

11-7-1977

Interview no. 422

Nelle S. Hatch

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.utep.edu/interviews>



Part of the [Oral History Commons](#), and the [Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Interview with Nelle S. Hatch by Richard Estrada, 1977, "Interview no. 422," Institute of Oral History, University of Texas at El Paso.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Institute of Oral History at ScholarWorks@UTEP. It has been accepted for inclusion in Combined Interviews by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UTEP. For more information, please contact lweber@utep.edu.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO

INSTITUTE OF ORAL HISTORY

INTERVIEWEE: Nelle S. Hatch (1887-)
INTERVIEWER: Richard Estrada
PROJECT: _____
DATE OF INTERVIEW: November 7 and 9, 1977
TERMS OF USE: Unrestricted

TAPE NO.: 422
TRANSCRIPT NO.: 422
TRANSCRIBER: Leticia Félix and Irene Ramírez
DATE TRANSCRIBED: 1979, 1981

BIOGRAPHICAL SYNOPSIS OF INTERVIEWEE:

Born in Mesa, Arizona; part of Mormon Colonist group to move to Colonia Juárez in Mexico.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW:

Biographical information; the founding of Colonia Juárez by the Mormons; the peón system in Northern Mexico; the Mexican Revolution, especially in the Casas Grandes region; Máximo Castillo; Felipe Angeles; Pancho Villa and his relationship with Lem Spilsbury, Mrs. Hatch's brother; Spilsbury and Dave Brown, Mormon scout for the Pershing Punitive expedition; intermarriage and other relations between Anglo and Mexican Mormons; Mexican students who attended the Mormon academy in Chihuahua; Colonia Juárez after the Revolution; the Mormon colonies today.

Length of Interview: 2 3/4 hours Length of Transcript: 61 pages

Nelle S. Hatch
by Richard Estrada
November 7 and 9, 1977

E: Mrs. Hatch, could you tell me something about your early life--where you were born, when, and so forth?

H: I was born in Mesa, Arizona, on the 22nd of March, 1887. And I moved to Mexico with my parents when I was four and a half years old, and settled in Colonia Juárez, and have lived there ever since.

E: Could you tell me something about your parents' background?

H: My parents were raised in connecting towns, but they never met each other. They knew their families, but she had never met my father until three months before they were married.

E: Where was this?

H: In Mesa.

E: In Mesa, Arizona?

H: In Mesa, Arizona. Oh, no, it was in Utah. My mother was raised in Utah, and my father was, too. She was raised in New Harmony, near Cedar, there, just over the mountain from the mountain meadow massacre.

E: Was she born there?

H: She was born there.

E: And how about your father?

H: My father was born in Nebraska, on the way across the plains. When he was eight days old...he said they never stopped the wagon for his birth. They were traveling in a company, you know, across the desert. They'd go from the then settled area, to the unsettled area of Utah.

E: What year was this, when was your father born?

H: This was in 1850.

E: Was this near the time of the great Mormon migrations, or afterwards?

H: You mean across the plains?

E: Right.

H: Yes.

E: It's exactly at that time.

H: Yes. This is 1850. And that migration started in '47 and kept up until the railroad was through in... '69 was it, or in '63?

E: Did you ever learn anything about your grandparents, where they were from?

H: Everything about them, I've known everything about them. My grandparents, my father's people were raised in England. And it was there where he heard the gospel and wanted to see the man that had seen God, and had prophets and angels visiting. And so they moved to Utah.

E: Where were your mother's parents from?

H: My mother was from down in North Carolina--Sneed's Ferry, North Carolina. And they lived there until they migrated to Utah.

E: Mrs. Hatch, I understand that you've written two books.

H: Yes.

E: And much of the autobiographical information that we would be interested in is in those two books. Could you give us the titles of the books and when they were published?

H: The title of the first book that I wrote was Colonia Juárez. It was the story of the town, the settlement and the early people who lived there. I was always intrigued with the personality of the men who began our town.

E: When was that book published?

H: In 1954.

E: What was the title of the second book, and when was it published?

H: It was Mother Jane's Story, my mother's story, the story of her life, because she had a life of hardship and deprivation. And I thought that

it should be recorded.

E: When was that book published?

H: In [1964].

E: In 1964. What was your mother's full name?

H: Mother's name was Mary Jane Red Spilsbury.

E: Now, since a lot of the autobiographical information that's of interest to us is found in those books, I'd like to, quickly, go over the early part of your life. And then I'd like to concentrate on those periods or those events in your life which may not have been covered in those books. So, what I first'd like to ask you about is, could you give us a picture or a sketch of your early life as you were growing up there in Arizona?

H: Well, I didn't have much time to grow up [there]. [I was] only four and a half years old when we moved away, so, that I remembered the directions and I remembered where the store was, and I remember a good many people that [lived there]. My sister stayed there, married.

E: Was there a significant Mormon colony there in Mesa, at that time?

H: Oh, yes. They were the ones that began the city.

E: About how many people would you say were there?

H: Oh, I imagine there were a thousand.

E: A thousand. Mormons, all of them?

H: All of them.

E: When did your family migrate to Colonia Juárez?

H: In 1891.

E: This is about five or six years after the colonies got started, right?

H: Yes. Colonia Juárez had grown so that there were well built houses and people were prospering there. They were nearly all fairly well-to-do people.

When the law forbid them living the life that they had prescribed for themselves, they had to accept voluntary exile.

E: What we're talking about is the polygamy issue?

H: Yes.

E: Now, was polygamy a widespread practice at that time among the Mormons that went into voluntary exile?

H: No, never was widespread. It probably would have become. But the government made a law against it. At the time of it's starting, there was no law against a man having more than one wife.

E: Was that a central consideration in the migration or not?

H: Down here?

E: Yes, down to Chihuahua.

H: That was the reason, that was the sole reason.

E: That was the sole reason.

H: Sole reason. And nearly all of them left property and good homes, where they would have been cared for all their lives, and come down here to a place that they had a hard time getting a start.

E: Do you have any way of knowing approximately how many men practiced polygamy at that time in the Mormon colonies down there?

H: Down there?

E: Yes.

H: They all did.

E: All of them did?

H: Yes. That is, practically all of them. And when what they call a manifesto was made, the President of the church agreed with the government to banish, to abolish the principal of plural marriage and to abide by the laws of the land.

So when they found they couldn't live in the United States and live with their families, they chose voluntary exile rather than give up their families. They had been practicing it for 40 years.

E: Was there ever any abrasion, any criticisms on the part of the Mexicans against that practice?

H: No, not a bit. No, when we moved in, Porfirio Díaz was just getting ready to launch his seventh succession of himself, and the people had grown tired of his peonage system and other things. But he was very cordial, gave us a very hearty welcome, because he thought we were industrious people. In fact, we settled Colonia Juárez, I think the town was dedicated in [1887], New Year's Day.

E: So, it would be New Year's Day of 1887.

H: And I was born in 1887.

E: What year did you come to Colonia Juárez?

H: In 1891. I came with my father when he moved his family here.

E: What occupation did your father undertake when he came over here?

H: My father had no occupation. He was a freighter, he hauled wood. He hauled lumber. He worked on the roads. He was known as the thistle road maker of the country, because he wanted to leave a better road for everybody to travel on, that he'd gone over.

E: Did your father own any land there in Colonia Juárez?

H: Yes.

E: How much land?

H: He had one of the farms up the river from Colonia Juárez.

E: Do you remember what area it covered? I mean, in size.

H: The farm?

E: Yes.

H: Oh, just a few acres.

E: Just a few acres?

H: The whole town of Colonia Juárez doesn't cover an area of more than 12 acres.

E: What was the quality of the land?

H: It was good land. We raised trees. Because we had to move into a part of a country where we couldn't raise grain, nor alfalfa, nor other things, you know, that farmers do. So they just went into the tree business. Several of the men had been orchard men in their section of the country where they'd come from, and so they started raising trees.

E: Could you tell me how the presidents of these stakes (or whatever the leaders were called) would distribute the land? Or was the land purchased by each individual member? How did they come to apportion each plot of land for the Mormon heads of families?

H: They sent a man--they called him a scout--that went into the country from Ciudad Juárez. He went to what they called El Paso, they called it then El Paso del Norte, and crossed into Mexico. And went on the Mexico...

E: North Western?

H: No, not North Western. The one that goes to Mexico City.

E: Mexican Central?

H: Mexican Central. They went in on that as far as Gallego. Now, that's just a little bit below Sueco. And went in that far, and then he went west through the country from there, hunting land that was for sale. And he found in El Valle and in...

[PAUSE]

E: You say they went to El Carmen?

- H: El Carmen; and from there to El Valle. And in El Valle, they found what they thought was just the type of land they wanted. But they found later on that it was subject to malaria, so he passed on. Every bit of land that he passed, he thought would be suitable for the Mormons. But he didn't decide on any of them until he got into a section out from Janos. The leaders of the church wanted them to stay as close to the line as they could, to be close access to the church.
- E: This is west of Janos.
- H: [Yes.] And they decided on some land, oh, about six miles below the border, and just west of Janos.
- E: Is this in the early 1880's?
- H: This is in 1885. And when they had purchased it, the man came to sign the papers. They went to Ciudad Juárez.
- E: Whom did they purchased it from?
- H: A man with the name of... I've forgotten that man's name.
- E: Mrs. Hatch, as I understand it, the name of the person from whom the lands were purchased is in the Colonia Juárez book.
- H: It's in the book.
- E: Okay. Well, historians can very easily look it up, then. There's no problem. Tell us more about [the settlement].
- H: After they'd been there for three weeks, going through papers and examining titles and so forth, they found there was no title. So the man just picked up his papers and went back, and didn't...left them there where they'd started, you know.
- E: Because he really didn't own it?
- H: He didn't, no. And he couldn't prove the titles, that there were titles

to it, you know, that they could get.

E: Well, after all was said and done, it was Porfirio Díaz that allowed them to take over these lands.

H: Terrazas and Porfirio Díaz. But they couldn't help them with the land because there'd been no [title].

E: Now, I have a question. Why do you think Luis Terrazas allowed Porfirio Díaz to allow the Mormons to come in? Didn't he put up any kind of a fight? After all, he was a big landowner. Why would he let the Mormons come in?

H: He didn't care. He owned the property and we settled on his property first.

E: It was actually Terrazas' property?

H: Yes, that was Mr. Terrazas' property. But the property that they had really owned was just that little valley, just a narrow valley going up with the river running through it.

E: So you think he had so much land that he just didn't care if the Mormons took over that?

H: Well, he didn't want to let the Mormons have any of his land. We settled on his and thought we had purchased it. But when we found that it was his, and he wasn't willing for us to live on it, we moved on what we really had bought, [which] was this land up where Colonia Juárez is now.

E: Ah. So, the Mormons did have problems with the Terrazas'?

H: But I say, they'd lived there long enough to get that canal built, and to lay out their farms, lay out the town, and people had chosen what they had and they lived there for a year, when they finally had to move.

E: So this canal must have been very important.

H: It wasn't a very big one, but it was big enough to get water.

E: Do you know who it was that got the idea to build this canal that improved

the quality of the land so much?

H: Well, they all had the idea. I think a Mormon, or pioneer, you know, all he needed was a little land and water to go on it, and he didn't need anything else. He moved on and went to living, raising what he ate and what the horses ate.

E: But do you maintain that this canal was one of the most important things for the area?

H: Yes! They had to have water, and the river had very little in it then.

E: What's the name of the river?

H: It's the Piedras Verde River.

E: Piedras Verde River.

H: And for a month of the year, it's just in pools, [it] doesn't run, you know, there. And then, when the rainy season comes, why, then it's flooded. But they could make out on it. But they were so heartsick [to] think they had to [leave]. Because this first year in Cuauhtémoc, where they had settled, they raised the first crop they'd had for quite a few years.

E: What was that first crop?

H: Well, wheat, corn and...cane.

E: Cane.

H: They used to have a lot of cane, and made molasses of it. But they'd had enough good crops that they felt...built up in their idea of starting a new place, you know, making your land. And they thought there was land there, you know, to have fields.

E: So it was like a land of milk and honey for them. Did they feel that it was really like an oasis?

H: Oasis?

- E: Yes. I mean, when they first saw that land, were they convinced that that was where they would settle, that that was the best land?
- H: They thought where they went first, when they were given permission to move onto land that they had bought.
- E: And later it turned out that this was Terrazas' land?
- H: Yes. They didn't know it was on Terrazas' land. They thought this was the land they had purchased.
- E: Mrs. Hatch, I'm very interested in finding out exactly how each of these heads of families, that later on was able to obtain land, how they were given it, or how they acquired it, whatever method it might have been.
- H: The church bought it for them and let them buy it from the church. And they were told they could move on before any surveyors were _____. So, they'd moved into this land that wasn't theirs, onto Terrazas' land.
- E: After that initial problem with the Terrazas land, could you tell me when they finally settled there in the Colonia Juárez area and so forth, how did they apportion the land at that time?
- H: They just let them draw lots. They just cut it out into lots.
- E: All of them equal lots?
- H: [Yes.]
- E: But there must've been a variance, a difference in the quality of the land. So, how did they choose who got the best land and who got the worst?
- H: I think they took their chances. They just drew lots.
- E: They just drew lots on it, then?
- H: [Yes.] And one man, the one who was in charge, who'd left good lands and property, he went up and looked over that, and he says, "I'll never move my family up there and risk making a living for them." He says, "I'd rather

go back and face the marshalls again." And the one who was in charge, Erasmus Snow, he said, "Listen now, man, you didn't come down here for your convenience. You came down on a mission." So, he went up there and took charge. And when he went up and looked over, why, he said, "There's enough land up there to whip a dog on." (Laughs)

E: Is that right?

Now, I'd like to go into the matter of the way that they would work the lands. Now, did the Mormons have large families, was there an emphasis placed on having a lot of sons, for example, that could help their fathers work the land? Or did this not come into play?

H: They didn't do any hiring.

E: They did no hiring whatsoever.

H: Some, only some.

E: But this was at peak seasons?

H: They saw the peon system, saw that the people were in bondage, you know, and they bought these men out. My father bought two, and there's several men did the same thing.

E: Now, this is very interesting, because in the history that's been written so far about Mexico during the period leading up to the Revolution of 1910, we know that there was a lot of debt peonage, the peon system where they had to be paid in goods that were purchasable only at the store, at the company store, so to speak. The tienda de raya, they used to call it. Now, we know that this was true in some parts of central Mexico, and that it had been true in southern Mexico for a long time, and that in the 18th and 19th centuries to a certain extent it was true in parts of northern Mexico. But, what you're saying right now is that it existed as far north

as almost up to the U.S.-Mexican border in the late 19th century and the early 20th century. Is that correct, is that what you're saying--that the peon system existed near Casas Grandes in the late 1800's and the early 1900's?

H: Oh, yes. It existed all through Mexico.

E: As a young lady or as a girl, did you see these peones working near the Mormon lands?

H: Yes, I saw the farms they made, but they were working for somebody else, someone else's land.

E: Do you have any recollections about the labor conditions--say, what time they'd get up to go to work or things like that?

H: They'd get up daylight, have their [breakfast]. My father always had us out of the bed [early]. We ate breakfast by lamplight. And it was off to work.

E: Were the peones working by daylight?

H: The peones were working at the same time.

E: Till what time did they work? When did they stop working?

H: To dark.

E: So, it would be from daylight to dark?

H: From daylight to dark.

E: Now, do you have any recollection of how much these people were paid, the peones?

H: 30 pesos a month, regardless of what size their family was.

E: So, that's about a peso a day.

H: [Yes.]

E: Do you have any idea if some peones were better treated than others? Did some have privileges that the others didn't?

H: I suppose it depended on...you mean, in the system?

E: Yes, in the peon system.

H: I don't know anything about that, don't know about any difference. But I know they were all very discontented.

E: But did you witness their discontent? I mean, did you ever hear your father talking about their discontent or anything like that?

H: Yes, he'd hear all about their indebtedness and their failure to meet...the problems that they had to have with the wages that they got. Oh, we could ALL see that it was going to come to a head sometime.

E: But you could see that?

H: That they couldn't keep on doing that. And Porfirio Díaz had succeeded himself six times.

E: Now, did you ever hear of the peasants, of the peones, having meetings among themselves, like when they would get together and discuss this?

H: No.

E: You never heard of that?

H: No. I think that the government would have handled it. It was in the hands of Díaz, and his power-mad politicians would watch carefully, you know, that they didn't get any _____.

E: Did you ever know any local government officials there, the jefe político? Did you ever know anyone that held that title?

H: Yes. But I don't remember too much, I was too small, I guess. But I don't remember any action taken.

E: Did you ever hear about any uprisings or any serious disturbances before 1910, before the Revolution?

H: You heard them talking about it, that they would like to do this, they'd like

to do that, you know. But the Mexican government had too firm a hold on them. They didn't dare try it.

E: Now, you say your father had purchased these two men, these peones. What were the circumstances of that and how did he go about purchasing them, and what did they do after that took place?

H: All he had to do was just to go and tell him, and find out how much he was indebted to the system.

E: He would find this out from the hacendado or from the peón?

H: He'd go with peón, let him do the business. And when he could go and pay his indebtedness, he was free from them. They didn't make any objections to him.

E: So, your father paid the indebtedness of two of these individuals?

H: He paid their indebtedness. And there were several of the men who did the same thing. But I [don't] know anything about them personally except that they all knew that that was a system that couldn't last.

E: Now, do you remember who the landowner was that had held these men in this peonage system, the ones that your father purchased?

H: No. No, I think they worked more for the system than they did for individuals.

E: Okay. After your father paid off their indebtedness, what did they, the peones, do? What was their occupation then? For whom did they work?

H: They had no occupation. I mean, no training in anything.

E: In other words, they were just common laborers.

H: Just common laborers.

E: Now, where did they work after that?

H: They worked with my father. He furnished a house for them to live in. And one of them had a family and the other one didn't.

E: Now, did your father pay them with the house that he provided them, or did he also pay them wages in addition?

H: He'd furnished them the house and then he paid them wages--helped them get on their feet, helped them live.

E: Do you have any idea how much your father paid them?

H: Well, I ought to know, but I don't recall right now. But he paid them so much a day.

E: Did he pay them every day? Do you know that?

H: No, he didn't pay them every day, but he paid them so much a day. And then [at the] end of the week, why, he'd pay them off.

E: Now, did they work as freighters for your father? Did they do work like that, like cutting wood and loading wagons?

H: They'd cut our wood, they'd learn to drive a team. They'd go with him into the mountains to get lumber and get wood and to haul what needed to be hauled.

E: Do you know of any other instances where Mormons paid off the indebtedness of peones?

H: Yes!

E: Your father was not the only one who did it?

H: Oh, no, there were a number of people. But I don't know that I can remember [all of them]--Brother Stowell and [others]. I can't think right now who they are, but there were several that did. And we all knew that it was a system that couldn't last and that there'd be an uprising soon. So when Díaz was preparing for his seventh election...or was it his eighth? Do you remember?

E: I can't remember off hand. But 1910 was the last time, right?

- H: It was 1910. And Madero, Francisco I. Madero, showed himself as an _____, because he was pretty well educated and he was anxious. But they put him in jail.
- E: Yes. Now, from reading the history books, we know that Madero actually led his troops in a battle near Casas Grandes or at Casas Grandes. Did you ever hear anything about this? Did your folks ever discuss it?
- H: Yes! Yes, we talked about it. Because they took Casas Grandes. They expected to have a fight, [but the federal troops gave up quickly]. Díaz's regime had become old and rotten, you know, [and it was] just like taking money from an old man.
- E: There at the begining of the Revolution, did you ever know of any people that were from the Casas Grandes area who joined the Madero forces?
- H: Ooo, the whole nation joined the Madero forces.
- E: Right. But I'm especially interested in people from Casas Grandes.
- H: Yes.
- E: Now, did you ever know of anybody from Casas Grandes that joined the Madero Revolution at that time?
- H: I can't think of anyone right now, but I know that they all were in sympathy with him.
- E: Oh, you think the general populus there was in sympathy with him?
- H: Yes!
- E: What did the Mormons think about the Madero movement?
- H: Oh, they all were...just like [a] forecast coming true. They knew it was going to happen, and now it had started. There was nothing could stop it.
- E: Do you think that they were apprehensive about what might happen after the Madero Revolution?

H: I don't know. I think they thought that whatever might happen wouldn't be any worse than what they were having. And they took it. And they took it so easily. Madero walked into Casas Grandes and the Díaz regime just skeddadled, that's all. They just got out of sight. And Díaz himself left the country, you know. He died in Europe. If it had been left there... But Madero himself was not much of a politician, and he surrounded himself with power-mad politicians. And then as soon as they got rid of him, why, then it was just open house.

E: Okay. Now, I want to get back to your personal experiences in the Casas Grandes region. Now, as I understand it, you went away to Utah for a while, and then you came back in the autumn of 1913. Now, when you came back, what was the general situation in the Casas Grandes region? Was there much disorder?

H: Yes. No law, nothing stable. And one man could jump into office and another man could get him out if he could. And they had strife among themselves like that.

E: Was there much problem with thieves, brigands, and things like that?

H: Thieves?

E: Yes.

H: Oh, everything was open, everything was open, and nothing was safe. We were well fixed there, we'd built up a thriving colony. And they came and wanted what we had...wanted our guns, wanted our horses, they wanted our money. Because the counter revolution, the second one--the Orozco Rebellion, you know--didn't have government, didn't have any means, only just what they took from people as they needed it and found it.

E: Now, in your book on Colonia Juárez, you mentioned certain of these

revolutionaries. I'd like to ask you about a few of them. One of the most important was Máximo Castillo. Do you remember him?

H: Castillo?

E: Right.

H: Yes.

E: What were the circumstances under which you first met him?

H: When I came down from Utah and [went] from Dublán to Juárez, I knew that he was in Casas Grandes then. And I went up to Juárez that night--[it] was on Sunday. And the school had been going for a week. And I went to school Monday morning and had just barely got started in the class, and he walked in. He was very ceremonious, very polite, and told us he was there to help us, do all he could for us. And the principal took him upstairs, I told you. And we made a little program for him. And then my father took him home to dinner. And we had a nice little visit with him. He stayed with us for a while, and wanted us to know that he was going to do anything he could to help us. And the principal of the school said [that] well, the best way he could do it, would be to help us to preserve our school system there. We just had the academy built then. We'd only been in it a few years, and we wanted to keep it, we wanted him to help us take care of it. And he promised right off that never anybody'd bother that school or harm it in any way when he was around. When he wasn't there, he'd tell [his men]. But there was another fella that jumped in over Castillo. And the things that he'd promised us, why, we didn't get. Because this other fellow was in charge and he...oh, he was diabolic, he burned the town and blew up the best buildings.

E: You don't remember his name?

H: Juan...

E: Was it Salazar?

H: No, it wasn't Salazar. But I've got his name there.

E: The name is in the book?

H: [Yes.] Because he went into the town of Colonia Díaz, just across the river from La Asunción, and just ceremoniously burned that town--went from one town to the other--threw gasoline in, you know, and set [the town on fire].

E: Why do you think he did that?

H: Just diabolic. Nobody knows why.

E: Do you have any idea where he was from?

H: Not a thing. I don't know a thing about him. But he was sure mean.

E: Were there many leaders like that, that were extremely violent? Was he the only one that you remember?

H: No, there were two or three, but they were few. And when they got into our community, with the man we had in charge, they couldn't scare him. But they'd prod him around with a gun, you know, and demand money, and he didn't have money. We didn't have means. And we got along. They all went away feeling better than they came.

E: Is that right?

H: [Yes.]

E: I have a question about a person that was very important during the Revolution. Did you or any member of your family ever know or speak to Francisco Villa, Pancho Villa?

H: Oh, yes! My father knew him, my brother knew him.

E: What were the circumstances under which they met?

H: I don't know where Lem and Pancho Villa first knew each other. I think this is where [they] met--he went to La Asención and found he was there training his Dorados. And he had just come from Casas Grandes and had, what he called, just taken the town. And he was after red flaggers. No one ever got near him. He'd shoot if you could get close enough to him. And there was a man had placed himself in charge, there. I think he was the only man that my father couldn't handle, because he whipped my father with a sword.

[PAUSE]

E: Now, you wanted to tell us something about this man. He placed himself in office, you say?

H: Yes. And he also was an enemy of Pancho Villa. And Pancho Villa wanted to get, him, especially in this raid on Casas Grandes. But he took Casas Grandes so surprisingly easy, but the man got away. But that was all he wanted, was just to get in power, you know, put the right people for him, you know, in office.

E: Now, you were telling us about Villa training his troops, his Dorados, at La Asención?

H: He'd had difficulty with this man, and he wanted to get him.

E: And that was why he was training his troops?

H: No. He was training his troops to whip the United States. (Chuckles)

E: Oh, this was later on. So now you say that the training of his soldiers was so that they could go and attack the United States, is that right?

H: Well, in his warfare, he used these Dorados as his vanguard. And his way of attacking a town was to take it by surprise--to just march in, maybe fire a few shots, maybe set a house afire or something, and take what

they want and get out again. That was his way. And these Dorados worked with him. And he trained them, you know, so they just worked under his hand. Because Villa was, in spite of everything else, he was a leader of men.

E: When you heard about him training the Dorados, this was about 1915 or 1916?

H: It'd about 1915, '16.

E: This is after the U.S. recognized Carranza?

H: Yes.

E: Do you have any idea where his Dorados were from? Were any of them from that area?

H: I don't know of any of them, only Felipe Angeles.

E: Did you know Felipe Angeles?

H: Yes.

E: You met him?

H: Yes.

E: What were the circumstances of your meeting with him?

H: Oh, not a personal meeting. This would be after the attack on Columbus.

E: This is after Columbus. So this is in 1916?

H: And he came back a hero. He was a hero and all the other generals in the different factions, why, they decided they wanted to be heroes, too. So, they all became Villistas.

E: So where did you see Angeles? Were you able to see him?

H: No, I never did see him.

E: Oh, you didn't see him in person?

H: But I knew so much about him that I feel that I knew him.

E: But you knew he was around?

H: After the story of him, there's a fight against Columbus. I want to tell about Lem and him meeting there.

E: You mean, your brother Lem?

H: My brother Lem.

E: He met Felipe Angeles?

H: Yes.

E: Did he meet Villa too?

H: Yes, but I don't know the circumstances.

E: Now, this is very important to the story, but I've already been here about an hour and a half this morning, and I want to let you rest. So, we can continue this later.

[PAUSE]

[E: I would like to make some observations on the interview that took place yesterday. It appears to me that, although the information Mrs. Hatch provided on the debt peonage system in Casas Grandes is important, that it is possible to infer too much from the information she provided. We do not have any solid evidence that there actually existed a debt peonage system on the order of what existed in other parts of Mexico in the late 19th century. As usual, the most important way of finding out whether or not the system existed and to what extent it existed, will be an analysis of hacienda records. There are some hacienda records which are known to exist. For example, The University of Texas at El Paso archives are supposed to have records of haciendas that used to supply a British mining concern in the Parral, Chihuahua area. Some hacienda records may exist in El Paso itself. These records, if they do exist, are in the hands of the family of Anglo American owners of large properties in Northern Chihuahua, either in

the early part of this century or the latter part of the past century.

The reason for questioning the existence of the debt peonage system in Northern Chihuahua, that was as severe as that which existed in other parts of Mexico, is as follows:

1. Does it make sense that the latifundists of Northern Chihuahua would be willing to sell their peons to Anglo American Mormons who had just recently moved into the area? If indeed there was a shortage of labor, and if indeed the political system of each region in Chihuahua was as tightly controlled as has been portrayed, why would these hacendados be so willing to allow Mormons to help the peones purchase themselves out of debt? What was the extent of the debt? Was it that great? Comparisons simply have to be made with the rest of Mexico. What I'm saying in effect is that we cannot take one isolated example, or even various isolated examples in one region, and extend them to the rest of Chihuahua.

2. It is to be noted in addition that the wages that are noted by Mrs. Hatch--that is, 30 pesos a month for each peon--are fairly high wages, and that indeed we have knowledge of wages half that and less than half of that being paid on Terrazas haciendas in other parts of Chihuahua. Now, the question is, is Mrs. Hatch's memory correct on this matter, or has she simply exaggerated the amount that these peones were paid. On the other hand, another possibility is, that indeed, the farther you go north towards the United States-Mexican border, the higher the wages were. This is in keeping with some hypotheses that have been put forward by historians within the last few years.

These are merely some observations that, in my conception, historians should keep in mind if they are trying to properly reconstruct the social

and economic history of the Casas Grandes area.]

[PAUSE]

E: Mrs. Hatch, the day before yesterday you were telling me about your brother Lem Spilsbury, and the fact that he knew Pancho Villa. Is that right?

H: Yes.

E: Could you continue that story?

H: Yes. My brother Lem was a personal friend, in a way, of Pancho Villa. They met on friendly terms wherever they got together. And when Pancho Villa was training his Dorados...do they all know what that is?

E: Yes, I think they know. Those were Villa's famous crack troops.

H: Yes. And he had them stationed [in that area]. But on his way to La Ascención, he went through Casas Grandes, and he shot down every red flagger he could find. And the man who had usurped the leadership in town was the man he was after, because he had been unfriendly with us and with everyone else. And he was the man he was after, but he escaped. And when Lem got there, why, Villa stopped him and he said [he wondered] how things were in Casas Grandes. [Lem] said, "Just like they were before you got there."

E: What did he mean by that?

H: That the people were...just the same people were in charge. Same people.

E: The red flaggers?

H: Yes, same people were in charge. And he said, "That man..." He called him by name. I ought to remember names, but I don't. [Villa] said, "[Is] he there?" "Yes," he says, "he was in office the next day." And he says, "I've got to get him. You have to take me back." And he says, "I can't do that, Pancho." He says, "My family lives here." And he says, "If it's known that we helped one side or the other, it'll make trouble for them, so

that I couldn't do that for you." But [Villa] said, "I'll fix it so they won't know." So he disguised Lem in such a way that he could not be recognized by his closest friend. And when they got back to Casas Grandes, he took them again by surprise. And this time he got the man he was after. And later, when he got to Columbus...and this was on his way [to] Columbus, you know. And his friendliness with Lem was extended to all Mormons and it should go down in history that Pancho Villa never harmed a Mormon. He was friends to them. And he proved it once, by taking Bishop Bently and Burt Whitten, George Sloan, into captivity when he was feeding his men on parched corn in a town from which the people had fled. And he had a wagonload of food that he was taking to the missionaries in that section of the country. He never allowed a man to touch a bit of that food. And he also was driving a mule in his team that had Pancho Villa's brand on it. It might not have been Pancho's mule, but it had his brand on it. And his men wanted to take it, he wouldn't let them touch it.

E: Why do you think Villa was so friendly to the Mormons?

H: Well, as soon as Felipe Angeles and Burt Whitten got together, they were very sociable and began talking. And Burt was quite a missionary, and he began telling him about the gospel, our gospel. And he became so interested that he couldn't stop, because so many questions he had to ask.

E: Who was asking questions?

H: Felipe Angeles was asking the questions. And Burt was explaining everything. It all seemed so wonderful to him that he said, "Pancho, come in here and listen to this, what this man is saying." Says, "He's trying to do with words what you're trying to do with guns." And he says, "I know all about the Mormons. But," he said, "I don't think they should be doing missionary work

now. They ought to be home, taking care of their property." And, he let them go. And when they got into the town where the people had fled to from Pancho Villa...because they were afraid, everybody in Mexico was afraid of Pancho Villa. [When they got to the town], they said Pancho Villa had given them a pass, and they showed the pass that he had given them. [They were] to be protected, you know, and allowed to return to their home. And they said, "Well that's a lie." Says, "He never let Americans through his hands alive." And then they kept those men there for nine days. And they didn't dare touch anything, either, because he had offered protection. At the end of the nine days, they said, "I guess he is friendly to you." So he let them go home. Now, that proved to us that one place where he favored us, where he protected us, in a way.

E: Did he ever do anything harmful to the Mormons?

H: Not a thing, not a thing. He came in our section of the country, but all he did was run every red flagger out of the country. He chased that Orozco, he just got behind him and he never stopped until he was across the line into the United States.

E: Mrs. Hatch, the story about these Mormon brothers preaching to Felipe Angeles and Pancho Villa is quite intriguing. Can you recall any more details about that? What were Villa's reactions, and Angeles' reaction, to the Mormon gospel?

H: Felipe Angeles was so interested and excited about it, trying to get Pancho to talk about it. And he says, "If I ever get out of Chihuahua alive, I'm going to be a Mormon."

E: Felipe Angeles said that?

H: Felipe Angeles said that. And the rest of this was told [to me]. When Burt

and Brother Bently got home, Burt decided he was going to do Felipe Angeles' work in the temple. Because we believe that there's a hereafter, there's time when family relationships would be resumed just as they were when we left here. And he wanted Angeles to get into that group. And he told him he wanted to be. So he and his wife got ready to go to Mesa to the temple to do Felipe Angeles' work. But in the night Burt had a dream. He said, "We were spoken to just as deliberately as a person is talking in here." Pancho Villa was standing at the foot of his bed, and he says, "Why don't you do something for me?" He said, "Well, go to Brother Bently. He's the man that do things like that." Says, "I've been to see Brother Bently, and he says it has to be done down there, before he comes here." So he prepared then to do Pancho Villa's work. So he went to his wife and got the genealogy that he needed, and he got her to get Felipe Angeles' genealogy from the records of the court, because they did catch him and execute him in Mexico. So those two...mormon histories, we took those two men's name to the temple [in Mesa]. Someone did proxy for them. My husband's brother did proxy for Pancho Villa. And he feels quite proud of it.

E: Did they do proxy for Felipe Angeles?

H: [Yes.] That was just 50 years ago that they recalled this, you know, that they were going to do his work. They recalled that they did it.

E: Let me ask you about the Mormons' reaction to the death of Felipe Angeles.

H: They didn't know anything about it till it was over with.

E: What did they think about it when they found out about it?

H: Well, they were glad his work was done, because they do believe he'd pick [up his life] again just where he left it. We don't take death like you do, when you feel that as soon as you're dead everything is over with.

E: Okay. Now, if I remember correctly, you said that you left Colonia Juárez in 1919 or 1918?

H: 1918.

E: 1918. And where did you go?

H: I went to El Paso, was married.

E: How long did you stay in El Paso?

H: Two, three days.

E: And then where did you go?

H: Then I went to Mesa. That's where his home was and where his family was.

E: How long did you live in Mesa?

H: Two years.

E: Where were you when Pancho Villa was assassinated?

H: In Colonia Juárez.

E: You went back?

H: [Yes.]

E: Do you remember what the feelings were in the community when they found out about the fact that Villa had died?

H: Yes, very well.

E: What were the reactions?

H: We felt that in a way he'd gotten his just dues. But we were very sorry that it had to happen the way it had. Because he'd asked them, he'd asked to have his work done. "Do something for me," you see, he'd said. But you know, when he went back from leading the American soldiers, you know... Remember, they sent the American soldiers into [Mexico].

E: Oh, the punitive expedition.

H: [Yes.]

E: Right.

H: My brother was a scout for that.

E: What was your brother's name?

H: Lem.

E: Lem Spilsbury.

H: Yes, Lem Spilsbury. You said you saw a diary, you know, written by him. But I don't think it was his. There was another scout representing another ward.

E: What was his name?

H: Dave Brown. And I think it was he.

E: They both served as scouts for the Pershing expedition, for the American soldiers?

H: Yes. See, he had seven or eight representing each ward, one from each ward.

E: By ward, you mean a Mormon colony division?

H: Yes, a Mormon community was the ward.

E: What did you hear about Pancho Villa's activities after the Columbus Raid?

H: He went back to Mexico a hero. And that's where we found out that Salazar was a turncoat, because he had hated the Villistas and he'd worked against them. But Villa had conquered America, whipped the American Army, in that battle of Carrizal, you remember. So he's going to be a Villista.

E: Salazar became a Villista?

H: Yes, he was going to be a Villista and he was going to kill every American he saw, just like Villa did.

E: Why did Salazar hate Americans?

H: Well, that's another little story. Pancho Villa rose so fast in public favor, the newspapers were full of all of his exploits. And they were

full of his cruelties, and of his way of never taking into consideration whether a person was guilty. He'd just shoot them down. And they were afraid of him. But when he came back, of course, they were glad, in a way, adding to the glory, adding to THEIR glory, for the fact that he had been so valorous, you know.

E: So, even his enemies respected him for having attacked the United States?

H: Yes, and for eluding the American soldiers. They were there a year, hunting for him. And once they got [very close], according to Villa. They were in separate rooms, in a cave or someplace--that close together. But the Mexicans wouldn't give [him] away. They knew where he was all the time, but not one would ever [tell the] Americans.

E: If Villa had committed so many atrocities in Western Chihuahua, why did the Mexicans up and down the Sierra Madre, why did they not tell on him? Why did they protect him?

H: That's what I wondered. Because they found glory in his bravery, and in his successes, and in the things that he attempted to do. And [he'd] march into a city, and just like I told you yesterday, he just took his Dorados and marched in, you know, with a whoop and a yell, and a few shots, and maybe set a house or two afire or something, you know, and have people scared. And they'd watch, to know when there'd be an opportune time to do this, like he did in Columbus. And then [he'd] whoop out again.

E: Did you ever talk to Dave Brown?

H: Oh, many times.

E: Did Dave Brown ever tell you any stories about Villa?

H: Oh, yes!

E: What did Dave Brown used to talk about?

H: He told about while he was in charge, he was sent to lead a detachment of soldiers to a certain section of the country, because they felt they might run onto them there. And he said, before they'd been there very long, why, they found that the Mexicans were hostile to them. They wouldn't one of them tell a thing on Villa. They knew where he was, and if they'd ever see [him], [they were] just mum, they wouldn't say anything. So he kind of told them off, in a way. He said they had come down here to get that man to punish him. And, so then they turned hostile to Dave. "So hostile," he said, "that I thought I'd better get out." And when he got out, he went on the run. And he said there were a few shots fired around him when they saw he was out on the run. But he got back and he didn't have any more difficulties with them. But he made a big story out of every incident that he had. A lot of it, we felt, was more or less...happened in his mind.

E: That it was embellished?

H: Yes. He just had a good way of explaining a thing, you know, that would make him the big guy, and all the rest of them doing what he said.

E: What other stories do you recall that he used to tell? Any in particular about Villa?

H: Well, no, not in the Army. I don't remember any more. But when he got out, he thought he ought to write his experiences and tell of that. He says that he went to Blackjack Pershing, they called him. He went to him and he says, "You'll never catch Villa." He said, "You give me a week's start like you gave Villa, and put me here in Mexico, and you could hunt for 100 years and you'd never find me." And that kind of vexed them, you know, to be told that, but they knew it was true. They were afraid of him. And so when Villa came back to be a hero [in] Mexico they all were afraid of

him because they knew if he wanted to start an uprising he could get a following. He was a natural leader of men, and he could get a following. And the Mexican government was afraid of him. They gave him a ranch.

E: In Northern Durango. Okay, I have a question. Do you have any idea where most of Villa's soldiers were from?

H: Villa's soldiers?

E: Yes.

H: Just around in the country here.

E: Are you saying mostly in Chihuahua?

H: Mostly in Chihuahua.

E: What part of Chihuahua? Do you have any idea?

H: [It'd] be around in the northern part, I guess, because that's where he was; I don't think he ever went out of there to fight.

E: So you think they were mostly from the northern part of Chihuahua?

H: I think so, but I'm not sure of that. But he picked up soldiers. Oh, they just came running to join his troops.

E: Is there anything that distinguished a Mexican from the mountains, from the sierra, from Mexicans in the rest of the state? Are there any distinguishing characteristics about someone from, say, Cd. Guerrero or Namiquipa or Tomóchic or Temósachic, any of those areas? Can you think of anything that might relate?

H: Anything that would distinguish which birth place they came from?

E: Either what place they came from or is there anything collectively that distinguishes people from that area?

H: Well, I'll tell you what their general idea was--that the people raised in the mountains were not afraid of risks and runs. And they were...we called

'em braver people, because when it came to a question, they'd fight. Some others would run rather than fight. And if there's any distinction, that's the only one I could name--that you could tell it in their characteristic, in the things they did.

E: Now, you spoke Spanish even as a young lady, right?

H: Yes, I studied Spanish. But I never learned to speak it well because I don't hear. And when they'd answer me back, it all sounded like one big long word. (Chuckles) I could read it.

E: Could you ever distinguish the Spanish spoken by the people in the mountains from other kinds of Spanish?

H: Yes, occasionally. But it wasn't too evident.

E: But, why was it different? What made their Spanish different?

H: Well, the things that they were surrounded [by] were called [by] different [names] to other people. And the people lived in the mountains were without some of the privileges that they had in the valleys.

E: Tell me something. You say the men from the mountains were braver. Now, is it justifiable to extend this to the women? Were the women harder, do you think, or not?

H: Well, I don't know about that. They went where their men told 'em to, and did what they did. But they were nearly always afraid.

E: Okay. Mrs. Hatch, could you tell us about your brother Lem Spilsbury and Pancho Villa at a different time during the Revolution? Say around 1912 at the time of the Mormon exodus from Chihuahua. Do you have recollections about that?

H: Yes, that he knew Pancho Villa. He spoke of him as Pancho when he talked of him. And that's about what we all called him, too. He knew Lem, he called

him by name, by Lem. And he was living in Pearson when the exodus came.

E: Who was living in Pearson?

H: Lem. And he didn't go; well, he came right back with the troops, came right back to guard what was left of the property. He had to march off and leave that. They had the store and they had the sawmill and a lot of things that needed protection. He was one of the ones chosen to help with that. In order to keep it going, he took a freighting job. That is taking a van of some kind and would go to Cd. Juárez or Deming or somewhere and get things that they needed. And on his way he had to pass through La Ascensión. And he met him nearly every time he went through there.

E: Lem met Villa?

H: He met him.

E: What did Lem use to address Villa by? When Lem told you these stories, did he ever say what he use to call Villa?

H: Pancho.

E: He'd call him by his first name?

H: That's how--Pancho Villa.

E: He'd address him by his first?

H: I never did hear him.

E: Okay. So Villa stopped Lem at La Asención.

H: Now did you want that story about that favor he did?

E: Sure, go ahead, tell us.

H: Among his first acquaintances with Pancho Villa was when he swept through the country on his way to La Ascensión with his Dorados, and he selected that as a choice place for a training ground for his men. And passing through there, he always met them. And after he had gone through Casas

Grandes, he was teeth and toenails against every red flagger. He'd shoot them down as fast as he could get them. In fact, when he got behind [them], he chased them out of the country or shot them down. And when he asked Lem how things were in Casas Grandes, he says, "Well, it's just like it was when you left." He says, "The same men are right back in power." He said, "They are! You'll have to take me back down there." Lem says, "I can't do that."

E: I think you told us this particular story. So in other words, Lem did a favor for Pancho Villa, right?

H: Yes.

E: Now, what was the favor that Villa did for Lem?

H: When he got to El Paso, when he got to Villa de Juárez, there was word there from Silvestre Quevedo to come see him. Silvestre Quevedo was in the hospital in El Paso, and he sent for Lem. And he said, "You make regular trips out there." He said, "I'll give you \$500 if you bring my wife." Now, his wife I think was the daughter of the manager of the San Diego Hacienda. I think he was the [son-in-law] of Don...we always called him Don So-and-So. So he said, well, he'd try. He didn't know whether he could. The restrictions at the line were very...

E: Stringent.

H: Yeah. Very prohibitive in getting certain people across. But he took her, anyway. Had her on the seat in the van with him when he got to La Ascención. And the first thing Pancho said after he'd asked about the conditions in Chihuahua and in Cd. Juárez and Casas Grandes, he says, "Who do you [have] with you?" And he hated to tell him that it was Silvestre Quevedo's wife, because he didn't know what he'd do with her. And he was tempted to lie to him, tell him it was somebody he didn't know. But he decided finally that

the best way to get along with Pancho Villa was tell things just the way they were. So he said, "That's Silvestre Quevedo's wife." "Bring her down!" he said. And Lem looked at him and he says, "Remember, Pancho, when I did you a favor?" "Yes, I do. And I told you I'd do one for you." He says, "Then let that girl go by." That was the favor.

E: What did Villa say?

H: "Take her along."

E: So he let him go by?

H: Yes. "Just take her along." "Because," he said, "you told me if I needed anything, any favor, that you [would] help me."

E: This is very interesting to me, because you say that Silvestre Quevedos' wife was the daughter of the manager of the Hacienda de San Diego.

H: I'm provoked to think...I can't remember that name. We called him Don So-and-So.

E: Is it in your Colonia Juárez book?

H: I believe it is, but I've written it up in so many different places.

E: Just a second, and we'll see if we can find it quickly. [PAUSE] Okay, you recollected the name of the manager, or the mayordomo, of the Hacienda de San Diego. What was his name?

H: Don Jacobo Anchondo.

E: And you believe that his daughter was the wife of Silvestre Quevedo?

H: That's the way I remember it now, that he was Silvestre's father-in-law.

E: So, do you have any recollections about whether or not Silvestre Quevedo actually participated in the Revolution?

H: Oh, my, yes. Do I have any recollections of him?

E: Yes.

H: Yes! It was he that killed those three Americans, just about the time...just

after the American soldiers left the country.

E: Quevedo killed three American soldiers?

H: Yes.

E: But the Americans weren't soldiers?

H: No, they weren't soldiers.

E: What were doing there?

H: They were cowboys. I can give you their names; they were cowboys on the Diamond A Ranch there. And they had gone away and didn't come back--gone away for the day, riding, you know. And somebody brought them the word that they were probably killed. And so they sent Lem to hunt them. And he found first one man, then the other, where they'd been taken from their horse. They'd got across the line, you see; they were in Mexico. And their horse had been taken, their spurs, their chaps, and their shirt, and their hat, and their gun. Everything that they could use, you know, they'd taken from them, [and] left those three men [there].

E: How did Lem find out that Silvestre Quevedo did it?

H: Well, the very day that we heard about the death of these three men, Silvestre Quevedo with his troop of men came into our town. And he quartered his horses in our stockyard to feed them. We always had shocks of corn, you know, and that's about all. And they were there. And the men walking around among them, they says, "There are three horses there that belong to Americans. You can tell by their brand, you can tell by their type." They weren't like the horses that the soldiers were riding. And when later they were described by people there, they said that was Andrew Peterson's and Burton Jensen and Hugh Akerd's horses.

E: Who was the last man?

H: Hugh Akerd.

E: Those were the three cowboys that were killed?

H: Those were the three boys that were killed. Andrew Peterson left a wife with seven children.

E: Were they Mormons?

H: Yes. Yes, they had lived in Colonia Díaz. And Lem married a girl from Colonia Díaz, so that he became very well acquainted with all of these men. And they all went to work as cowboys on this Diamond A Ranch.

E: What did Lem do when he found out that Quevedo's men had killed those three Mormons?

H: He did nothing. Nothing he could do. There was no law to appeal to. There was nothing that...Silvestre I think was killed by some man. You told me something about Silvestre's death the other day, didn't you?

E: That he died during the Revolution, that's all I know.

H: That's all.

E: Did you ever hear the name Rodrigo Quevedo?

H: Quevedo. Yes, but right now it doesn't register who he was.

E: That's Okay. Mrs. Hatch, what do you know about the death of José Inez Salazar?

H: He came to Colonia Juárez when his revolution was wrecked. And he'd been the head of the red flaggers, then he became a Villista. And then the war was over in a little while and he didn't have any troops to manage, he didn't have any place, he hadn't made any special victories, you know, that could make him interesting. So he went back to Colonia Juárez for refuge.

E: In what year?

H: In 1913, '12, '14. Quite early after the exodus.

E: What do you know about his death?

H: He talked with Brother Bentley. He said he was very, very much disappointed and disgusted with the Revolution because it was petering out--peace was coming--and he was not being mentioned in any office or anything, you know, for peace. But he said he'd left his horse and his outfit at a ranch out from Dublán somewhere there. He went to that ranch and he'd left his team there, and they told him, "Yes, your horse is here. You go right in there and they'll tell you about it." But he never came back. That's all I know. But he was killed right there on that ranch.

E: So, they didn't know who did it?

H: No, we never did find out anything about it, except that he just didn't come back, that's all. And they found he's dead.

E: Did you ever hear anyone mention the fact that Salazar wanted to divide the lands?

H: No, I don't happen to remember of Salazar doing that.

E: Who mentioned it?

[PAUSE]

E: So you say that Salazar had helped destroy the town? Which town?

H: Well, what else would destroy it besides have everybody walk out? Just get up and go, and gave them about 24 hours notice.

E: Salazar made everybody leave?

H: Yes.

E: Oh, you're talking now about the Mormon exodus?

H: Yes.

E: And it was Salazar that made them leave?

H: He is the one that forced the issue.

E: So, later on during the Revolution he came back?

H: After he saw the revolution was failing and the soldiers had come in to capture Villa.

E: How many Mormons were still left in the area?

H: Left there?

E: Yes.

H: Oh, they varied in number, somewhere around a hundred.

E: How did the Mormons react to Salazar's return?

H: Just turned in and helped him.

E: They helped him?

H: Just as much as they could, they helped him. That's why I say, I'd like to know what was in HIS mind, when he felt that he had done all he could to destroy that. He stood...when he saw one wagon or one trainload of people ready to march out he stood and harangued them, you know, that Mexico was for Mexicans and the United States was for gringos, and for the gringos to get out, and get out as quick as they could. And they were going.

Then after the exodus, he came into town. And we had more people there, and we had a grist mill right below town that had furnished flour for all the country. So that was the first place that these soldiers would go to when they went through, [to] get flour, you know, to carry off. And then they got to taking part of the machinery with them until they destroyed the mill. And the last time I was down there there's one wall standing of it, but not now. But it was a prosperous little town with about seven or eight hundred people living in it.

E: Why do you think Salazar hated Americans so much?

H: Well, because Villa did. He didn't hate the Americans so much, except

that he didn't want any gringos in Mexico. But when he became a Villista; Villa...you know why he hated the [Americans]. So [Salazar] just adopted his [feelings].

E: Mrs. Hatch, I'd like to ask you about another person that you mentioned a while ago, the person that you cite here in the book as Don Jacobo Anchondo. What do you remember about him or his family?

H: That he was very favored, much favored by Terrazas. And he was given charge of a great section of the country there and was given [the Hacienda de] San Diego as his headquarters. [There is still] the remnant of the beautiful castle they built for him to live in. You know, they build them in a square shape with [the] center for kind of a patio and a garden and trimmings and decorations, you know, for the place.

E: Did he live well?

H: Lived well. That was built especially for him. And there were rows of adobe houses built for his peón, the ones that worked for him. And he had daughters, and I remember very well the carriage that was provided for them. Beautiful carriage with a top, you know, and with fringe all around the edge of the top and with plush seats. That was a gorgeous affair.

E: How many daughters did he have?

H: They had two or three.

E: Were they all married?

H: Well, I think one was married to Silvestre. But I don't know who the others were. I think they all were married, yes, but not when I knew them.

E: Did you actually see his headquarters there at the Hacienda de San Diego?

H: Yes!

E: Did you see the little adobe houses that you're talking about?

H: Yes.

E: What were those adobe houses like, the ones that belonged to the peones?

H: Just ordinary adobe houses--with just a room here and a room there and a room, another one. Just a long string of houses. And one room would house a family.

E: They were one room affairs?

H: Yes.

E: What kind of floors did they have?

H: Well, sometimes dirt floors and sometimes they had lumber when they could get it. Lumber was easier to get then.

E: Did you ever know any of these peones that lived there on the hacienda?

H: I know the two that my father bought.

E: Do you remember their names?

H: Abraham...seems to me like his name was González, but I'm not sure. The other was Chon, and I can't remember his last name. But they were Abraham and Chon to us. And they became just like brothers in our family that didn't live with it.

E: Did they ever become Mormons?

H: No.

E: What else do you remember about the Hacienda de San Diego? Do you remember what they used to grow?

H: Yes. My brother-in-law rented two or three sections of land down there for several years.

E: He was a Mormon, right?

H: Yes.

E: And he would actually rent land from this hacienda?

H: Yes, from the hacienda. And he'd raise corn and cane. We raised a lot of cane, because we made it into molasses.

E: What was the major crop of the hacienda, the most important one?

H: Corn.

E: Corn.

H: [On Anchondo's land.] But when my brother-in-law rented, why, he planted what he wanted. And he always had what he called a watermelon _____. He always raised a big patch of watermelons.

E: Do you remember what the terms were, the terms by which the land was rented out?

H: No. But I think it was a portion of [what he raised], you know.

E: Oh, he would pay him back with a portion of the crops?

H: [Yes.] But I don't know what portion.

E: Do you have any idea if Don Jacobo allowed his peones to rent part of the land for themselves?

H: No! They worked for the company. They worked wherever they could and [they] had to buy from their central store. And like I told you, they got behind every month.

E: That's the tienda de raya.

H: [Yes.] But that's where my father got these two [men], from the [Hacienda de] San Diego.

E: Now, just as Don Jacobo was a favorite of Luis Terrazas, did he, himself have any favorites that he would treat especially well on the hacienda? Any managers or caporales?

H: I wouldn't know that. There were some I'm sure that he did, but I wouldn't know.

E: Do you have any idea more or less how many peones lived on that hacienda?

H: Well, there were eight or 10 rooms [for the people who] lived right there, that took care of the hacienda.

E: Eight or 10 rooms.

H: Eight or 10 rooms. In each room lived a family.

E: Ah. Did Don Jacobo ever hire Mexicans from the Casas Grandes region to come work on his hacienda?

H: I don't know where he got them. [If] there was anybody that had to have work, he was placed where he could do it.

E: This concludes the second full interview with Mrs. Nelle Spilsbury Hatch.

E: Mrs. Hatch you lived through some very difficult and tumultuous times during the Revolution. Could you tell us about what year things started to get better or return to some semblance of normalcy in Casas Grandes for the Mormon colonists?

H: Well, it never did get very bad for them. That is, they'd come into our town, you know, with their threats and so forth, and want this and that-- that we didn't have, you know, that they'd already taken from us, you see. So they didn't harm us. But we had one incident...now I don't know whether this would be interesting or not.

E: Go ahead and tell us.

H: An apostle of our church built a beautiful home in Colonia Juárez. There's a picture of it in this [book on] Colonia Juárez. And his daughter married into the Hatch family.

E: That's your husband's family?

H: [Yes.] He wasn't my husband then. I was teaching school, and he was married and had five children. And [the apostle's] son-in-law married into the Croft family, [this] his Hatch boy. So that when the son was out of the way, then grandpa Hatch went over and used the place. And he'd take his horses over and let them feed on the weeds around in that orchard around the home. He took them over, took his horses over one Sunday morning. And he knew every time he went over there that someone had been in looting. See, there was no law to protect anything, but there was a lot of looting. Get into the house and he knew that they were looting it. This morning when he went in he could tell there was someone in the house now. So he turned the horses loose, took care of them, and just stood in the door waiting till they came down; he could hear them upstairs. When [the woman

that was there] saw there was an American there, why, she dropped...had her apron full of things that she'd picked up here and there, you know, in the house. And he said something under his breath (chuckles), something about an SOB that were in there robbing us, you know. And she just went by him on the run, went across the street, and then her husband came right back after. He says, "Why did you call my wife an SOB?" You know what that is don't you? (Chuckles)

E: Sure, I believe I do.

H: You believe you do! (Chuckles) And he says, "I didn't." And he says, "Don't lie to me!" And he had a big hammer in his hand and he threw it at him. And it ticked his ear, [but he] had dodged it. Then he saw his hammer hadn't done any good work, so he reached for a rock, and he picked up a rock, too. But they both came up and they were close enough to get it if they could have struck each other with the rock. They held the rocks up like this, but Brother Hatch threw first and hit the man in the head and killed him. And, my, what a commotion that made in the town.

E: Was that the only time a Mormon had killed a Mexican in the area?

H: Oh, the only time. And that was to kill to keep from being killed.

E: What relation was this person to you after you married into the Hatch family?

H: He was my father-in-law.

E: Your father-in-law.

H: My father-in-law, and he had three grown sons there in town. Well, he saw what a commotion... Oh, they just swarmed out from every place with rocks and clubs and anything they could use to hit with, you know. They came out screaming, you know, "Kill the Mormons! Kill that old man!" And while _____, he just walked away, and they didn't say anything about it.

E: What year was this? Do you recall?

H: This was in 1913. It was a week after I got down there. And I was scared stiff. I was scared, I was just scared all the time. I had younger brothers and sisters that just went there all around everywhere, didn't pay attention, [they went] anyplace. And I just knew every time they left that they'd be killed. And when this came up, why, they went over and arrested these three sons.

E: What three sons?

H: The man's son, Grandpa Hatch's sons. [They] arrested [the man] who later became my husband. He said they'd hold them until they found that old man; because they couldn't find him, he just disappeared, nobody knew where he was. But oh, what a commotion! It was a day of terror for us, and especially for me, who was already frightened. But they kept them in there. But we had a man in town, Lonzo Taylor, that afterwards became my brother-in-law, and he knew the Mexican people better than they knew themselves, nearly. And he was a master hand at handling them and talking to them and getting them to see the point that he wanted them to see. And he handled them all day. They couldn't do anything. He said, "These boys here, you could hold them forever and that won't get that old man. He's gone someplace and dropped out of sight, and nothing you can do." So they just sat and argued all day long.

Well, towards evening a man knocked on our door, and he was a mean-looking fellow. And he said, "I got some note from that place up there where they've been holding those boys prisoner." He says, "They're going to give you one half hour to find that old man. And if at the end of that time you haven't found him, they're going to start to kill and burn." And something just

straightened up inside of me; I'll never forget it in the world, because I was just as frightened as a person could be. Something just straightened up, and I walked over to him and looked him right in the eye and I says, "They can't do it." And you know, he just melted. It was just intimidation, you know. If he could get everybody scared, why there'd be something pop up somewhere. And I just says, "They can't do it." He just melted. Well, I never was scared again. Never was scared again!

Then right after that, Villa was so determined to... A man who was as popular in the south as Villa was in the north, I've forgotten his name. He later became president of Mexico.

[PAUSE]

E: We're talking about Alvaro Obregón, then.

H: Obregón was Villa's rival. He knew when he grew so fast in public opinion you know, politically. Papers were full around our section of the country with the victories that Villa was having, and then they were also telling what Obregón was doing. So Villa knew that he had to whip him in order to gain the favor of the whole nation. Then he was sure that the United States would recognize him as the leader down here. Up to date, it was either he or Carranza. So they decided to meet at Celaya. You know [about that].

E: Yes, I know about that.

H: Well, that's where Villa met his Waterloo. He'd been used to using his Dorados, you know, to just rush in and take everybody by surprise and then rush out again.

E: What was happening in Casas Grandes at this time?

H: Nothing, nothing. Just one red-flagger after another was in charge. Some of them were ornery with us--not kind, you know--but nothing was serious.

And some were our friends.

E: Mrs. Hatch, the last time we spoke, we talked about the peón system there in Casas Grandes. And you stated that you thought that that was one of the reasons for the outbreak of the Revolution.

H: I do think so.

E: Now, can you remember anything else about this, about the discontent of these people? How did it manifest itself?

H: They didn't dare manifest it or say anything in public. Whatever was said was just in private. And they'd talk to us occasionally, but they were very careful about what they said. We had one young man run away from his father, who was a schoolteacher, a country schoolteacher.

E: A Mexican?

H: Yes. [He] lived down south near Mexico City. And he didn't have a job. He had a family of 19 children and he was a country school teacher and able to make a fair living for them, but he had no work to give them when they were out. So there was nothing for [him] to be but a peón. So this boy ran away and he hid for three months while they were hunting him. Then he worked his way north and got up into Chihuahua, and ran onto an American who had taken a contract to help work the railroad, some kind of road work they were doing there. And he went to work for them. Well, they were different people [than] he'd ever seen before. They didn't smoke, they didn't drink, they didn't swear; and he said, that they didn't quarrel with each other. The daughter that was there with the man, her father, he thought she was an angel, she was light complexioned, you know. And he just fell for her.

When the contract was over and they moved back to Colonia Juárez, he asked to go with them. And when he came into Colonia Juárez, he was about

a boy about 15, 16 years old. Just as soon as he got there he asked to know something more about our church, and he became a Mormon, and was baptised. I'll never forget the day, it was so important to us. As soon as they are baptised, then they're confirmed and made members of the church. In the meeting where that happened, we had a old patriarch there who stood up and spoke in tongues, and had us all spellbound. And nobody could interpret it so he interpreted it himself. We could tell he was talking about the young man that had been confirmed. He told him what an influence he was going to be among his own people and that he needed kindness and he needed help and he needed understanding, which we all promised to do. And he stayed there and he married an American girl.

And as soon as he got through the eighth grade, then the principal of our school, Brother Wilson, let him teach enough to keep him going, you know, and study at the same time, so that he got a high school education. And as soon as he'd gotten a high school education, he took his wife and children and went to Utah, and got a degree in [the] college in Logan. He had become so enamored of the work and the teachers that worked with him [liked him very much], because he was so ambitious, and he was so willing to do whatever he could to help, and to take care of the family, a growing little family like that, keep up with his work and do his work. They thought he was a marvel. They said, "Why, we can place you anyplace. We can put you any one of six places when you get through here."

Well, when he got through and they tried to find those places, every one of them turned him down, found some reason why he didn't have enough credits of this or he lacked something, you know. When it came to the last one, they came back to report to him, he says, "You don't need to

tell me." He says, "I know why they don't hire me. I'm a Mexican." So he moved from Utah into New Mexico and got work there, and he worked up there just like he had in Utah. And he developed the Mexico pinto bean while he was there. It didn't add anything to his wealth or anything because he was working for a company, but it made a name for him, so that it 'roused jealousy. Then people began calling him a Mormon, and they weren't gonna stand for him having this position and that position 'cause he was a Mormon. And then his wife left him.

E: Why did his wife leave him?

H: She just couldn't stand the discrimination against him.

E: Did they have any children?

H: Seven. And one died, I think. She left him and he went into Arizona. And he thought, "Well, I've been denied a position once because of my race and another one because of my religion. I think I'll go back to Mexico, where I came from." So as he went along, he wrote this in his [diary], his story of his life. (I've got that book ready to go to the press soon as I get some money.) He said he remembered that the president of stake, Brother Ivan, says to him, "Manrique, would you like to be happy?" "Sure." "Would you like to be rich?" "Sure." "It's in your hands." Do it yourself, he meant. So he said, "I looked at my hands, then, and that's all I did have." Just his hands. He'd had a wife and seven children, and he'd got his college degree, he'd made this development, you know, there, so that he was well qualified in lots of ways. And he went back and that's all he had--what he knew and his hands. And he went back to Dublán and rented a little piece of land. And with the money that he saved off that, he rented a bigger piece the next year. He finally bought a place. And he died just

a few months ago--95 years old, 94; something like that. But [a] staunch Mormon. And he wrote in there, "I've been preaching the law of righteous farming." And he knew how to do everything.

E: Do you remember his last name?

H: Manrique González. González. That's quite a common name. That was his name.

E: Do you know where he was from originally?

H: Well, I ought to know, but I don't. It's south, down near Mexico City.

E: When did he go up to Chihuahua first?

H: He went up there in about, oh, 1915.

E: During the Revolution?

H: Yes. Yes, during the Revolution. And he lived around with people, you know, till he got married and got him a home of his own. He was just ambitious, that's all.

E: Where was his wife from? Was she from the colonies?

H: Yes. But she couldn't stand that discrimination, you know, so she left him.

E: Were there many cases of intermarriage between American Mormons...

H: Not then. It's more common now. But not then; that was very unusual.

E: About how many cases of that kind of intermarriage do you know of today?

H: Well, he and his brother. His brother Andrés came. Do you know more?

*K: Not at that time. I know that his brother Andrés González married Minnie Spencer, then Crenna married Albert Alvarez. Those are the only three that I can remember.

E: Mrs. Knudsen, how do you think these couples got along?

H: I think we got along all right, Mormons.

* Mrs. Knudsen, Mrs. Hatch's daughter.

- E: Madeleine, do you think there was ever any problem on the part of the wives, as far as experiencing discrimination or how they took it or things like that?
- K: I don't know. Now in the case of one, the husband was not a member of the church, and that's always a problem, no matter what. Now, in the cases of the two González brothers, I don't think it had any effect whatsoever. Now I don't know Manrique's first wife, I just know his second wife, Regina, and the fine children they raised. They've just got the loveliest children. One of their daughters Lilia is our Relief Society president in the ward right now.
- E: Was Regina then also of Mexican descent?
- K: Regina was Mexican, I never did know about his first wife.
- E: Was Regina born a Mormon?
- K: Mother, was Regina born a Mormon? Manrique's second wife, Regina, was she born a member of the church?
- H: Oh, not born.
- K: Did he convert her?
- H: He converted her. And his [daughter] is the president of the Relief Society here now, in El Paso.
- E: Have there ever been any abrasions between Mexican Mormons and Anglo American Mormons down in the colonies themselves?
- K: Well, not that I know of. Now I know our friend Moroni thinks there's a great deal, and has volumes of it in his heart that he resents. I was not aware of it. That's my country, just like this is. When they play the Mexican national anthem, I get goose bumps just like I do when I hear the United States anthem, because that was my country, I was born there. And I love the people, I love the customs. I don't ever want to get very far

away from it. I never did feel any of that, but there are some who do. It's hard for me to see it, but I know that there are some very sincere feelings of discrimination, and I don't understand them myself. But as far as these marriages [are] concerned, quite a few of the younger people now, when they go away to school, intermarry racially, and their marriages are very successful and so forth. I think it does cause a strain when you mix cultures. If you could keep the same culture and the same religion, there's a strain on any marriage when you have all of those in common, just putting a man and a woman together.

E: Do you think it would be fair to say that there's more of a chance for conflicts between two partners in a Mormon marriage in the states than there is a chance for that kind of conflict in northern Mexico, in the colonias?

K: I don't know. There isn't too much intermarriage of it in Mexico.

E: How did the elders feel about this kind of intermarriage? Did they ever try to dissuade the parties from it?

K: I think so, just like they do today. They give sound counsel to marry within your culture and as near as you can.

E: But you feel that it's mostly based on just that fact that you get along easier within your own culture, and it's not a discriminatory thing?

K: Not at all. The only thing is that the church frowns against breaking up of families. The family is considered the most basic and perfect unit in the church, and the whole church is set up to help the family. And if you start out with your, well, maybe just your heart and not thinking of what can happen, be a little more mature in your thinking... Anything that causes a stress on the family or the children, like maybe marrying into the negro race or something, it's a hard thing for the children to grow up under.

And it's purely for these reasons that this counsel has been given, that I know of. That's my understanding. Because the church is worldwide. Our missionaries go all over the world, we have almost 30,000 now. They're bound to marry people that they meet or see. Even though they don't socialize like that, you get to know people by working with them. And then they come home and start a correspondence, and pretty soon here comes the girl and they get married, and they're very successful marriages.

E: Let me ask you something, Mrs. Knudsen. How long did you live in the colonies?

K: It's still home. I don't live there anymore but...

E: When did you stop living there continuously?

K: Well, I left just before I was 18 to go to Brigham Young University. I went four years and just came home for visits after that. And I went into the American Airlines as a stewardess, and I met my husband.

E: When you were growing up there, did you ever know of any clandestine trysts or meetings between or dating between...

K: Oh, yes. There was some of that--some. Not widespread, but there was some.

E: But it was clandestine?

K: Well, yes, because mostly because they were not members of the church. And it could have been some of the cultures were different, too.

E: Now, was this mostly between Mormons, or could it have been a case of Mormon girls and non-Mormon Mexicans? Did that also occur?

K: Well, most of the Mexican people that attended our school were non-Mormons. It's very...high credited school in the state, and the people who could afford to pay the tuition would like to send their children there.

E: It was actually considered an elite institution?

- K: Well, I guess. As far as northern Mexico was concerned at that time, there were no other schools for a while to compare with it. There certainly is now and has been for many years. But mostly it was people sending their children to school there who wanted them to get a good education; and if they would conform to our standards, they were certainly welcome.
- E: What kind of family backgrounds did your classmates come from, the ones of Mexican descent?
- K: Well, I remember one of them was the governor's son.
- E: Do you remember his surname?
- K: Yes, Talamantes. [Raul] Talamantes.
- E: Does he now live in Aguascalientes?
- K: I don't know. He was afflicted, and I don't know whether he was able to overcome that or not. They have medicines now for his affliction.
- E: This is very interesting, and I'd like to make the point in the interview that Governor Talamantes was extremely interested in agrarian-related issues and the agrarian aspects of the Mexican Revolution in Chihuahua. He was known for taking a deep interest in ejido problems after the Revolution. Just to make a tie-in, I'd like to say that Francisco Almada, the great Chihuahua historian and also former governor, told me that when he died, Gustavo Talamantes had the letter from Máximo Castillo to Luis Terrazas, telling him that he was going to blow up some of his buildings and haciendas there in the Casas Grandes region. So I merely wanted to state that I find it intriguing that Governor Talamantes' son, Raul, would have attended school in that area, and it's just impressive how history carries on from one generation to the next and how the tie-ins occur ever so frequently.
- Tell me something. Did these kids ever talk about politics at all?

Did they ever exhibit any particular social consciousness?

K: Not that I know of. The ones that went to school when I did, they were just real good fun kids. Lots of fun to dance with. You know, the Latin dancers, there's nothing like them in the world. We had dances every Friday night. We didn't have football then, but they were good basketball players and they were good [in] track. And some of them, when my mother taught journalism, were excellent in that, in their learning of English. As I recall, they came from just almost all walks of life, but would've had to been people who could afford to send extra tuition. Because we pay our tithing, which is a tenth of our earnings, which goes to pay teachers' salaries and build schools and churches and so forth. Those who do not belong to our church and pay tithing would naturally have to pay a tuition. So it would be the families that could afford the tuition.

E: Now, what percentage of these kids would you say learned to speak English well, these kids from the Mexican upper class?

K: Well, they certainly had the opportunity. But with the English-speaking kids being able to speak Spanish, I don't know whether they really mastered it or not; but it was certainly their opportunity there. They learned to use it in their studies and so forth, but...

E: Could you give me any examples of what these kids went on to do later in life?

K: Well, I remember two of them have [a] a very fine shoe store in Chihuahua City. I have a friend here in town who kind of keeps track of these fellas and knows what they do. I know one of them in Ascención has a store. There's a pharmacist over here in Zaragoza, Nueva Zaragoza, that attended school there.

E: So they're all sort of middle class and upper middle class businessmen?

K: [Yes.] They used their education to a good advantage.

E: Very interesting.

[PAUSE]

E: Mrs. Hatch, all the time that you spent in the colonias there in Chihuahua, you must have come to a general impression about the nature of the Mexican people whom you've known. You must have formed some kind of, oh, perhaps a philosophy of sorts about how to deal with them, how they act, and so forth. Could you summarize your feelings?

H: Well, particularly my father, he always said he'd rather trust a Mexican than he would [an] American. (Chuckles) If they said they'd do a thing, they'd do it. I never had any particular intercourse with them. I've been deaf all my life and I've missed a lot of this stuff she's talking about -- that is, the details of it.

E: Tell me something. After the Revolution, after 1920, you stayed there in the colonias?

H: Yes.

E: What did you do?

H: Why, we would just go to work and try to mend up all the things that had been torn down. The houses were all...shingles curling and the windows were broken. [A] good many of them had been burned and fences were down. And alfalfa fields been tramped over, you know, and everything was down. We just went to work fixing up, and it took us 10 years. It was, we had an orchard that we bought. In fact, in our turnover of property...why, it was kind of forced on us, we didn't think he wanted it, but it was the best thing ever happened to us. We got our first carload of apples to take

to Mexico City in 1932. And it took that long, from 1920 to 1932, to get started a little bit so that we began to feel that we were living. So we had to do, first of all, we had to fix up properties. And we took the roof off of our house 'cause the shingles were curling, and it was easier to just take it off and make [an] Indian-type flat top, you know.

E: Did many government officials used to come around and talk to the Mormons there in the area?

H: Oh, yes.

E: What would they talk about?

H: Oh, about Mexico and the future of Mexico and what the Lord had done for them and what [He] was doing for them.

E: Did they ever talk about re-distribution of land?

H: No. No, they never talked of that. I don't think that was the subject that they discussed anyplace except in political circles, you know, where they talked of it.

E: Was there ever any problem with the laboring group, the Mexican laborers, either agriculturally or otherwise?

H: No. There is now a little bit.

E: What is the nature of that problem today?

H: Well, they feel that they don't need to work. But they have to have work and they come to us for it. And they don't celebrate Labor Day. They have their Labor Day, but they don't...

E: Do the Mormons there still hire Mexican labor?

H: Oh, my, yes.

E: What kinds of jobs do they do?

H: Why, we've had the same set of men working in our orchard. And they have

trained them so that they know when it needs irrigating, when it needs to be pruned. And what to do when it _____...we have to smudge you know, in the spring.

E: These are apple orchards?

H: Yes.

E: Apples, pears and peaches, right?

H: Yes.

E: About how many men, how many Mexicans, work in the orchards today?

H: We keep three or four men the year round. Then when it comes to smudging season or picking fruit or thinning fruit or some job like that, then they take on a bigger force--sometimes as many as 20 men.

E: Do you know how much these men are paid?

H: Well, they've taken the labor law and they follow that, and they raise their salary when it says.

E: Mrs. Hatch, I'm sure many other questions will occur to me later, but for now I think I've probably taken up enough of your time.

H: As a people we haven't lot of...they've all become citizens nearly, but they don't hold office. There are a few that have little offices, but not much of any kind.

E: What is the number of Mormons there in the colonies today?

H: Oh, three or four hundred.

E: Three or four hundred.

H: I guess. How many, Ernestine?

K: Well, there are quite a few of the churches growing rapidly there. They have a chapel in Casas Grandes, they have a branch in San Diego, and I forget all the little towns around there. But there are about seven or

eight units in the stake now, whereas before there were only four.

E: But all told, as far as Anglo-American Mormons living there?

K: Anglo? Oh, I'd say around two hundred or three hundred.

E: What was the height of Mormon population in the colonies?

H: About four thousand.

E: About what year?

H: In 1912.

E: Just before the exodus.

H: When the exodus came. Since then, there's never been more than a thousand or a couple of thousand.

K: When I grew up, anyway, it was only about three or four hundred.

E: Well, I want to thank you on behalf of the Institute of Oral History at the University of Texas at El Paso. You've been very gracious. I appreciate it and I hope that at some time in the future I can visit you in Casas Grandes or there in the colonia.

H: Oh, I wish you would.

E: Okay. Well, thank you very much, Mrs. Hatch.