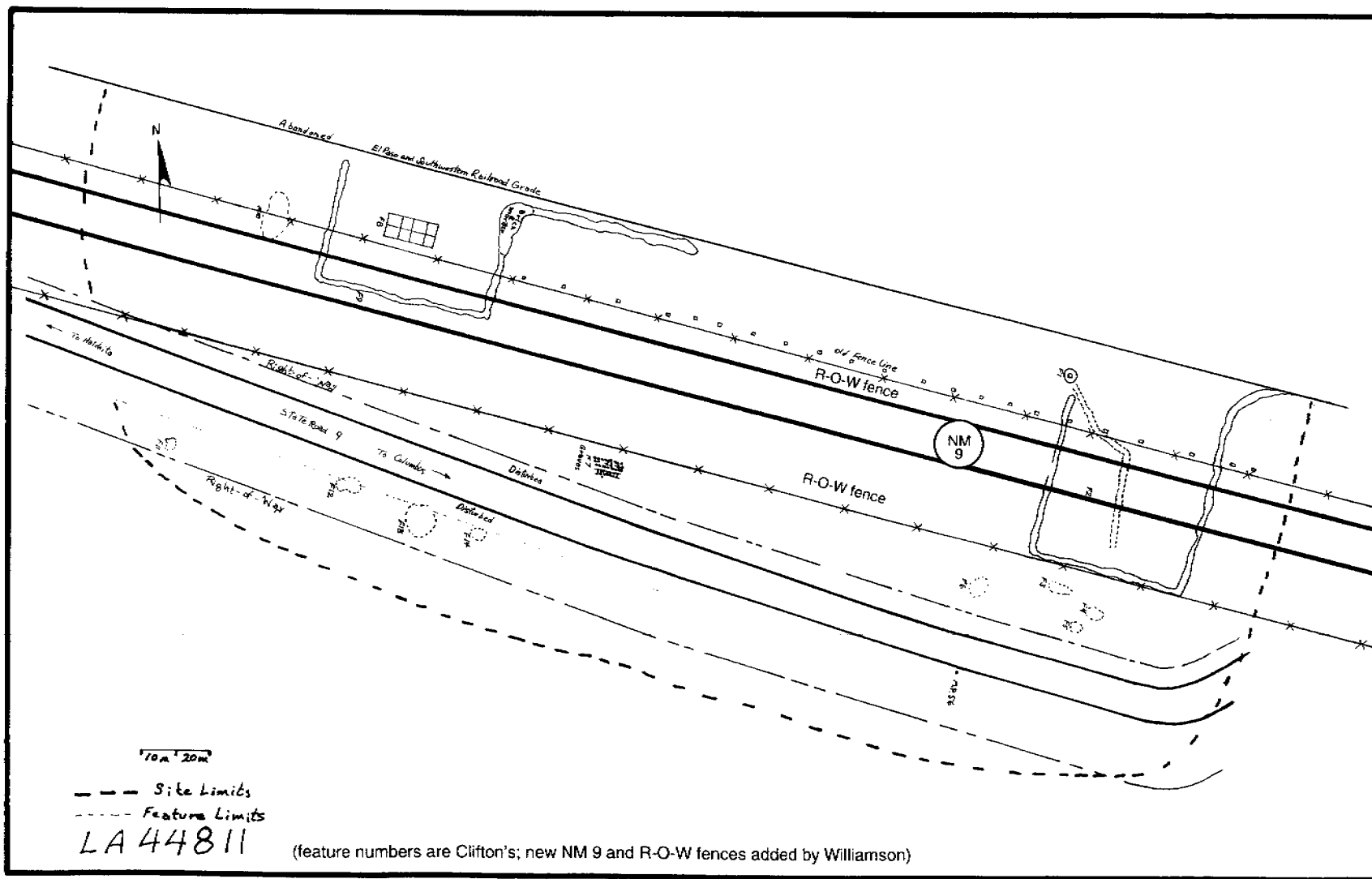


Figure 3. 1983 map of Victoria, with present alignment of NM 9 superimposed (adapted from Clifton 1983).

## LOCATION

\_\_\_\_\_ was well within the site, as both Clifton's map (Fig. 3) and the old milepost, now isolated on the south side of the road, show. The 1980's realignment caused Milepost 56 to fall farther east, essentially at the eastern edge of the site today. The elevation of Victorio is 4,575.8 ft (1,394.7 m) above sea level.

An interesting historical note is that on the 1918 USGS 15' Victorio Quadrangle map, the township and range system had not yet been extended into the area.

### Environment

The terrain is a flat, creosote-bush-covered plain. Small mesquite trees occur singly throughout the creosote. Grass is exceedingly sparse. The grade, as shown on the Trackmaster's map of 1918 (Fig. 4, SP, Box 3, File 17), varies from 0 percent to 0.8 percent, which explains why the EP & SW was able to build the line so quickly. The railroad was sited through a gap between the south end of the Cedar Mountains and the Carrizalillo Hills. For the length of the project area, and beyond to the west, the line parallels the Cedar Mountains.

The entire southwestern slope of the Cedar Mountains drains toward Victorio, with much of

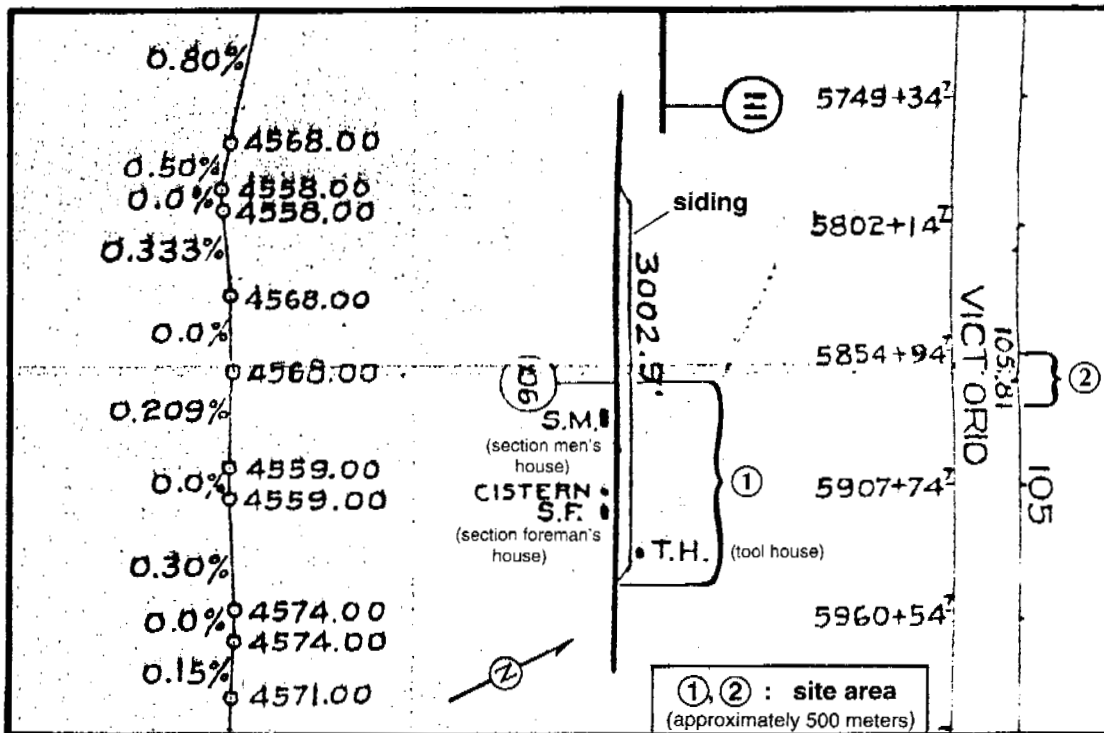


Figure 4. Adapted 1918 Track Chart of Victorio.

the water coming as sheet wash. The large berm 300 m north of Victorio, although later in construction, was evidently an attempt to divert the water from the track bed. (The berm is presently used as a ranch road.) Washouts were a constant problem in this dry country (Gutierrez, pers. comm., July 1995). Simpson's Draw, about 2 miles (3.22 km) south and 15 miles (24.14 km) east of Victorio, was the scene of many washouts and at least one spectacular accident. This wooden trestle was the Achilles heel of the EP & SW, sited as it was immediately downstream from the confluence of the Hermanas, Cox, and Simpson draws, which together drain much of the eastern side of the Cedar Mountains.

The nearest named drainage to the west is Rock Hole Canyon, which may have been rerouted by the railroad, as both USGS maps (USGS 7.5' Victoria Ranch Quadrangle, 1918 and 1927, see Appendix 2) show it ending north of the track and beginning again south of it, although the 1918 map does not show as extensive a course north of the site, nor the large pond or tank in which it presently ends. To the east is Wamel Draw, which also drains from the Cedar Mountains in a southwesterly direction, then, just south of Victorio at Wamels Upper Pond, turns and heads east.

## PRIOR RESEARCH

There are no sites recorded in the New Mexico Cultural Resource Information System (NMCRIS) within several kilometers of LA 44811. There has been a pattern of isolated prehistoric finds in the area (Marshall 1995; Evans 1992; Michalik 1993; Clifton 1983), and, in fact, one cortical flake of chalcedony was found in Victorio during testing.

Clifton (1983) was the first to record Victorio, prior to the realignment of NM 9, giving it the LA number 44811. However, the EP & SW line is the only railroad line in the state to have one number, LA 69111, which runs the entire length of the track. Other investigators have noted that fact but ignored it, calling the portion of the track at Victorio part of LA 44811. Michalik (1993) rerecorded the site, more than doubling the site area by ascribing siding status to the large water-spreading berm 300 m north of the site (Fig. 5). The berm was constructed between 1946 and 1950 by a dragline process (Johnson, pers. comm., August 1995), long after Victorio had been abandoned. The Civilian Conservation Corps also did work in the area, using a D-9 Caterpillar with a blade on the back. Thus the berm is only arguably a part of the site, but it certainly is not a siding, as Figure 4 makes clear.

Clifton's 1983 site map (Fig. 3) was made before the road was straightened but will be discussed under the Site Description section of this report, as many changes are evident between 1983 and 1995. For illustration purposes, the present alignment of NM 9 is shown on Clifton's map. There is about a 50-ft variance between the two maps.

The only contemporary map of Victorio (Fig. 4) shows a 3,002.9 ft siding. The eastern end of the siding is near Milepost 56, but artifacts thin out well before the western end is reached. For practical purposes the site is 500 m in length. There is a thin scatter of artifacts along the old road alignment, some of which may be redeposited from Victorio dumps. Clifton (1983) showed four dumps south of the old road, but the present recording effort found only a continuous scatter on the north side of the old road. However, the area south of the old road was not given consideration as it is outside of the present project area. A few of these artifacts may be somewhat later in time than Victorio itself.

It should be remembered that there was no east-west road in the area at the time Victorio was first inhabited. What roads there were ran south, into Mexico (Robertson 1986). The extreme southwestern part of New Mexico was thus not tied into the major trade networks of the United States, until the railroad essentially reinforced the international boundary and gave easy access to the western and eastern markets. The east-west road was built by 1917, however, as shown on the 1918 USGS Quadrangle. One informant states that the road was put in by "World War I trucks with blades on the front." The road may have been considered necessary to the war effort. After the Villa raid on Columbus in 1916, there were great numbers of troop movements along the border.

Michalik (1993) also recorded trash scatters along both sides of the track. The present recording effort found virtually no artifacts north of the tracks. However, very little time was spent on that area, because, again, it lies outside of the project area.

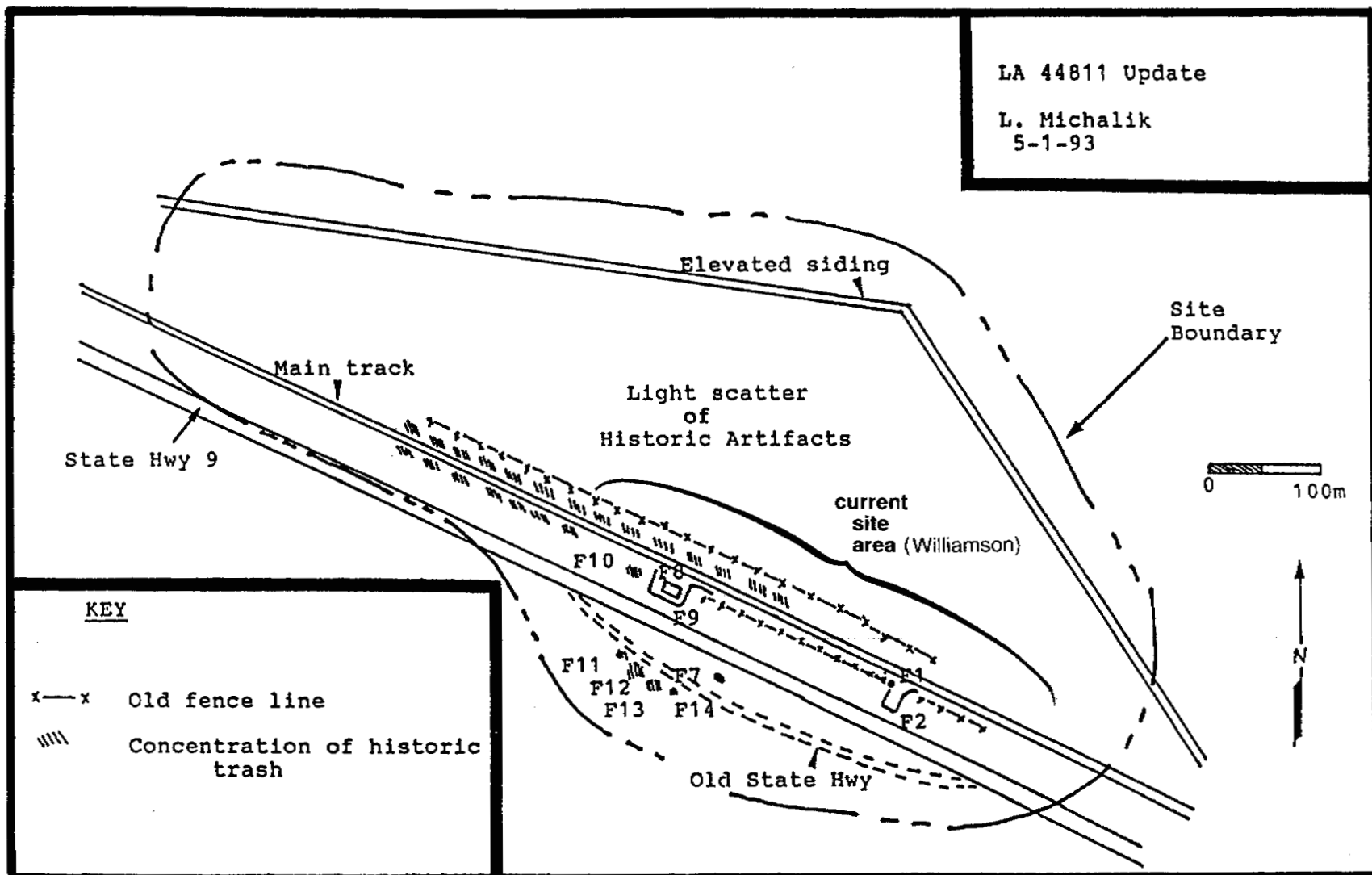


Figure 5. 1993 map of Victorio (adapted from Michalik 1993).

Previous recorders have ascribed an age range of 1901 to 1964 to the site, based on the railroad's dates in the area. However, the artifact analysis clearly shows occupation to have ended by the mid 1930s; this is supported by an informant's statement that the houses were removed in 1934 or 1935.

## SITE DESCRIPTION, LA 44811

Victorio was a section unit of the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad and was inhabited from circa 1901 to circa 1935. A section unit was the organizational unit responsible for a certain section of the track, usually 15 miles. The only structures present were a section men's house, a section foreman's house, a cistern, and a tool house (Fig. 4, Track Chart 1918), although our local informant stated that there were also two "motor houses," presumably installed after the 1918 map was produced. A cemetery containing three crosses and what may be the remains of a fourth is also present, which does not appear on the Track Chart (Fig. 4). With the exception of the former tool house location, all located structures and features are south of the track bed.

The houses were made of brick, perhaps stuccoed like the section house in Columbus, but were removed "in 1934 or '35." Our informant, as a small child, remembers watching the removal: "They put the houses on the cars and took them away." The removal would have been accomplished by the Southern Pacific Railroad (SP), since it occurred after 1924, when SP leased the EP & SW. There is enough brick on the site to suggest that at least one of the houses did not survive the move intact. However, the foundation is missing for the section foreman's house, so perhaps the entire slab, with house, was removed. The location is marked by a cinder-covered yard and a barren spot where the house once stood.

There are also two features, Features 25 and 35, that do not appear on the Track Chart. Both are ramps; Feature 25 also possessed a platform that adjoined the track. Feature 25 at one time had rails on the platform. Feature 35 is at the extreme eastern end of the site, just where the track bed widens for the siding. There is enough concrete piled around Feature 35 that it may have had a platform at one time, although we did not determine whether it, too, had rails. These may have been related to the "motor houses" (see figures and descriptions below).

Fourteen of the features are rock alignments or slag piles, or combinations of slag, rock, brick, or concrete. Feature 1 is a pushed pile of rock and dirt that may be the result of highway construction activities rather than the railroad. The highway has cut through features that were formerly intact. This was not always apparent until after the fragments had been mapped and given feature numbers of their own. Features 2 through 4 are remnants of the wall (Feature 33) around the section foreman's house and a walkway (Features 3 and 30) inside the wall. Likewise, certain features on the southwest corner of the site are related to the wall formerly enclosing the section men's house.

The rest of the features are trash or coal scatters, with the exception of Feature 29, which is the backdirt from the cistern excavation, and Feature 32, which is a USGS benchmark.

The value of Victorio lies in the fact that it is a "pure" site, that is, containing virtually no contamination from later time periods, especially that portion of it lying north of the right-of-way fence. All artifacts date from circa 1900 to 1934. The section men's house midden, Feature 18, would certainly repay further work, as its direct association with the laborers' quarters insures that it would yield data about lifeways and subsistence patterns of railroad laborers, beyond what this testing program revealed.



## LA 44811 Feature Descriptions

All features effectively lie within and north of the remnants of the old alignment of NM 9, which formerly curved around Victorio. [REDACTED] on the present NM 9 lies [REDACTED] of the site datum, just east of where the old alignment reenters the present one on a magnetic north azimuth (MNAz) of 87 degrees.

Thirty-five features were recorded, of which thirty-four are related to the railroad. The other, Feature 32, is a USGS survey marker. Originally 36 features were recorded, but on reflection, Feature 35, a telephone box (see Fig. 23), was downgraded to an artifact. It is lying on its side and the original location is unknown.

Occasionally features are referenced to others across NM 9.<sup>1</sup> More complete information on the artifactual contents of each feature may be found in Appendix 1.

### *South Side, East End*

**Feature 1** (-100S/4.5N) is a rock and dirt pushed pile, more likely related to the highway than the railroad. It is 8.5 m long and 3.5 m wide. This attribution is strengthened because a large scraped area that was probably a gravel storage area lies to the east (-115S to -145S/6 to 15N). However, it is also aligned with Feature 2.

**Feature 2** (-45.5S /4N) is a rock alignment in the shape of a "T" with the longer leg perpendicular to the highway, and the shorter one parallel to the south right-of-way fence. It is 4 m north of the fence. The main pile is 2 m wide, and was thought to represent a continuation of the west end of Feature 33 on the north side of the site. Clifton's map confirms that this was the case.

**Feature 3** (-29S/6N to 19N) is a rock-outlined path (Fig. 6), 1.2 to 1.3 m wide, running perpendicular to, and truncated by, the road. Clifton's map (1983) showed the path connecting with the walkway from the cistern, and going by the section foreman's house at an angle.

**Feature 4** (-9S/5N to 20N) is a berm of rock 1 to 1.4 m wide and 15 m long (Fig. 7). The first major trash scatter occurs on either side and atop the berm. Again, Clifton's map (1983) indicates this feature was once part of a wall around the section foreman's yard. The trash scatter may indicate a slightly different disposal pattern from that practiced at the laborers' quarters, or the scattering may have been caused by the 1980's road realignment.

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1

Note: Location is indicated by two sets of numbers separated by a slash. The primary site datum is a rebar placed by the cistern, the most permanent feature of Victorio. Secondary site datum is a rebar placed by the south right-of-way fence, on a line 180 degrees from the primary datum. A plus sign indicates meters *west* of the site datum. A minus sign in the first number refers to meters *east* of site datum. Numbers preceding the slash but followed by S refer to the south side of NM 9. The second location number, which is always followed by an N, refers to meters north of the respective right-of-way fence, whether that fence is on the north or south side of the road.

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## MATERIAL CULTURE

With 14 exceptions, all artifacts were recorded in the field. However, not all the artifacts present were recorded individually. Nondiagnostic glass was usually ignored, and not all cans were recorded individually. Can recording was limited to size, labeling, and method of closure. While can technology is a useful dating tool, such effort was unnecessary here, as archival research provided better dates. Most cans are indeterminate as to contents and thus to analytical category. It may be noted here that one large can with "poorly" soldered seams was found. Such technology is generally accorded a phase-out date of 1890, which would predate the site. Several possibilities are suggested: the technology may have lingered on in Mexico, the size of the can may imply the contents lasted a long time, or the can may have been reused.

A complete list of artifacts recorded is found in the Appendix 1. In all, 371 artifacts were recorded, with 26.14 percent of those in the Unidentifiable category (n = 97). The majority of the unidentified artifacts were glass shards (n = 64), probably from bottles. They are considered unidentified because there is no way to ascertain whether the contents were related to foodstuffs, indulgences, or industrial products. Cans without distinguishing marks were noted, but only rarely counted. Had there been time to count all of the cans, the unidentified category would have been significantly larger, as conceivably so could the Foodstuffs category.

The northwest portion of the site has intact midden deposits from the section men's house; no such area was found for the section foreman's house. Although the realignment of NM 9 has obscured the picture somewhat, it may be that there were two, or even three, different patterns of trash disposal at the site. The foreman's house inhabitants seem to have practiced carrying the trash to the far end of the yard or tossing it over the wall and dumping it in discrete piles. While some trash at the west end of the site was also dumped in this fashion, especially cans, the bulk of the domestic trash seems to have been put outside the wall, forming a discrete midden. This may have been the result of housecleaning activities rather than specific trash dumping. One piece of evidence to support different disposal patterns is that, with the exception of the Japanese wares at the cistern, no Domestic category artifacts appear on the northeast side of the site. In fact, the only artifacts not related to the "business" of the site were several fragments of Dr. Kilmer's patent medicine bottles.

No red ware ceramics appeared on the section foreman's side of the site. Red ware ceramics in Victorio were terracotta or of Mexican manufacture, which supports the Mexican character of the workmen. Red ware sherds appeared in three places: the section men's house midden, by the wall which formerly extended around the men's house and on the south side of the road near the west end of the site. The glazed ceramic pipe fragments found on the site were also a red paste, but are easily distinguished and were excluded from other artifact classes. Some pieces of the red ware may be fragments of a glazed tile; others may have belonged to "souvenir" type artifacts. The letters "-ula-" painted on one sherd suggest this. All the red ware was glazed on at least one side, usually both.

Otherwise, the ceramics revealed no status difference. The only piece of gilded and painted ware was found on the southwest side of the site, admittedly not as tightly provenienced to the workingmen's area as the northwest quadrant would have been. In fact, only two ceramic patterns were found on the east side of the site, one a cobalt blue and pink sponge ware, and the other a very fine (probably decal) pattern of pink roses and gray ferns connected by square link chain segments. The same person could have owned both, however several families occupied the foreman's house.

On the section men's side, an ivy pattern and a few pieces of what may be railroad china were found. The railroad china was white ware pattern with two green stripes, which is at least similar to a pattern known to have been used by the Southern Pacific. Another white ware with orange stripes was also present. The Homer Laughlin Hotel Brand sherd could conceivably be railroad issue as well, but no record has been found of what type of china the El Paso and Southwestern used. The absence of any definite railroad ceramics is a little surprising, but implies that the employees were responsible for their own domestic supplies.

One vitrified porcelain cup fragment is the most puzzling of the artifacts. It had been reused for some unknown purpose (assay crucible?) that left at least two different residues spattered on both surfaces. One appeared metallic and one resinous, but solvent testing by the Conservation Laboratory at the Museum of New Mexico was unable to identify the substances. Whatever the use was, the residues occurred either at the time of breakage, or afterward.

Only six items were recorded under Economy and Production. All are ammunition: three .45 and one .38 caliber and two .12 gauge shotgun shells. The shotgun shells may have been used in bird or rabbit hunting, which may have supplemented the inhabitants' diet. The .45 and .38 cartridges were more likely used on rattlesnakes, which are still the dominant life form in Victorio. The shotgun shells and .38 cartridge were found on the west side of the site and the .45 cartridges on the east, or foreman's side.

The .38-.40 caliber WRA cartridge was originally a rifle round but Colt quickly began chambering a revolver for it. Introduced in 1874, it hit its peak of popularity around 1920 and declined thereafter, being discontinued in 1937. It is currently offered as a revolver load only. This time frame implies that the cartridge was used by the inhabitants of Victorio. The others may or may not have been, but a .12 gauge is a suggested bore for anything from quail to black bear if loaded with a rifled slug (Barnes 1985:326). Both would be popular with someone who had only one weapon. The .45, on the other hand, has enjoyed unbroken popularity since 1873. It was also an official Army cartridge from 1875 to 1892. The cartridge cases are well patinated, which is their only real indication of age. Two of them had been forced together so thoroughly that they have resisted all efforts to pry them loose.

Considering the amount of construction and destruction that went on in Victorio, the Construction and Maintenance category is surprisingly small, only 10.78 percent. No spikes were recorded and only a few incidental nuts and bolts would betray the railroad origin of the site. Of course the vast bulk of the site is actually devoted to maintenance, as the huge slag piles testify; but, although slag was included in the analysis, there was no way to capture it beyond noting its presence. Likewise, brick was also noted but not counted.

Due to the peculiarities of the analysis system, coal appears in the unidentified category. Coal appeared in quantity in Features 17 and 18, the section men's midden and yard, which would certainly argue that it was being used as a domestic fuel. Features 7 and 8 also had considerable coal, with the coal in Feature 8 appearing as a heap on the end of an associated trash pile. Features 11, 12, and 13 are fairly uniform, large piles of coal, each between 8 and 9 m long. Interestingly, the only place coal was recorded on the east end of the site was in Feature 3, the walkway to the foreman's house, suggesting coal was hand-carried there from the storage piles at the far western end of the site.

Coal would have been the fuel of choice in Victorio for two reasons. There is virtually no wood to burn, except mesquite roots, a fuel reportedly (Henderson n.d.) used by people without

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present; one was a two-octave model. The marble is a small one of unglazed clay, which has not been manufactured since about 1919. They were occasionally produced at home, which this one could have been. It is the exact color of the Victorio soil and lacks somewhat in roundness. A portion of what is probably a large china doll head was also recorded, but as an unidentified artifact.

One unusual bottle finish was found (Fig. 24). The indentations below the lip are probably a function of the carrying device between various stages of manufacture. They are sometimes found on bottle bases now, but this location is previously unrecorded.

### Brand Names and Manufacturers

Fifteen manufacturers and 16 brands were recorded for Victorio, which underscores the importance of the railroad in bringing new products to the state. It probably also underscores Victorio's total dependence upon the railroad for supply.

Manufacturers include Winchester, Colt and Peters (shotgun shells), Hazel-Atlas Glass Co., Alfred Meakin (china), and the following unique to Victorio: Homer Laughlin, and Knowles, Taylor, Knowles (china), La Clede of St. Louis (fire brick), Glass Containers Inc., Illinois Pacific Coast Co. (glass), Hill Brothers (coffee), Turner Bros (glass), Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Co., Trump and Hooper (wood stove), Brockway Glass Co., A. H. Heisey Glass Co., Knox Glass, and American Bottle Co. In the case of the Trump and Hooper mark, the first letter of the second name is illegible although it may be a "B". It is included because of the likelihood that it will be correctly identified in the near future.

In the following discussion all glass dates are from Toulouse (1971).

The Adolphus Busch mark was in use from 1904 to 1907; this artifact also bears the numeral 6, which may imply manufacture in 1906. The plant produced only hand-finished bottles, even in crown tops.

AB Co. is the American Bottle Co. of Chicago. Formed by a merger of three other firms, including Streator and Adolphus Busch, it was in business as an independent from 1905 to 1916 and as a part of Owens from 1917 to 1929. This artifact also bore "A 23." The letters stood for various plants; numbers changed yearly, so this bottle was probably made in 1923. Unfortunately, which plant is not so clear. The Streator works are known to have used an "S," Newark used an "N" and all the other plants had been closed by 1923, according to Toulouse (1971:30-33). Perhaps the remaining plants used multiple letters, or used molds from the other plants. At that time, there were 23 glass tanks and 48 bottling machines, so it is conceivable that the number 23 referred to a glass tank. By 1917 there was no more hand work; everything was produced on the Owens automatic bottle machinery (ABM). Thus, although the fragment recorded here gave no indication of its manufacturing technique, we can be confident in assigning it to the ABM if the number is accepted as a year date.

By 1905, the Illinois Glass Company (in business from 1873 to 1929) performed the rather

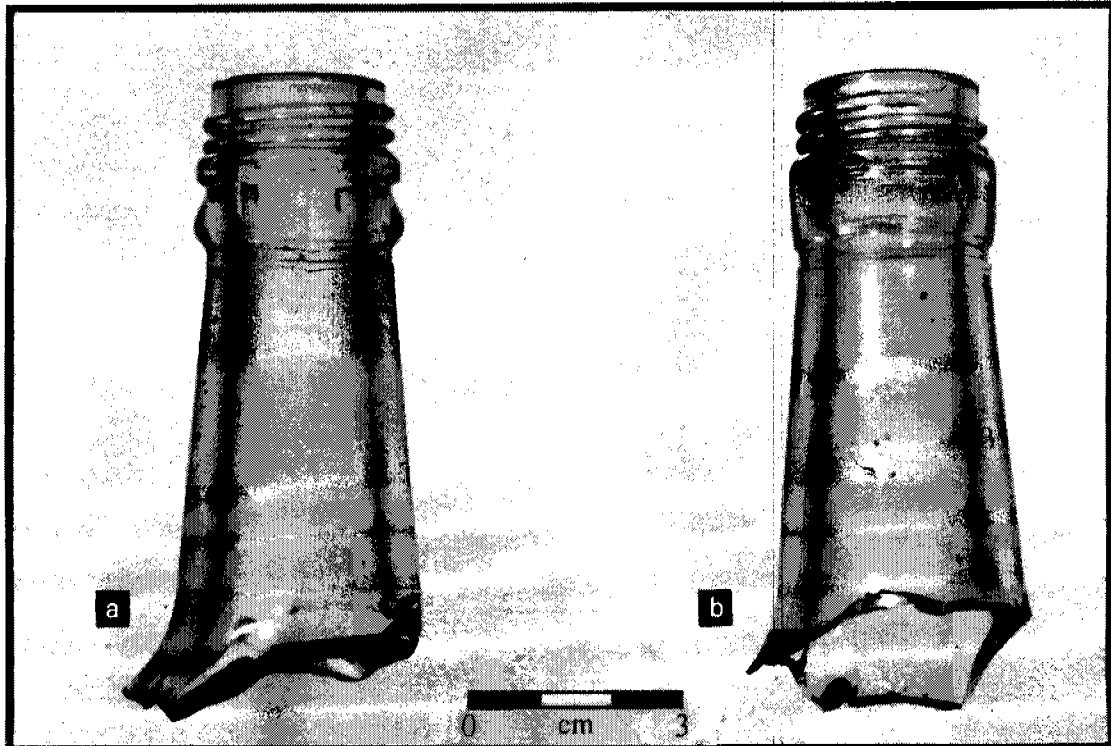


Figure 24. Unusual bottle finish; (a) side view, (b) front view.

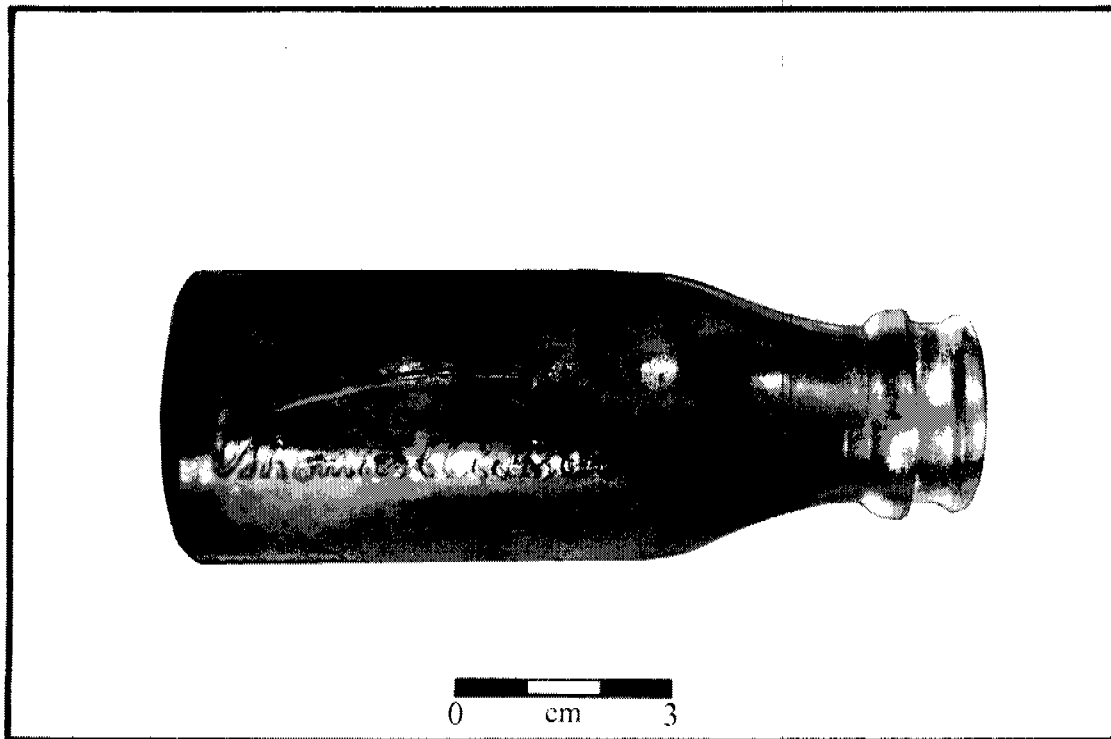


Figure 25. Edison battery oil bottle.

amazing feat of producing a million gross a year by hand. Not until 1915 did the company invest in a small automatic bottle machine (Toulouse 1971:264-267). In 1913, Illinois Glass bought the J. L. Thompson plant in Gas City, New Jersey. The Thompson plant was already using Owens automatic bottling machinery and during prohibition converted to prescription and food bottles, and continues to specialize in prescription bottles. The Victorio bottle is a prescription bottle, as shown by the embossing for Lambert Pharmaceutical Co. Unfortunately, nothing was found about the Lambert Pharmaceutical Co. However, the trademark in question here employed a serified I or H, while all the Illinois Glass marks illustrated in Toulouse use a single straight line for an I. This makes it more likely that the artifact was made by the A. H. Heisey Glass Co. of Newark, Ohio, but the only product Toulouse mentions Heisey making is flint tableware. Heisey Glass was in business from circa 1900 to 1958.

The Brockway attribution is problematical. Toulouse lists both a maker unknown and the Brockway for the mark, which is a B with extended serifs. This mark is unlike the unknown makers, but the Brockway B is not illustrated. Brockway began in business in 1907. The Hazel Atlas mark is the one used from 1920 to 1964. Turner Brothers used the trademark found in Victorio from circa 1915 to 1929. Knox used various letters in a keystone from 1931 or 1932 until the present. This appears to be the J or U. It is on the base of battery oil bottles made by Thomas A. Edison Incorporated (Fig. 25).

The Knowles, Taylor, Knowles pottery was in business from 1854 to 1931. Lehner (1988) states that this mark, and the Homer Laughlin Hotel brand china found in Victorio, were in use prior to 1904, as both appear in Edwin Atlee Barber's *Marks of American Potters*, first published in that year (Patterson and White 1968).

Brand names previously recorded and also found in Victorio include Coca-Cola and Colt. Unique to Victorio are Caro-Cola, Morris & Co. Refined Lard, Palm Olive Cream (Canada), Homer Laughlin's Hotel brand china, Prang (water colors), Gebhardt's Child Powder, Red Can Coffee (Hill Bros.), Calumet Baking Powder, Lambert Pharmaceutical Co., Three-in-One Oil, High Gun (by Peters), Dr. Kilmer, and Edison Battery Oil. The Duracell brand industrial 12V battery is one of the few pieces of modern road trash found.

The Caro-Cola bottles (Fig. 26) are frustrating: there is complete information on the bottles, yet the maker's mark is unlisted in Toulouse, and, although the drink was made in Charleston, South Carolina, telephone calls to museums in Charleston elicited no further information about the company. (A Cara-Cola made in Greenville was the closest.) Whatever it was, it was highly popular in Victorio, with at least eight bottles being present. The bottles are quite distinctive, having a ring on the neck well below a typical crown closure finish. The maker's mark is a five-pointed solid star in a circle. Another cola brand seems to have been Western Cola, made in —a City, but none of the shards was complete enough to be sure Western is the complete name.

Several shards of a square base sarsaparilla extract bottle were found bearing the letters Sarsa, illa, Extract & SS and LL MA. The bottle had the numeral 10 in a circle on the base. Sarsaparilla extract was a common condiment in the West, used to make a form of root beer. Two companies, Ayers, or Hood and Co., both of Lowell, Massachusetts, are likely candidates to have produced the Victorio specimen. C. I. Hood & Co. is the more likely because of the ampersand (Smith 1987). Sarsaparilla was also used in compounds with other herbs.



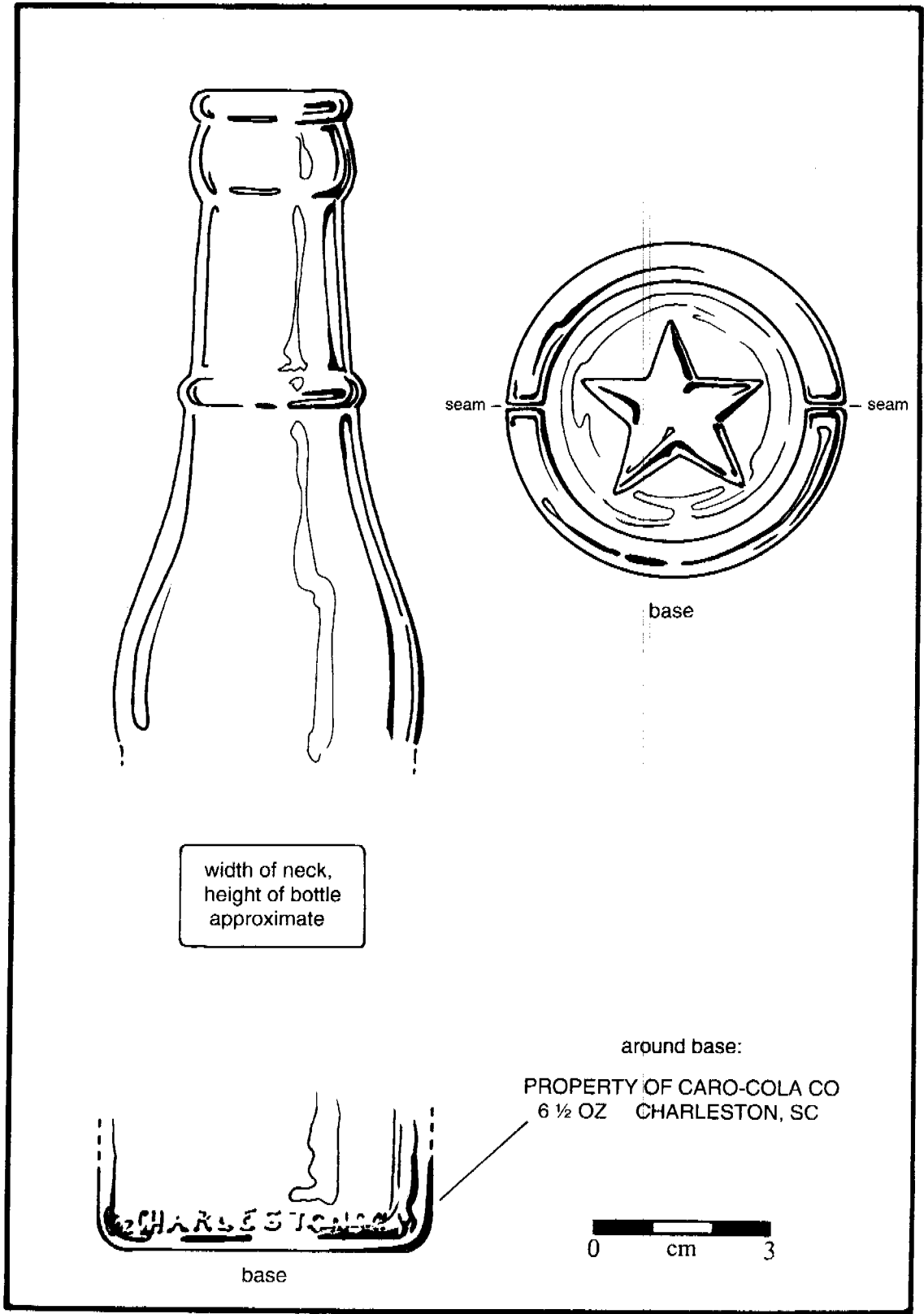


Figure 26. Reconstruction of a Caro-Cola bottle.

The only bottle definitely known to be a whiskey bottle was found nearby. Of brown glass, the letters "HISKE" were embossed on the shoulder. All of the above indulgences were found on the east side of the site.

Brown whiskey bottles are surprisingly rare, according to a perusal of Sellari and Sellari (1982), and those with the word "whiskey" embossed on them are even rarer. Bourbon bottles tend to use just the word bourbon. Rye, malt, Irish, and blended whiskeys, and the companies using the word "old" in the title are more likely to contain the word whiskey in the label.

The number of 5-inch-diameter cans cannot all be attributed to the same product. At least two commodities are known to be present on the site in this size. It was noticed that the can bodies had two different rim heights, short (0.5 inches) and taller (1 inch) and these data were recorded where possible, but unfortunately, at least two commodities had the short height: Morris and Company Refiners Lard and the coffee of unknown brand that was "for drip glass makers only." Hills Bros. Red Can Coffee (represented by two lids and a can) also came in a 5-inch-diameter can. The unknown coffee had a two-piece flanged construction lid, with the key soldered on top. The Morris Lard can is one piece, stamped construction. Calumet Baking Powder also came in a large size, 2½ lb, but unfortunately, the diameter was not recorded, although it was greater than 5 inches.

Several shards of a purple, wide horizontal-ribbed glass bottle were found near the midden. Although nothing in the field gave any indication of the brand name, a similar bottle in the collection of the Deming Mimbres Luna Museum had the legend "Charles Gulden/New York" on the base. Gulden is best known for mustard today, but may have supplied other condiments as well.

Another bottle at the Deming Mimbres Luna Museum in Deming held Gebhardt's Chili, no doubt from the same company that made the Gebhardt Child Powder tops found at Victorio. Gebhardt may have been one of the companies whose specialty was a little bit of everything, in the nature of a traveling general store.

The double ring bottle neck was identical to one at the Deming Mimbres Luna Museum that held Burnett's Standard Flavoring Extract or a bottle of unidentified contents from the Mayfield Medicine Co. of St. Louis. The reverse ball neck, or "Perry Davis" type finish, was found on a Dr. S. Pitcher's Castoria bottle at the museum. Thus, all these artifacts, though presently unidentifiable, probably belong in the Indulgence or Personal Effects categories.

### Discussion

An early (August 17, 1903) railroad map on file at the Luna County Clerk's office (Miscellaneous Cabinet, Drawer F) shows Victorio to have been the only planned stop between Hachita and Hermanas. (But it never seems to have developed any purpose beyond section unit.) Each section unit gang was responsible for maintenance of about 15 miles of track (Gutierrez, pers. comm.). The railroads were early proponents of corporate downsizing, and the Southern Pacific eventually closed many of the section houses and went to a roving gang system, wherein men might find themselves working anywhere from El Paso, Texas, to Douglas, Arizona (Reyes, pers. comm., August 1995).

Victorio was only one of numerous small whistle stops on the EP & SW. The additions by 1918 of Continental to the west and Savoya to the east were for more specialized reasons. Continental was added before 1917 as it appears on the official New Mexico Railway Map (1917), but Savoya does not. Savoya was almost a private shipping yard for the Palomas Land and Cattle Co. with loading chutes, a pump house, and water tanks necessary for the 14,000 to 15,000 head of cattle driven in at a time from Mexico, but there was no siding. Every siding from Hermanas to Hachita would be filled with cars waiting to load the stock (Johnson, pers. comm., 1995). The siding at Victorio could hold 60 cars, as could the one at Continental, but Hermanas could hold 200 cars and Hachita, with its multiple short sidings, 310 cars. It's no wonder the EP & SW was occasionally cited for violating the "28 hour" law on holding livestock in cars (SP Collection, MS 077, Box L-21, FF3, Case 817). Several other big ranches in the area also had holdings in Mexico, notably the U Bar and the Diamond A, although the Diamond A upper outfit often shipped from Separ and Gage on the northern line.

There was never a water tank at Victorio (Johnson, Borunda, pers. comm., July 1995), although Clifton (1983) surmised that Victorio may have been a water stop. In later days most trains did not stop at Victorio, though they did stop at Continental (Borunda, pers. comm., July 1995). Continental did have a section house, section foreman's house, and a tool house, but no cistern. Anecdotal evidence relates that Continental was a shipping yard with a water tank (Borunda, pers. comm., July 1995), which must have been installed after 1918, since it does not appear on the Track Chart. However, there were no section houses at Savoya, so presumably the Victorio crew took care of at least some of the track between Victorio and Hermanas.

The large amounts of slag at Victorio are remnants of the material used for building and maintaining the track bed through this area. Other areas used rock, gravel, dirt (Track Chart 1918), or a peculiar substance known as "burnt gumbo," a red, bricklike substance made of a waxy clay that when baked, absorbed water without disintegrating (Reed 1946). This primary function of the slag was not the only use the inhabitants made of the material. The concrete made in Victorio used slag for aggregate, for instance.

The long piles of slag are 20 to 90 m in length and a meter to 2 m in width. There may have been a safety factor involved in not piling slag too high or it may have been easier to work the material. The technology of the times probably necessitated off-loading the material by hand and it would have been easier to string it out rather than pull a handcar upslope. Photographs taken at various army bases in the 1880-1900 era show a similarly strung out storage for cordwood and forage (Frink and Barthelmess 1965). Too, the vast expanse of the landscape may have prompted boundary-making devices as a psychological defense. There may have been some social distinctions reinforced by them. Or they may have functioned as flood control devices, diverting water away from the dwellings. The significantly smaller height and width of the walls on the south side of the site support a more ad hoc use of the material, especially as it is mixed with rock.

## SOCIAL HISTORY OF VICTORIO

A search was made of Luna and relevant Grant County vital records and an analysis of the 1910 and 1920 U.S. Census was made, but the results were not entirely satisfactory. Victorio never appeared in the Census records as a separate entity. Instead, it is lumped into "Precinct 6, Hermanas." With few exceptions, Precinct 6 is also the designation in the Vital Records. Oral interviews were also conducted with former railroad workers and section house residents, a former cowboy on the Victorio Ranch, and long-time area residents. Local histories were consulted for background information.

Life would have revolved around train arrivals, even though, at least in the Southern Pacific days, most trains never stopped in Victorio. An undated train schedule (Hagerty Collection, Box 2, File 10) showed six trains a day through Victorio. This schedule may be fairly early, as Continental and Savoya do not appear among the thirty stops listed between Douglas and El Paso. Trains left Victorio at 10:40 a.m., 1:00 a.m., and 10:40 p.m. west bound; they arrived east bound at 12:35 p.m., 1:00 p.m., and 4:35 p.m. It also shows there were no services at Victorio, no telegraph or telephone, no wye or turnaround. The telephone box found there probably relates to the Southern Pacific days.

In the 1910 Census, the population of Precinct 6 was 91. Out of 45 people reporting an occupation, 20 worked for the railroad, including four section foremen and one apprentice foreman, 13 section hands, one agent, and one pumper of railroad wells. Twenty-one men identified themselves as ranch and farm workers, with ten manager/owners and ten laborer/cowboys and one man who described himself as a laborer and manager. One man described himself as a line rider, working the Mexican border. A line rider seems to have been someone whose job was to turn cattle back at the border (Anonymous 1976) where there was at an earlier time only a one wire fence (Borunda, pers. comm., July 1995), and probably no fence at all in the early part of the century. Only three other men described themselves as cowboys or cowhands; the rest are laborers or farm laborers.

The only other occupations represented are hotel (landlord and waiter), school teacher, and one lead miner. (The nearest mine was the Sierra Rica, on the Mexican Border.) No women were listed as having an occupation, but since the hotel had no cook, there is a good chance the landlord's wife, or one of the Mexican laborer's wives, did the cooking.

In 1910, 29 of the total population were Spanish-surnamed, 60 were Anglo-American, the laborer/manager was Swiss, and one section foreman was Canadian, of Scottish parents. All of the section hands were of Mexican origin; all of the foremen were Anglos. Only two of the section hands spoke English, even though some had been in the United States as long as 24 years. One wife and one 13-year-old child spoke English, although no one else in the families did. Since one informant remembers there being two foremen in Victorio (Johnson, pers. comm., August 1995), perhaps one section hand translated between the workers and each of the foremen. No Mexicans were employed in ranching, even as laborers.

Twenty-nine of the inhabitants were from Texas, 27 from Mexico, 16 were New Mexicans, nine from northern states, seven from other southern states, and one from Arizona, a child of Mexican immigrants. Only one adult New Mexican woman had both parents born in New Mexico. The lead miner's mother was New Mexican, but the remainder of the New Mexicans were children of heads of households from elsewhere, although some of the ranching families had grown children born in New Mexico, the oldest of whom was 28, which would imply that one family, the Bakers, was in

New Mexico by 1882.

By 1920, though the area enumerated is still Precinct 6-Hermanas, the occupation patterns had totally changed. The population was 84, but of 34 men reporting an occupation, 31 were railway workers. Only three section foremen were listed, but they had 25 laborers. One agent and two railroad employees in other services complete the list. Only two of the families on the 1910 Census were still in the area; the hotel landlord had gone into or back to ranching. His son is known to have been the brand inspector for thirty-five years, beginning about 1915 (Anonymous 1976:3). The only representative left from the other ranching families had gone to work for the railroad in what may be "W[ater] service," drilling wells for the railroad.

The ethnic barrier between railroad laborers and foremen had developed a few, probably insubstantial, holes by 1920. The 19-year-old son of one of the foremen was working as a laborer, and a Mexican national who had only been in the country for two years was a foreman. However, this change would not hold up in later years, and would in fact become so rigid that the Southern Pacific maps of the various stations (post-1924) identified the section men's (the EP & SW designation) houses as Mexican Houses or "Mex Ho."

Again, no women are listed as having an occupation, but the railroad laborer's wife who had seven other laborers and her husband's aunt listed as roomer or boarder, was certainly working. This pattern may be compared with that of Delphos, a contemporary railroad siding on the eastern edge of the state, where women (all Anglos) were storekeeper, teacher, postmistress, servant, rancher/farmer, etc., with the percentage of employed women rising sharply between the 1910 and the 1920 Census Reports (Williamson 1997).

None of the workers in 1910 were still there in 1920, but then only three of the non-railroaders listed in the census had stayed the course. It is obvious from other documents that the ranching families did stay in the greater area, but many moved to Deming or other "big towns" or were living in other precincts. The ranching families were a tightly knit group: "It is a fellowship which you, as an outsider, cannot understand. You've got to be born and bred to it" (McMillen in Wright and Myers 1976).

Oral histories and compiled histories (Anonymous 1976; Wright and Myers 1976) reveal how tightly knit that society was, even in Victorio. The Gibson and Inmon families, both represented in the 1910 Census, were doubly related. Omer Gibson was married to Iona Inmon, sister of Roy Inmon, who in turn was married to Annis May Gibson, Omer's sister. (Both women's names are misspelled in the Census records. Iona became Ona and Annis May became Alice M., giving some indication of how trustworthy the record is, especially where women were concerned.) The Gibson brothers had purchased the Flying W Ranch north of Victorio (one of the few that appears on the 1918 USGS Quadrangle map) and the Cox Ranch near Hermanas, among other properties (Anonymous 1976). The family is still in the area, so their absence in the next Census probably implies a move to Deming or one of their other properties. The Gibsons had come to Luna County in 1901, on advice from their former neighbor in Texas, the Watkins family. It is not surprising to find two of the Watkins boys living in the Victorio area.

Another family, the Wamels, were represented only by a junior member in 1910 and by no one in 1920, even though several members of the family still live in the Animas-Playas-Cotton City area (Wamel, pers. comm. July 1995). The family came to New Mexico in 1886 (Upton n.d.), making Wallace Wamel one of the few native New Mexicans living in Precinct 6. The Wamel name is on

half the geographical features in the area, including Wamel Draw, which flows east of Victorio, and two wells and a pond south of the tracks. The family history says that they homesteaded the area, but no record of a homestead patent was found, either in the Luna County records or the Bureau of Land Management records in Santa Fe. More likely they simply used the land, which was recognized by their neighbors as sufficient title (Inmon 1979) and held water rights. In 1911 and 1913 William Julius Wamel transferred water rights to other people, including the Bakers (*Direct Index of Miscellaneous Papers*, Book 1, Luna County Clerk's Office). (Formal title to the Victorio Ranch does not begin until the federal government traded land elsewhere for title to this piece, as part of the range management strategies of the 1930s and 1940s.)

The Wamel family may well have played some part in building the railroad, as in 1899, W. J. Wamel bought a grading outfit, consisting of 2 wagons, 20 scrapers, 16 sets of double harness and 129 horses and 5 mules (*Indirect Index*, Book D, pg. 300), which would have put him in a good position to rent the outfit to the railroad the following year. Most of the family lived first in Shakespeare and later in Deming, where the patriarch had a butcher shop, among other enterprises. In 1919, he was engaged in mercantile capitalism, selling his entire crop of native hay to a man who took care of cutting, baling, and delivery. Then, after paying himself a reasonable commission, "if there be sufficient balance," was to deliver \$1,000 to the bank in Deming to apply against the indebtedness of Wamel (*Direct Index to Miscellaneous Papers*, Book 2, Luna County Clerk's Office). He carried on a traveling meat and milk enterprise that served Shakespeare and Lordsburg, New Mexico, and Douglas, Arizona (Wamel, pers. comm. July 1995). The Wamels ran cattle "from Hachita to the Arizona border" (Upton n.d.) but were also known for their horse raising. In 1914 they shipped 7,000 horses on the EP & SW, presumably for the U.S. Cavalry. They also shipped 3,500 calves at a time from Hachita. The family was always successful, as suggested by the fact that they bought a piano in 1894 (*Direct Index, Transcribed*, Luna County Clerk's Office) and bought and sold real estate in the Deming area.

The nearest ranch is Victorio Ranch, which was evidently named from the railroad settlement, as it does not appear on the 1918 USGS Quadrangle map. However, the present-day quadrangle map is called Victorio Ranch, an example of a placename shift. It may be pointed out here that the Apache chief Victorio made a huge impression on everyone in the area. Victorio Peak, the Victorio Mining District (part of Cow Springs), and the great Victorio Land and Cattle Co. (Diamond A) all share his name, but none of them have any relation to Victorio or the ranch of the same name. Victorio Ranch is locally considered to have been part of the Wamel holdings, although according to Skip Wamel (pers. comm., July 1995), the house belonged to the Bakers.

The Bakers were in the 1910 and 1920 Census. In 1910 they had two households, with one grown son managing a ranch apart from the family dwelling, which was a common pattern also engaged in by the Wamels. In 1920, the last Baker in the area, the former line rider, was working for the railroad and married to an American citizen born in Mexico, the daughter of Utah people, which may imply she was one of the "Mexico Mormons" forced to flee Mexico during the revolution (Butler 1972). The Wamels and the Bakers were also partners in a general merchandise business in Santa Rita (Turner, personal reminiscences on file, Luna County Historical Museum).

There probably would have been little socializing between Mexican immigrant laborers and the ranching fellowship, except in the schools. Unlike many places, Mexican children were welcome in the schools, because their presence meant the difference between keeping the local school open or having to board the ranching children in Deming. One informant said that his father hired Mexican laborers based solely on how many children they had, as the Hermanas school never had more than

four Anglo children at a time. It is difficult to imagine, however, how children in Victorio would have gotten to school, since the nearest school was at Hermanas, 13 miles away.

Railroad children took their fun where they could find it, such as using coal chutes as slides (Gutierrez, pers. comm., August 1995). There was little play room inside, as each family had two rooms, regardless of the size of the family. In order to expand the space allotment, men built outdoor kitchens (Gutierrez, Tinney, pers. comm., August 1995). This may have eased social tensions as well, as each house only had two chimneys, with two families sharing each fireplace (Gutierrez, Tinney, pers. comm., August 1995).

### Mortality

Feature 6, the cemetery, is the most frustrating feature, as all efforts at identifying the occupants have been negative. All the nails are wire nails, implying construction after circa 1890. Though wire nails were in small-scale use for the previous two hundred years, between 1885 and 1890 they virtually drove cut nails off the market, except for specialized uses. If the graves are associated with the railroad, they could not be earlier than 1901-1902. The cemetery does not appear on the USGS 15' Victorio Quadrangle map published in 1918 (surveyed in 1917), which may lend credence to the 1918 date. A check of other 15' quadrangle maps found several small cemeteries shown, but not always in the place one might expect to find them, such as in Hermanas where several people are known to have been buried.

A search of the Luna and Grant County Vital Statistics records found no one who could confidently be stated to be buried in Victorio. Occasionally no place of burial beyond "Luna Co." was given, but a cross-check of names in the 1910 and 1920 census turned up no matches. Certainly the records are frustratingly incomplete. For instance, of the three Hermanas females who died of influenza in 1920, none had relatives in the 1920 census. Death records were not required until 1907, so a strong possibility is that the graves date between 1901 and 1907. Myrick (1966) mentions a smallpox epidemic in 1902 that hampered the El Paso and Rock Island's building effort on the east side of the state; something similar may have occurred in the west. Another possibility is that during the great influenza epidemic of 1918, which hit Luna County hard, such legalities were overlooked.

Although Precinct 6 included Hermanas, vital recorders seem to have made a distinction between Hermanas and the rest of the precinct. Beyond noting the hundreds of names recorded in 1918, no special track was kept of influenza deaths for this work, so the fact that no influenza deaths are listed here for Hermanas in 1918 should not be taken as evidence there were none.

Only two deaths are recorded for the rest of Precinct 6, outside Hermanas, but neither was buried there. One of those was an elderly farmer who would be related by marriage to the Gibsons, but the second case probably caused some comment in the area. In 1928, a 37-year-old man named Rosco W. Huggins, "occupation rum runner," was shot to death a half-mile east of Victorio.

There is of course, the possibility that some of the people reportedly buried in Hermanas were actually buried in Victorio. The Hermanas deaths were: Guadalupe Avala, 4 months, death from "malnutrition since birth"; Jesus Fierro, age 2 years, 2 months, gastritis; Maria de Jesus Duran, 48, and Maria Gonsasa Haunte, 2 months, Ansoce Toberson, 4 months, all of influenza. All the influenza victims died in one week in February of 1920, showing that the epidemic did not die out easily. Four

of the five were infants. Three and possibly more of these were related to railroad workers.

While searching the vital records for Victorio-related individuals, notation was made of trends that might affect railroad families. Infant mortality was high among all classes, and certainly so for railroad workers. One mining company in the area, which charged its workers \$1.50 per month for doctor and hospital services, found it hard to get the Mexican women to use the doctor's services (Saga 1976). They preferred to rely on midwives and *curanderas*, who were evidently lacking at Victorio, although Gage, Columbus, and Deming had midwives. Children born without the aid of a doctor might well be buried without a death certificate.

Curiously, more Anglo women than Mexican women in Precinct 6 reported losing children. For instance, the Faulkners, one of two ranching families to remain through both Census reports, lost three of nine children. One of the section foremen's families lost two of five. The Inmons, another ranching family, lost one of three. But only two Mexican laborer families admitted losing one child apiece. One of those births may have resulted in lifetime sterility for the mother, a 38-year-old woman married 22 years. The low rate of deceased children reported by Mexican women may be a reflection of reluctance to discuss such matters with men "from the government." Unfortunately, this information was not taken consistently in 1910 nor at all in 1920, so comparison is impossible.

Railroad babies died of pneumonia, debility, prematurity, and stillbirth. One four-month-old succumbed to "malnutrition since birth" and was buried in Hermanas. Another Hermanas infant died at two months of "acute gastritis." A Gage infant died of spina bifida. Another little girl in Gage was born dead, and "buried east of Station," which would lend credence to the notion of informal burial among railroad workers' children. The absence in Victorio of either doctor or midwife may have increased the number of unrecorded births and deaths. Malnutrition was a factor in virtually all the infant deaths recorded in railroad worker families. Spina bifida, as well as other defects such as cleft palate (*Science News* 1995), is the result of an absence of folic acid, which is found in leafy green vegetables. One occurrence of spina bifida in eleven infant deaths is arguably a statistical anomaly, but against the background of the other causes, becomes significant. Prematurity and stillbirths are more common for malnourished mothers.

The dietary remains in Victorio tended to be heavy on coffee, evaporated milk, canned meats, fried foods, and baking powder products. Baking powder, which is commonly found in 4 or 8 oz cans, was found at Victorio in 4 oz and 2½ lb cans; *Calumet* was the only brand. Though it is impossible to tell what was in many of the cans commonly called soup or fruit cans, the canning methods of the time tended to overcook the contents, destroying more of the nutrients in any food.

The only child in Victorio for whom a birth certificate was issued was Refugio Salazar, a girl born on February 2, 1926, to Josefa de las Lagnerios, age 26, and Angel Salazar, 35, a section laborer from El Paso described as of the "red race." (Last names are best guess only. The last name appears to be Salazas in the clerk's handwriting.) This record, incidently, proves that people were still living in Victorio in 1926.



## HISTORY OF THE EL PASO AND SOUTHWESTERN RAILROAD

The standard reference on the EP & SW is Robert Cleland's 1952 work. Only a brief overview synopsis will be given here. Instead, concentration will be on the history of the EP & SW as it relates to the inhabitants of Luna County, New Mexico, where Victorio is located.

### Overview

Though always separately operated, the EP & SW is a child of the giant Phelps Dodge copper concern—so much so that the emblem of the EP & SW, an Indian head in profile, had the word "Copper" emblazoned on his headband. Most people are unaware, however, that Phelps Dodge began as a Connecticut saddlery in the 1790s (*The Enterprise*, October 21, 1882). Anson Green Phelps founded a partnership with his sons-in-law, one of whom was William E. Dodge, in 1834. Together they ran the Ansonia Brass and Copper Co., which consumed more copper than any brass mill in the United States. By 1874 they imported one-third of the nation's tinsplate from England and exported cotton and one million dollars worth of sewing machines in return. Ansonia supplied the wire for the first continental telegraph. They also produced the tin cans that kerosene was sold in, a commodity needed by virtually every household in the country.

Phelps Dodge entered mining in 1881 on the recommendation of Dr. James Douglas, geologist and metallurgist, to acquire control of the raw materials. Investment in the Morenci and Bisbee areas led to the acquisition of the Copper Queen in 1885. In 1906 the company announced the closing of the metals and mercantile branches of the firm, "owing to the great increase in our copper and railroad business in the West" (*The Enterprise*, October 21, 1882). Declining exports and higher import duties on tinsplate had just as much effect but not the same public relations impact.

The same kind of forward thinking that propelled the saddlemakers, first into an import/export concern, then into exploration and development of southwestern copper, also dictated the building of what was essentially a private railroad. It also insured that the quality of the road was of the highest.

It is almost impossible today to conceive of the transportation difficulties of early businessmen in the Southwest. One early stagecoach company advised its customers that new coaches, drawn by six mules, were in use over the entire line, except for 100 miles of Colorado desert, which had to be traversed on mule back (*SP Bulletin*, October 1928:12). Mules remained the tractive force of choice until "that great civilizing agent, the locomotive," as one editor extolled it (*Phoenix Herald*, in *SP Bulletin*, November 1928:12) had come to town. Mrs. W. H. Marble (1947), writing for the *Lordsburg Liberal* remembered it as "a glorious day" when the train first came to her town. Phelps Dodge quickly saw the need to go beyond mulepower, faced as they were with the

importation of thousands of tons of timber, fuel, explosives, machinery, hardware, tools, chemicals, and other supplies and equipment necessary for the . . . mine and reduction works; the importation also of the food, clothing, furniture, household articles, and all the kindred necessities with which the employees, their families, and the community about the mine must daily be supplied; and finally the export of huge

quantities of ores, concentrates, matte, or kindred products to smelters, refineries, and markets of the outside world. The problem of transportation is thus one of the most difficult and costly a mining company has to meet. (Cleland 1952:138)

For instance, Phelps Dodge imported coal and coke from Trinidad, Colorado. There was no way that the 5 to 8 ton capacity of mule-drawn wagons could be stretched to cover the demands. And in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the demand for copper was great indeed: the nation was electrifying and needed millions of miles of copper wire.

When the Atlantic and Pacific (AP), precursors to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, announced plans to build a line from Deming, New Mexico, to Guaymas, Mexico, Phelps Dodge tried to persuade the AP to run the tracks through Bisbee. But the AP, planning to lease track from the Southern Pacific (SP) rather than build their own, treated the Phelps Dodge people with "'supreme indifference' if not downright rudeness" (Cleland 1952:140). It was a lack of courtesy they would pay dearly for in later years.

Anson Phelps had built his own packet ships for the cotton trade; William E. Dodge had been active in several railroads in the early years. It required no great leap of the imagination for the present generation of Phelps Dodge leadership to contemplate building their own railroad. Originally the plan was only to build a 30-mile spur to the nearest railhead, at Fairbank. This was completed under the name of the Arizona and Southeastern Railroad in 1889. This step alone reduced freightage costs from 6 dollars a ton to 1 dollar and allowed much larger daily shipments (Cleland 1952:141-142).

Disputes with the Santa Fe, which did not propose to run their railroad "for the benefit of the Copper Queen" led Phelps Dodge to extend their line to Benson, which gave them access to both the Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific. It was hoped the increased competition would make the Santa Fe see reason in the matter of freight rates.

A short line from Morenci to connect with the Arizona Copper Company's Arizona and New Mexico Railroad at Guthrie was the next venture. Though expensive, it gave the company supreme confidence in its ability to build a railroad anywhere. One expert who saw it, Arthur Curtiss James, called it "by far the most difficult piece of railroad building I have ever seen. The Marshall Pass, the St. Gothard, the Great Northern switchback, are all easy compared with it. It winds back and forth up the side of the mountain, through [four] looped tunnels and over immense trestles, twisting and turning upon itself in a most wonderful but immensely costly way" (Cleland 1952:143).

Little by little, 8 miles here, 75 miles there, Phelps Dodge got into the railroad business. When SP turned down their proposals for branch lines in 1900, they were ready to make the move to full-scale railroading. The Southwestern Railroad Company of Arizona was organized October 16, 1900, and began building from Douglas to El Paso, a distance of 215 miles (Hagerty Collection, Box 2, File 9; *SP Bulletin*, November 1928:15), absorbing the Arizona and Southeastern in the process. Southern Pacific, which had already bought the only AT & SF outlet available to Phelps Dodge, retaliated by boosting its freight rates to the maximum on Phelps Dodge shipments.

The corporate wars between competing railroad interests frequently translated into open hostilities in the field. Shots were occasionally fired. One line item in contractors' contracts of the period tells the tale: expenses were recoverable for outlays incurred "Defending the Right of Way" (*SP Bulletin*, November 1928:12). When gunfire failed to prove the point, or no target presented

itself, the corporations took to the courts.

On June 25, 1901, the name of the company was changed to the El Paso and Southwestern, a New Jersey corporation with all stock owned by the EP & SW Company, which also owned the Arizona Copper Co. and the Arizona and New Mexico Railway Co. (SP Collection, MS 649, LTA 20, FF 1, Contract 29). Another date given is July 12, 1902 (Hagerty Collection, Box 2, File 9), but that must refer to the Texas incorporation, which was necessary to build the 4.9 miles from the New Mexico line into El Paso. Trains were already operating over the Bisbee to Deming route by February 1902 (Myrick 1970). It is a peculiar aspect of the railroad business that each state required separate incorporations, usually necessitating a name change as well. Often enough these were minor, such as substituting the word railway for railroad. A special company was also necessary for the terminal, the El Paso Terminal Railroad Company.

(Other names eventually associated with the EP & SW include the Arizona and New Mexico Railroad, itself a conglomerate of the Clifton and Lordsburg Railway, the Clifton and Southern Pacific, and the Lordsburg and Hachita. Also associated were the Alamogordo and Sacramento and the Southwestern Railroad of Arizona, and the Burro Mountain Railroad Company.)

The first portion of the track completed was not to El Paso, but to Deming in 1902. Trains began operating in February from Bisbee to Deming via Hermanas (Myrick 1970:88). Construction eastward from Hermanas to El Paso was completed in November and opened to traffic in December of that year (Epler and Dillard 1981:134).

Southern Pacific belatedly realized they stood to lose the entire Phelps Dodge freight business and made conciliatory gestures, but was told Phelps Dodge would only accept their offers if SP compensated EP & SW the entire \$1.5 million loss occasioned by SP legal challenges to EP & SW's entrance into El Paso. Dr. Douglas had proved a prophet: he had earlier written to the home office that "the day will come, verily, when they will have to return principal and interest—all they have cost us—or they will not get one pound of freight" (Cleland 1952:147). E. H. Harriman, who had acquired SP after Huntington's death, agreed, which is certainly illustrative of how lucrative he thought the mining traffic was.

It might be supposed that entry into El Paso, which gave connections to three transcontinental lines, would have exhausted Phelps Dodge's desire for railroading, but in 1905 an opportunity arose that could not be ignored: the El Paso and Northeastern (EP & NE), a hitherto totally different company, came on the block. The EP & NE had been built by Charles B. Eddy, with backing from the Santa Fe and Rock Island lines, to tap the agricultural potential of the lower Pecos River Valley and the White Oak coal deposits. The coal proved disappointing, so Eddy optioned the Dawson Ranch finds near Raton. However, his railroad was literally being eaten up by the water supply, which was so alkaline and laden with gypsum that an engine could only make one or two trips before returning to the shop with clogged pipes.

Probably more attractive to EP & SW than the broken down railroad was the option on the Dawson coal, because the fuel demand of the smelters was insatiable and the Dawson field could supply their needs for a hundred years. But Eddy wanted out of everything and eventually EP & SW met his demands, especially after he informed them that San Juan Basin coal, which they had also been considering, would not coke.

The newly acquired lines had to be rebuilt to EP & SW standards, as conditions had

deteriorated to the point "the ties were hanging over the banks and the rails were all out of shape" (James, quoted in Epler and Dillard 1981:135). With the exception of a few short local mine spurs and the Fort Huachuca line, new construction came to a halt and the maintenance cycle began.

The EP & SW now found itself the owner of over a thousand miles of track, all because Dr. James Douglas had been treated rudely by a railroad functionary and vowed never to be at the mercy of a single railroad again. The EP & SW gave the Santa Fe such stiff competition that in 1906 the Santa Fe abandoned its service from El Paso to Chicago (*El Paso Times*, April 29, 1956 in Hagerty Collection, Box 1, Folder 13).

But what to do next was the problem. The road essentially ran from nowhere to nowhere (Bisbee to Dawson) although connections ran to major destinations, especially through Tucumcari and Santa Rosa (Myrick 1966). The EP & SW acquired a block of stock in the Rock Island line to the east, but westward, expansion was only possible by building more line. The first step was building onward to Tucson in 1910, with an eye toward making it a true transcontinental line by going on to Los Angeles. Another line was incorporated called the Tucson and Tidewater.

Such plans alarmed the Southern Pacific, which by 1921 had put out feelers on acquiring the lucrative EP & SW—so lucrative that it generally returned 8 percent or more per annum to its stockholders (Cleland 1952:212). There were sound economic reasons for a merger as well. The SP had an eastbound excess of 90,362,000 gross ton miles; the EP & SW had a westbound excess of 70,335,000 gross ton miles. Combining the two lines reduced the deadhead miles to 20,027,000 (Greever 1954). In 1924 the deal was complete and for \$28 million in stock, \$29.4 million in bonds, and \$6.5 million in cash, SP assumed control of the EP & SW, leasing most of the facilities at first. In a way, Phelps Dodge also acquired control of SP. Phelps Dodge has a continuing seat on the SP board of directors, and generates a large portion of the SP freight between the incoming supplies and the outgoing ore products, including a respectable amount of sulfuric acid derived from the pollution control equipment (Epler and Dillard 1981). Though bought in 1924, the EP & SW was operated as a separate company until 1937 when the Interstate Commerce Commission allowed merger with Southern Pacific.

One condition of the sale was that the SP would continue operation of the Dawson coal mines, which was done. One way this was possible was by keeping the southern line on coal-fired locomotives, long after the rest of the line switched to oil. But in 1951, the Deming coal chute was abandoned by the railroad, so coal did not last as long as the railroad (SP Collection, MS 649, LTA 39, FF 9).

In 1961, partially due to declining copper freight, the SP petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to abandon the southern route of the former EP & SW. Following court challenges, permission was granted, and in 1964 the track was removed. However, to consider Victorio as occupied until 1964, as some researchers have done, bears no resemblance to actuality, as obviously no one lived there after the houses were removed in the mid-1930s.

### The EP & SW in Luna County

Beyond the official history, which stresses the copper-dependent nature of the railroad, there is another story. After the Southern Pacific came to Deming in 1880, it seemed that everyone wanted

to build a railroad in southern New Mexico. The records of Grant and Luna County (Luna County Clerk's Office, Book D) are filled with incorporation papers for schemes like the Silver City, Deming and Pacific Railroad; the Deming, Sierra Madre and Pacific Railroad; the modest Deming and Utah Railway Co.; or the more far-reaching Sonora, Sinaloa and Chihuahua Railway and Development Co. Many were colonization schemes as well, or at least had other irons in the fire, like the Mexican Pacific Railway Co., incorporated to provide rail, telegraph, and express services, or the Gulf, Rio Grande and Pacific Railway and Construction Co. Needless to say, all these enterprises died from a lack of capital, rather than local enthusiasm.

Phelps Dodge could and did supply that capital, and in the process reoriented the commerce of Luna County from north-south to east-west and made it more securely a part of the United States. Most of the local ranchers were so glad to have a railroad they donated the right-of-way, with the proviso that it would revert when the railroad no longer needed it (Wamel, pers. comm., July 1995). They were wise to do so. Virtually every railroad in the western United States was built on speculation, and in advance of the traffic (Greever 1954), but nowhere would that have been truer than in southern New Mexico, an area abandoned by the railroad since 1961 and which has yet to achieve a paved road all the way across it. Without the copper revenue of Phelps Dodge, the railroad would never have been built and neither would the string of depots. Some of these depots, such as Hermanas, Hachita, and Columbus, have survived as settlements in their own right, though most, like Victorio, have faded back into the sagebrush.

It must not be supposed that the EP & SW carried only mining products. The ready access to markets both east and west had a tremendous impact on all aspects of life. Fruits and vegetables from California, shrimp from the Gulf, and oysters from the Atlantic beds supplemented the diet of the local populace, and livestock was shipped out to bring cash into the local economy. In 1917, the EP & SW carried 518,730 tons of agriculture (8.32 percent of the total tonnage) and 104,154 tons (1.67 percent) of livestock and their products such as wool, hides and leather, dressed meats and poultry, and fish and game (El Paso and Southwestern Company 1917).

The trains also brought wagons, carriages, agricultural implements, and other manufactured goods to augment the lives of the local populace. No doubt the Wamel's piano came in on the train.

Another mercantile benefit was the "Drummers' Special," the night train from El Paso that arrived in Arizona about 8:00 in the morning, allowing the traveling salesmen to call on their clients during business hours. These men also served the small railroad towns along the route (Fox 1974).

Another lasting benefit of the railroad was the improvements made to the land in buildings, wells, access roads, etc. Many of these found other uses as well. When section houses were no longer needed, the railroad rented them out for five dollars a month to local ranchers for storage of fodder, or temporary quarters. One such contract was made with one of the Gibson brothers (SP Collection, LTA 39, FF 4). The wells were usually a joint venture, with the railroad providing the funds for drilling, then renting rights for a nominal sum such as five dollars a year, with the rancher retaining ownership and use of most of the water. The economic benefits of such wells are almost incalculable in an arid area, and at least one rancher in the Victorio area benefitted. One such Lease of Water Well Privileges was made on the Carrizalio Springs Ranch, near Victorio, between the US Railroad Administration, the EP & SW, and Hal Tyler (SP Collection, Box LTA 39, File Folder 1, Contract 42). Outright purchase of land was another way locals could benefit from the railroad.

In general, the relations between ranchers and railroad was amicable, but not always. One

"bone of contention" was livestock killed by trains. In 1917, damage to livestock on the right-of-way cost the EP & SW \$22,120.03. Since the rule in New Mexico is "fence out" what you don't want in, the railroads had to fence cattle out of the right-of-way, although this was not the usual order. In 1917 the line spent \$12,779.30 on maintenance of fences and another \$5,144.68 on additions, with benefit to both railroad and ranchers. Cattle sales were sometimes predicated on the fences, with deeds specifying sale of all cattle ranging south of the railroad right-of-way (Luna County Records, Book D of Deeds, Luna County Clerk's Office). One presumes it was up to the new owner to collect the cattle.

A series of letters in the Southern Pacific Collection at C. L. Sonnichen Library, Special Collections, University of Texas, El Paso (Acc #649, Box LTA 41, File Folder 4) notes that the company had never filed on the station grounds at Hermanas "but should do so now after erection of the stock pens . . . to protect against homesteaders." This was in September 1912, but the agent did not file until 1914, so the need was not too pressing. The present stockpens are in approximately the same location, though the original stockpen was torn down to make way for the new ones (Johnson, pers. comm., August 1995).

Another economic benefit of the railroad was wages paid. In 1924, wages were \$1.0425 per hour for a trainman with overtime at \$1.5650 for more than eight hours in any day (and paid by the minute!), with helpers and engine pushers making \$0.9775 an hour. Switch tenders made \$0.7850 an hour (*Schedule of Pay and Regulations for Employees in Yard Service*, Hagerty Collection, MS 306, Box 3, Folder 13) and while section hands were not mentioned, even they must have made considerably more than cowboys. Nor were railroad jobs limited to trainmen and section hands. G. A. Gibson evidently worked for, or at least with, the railroad from 1937 to 1943, as a border patrolman (MS 649, LTA 39, FF 4). However, he may appear in the correspondence because the railroad leased a portion of their grounds to the Custom Service for \$120 a year (MS 649, LTA 39, FF 6). And, as mentioned above, one of the Baker family also worked for the railroad.

Perhaps the biggest economic benefit was the local taxes paid by the line. In the two-year period 1916-1917 the EP & SW paid \$1,114,742.33 in state, county, and city taxes, with a 22 percent increase between the two years. Each school district received its share of railroad money. In Silver City, for instance, in 1931, five school districts received a total of \$23,964.42, with individual shares ranging from \$146.06 to \$10,847.32 (SP Collection, MS 649, LTA 20, FF 2), a very significant sum of money in the depths of the Great Depression. Grant County, in the last half of 1912, received \$8,667.45; in the last half of 1913, Silver City alone received \$12,583.62. By 1922, the EP & SW and the Arizona and New Mexico Railway, a subsidiary company, had \$96,565 in real estate on the tax rolls of Grant County. Luna County received similar benefits, but the only tax notice found for Luna was for taxes due September 29, 1945, when the EP & SW owed \$28,862.30 and the SP owed \$40,765.32. The EP & SW also owed \$1,415.40 on 6 percent bonds on the Columbus Waterworks and \$6.32 on nonoperative track (MS 649, LTA 20, FF 3).

The EP & SW, and the SP, often let teachers pay nominal or no rent in their vacant section houses (MS 649, LTA 39, FF v5). The school at Akela was held in an abandoned box car from 1932-1949 (MS 649, LTA 39, FF3). One teacher, though an employee of the state, wrote in desperation to the railroad, describing conditions in her school, including the fact that she was using a door propped on a three-legged table and a stump for a desk. The railroad looked into the matter and spent \$39 to buy the teacher a desk.

ACTION NUMBER: 183

# GRAPHICS INSERT SHEET

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

The proposed construction activities should have little impact on the site, and none at all on the intact midden deposits north of the highway right-of-way fence. It is recommended, however, that no turn-outs or material dumps be located within the site limits in order to protect the cultural remains within the right-of-way from further damage.



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Ralph Johnson, local rancher and farmer, lifelong resident of Hermanas. July and August, 1995.

Angel Borunda, Columbus, former cowboy at the Victorio Ranch. July 1995.

Nellie and Cuco Gutierrez, former railroad section hand and wife, who are second generation railroaders and grew up in section men's Houses. July and August, 1995.

Amelia and Manuel Reyes, former railroad worker who worked from El Paso westward, including the Victorio trackage, and former residents of the Hermanas section house. August 1995.

Rosa Tinney, Cuco's sister, who also grew up in railroad housing. August 1995.

Muriel Treadwell, whose husband was a manager for the Victorio Ranch. July 1995.

Skip Wamel, descendent of "first family of Victorio." July 1995.

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## APPENDIX 1. ARTIFACT LIST

A rebar placed directly south of Feature 28, the cistern, on the north side of the road, was used as primary site datum, with another rebar placed across the road on a line perpendicular to the road bed as secondary, or south, site datum, with all artifacts mapped in relation to that imaginary line (0). Minus numbers in parentheses represent meters east of site datum; plus numbers indicate meters west of site datum. A number followed by "N" refers to how many meters north of the respective right-of-way fence an artifact is; that is, an artifact on the north side of the road will refer to the north right-of-way fence, an artifact on the south side will be shown as so many meters north of the south fence, with the caveat that one feature, the cemetery (Feature 6), is south of the south right-of-way fence.

### South Side, East End

(-85/3.2 N) Two solder vent milk cans, 4¼ inches tall by 27⁄8 inches diameter; opened by two knife slits. One can, 4¾ inches tall by 6¼ inches (flat), opened by rotary or bayonet.

(-75/6N) Can 6¾ inches tall by 8½ inches (flat). Bail handle from 4¾ inches diameter can. Solder vent milk can 4¼ inches tall.

(-72/0N) Board 2½ inches by ¼ inches with finish nail. Can, 4 inches tall, with both ends removed by rotary can opener.

(-72/5N) two base and body sherds from a square bottle, 3 inches by 1¼ inches, with a slight kickup on base, whereon also occurs the numeral 10 in a circle. On side occurs "Sarsa" and "illa" and "Extract." Also the characters "& SS LL MA". See Discussion.

Tie wire, small diameter (20-36 gauge range.) Small milk can, ± 2½ inches tall.

Brown glass "HISKE". See Discussion. Pieces of beveled glass, ¼ inches thick, also showing a pattern of small oval cuts along the boundary between the body and the bevel.

(-72/10N) Portions of Caro-Cola bottle base. See Discussion for description of Caro-Cola bottles, which was pieced together from various shards.

(-65/11N) Can, short rim above friction closure, 5 inches diameter. Probably 1 lb coffee or lard can. Used for target practice, 14 holes, .22 cal. although some holes were square, possible caused by another implement, with the intention of making a strainer.

(-60/8N) A true hole-in top can, vegetable or fruit, 4¼ inches tall.

(-57) Scattered along east side of Feature 2. Caro-cola base with star. Two body sherds from another brand, lighter green natural glass, one with CONTENTS, the other with MIN CONTENTS. Caro-cola body/base. Clear lip and neck with crown finish, probably not Caro-cola. A body/base with IPC CO 217 4, probably root beer. Another base, light natural glass with C Co 217 1, (IPC CO). Crown top. Portion of a bottle base, triangular, bubble flaw interior. Partial Caro-cola base. Lighter natural shard

with A CITY over ES? Body shard with CA and the tops of five letters that probably are PACIT (CAPACITY) Shoulder shard "Co." Shoulder shard CARO. Two pieces of purple glass, same curvature as cola bottles. Six purple glass shards. Caro-cola base. Shoulder/body shard CO|COLA (| indicates mould seam.) Crown top, probably Coca-Cola, deeper green and bigger bulge on crown than Caro-cola.

Mixing bowl sherd, overhang shoulder, cream above red/brown exterior, red brown interior, both glazed. White ware plate foot.

Lard can, 1 lb. Crushed solder vent milk can 4½ inches. Fruit type can 4½ inches tall, bayonet opener. Gray on light blue gray enamel ware bowl or basin, 9 inches diameter, 2 inches deep. Exterior friction closure lid, 6 inches diameter with 7/16 inches depth. Solder vent can 4¼ inches tall. Two tobacco cans, pre WW II hinge. Metal screw cap, 1.8 inches diameter, external friction closure with reverse lettering, stamped PATENTED with date 2-7-1915 arched over it and 1-18-1916 arcing under it. This may have been a manufacturing mistake, as the lettering is unreadable from the top of the container.

One piece of wood, 7/16 inches width, offset channels on each side, probably window sash piece.

(-53 to -50/0 to 12 N) West side of feature 2. Natural bottle base/body, MIN CO 8FLD OZ IPC CO, one line around body above base. Fancy purple glass, raised edge around rim, with fine ribbing below, no framing detail before plain body. Caro-cola neck sherd. Brown glass crown top. On top of the berm, only one artifact, a thin, barely purple glass approximately 3.5 inches in diameter (lamp chimney?).

Duracell 12-volt battery with lithographed label and plastic knobs on terminals, "260 12 V INDUSTRIAL USE ONLY", probably road trash. Key strip opened can lid, 4¼ inches diameter, 1 inch tall.

Can 4¼ inches diameter, 2 inches tall, opened around the middle of the body, but leaving two halves still held together. Then both edges were deliberately folded in toward the interior.

White ware sherd.

No artifacts were found from -50 to -27.5.

(-29/0-6N) In Feature 3, walkway. Decal decorated white ware rim sherd with small pink roses, green leaves and gray ferns, crackle glaze. Three purple glass shards. Four natural glass shards, same color as Caro-cola. Coal.

(Just west of walkway) Clay marble, ½-inch diameter, unglazed (pre 1919). White ware with same pattern of pink roses but with square link chain connecting rose clusters, very fine detail on chain. Small milk can, 2½ inches tall, flattened.

(-22.5) Solder vent milk can, 4¼ inches tall. Possible Caro-cola neck sherd.

(-12.5) Vitrified porcelain, thin, with molded and detailed rim trimmed in cobalt blue and pink sponge work near base. WPA .45 Colt cartridge case. Natural glass bottle body/base shard with thick side seam; on one side of seam is WESTERN, the other reads OLA. Iron keg band, one rolled rim,

now oval 15 inches by 12 inches.

(-10/3N) East of Feature 4, berm. Possible piece of same bottle as (-12.5) ?PAR. Four shards of dark green, "black" bottle, probably wine. Thick, 5.5 mm, large flat glass object, slight purpling and patination, beveled and ground edges (mirror?). Small dark purple shard. Two pieces natural flat glass, 3 mm thick. Large clear flat glass, 6 mm. One piece natural flat glass, 2.5 mm thick.

One snap or bauble back, .55 inches thin metal, round with four triangular cuts, forming points. Key strip can 3 inches tall, 5 inches diameter, with short rim on can. Key strip can lid, 13/16 inches high, with rivet closure on overlap of rim, rivet missing. Key strip open can lid, 4¼ inches diameter, 1 inches tall with embossed label ESTAB - 20C, which seems to be the complete inscription. Sardine can, impact extruded one piece bottom. Key strip open lid, 4¼ inches diameter, ½ inch tall, shot or punched with a square point on a round shank implement that left little tags of metal on holes.

Milk can, 2 inches tall. Rolled rim can lid, 5 inches diameter, punched once with a knife from interior side.

Slate fragment 2.7 mm thick.

(-9/20-0N) Feature 4: Berm, from North to South. Bottle base, natural glass, 3 inches diameter. Purple pressed glass base, sunburst design, 2.2 inches diameter. Also two pieces purple glass with small diamond pattern and one piece with larger version of same pattern. All may be part of a mould blown tumbler or vase. Another portion of purple glass base, probably same as above. A clear, patinated, straight sided, two part, brandy finish, with lip to string rim height of 1.1 inches, string rim height .15 inches (Jones and Sullivan 1989). Portion of aqua bottle finish, probably down-tooled finish (Jones and Sullivan 1989). Purple glass oil finish, .8 inches lip height. Plate rim, hand painted under clear crackle glaze with red lines and blue flowers and green leaves, all inside a red framing line below the rim. Flat glass, 2 mm, clear. Large, 3.5 inches square purple glass bottle base, circular indented base, no mark.

Two 5 inches diameter can lids.

(-5/0N-2N) West side of Feature 4. Keg hoop, 14 inches diameter. Thick stoneware, light green glaze. White ware, indeterminate vessel form, clear crackle glaze. Riveted, shield shaped iron strap with rolled edge and circular stamp on shield portion (light duty hinge?). Brown bottle base fragment. Natural glass crown cap. Small milk glass jar with lavender-pink cast to exterior, base with small portion of label M over P in a circle.

Small vitrified porcelain cup fragment, clear glaze, molded decoration with slag spatters and some sort of resin or wax residues on both sides, giving impression of having been used as an assay crucible, a task it was not equal to. Slag appears on broken edge as though it broke in process or the fragment was being used. See discussion for results of solubility tests.

Corrugated fastener, ½ inch with one edge toothed to provide better grip. Internal friction closure can lid, 2½ inches diameter.

(-3) Iron strip ¼ inch by 2 inches curved with half hole centered at one end, possible wagon tire rim. Screw cap for small bottle. Teapot bail type handle, wire .2 inches in diameter.



(0/0N) Key Strip lid, CALUMET / 2½ LBS / Full Weight / ABSOLUTELY PURE. A line with three dots on it separates the last two lines; the last line arcs to fit the curve of the lid.

South Side, West End

(+5) Sixteen note harmonica reed plate. Large size, 4 inches by 6 inches, oval sardine can, impact extrusion, bayonet opener.

No artifacts from +5 to +40.

(+40) Tall can, 7 inches by 6 inches diameter, "poorly" soldered seams.

(+58) Key strip, ½ inch rim, 5 inches diameter, one piece construction, embossed label MORRIS & COMPANY / LARD / REFINERS, all within a stamped circle. The first line is arched; the second is straight, in letters ⅓ larger; the last line is straight, and within the arch of the first. One knife slit has been punched into the top of the lid, possibly for use as a pour spout, which would imply that the can was kept on the stove so that the contents would remain liquid.

No artifacts from +50 to +85.

(+85) Purple glass flask shaped (Jones and Sullivan 1989:105) bottle base with shallow basal indentation.

(+90/10N) Lumber 1¾ inches by 1¾ inches, cut for a half lap joint, in same manner as crosses in cemetery. Also a triangular piece of molding, and a ½ inch by 5 inch board.

(+100) Portion of ceramic water pipe.

(+110/3N)) Keg strap, one rolled rim 14 inches diam.

(+120) By Feature 6: Cemetery. Caro-cola base. Milk can. Keg strap. Baling wire. Square meat can, true hole-in-top.

(+150/3-9.5N) Feature 7: Trash dump with coal. Three fruit size cans and sardine cans. Lard pail with ears, flattened, 5½ inches tall. Vitrified porcelain cup fragment with floral pattern. Bail handle. Crackle glaze footed white ware vessel base, made by Homer Laughlin, who supplied much railroad china. Fragment reads: HOMER L / 2 / HD with triangular line underneath/ CHI/. Portion of milk bottle top, no internal sealing feature. Same pattern as above light gray enamel ware bowl, 3 inches deep by 7 inches in diameter. Square meat can, unknown closure. Rubber heel.

(+160-+165) Light can scatter.

(+160/10N) Hardware, very light duty consisting of two layers of stamped metal 3.45 inches long by .93 inches wide with an opening 1.42 inches by .54 inches. Method of attachment was by brads to an unknown substance .15 inches thick. (Possibly a lock plate for a cardboard suitcase or a holder for a name or number plate, perhaps from a railroad car.)

(+165) Two-hole shell button.

(+173±180) Feature 8: Trash scatter of cans and white ware with coal dump. White ware cup handle. White ware plate base fragment, WARRANTED arched over a portion of monogrammed trademark. (Later identified as Knowles, Taylor, Knowles). Panel bottle ?OMAN / ION.

(+187) Feature 9: Small trash scatter. Gebhardt's Child Powder zinc screw top with three nail holes. Approximately 1.5 inches in diameter. The word Child was obscured by a nail hole. Paneled bottle fragment, light natural. Purple bottle base. Whiskey bottle top. White ware cup handle and body fragment.

(+190-+199, with bulk of feature at +195) Feature 10: Can scatter, composed of milk cans, two tobacco tins, three or more sardine cans, a 1 lb, 5 inches diameter, Hill Bros. Red Can Coffee lid. One 7½ inches diameter, 5½ inches tall can, flanged interiorly, no holes (Calumet can?). Can, 9 inches tall by 6 inches diameter (large size 2-3 lb coffee?). Screw top, approximately 2 inches diameter, with pattern of small square holes, punched from interior out, across slightly less than half of surface. (Shaker top, but hole type is same as found on nutmeg graters.)

Ivy pattern white ware. Also gilded scallop edge porcelain with molded decoration and light green leaves and floral design. Crown bottle finish.

(+195/10N) Oyster shell. Fence staple, 1½ inches legs. White ware bowl with painted pattern interior and exterior. Red ware, with orange-red exterior and green interior glazes. One clear bottle base with oval indentation in the base, holding the numeral 55 and the letter T in a triangle (see Discussion). Rubber heel pads, two styles, glue attachment on women's, screw attachment on men's. One opal glass bead. CALUMET 4 oz lid, FULL WEIGHT. Wash tub handle, .32 inches diameter.

(+195/16N) Natural glass fragment of a large bottle base, approximately 6 inches across, probably flask shaped, with Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Co. diphthong like AB mark used from 1904-1907 (Toulouse 1971:26). The numeral 6 is under the AB, probably implying manufacture in 1906. Toulouse reports that Busch was a hand operation.

(+212/5N) White glass jar base, square with rounded corners, reading PALM OLIVE CREAM CANADA/ USA TORONTO CANADA. Jar had vertical rib section on side panels. Gebhardt's Child Powder zinc screw top, no holes, 1¾ inches diameter.

(+223) One clear glass base, Adolphus Busch AB over E 7.

(+225) Tobacco tin with three flange slot hinge.

(+230) Feature 13: Coal scatter Wide thread and ring finish purple bottle top. Crown top cola bottle.

Glazed ceramic water pipe. True hole-in-top lid. Two large lids, one 8½ to 9 inches diameter, one 25 inches diameter.

(+260/17N) Short top 5 inches diameter can. Crock fragment, brown interior white exterior.

### North Side, West End

(+230-235/5-9 N) Feature 16: Rock pile with brick. Adolphus Busch AB bottle base, thick, aqua. Whiskey bottle lip, neck and shoulder; slightly purple. White glass globe fragment (lamp shade or electric light cover). Two inch square nut for 1 inch diameter bolt. Beer bottle. Square bottle made by the automatic bottling machine (ABM) with patent lip. Rotary opened cans and a coffee can. Cast iron stove piece.

(+217-225/2N-22N) Feature 18: Section Men's house midden. Much coal, some brick. Window glass, 1/8 inches thick. Glazed ceramic pipe, .55 inches thick wall, approximately 8 inches in diameter. Stove plate with cast label on the interior side reading "TRUMP & ?OOMER CO. 22", which may mean a manufacturing date of 1922. Strap iron with brads. Nut, 2 inches square, with a 1-inch-diameter interior.

Harmonica reed. Works of a railroad style pocket watch. Peters 12 gauge shotgun shell head. Cans, all 4¼ inches tall. Garter belt buckle with curvilinear decoration. Canning jar screw lid. Kerosene lamp chimney top. Purple glass applied patent lip, ¾ inch interior diameter on the neck. Melted purple panel bottle. Pressed fluted purple glass tumbler or vase base. Brown ABM reverse double ring finish ("Perry Davis" finish). Natural glass tube (bottle neck) 5 5/16 inches interior. Purple glass hexagonal base jar or vase. Two pieces of purple glass, molded in wide horizontal rib pattern with prominent seam (probably Charles Gulden condiment jar).

Crockery patterns (on indeterminate vessels unless otherwise noted) including two green stripes on white ware bowl; white ware vessel by "Alfred Meakin, England"; refined stone ware with a white crackle glaze interior and blue, yellow and green paint under clear crackle glaze exterior; porcelain, ivy pattern transfer design with painted green stripe; hard crackle beige glaze with blue and green; terracotta with green glaze interior and banded exterior; red ware with red glaze one side (sherd is flat); similar redware but with addition of brown/black glaze; clear crackle glaze interior and exterior over floral green sponge ware. In addition, crock with exterior ring flange, mottled green and brown glaze. A white porcelain vessel, probably a basin.

(+206/6-16N) Feature 20: Can scatter with a large hole-in-top (off center) can lid with a handle, probably from an olive oil can.

(+166-173/0-12N) Feature 23: Debris pile, slag and brick. Hinged lid, 2½ inches by 7¾ inches with "Prang" embossed. Shotgun shell head, copper, Peters High Gun 12 gauge. WRA .38 caliber centerfire cartridge case. Three lard pails. Metal hatrack hook. Light bulb base, 1 inch in diameter, glass and wire filament, black glass and either brass or copper coated brass base. Eyelet, slightly less than ½ inch diameter. Round washtub, sides and bottom, approximately 18 inches in diameter.

Molded ring neck bottle with applied patent lip. Glass jar, quart size, Hazel-Atlas Glass Co, also carrying the inscriptions A 15 and 6746. Purple glass bottle neck, >2½ inches tall, molded with hand finish prescription lip. Purple glass bottle finish, 11/16 inches interior diameter. Purple glass base to a footed vessel, "B" with extended serifs maker's mark. Turquoise glass bead. Cobalt glass. Milk bottle top with interior recessed rim. A clear, heavy, glass bottle bearing the embossed inscription "?OPERT" (PROPERTY). A natural glass cola bottle. An unusual threaded finish (Fig. 24) bottle lip, neck and shoulder. Glass shelving or lens with fine ribbing on one side and .4 inches wide corrugations on the other. Cold cream jar white glass base. Purple horizontal wide ribbed glass below

narrower but still wide ribs with wide seam. Window glass 3 mm (.1015 inches).

Ceramics included a white ware demitasse cup with molded decoration and a white ware cup with orange stripes in a pattern of thin, thicker, thickest, thin below the rim. A porcelain fragment had molded floral design on the scalloped rim, with a fluted design element below. A thick white ware had a blue/black floral design applied with the transfer technique. A footed white ware "pin tray" was present, as was a red ware with interior and exterior red glaze, with cream and black paint over the glaze. The cream took the form of writing with the letters "ula" in script, underlined in black.

(+106-113/8-10N) Feature 24: Grassy area (possible privy or ponding area). Two large cans with replaceable interior plug closure, embossed 5 LBS SHRIMP NET LA 246. Another large can, 5 inches diameter, about 4½ lb size, opened by rotary can opener. A piece of galvanized metal 25 inches by 5½ inches, with five holes 4 inches in diameter (possible chicken feeder cover?).

A square post, 5 or 6 ft long, hollowed on one side (possible trough or gutter?).

Panel bottle fragment embossed with "-NE OIL" (THREE IN ONE OIL). Purple bottle base, 2.7 inches diameter, with maker's mark of either an H or an I in a diamond. The former was used by the A. H. Heisey Glass Co. from circa 1900 to 1953 and the latter was used by the Illinois Glass Works from 1916 to 1929. This artifact also has the embossed label "LAMBERT Pharmaceutical Co." An natural bottle double neck, molded, but with a reworked patent lip, interior diameter of .35 inches.

(+55/13N) Feature 25: Platform west ramp. A large external friction closure can, 3 lb size and several sardine cans.

(+15-35/3-8N) Feature 27: Slag piles. Cans embossed with "3 Y 17", evaporated milk cans, stud solder finish and coffee cans. One coffee can lid, 5 inches diameter, short rim, bore the legend "FOR DRIP GLASS COFFEE MAKERS."

(0/20N) Feature 28: Cistern. The only artifacts around the cistern were blue and white ceramics. Two types representing three or four vessels were present. The first was vitrified porcelain, "MADE IN JAPAN" with an intricate floral pattern applied with the transfer process. Two vessels with the same pattern were present, but one had the pattern extending over the rim, while the other did not. The second type, represented by two sherds, was a soft paste porcelain, hand painted in blue. One sherd had birds on the interior and blue stripes crossing the artifact (rather than going around) on the exterior. The second had ferns on the interior and a small blue star on the exterior. While thickness and paste were identical, the two could be from one piece or two.

#### North Side, East End

(-20/8N) Feature 31: Section foreman's house site. Virtually lacking in artifacts, except for window glass 2.5 mm (.1 inches) thick.

(-75/10N) Feature 33: Long rock and slag wall. Panel bottle "Dr. Kilmer's" and "-EMOPED OIL". (Actually east of Feature 33.)

(-90/35N) A large (26.5 by 27 by 13 cm), unusually shaped yellow brick . One side bore the legend

LA CLEDE Co ST LOUIS and the designation 367H or 387H. The reverse side bore PAT D, presumably implying patented. The overall shape was like a shield or escutcheon, but 5 cm down from the flat top on each side was a channel 5 cm in width and 3.5 to 4 cm deep. The bottom of the artifact, while vaguely pointed, was too eroded to be clear what shape it was, or even what the actual length of the artifact originally was.

(-100/35N) Two fire brick, interlocking by means of a channel/ridge running the length of the brick, bearing a label of GMB within an oval. The only other artifact here was a small green glass insulator, No. 40.

(-195/23N) Feature 36: East ramp. Much broken concrete, with possible signal base among it. The concrete had been made on site, using slag for the aggregate. a base, a top and a whole bottle were found of the Edison Battery Oil. These bottles were 4.15 inches tall. 1.55 inches at the shoulder with an inside diameter of .65 inches at the mouth and were made on an automatic bottling machine. One side has Thomas A. Edison's autograph running up the bottle, while the other has seven lines of text, with a bar separating the third and fourth lines. The lines read: EDISON/ BATTERY OIL/ MADE IN U.S.A./ THOMAS A. EDISON/ INCORPORATED/ BLOOMFIELD N.J. /U.S.A.

Natural bottle base, round, with AB Co over A 23. Natural bottle base, square, with three lines of print, the remains of which read respectively, EMORE/ TON/ O. A perusal of Toulouse turned up no manufacturer which could fit, making it likely that the bottle carried the name of the contents manufacturer instead, like the bottle below. Round bottle base with punt (or kick-up). bearing the lettering D on one line and KILM on the next, which in all probability is Dr. Kilmer, a well known and still active purveyor of patent medicines.