WESTERNERS
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The Branding Iron
J. GOODMAN

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Popular and Nonpopular History: Problems Shared & Singular

by Jean Sherrell

The problems of the popular historian are essentially the same as the problems of the nonpopular historian, though the *responsibilities* of the popular historian are heavier because of the nature of his audience. (The nonpopular historian may have problems, but no responsibilities because nobody reads his work.)

For this discussion, the terms "popular historian" and "nonpopular historian" are based on the words' primary meanings in *Webster's New International Unabridged Second Edition.* "Popular" refers to the whole body of people as opposed to a select portion and here, that "select portion" will refer to specialists in history — people whose interest is narrowly focused; perhaps their livelihoods even depend on their expertness in some particular area of history. Specialists are not necessarily *widely* expert — that is, the expert in the psychology of the gold rush '49er may know nothing of the Spanish colonial period, even perhaps less than the more generally interested reader of history. While I was drafting this article, one academic who specializes in California Indians' experiences in the missions called to ask whether anything "interesting" was scheduled for forthcoming issues. I rather snappishly answered, "Of course!" He shyly rephrased, "I mean, anything on the Indians in the missions coming up?" That is the specialist speaking — the basic audience of the nonpopular historian.

The popular historian's audience is much broader, including along with the specialists intelligent individuals whose livelihoods do not depend on their knowledge of specific aspects of history but who want to know for the sake of knowing what happened and why. They want to learn from and be entertained by the true stories that make up what we call history.

To clarify a few more terms, the definition of a "historian" is "a writer of history"; whether we call the writer of history "popular" or "nonpopular" depends on his audience at the moment. The same writers thus may become, at different times, "popular" and "nonpopular" historians. And "history" itself is "a narrative of events connected with a[n] object, person or career... esp. such a narrative devoted to the natural unfolding and interdependence of the events treated."

A few major problems occasionally arise in *both* popular and nonpopular history writing — mistakes, plagiarism, dishonesty — but

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THE BRANDING IRON solicits articles of 2,500 words or less, dealing with every phase of the Old West. Contributions from members and friends welcomed.

THE MONTHLY ROUNDUP

Photograph by - Frank Q. Newton

John "Young" Selmer

JULY 1986 MEETING

On July 9 the Corral heard CM John "Young" Selmer speak on "Women in Wells Fargo." Wells Fargo was established in response to the California gold rush. Women were few and far between in both society and the Wells Fargo offices in the early years. They did figure prominently in the Puccini opera "Girl of the Golden West" which mentions Wells Fargo many times. Of particular interest were Ben Joes, a dapper stage driver, gambler, and profane drunk who after his death in 1903 — turned out to be a woman. Similarly, Charlie Parkhurst, a long-time driver of stages, pulled off a 50year deception of masquerading as a man. She was the first woman to vote in the U.S., by deception. Women in their own right served

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guarding against such things requires similar approaches by editors of popular and nonpopular history alike; these are by no means problems peculiar to popular historians and their audience. Nonpopular history writing, intended for readers as specialized as the author, properly sacrifices optimum readability to include footnotes for those readers who will perhaps want to do research of their own using some of the footnotes as shortcuts, who may appreciate instant corroboration of a controversial statement, etc. Popular history writing, on the other hand, must work credit-giving references into the text or into a bibliographic discussion instead of using footnotes, which are hopelessly disruptive to the flow of the narrative. And because the reader of popular history generally does so at his discretion and is not compelled to read for reasons of professional survival, the popular history writing had *better* be sufficiently flowing and lively to hold his attention.

These variations in requirement and format create *literary* problems for popular historians — their work must be more carefully organized to convey the needed reference information in-text and to work into the text those interesting but peripheral discussions the nonpopular historian is free to simply dump into a footnote — but no problems of credibility are added, because people who do dishonest or sloppy work will do it with or without footnotes. E.g., our popular history magazine *The Californians* has had to reject two heavily-footnoted articles for too much unattributed borrowing despite the footnotes and, in one case, an impressively lengthy bibliography that apparently originated in someone else's computer bank rather than from the author's own research. Also, a few years ago one history quarterly in California published a thoroughly footnoted article that turned out to be based on someone else's work and the angry victim of that plagiarism has yet to be mollified. Even more recently, when a young Princeton professor's landmark book on German businessmen's role in the rise of the Nazis was discredited for its distorted and misleading citations, the head of the history department search committee at the University of Texas said that she believed that close study of many recent works of history would reveal similar errors. (That book, heavily footnoted, was reviewed before publication by academic specialists in the author's field and pronounced sound.) To guard against inaccurate citations and plagiarism, popular and nonpopular history editors can only devise the best review processes that they can. Mistakes and plagiarism, when discovered, should be corrected prominently in the next possible issue, otherwise the errors and misunderstandings will perpetuate themselves in history — a field that thrives on cross-quoting and citing with less and less chance, as time and distance from the original error increase, that the original error will be caught, let alone corrected in all its incarnations along the way.

But beyond all these much-discussed difficulties is one problem that, although shared by both nonpopular and popular history writing, is far more devastating in popular history. That problem is the lack of author objectivity that results in a biased piece of history writing. Most historians are so familiar with the problems of *discovering* the truth that there's no need to go into that here — problems with various types of documents, corroboration and verification, the varying reliability of eyewitness accounts, etc. And most discovery-related problems can be attributed either to incomplete or inadequate records or to human distortion and alteration, intentional or not, of what happened. Here, let's assume the first part of the process — discovery and verification of the facts as far as possible — is complete. The problem of author bias comes into play in selection, interpretation and presentation of verified facts. The process of selecting and presenting facts to put one's theory in the best light is not unusual — lawyers and appellate judges do it all the time. But "building a case" can quickly get out of hand when it's the historian who does it. The presentation of history — particularly popular history — is supposed to be more akin to the scientist's search for truth than it is to the legal world's adversary system. Yet the advocating adversary approach seems to appear more

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and more in both popular and nonpopular history writing.

Sometimes — and this is most often a problem with writers from the academic world, seeking distinction to justify tenure or grants — the desire to come up with really original, attention-getting material leads to some pretty tenuous theory constructions.

Sometimes the desire to right old wrongs overcomes the writer and he becomes a crusader for an oppressed group rather than objective chronicler. This variation is particularly prevalent.

And sometimes the writer's immersion in the subject affects his perspective. The specialist loses his detachment as his immersion in his pet theory grows and takes on a life of its own apart from the indications of the body of available fact. Or, the individual writing for sheer love of the subject rather than any requirement to publish or perish develops, after a lengthy period of research, such awe for his hero's accomplishments that he can't see the clay feet.

Finally, there are great problems with recollections of eyewitnesses or participants, whether in standard history documents or in oral history. Rigorous verification of what witnesses (living or dead) say is not always possible, and writers and interviewers do not always, for various unknown reasons, make that fact perfectly clear.

Even the best history is so flawed, so inexact, so non-scientific, that for the reader the degree of truth — that is, the actual connection with reality — in any piece of history writing would be greatly increased if the writer would qualify his sources, admit uncertainty when it occurs and label speculation and opinion as such more clearly than is usual. There's nothing unintellectual or shameful about admitting the uncertainty and ambiguity that so often arises when human beings are the topic. Even Francis Bacon noted, "If we begin with certainties, we shall end in doubts; but if we begin with doubts, and are patient in them, we shall end in certainties."

Nevertheless the problem exists: there are many good, interesting articles that are one-sided and expressed in the least ambiguous of terms, so the practical issue is what responsibilities publishers and editors of history writing have to their readers.

Editors of nonpopular journals can and do take the more cavalier *caveat emptor* approach to the well-argued-but-one-sided article because their primary audiences are frequently as specialized as the author in the topic, and thus more likely to pick up on the unrepresentatively selected facts, the biased interpretation. Generally, the more specialized the audience, the greater their knowledge of the background and role of the esoteric subject, and the greater their ability to evaluate the balance of an author's presentation. Editors of popular journals, on the other hand, have to worry about the one-sided article because they have to assume reader unfamiliarity with the background and with other writings on the subject.

Our magazine's basic approach has not been to exclude such articles — often they are the most interesting, stimulating, ground-breaking ones — but instead to provide our popular audience with more context, more of a "big picture," sometimes even conflicting theories or information on a topic when the author's advocacy approach seems to create some problem of balance. Sometimes we edit material to more definitely separate fact from opinion and that is frequently all it takes for readers to make an intelligent judgment about the material — they do, and we hear from them in our letters column! Sometimes, when minor clarifying editing is not sufficient (usually when a bias is being forwarded consciously rather than unconsciously), we simply ask an author to explain how they arrive at conclusion C from facts A and B. (For example, one writer describing a northern Indian tribe noted that the tribe practiced genocide on other tribes when the land became too crowded, practiced slavery, was highly materialistic — and then commented that later the white man came along to disrupt and corrupt these Indians' ideal, Utopian society. Genocide, slavery, Utopian?) Sometimes the author is willing to rethink and rework in extreme cases; sometimes the only solution is to reject the manuscript. In one case, not quite as extreme as the above example of the genocidal yet

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Utopian Indians, the author had no objection to some moderating editing changes but pointed out that his manuscript had been published in slightly different form in a scholarly journal with no changes whatever required. Obviously the scholarly editor had decided the publication's specialized audience had enough background to properly evaluate what, for most of our readers, would have been a misleading though convincing picture.

To some extent our magazine simply tries to give our readers all the tools they need to accurately appraise material. We encourage authors to indicate, in the annotated bibliography at the end of each article, where they got their information and what involved them in the subject in the first place — indirectly giving the reader some idea of the author's interest in and feeling for his subject. This has other functions, of course — indicating and crediting sources used, offering suggestions for further reading, etc. — but it also serves very well to orient an audience when a topic is a controversial one. We also discuss (responding to readers' letters or in the "From the Editor and Publisher" department) some of the problems inherent in the discovery, presentation and understanding of information, and have planned a special section of articles on the problems and limits of history writing for a 1987 issue.

All this may strike some people as tedious analysis of the obvious, but if it were all that obvious there would be no problem. The goal is to build into a popular audience not only an increased appreciation for history but also a very healthy skepticism — neither of which can be accomplished without a real understanding of the process and pitfalls of writing history.

Of course such approaches are less than perfect and I have far more questions than answers on the subject. The ideal solution would be for authors to develop internal awareness of and restraints on their own biases, and to be as candid about these as possible with readers. The inability or unwillingness of many writers to do this is certainly not restricted to writers of history but is also found among journalists in general (journalists being, primarily, contemporary historians). The habit of advocacy, of forwarding one's preferred point of view through fact selection and interpretation, has become so widespread, so ingrained, so accepted, that readers, writers, editors and publishers barely notice it anymore. The few exceptions stand out, and one of them illustrates the ideal situation. Toronto journalist George Jonas recently published a book-length account of a major episode in Israel's clandestine war against terrorism, specifically the activities of a counter-terrorist team established following the massacre of Israeli athletes at Munich in 1972. (*Vengeance,* Simon & Schuster, 1984.) In a detailed, three-page preface, the author informs the reader of his sources, their probable reliability, what has been confirmed and what could not be verified and why, how he told the story and, finally, wrote that "Since this book raises... questions about which different people have different opinions, I think it is fair to outline my bias for the reader." He then proceeded to do so.

Until such candor becomes the norm for writers of history, nonpopular history editors can only hope their specialized audiences are very well informed indeed, and popular history editors will have to continue trying to encourage in their readers' minds a habit of active, reasoning skepticism rather than one of passive information absorption.

[Jean Sherrell, editor of *The Californians,* spent four years studying information problems as fulltime researcher/writer for the Freedom of Information Center, based at the University of Missouri's School of Journalism (Columbia), which monitors, analyzes and reports on all aspects of the control and flow of information for working press and media scholars. Michael and Jean Sherrell publish and edit their San Francisco-based California history magazine for an uncommonly alert and intelligent popular audience.]

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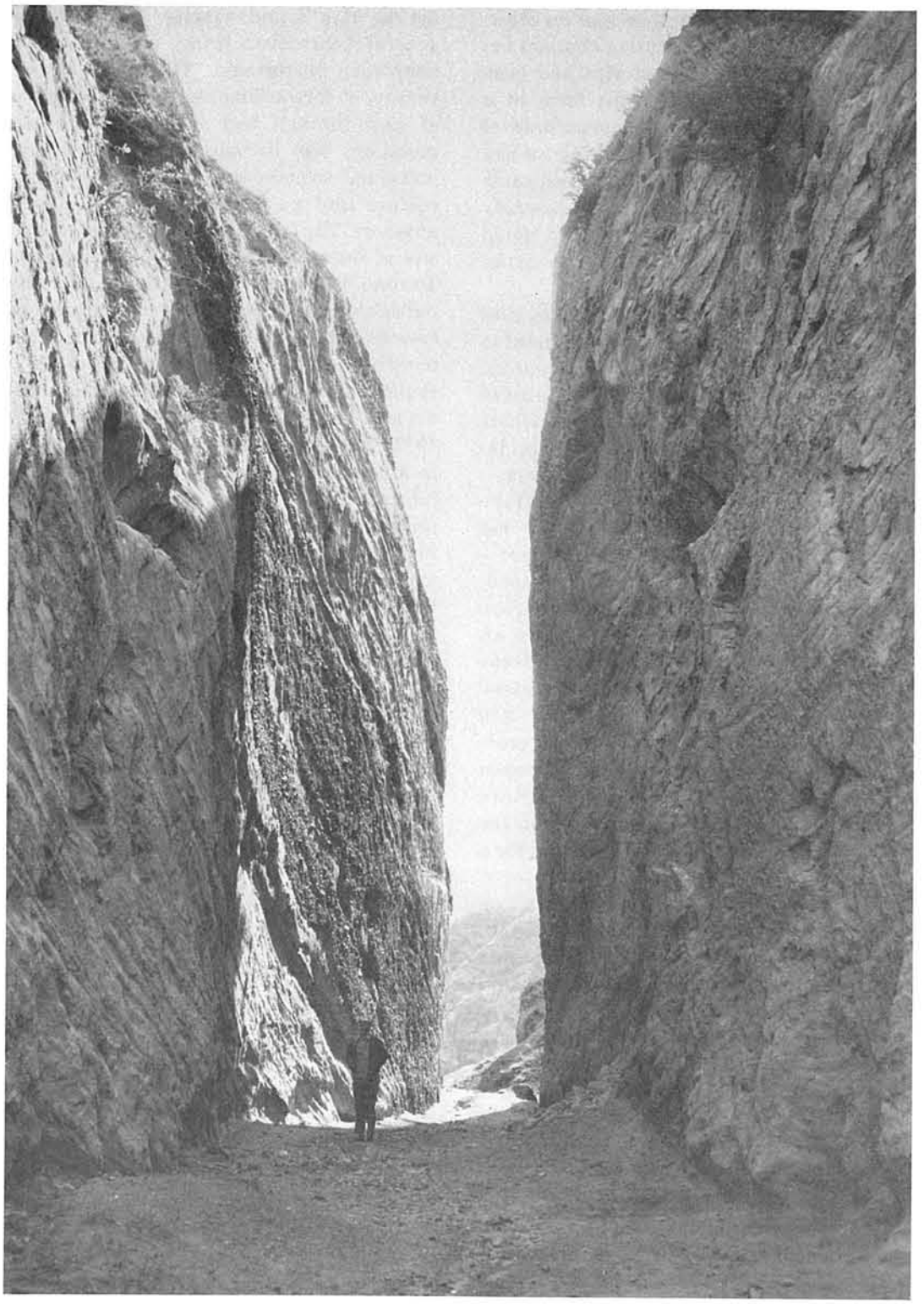

Beale's Cut

by Jack Moore

It was a rough road, little more than a wagon trail, that led into the mountains from the north end of the San Fernando Valley. North of the Valley, the road climbed a steep pass, named in honor of John C. Fremont, who passed this way with his California Volunteers in 1847.

With the opening of Fort Tejon and the discovery of gold along the Kern River in 1854, there came a marked increase in traffic over the road, and the steep climb over Fremont Pass became a wearisome bottleneck.

Edward F. Beale, enterprising ex-naval officer, and recent Superintendant of Indian Affairs for California, decided to obtain a contract to open a toll road over the pass. Toward this end he began work to lower the level of the roadway over the pass.

In 1858 the Butterfield stage route threatened to bypass Los Angeles because John Butterfield felt that Fremont Pass was too precipitous for his stages. Additional excavation was carried out, and when the first trial run was made in August of 1858, Butterfield's six-horse team made it easily through the pass. Los Angeles was safely on the route.

Beale received a twenty year contract to operate his toll road, and travelers north paused at the foot of the grade to pay the charge before toll collector O.P. Robbins would lift the gate and allow passage. Travelers could then proceed up the road, through Beale's Cut, and on to their final destinations.

Today Beale's Cut and a portion of the old toll road remain, sandwiched between the old Sierra Highway and the Antelope Valley Freeway — seemingly caught in some distortion of time.

The marvels of the twentieth century notwithstanding, it still can be an awe-inspiring experience to look up at the walls of the old Cut and reflect on the energies that were expended in creating it; and walking along the remaining section of toll road, it's easy to imagine the pounding of horses' hooves, and the rolling, bouncing passage of the Butterfield Stage. The roughness of the road bed brings to empathetic mind the words of writer Bret Harte, who penned in 1854, "...never ride of your own free will in a California stage."

To visit the Cut, take the Antelope Valley Freeway (State Highway 14) eastward from Interstate 5 at the north end of the San Fernando Valley. Exit at the first off-ramp (Newhall-Saugus) onto San Fernando Road. Turn left at the first cross street onto Sierra Highway (after passing west under the freeway). Approximately one mile south on the left is a turnout edged with three stone markers. There is a short walk down a path and across a bridge to the old toll road, and a quarter-mile walk up the road to Beale's Cut. Leaving the site for Los Angeles, head south on Sierra Highway to its intersection with I-5.

Corral Chips

Elected to the Board of Friends of the USC Libraries are *Hugh Tolford* and CM *Arthur Guy.*

Two Westerners are the featured speakers

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at the meeting of the Noroeste Historical Society: *Norm Neuerburg* discusses the "Presidios and Mission Churches in Eastern Sonora" while AM *Ken Pauley* holds forth on a related topic, "Computerizing Mission Archives." Norm is also a guest speaker on "Mission Period Art, Architecture, and Reconstruction" at the Early California Reflections symposium held at the San Juan Capistrano Library and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Robert Weinstein is honored by the California Historical Society when he receives the Irene Simpson and Aubrey Neasham Award for Historic Preservation.

The pre-eminent historian of the Pacific Coast, *John Kemble,* pens a foreword to *The Log of the Apollo,* the winter 1986 publication of The Book Club of California.

Martin Ridge is serving as president of the Western History Association and has just published *Frederick Jackson Turner: Wisconsin's Historian of the Frontier* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1986).

Our distinguished San Franciscan, CM *Al Shumate,* authors a volume for the Arthur H. Clark Company's "American Trails Series" titled *The Notorious I.C. Woods of the Adams Express.*

Associate Member *George Houle* has published a handsome limited edition volume on *Zane Grey in the South Seas,* edited with an introduction and notes by *Tony Lehman* and printed by CM *Richard Hoffman* with his customary artistry.

Msgr. *Francis J. Weber* officiates at the funeral rites for *Marie Harrington,* long a Corresponding Member of our Corral. Shortly before her death, she saw published her wonderful book on the life and career of her late husband Mark Raymond Harrington titled *On the Trail of Forgotten People.*

Former Sheriff *Bill Escherich* puts his maps in the drawer once and for all when he retires from his position with the Automobile Club of Southern California. On hand for the party in his honor held at the Lummis Home we noted Past Sheriffs *Paul Bailey, Bill Newbro, Everett Hager, Hugh Tolford, Dutch Holland, Don Duke* and *Bill Warren,* supported by members *Dick Cunningham, Andy Dagosta, Don Pflueger,* and *Bob Scherrer.*

The San Dimas Corral of The Westerners hears a talk by *Don Pflueger* on the subject "Murder in San Dimas" wherein he proves that San Dimas was once a part of the rootin' tootin' and shootin' Wild West.

Serving as treasurer for the "Death Valley Conference on History and Prehistory" is *Hugh Tolford.*

Dick Cunningham is busy these days delivering a paper on "Indigenous Watercraft of the Baja California Sphere" for the *Sociedad Cultural de las Californias* meeting in Cabo San Lucas; attending the opening of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History's permanent exhibition of the collection of fifty-two scale models of Indian watercraft which Dick donated to the museum; consulting on a project for a marine park in Paris, France; and completing his work in San Francisco on the new Wells Fargo History Museum.

The home workshop of CM *Hal Edgar* at New Years became a magician's prop factory. A volunteer construction worker on South Pasadena's 1987 Rose Parade float, "Abracadabra," he built the wood and expanded foam props plus the signs used on the float.

Published by the Arthur H. Clark Company, *Images of a Golden Era* is the title of a new 128 page book by *Ben Abril* illustrating 52 of his historical California paintings in full color. The original oil paintings featured in this volume are placed on exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History in Exposition Park from February 3 to April 26, 1987.

CM *Richard Dillon's* book *Wells Fargo Detective* has been re-issued as a classy paperback by the University of Nevada Press. Richard has also penned introduction for two other publications, Ferol Egan's *Fremont* (University of Nevada Press) and a reprint of J. Smeaton Chase's classic *California Desert Trails* (Tioga Press, Palo Alto).

The Mexican government and the Mexican Secretary of Tourism honor *Bill Escherich* with a diploma and silver Medal of Merit for his long-term promotion of travel to Mexico.

many roles in the Wells Fargo company, running branch offices and handling the paper work for the firm throughout the firm's early years. Today many women play a major role in its operation.

In other business, before the program an auction was held in preparation for the annual auction at the Rendezvous, to be held in October. A print by Herschel Logan, one of five wood cuts which have been donated for the auction, was purchased for $250. The funds were contributed to the publication fund, as are all receipts raised at the annual auction.

The Corral also solicited donations for the Los Angeles Public Library fund due to the tremendous loss from the fire earlier this year. AM Norman Neuerburg is chairing the committee, and it is asked that any donations to this fund be sent to the Los Angeles Westerners at the address on the *Branding Iron* masthead, and be earmarked "Library Fund."

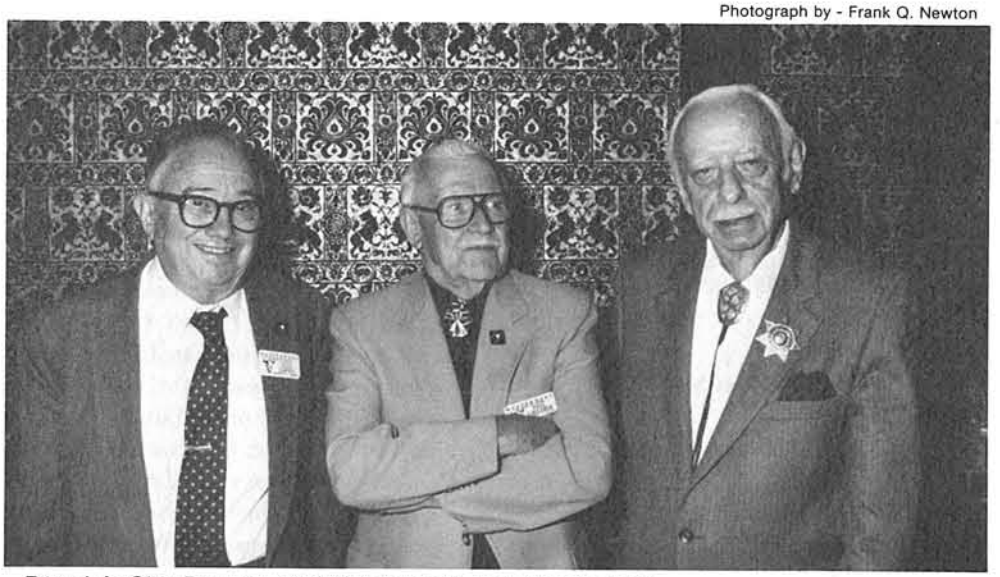
AUGUST 1986 MEETING

Stan Malora, chairman of the 40th Anniversary Committee, introduced the evening's program — videotaped interviews with the three surviving founding members of the Corral: Glen Dawson, Paul Galleher, and John Goodman III. Under the guidance of Powell Greenland, each founding member recalled the early days of the Corral, the people who made contributions in organizing programs, presenting programs, and doing articles for *Brand Books* and the *Branding Irons.*

Glen recalled the first Corral meeting at the home of Homer Britzman on December 3, 1946, as the initial 10 people organized the Corral. He believes the Corral continues to honor the original objectives set 40 years ago. Glen noted the Rendezvous auction originated as a way of raising publishing funds, an idea which has proved very successful.

Paul served as second sheriff of the Corral. He said Rendezvous were organized very early on, but Fandangos were a later

Photograph by - Frank Q. Newton



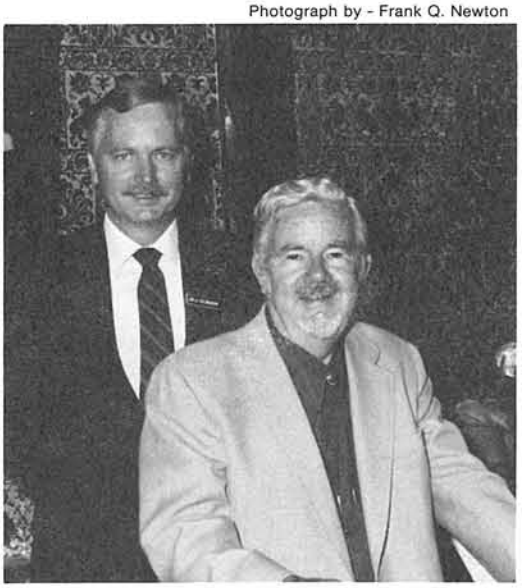
From left, Glen Dawson, Paul Galleher and John Goodman III.

creation. He is most proud of the *Brand Book* series produced by the Corral.

John came to the Corral through his friendship with founding member Bob Woods. His interest in the West stemmed from his set design work in motion pictures and the belief that recreations should be as authentic as possible, and that research should be done to correct errors in the record.

In other Corral matters, Al Miller and Paul Bailey were acclaimed as new Honorary Members; Ray Zeman and Frank Anderson became new Active members; and Mike Torguson, Randy Joseph, and John Selmer were welcomed as new Associate Members. Don Pflueger delivered a memorial for Ted Weissbuch who died July 31. A 1926 Herschel Logan painting was auctioned off for $200 to the Deputy Sheriff.

Photograph by - Frank Q. Newton



From left, Deputy Sheriff Jim Gulbranson and speaker, Loren Grey.

SEPTEMBER 1986 MEETING

At the September meeting the Corral heard Loren Grey, a former education professor at California State University, Northridge, speak on the career of his father, author Zane Grey. Growing up in the shadow of his famous father, Loren Grey determined to succeed in his own field, which he did; but Zane Grey's influence on his son was inevitable, considering the Western author's prodigious output and the continuing success of Grey's novels and stories.

Loren Grey spoke of his father's literary career, his mother's business acumen, and the ongoing production of Zane Grey Enterprises which keeps the books in print and protects Grey's literary rights. He recently wrote *Zane Grey: A Photographic Odyssey,* a memoir of his father in text and photographs.

Ted Weissbuch Heads West

The following remarks were delivered at the August Corral meeting by Don Pflueger.

With the death of Ted Weissbuch on July 31, our Corral has lost a true friend and devoted member. The sudden passing of a friend is always a shock, but in Ted's case it was not entirely unexpected. He had previously sustained two open-heart surgeries, had an artificial valve installed that was later deemed defective by its manufacturer, wore a pacemaker this past year, and maintained a countenance that seemed always to flash a smile. Ted knew better than most that life has quality as well as quantity, and nowhere did he enjoy himself more than at our Corral meetings.

Ted was born and grew up in Chicago. His original West was that of Abraham Lincoln and Mark Twain. He earned a doctorate in American Studies at the University of Iowa and taught for awhile both there and at the University of Nebraska. He served in the United States Army during the Korean War. He joined the faculty of Cal Poly, Pomona, in 1961 and taught in the Department of English until his health forced his retirement in 1980. Until last June he taught a single course in speech at Citrus College, the limit of his capacity but reflective of a determination not to sever all connections with the academic world.

Those of you who have had the privilege of visiting Ted's home in Pomona know it for what it is, a veritable museum of western Americana. His paintings ranged from Budweiser's version of Custer's Last Stand

to the subtle desert pastels from the brush of Bill Bender. He was especially fond of the action-packed scenes of Andy Dagosta. Various bronzes graced the end tables throughout his house and lighted cases displayed his Indian baskets and artifacts. Fortunately, his wife Jeanette shared his enthusiasm for all things western. Ted derived infinite pleasure in sharing his collections with friends, and frequently he brought in things for our display tables here.

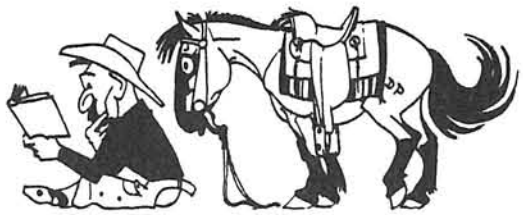
Ted not only shared the delights of finding a rare book or a recently acquired bronze, more importantly he shared his time helping others. He took Paul Bailey to the barber shop, to the shoe store, and to the dentist's office. He pushed me in my wheelchair down the endless corridors of the UCLA hospital. Ted simply couldn't do enough for others. You don't easily forget a man like that.

Ted had an aversion to funerals and wanted none. At his request his body was cremated and his ashes will be strewn across the sands of New Mexico by his widow and their Hopi friends.

Shalom, good friend. Shalom.

Photograph by - Frank Q. Newton

Ted Weissbuch



DOWN THE WESTERN BOOK TRAIL . . .

LONGHORN COWBOY, by James H. Cook. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984. 255 pp. $14.95.

This little book is a delight to read. A reprint of the University of Oklahoma Press 1942 edition — including the excellent and lively drawing illustrations — this number 55 of The Western Frontier Library series relates the high points of his life in the west experienced by James H. Cook.

At age fifteen in the year 1872 he began his adventures in the west that went from brush popping in Texas, to cattle driving up the Chisholm and other trails, to hunter and guide for English sportsmen, to tracker and guide for an Army unit pursuing Geronimo, to rancher in northwest Nebraska, to champion of Sioux causes and true friend of Chief Red Cloud.

Others have had similar adventures. Cook's reminiscences, however, include information on brush popping, about which only one other authority on the early west — J. Frank Dobie — has written. Brush popping was the unique, hazardous, and painful work of capturing wild longhorn cattle in the dense brush-covered region of Texas. For this work cowboy equipment and skills had to be adapted to unusual terrain; both wild cattle and marauding Indians imperilled the cowboy's life and limbs in this lawless region of Texas in the 1870's; even heavy leather and canvas clothing did not completely protect riders racing through shrubbery that seemed to grow nothing but thorns. The last chore of each day was to extract thorns and cactus needles from arms and legs with the point of a knife.

This was Cook's second book. His first, *Fifty Years On The Old Frontier* — also recently reprinted by the University of Oklahoma Press and

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available in paperback at $9.95 — was first published in 1923 by the Yale University Press. Since acquiring assigned copyright in 1954, the University of Oklahoma Press has reprinted the book three times.

Although the dust jacket says of *Longhorn Cowboys* that Cook ". . . fills in the details about the start of his career as a frontiersman . . . ," it is actually almost a verbatim copy of the first two-thirds of his earlier book. In his foreword to the 1957 reprint of *Fifty Years On The Old Frontier,* J. Frank Dobie describes *Longhorn Cowboy,* in an aside remark, as something that Cook ". . . wrote and [Editor] Howard R. Driggs doctored up . . . ."

Be that as it may, each book can be highly recommended to potential new readers of Cook's adventures. Whichever book he chooses, the reader will learn, from one who lived it, what it was like to be a cowboy in the Texas brush country and on the cattle drives to the north in the 1870's.

Siegfried G. Demke

THE SOUTHWESTERN JOURNALS OF ADOLPH F. BANDELIER, *1889-1892,* edited by Charles H. Lange, Carroll L. Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984. 784 pp. Cloth, $47.50.

Adolph F. Bandelier, Swiss by birth, grew up in a small Illinois town, became a leading authority on Mexican pre-Columbian cultures, and wrote scholarly studies on the subject — all while living in Illinois and never having seen Mexico. It was not until 1880, when he was forty, that he first actually visited Indian country — the Santa Fe area of New Mexico. There he quickly became well acquainted with the Pueblo peoples, their homes, their lives, their customs, even their thoughts. On the basis of this he wrote the novel *The Delight Makers* which still intrigues us a century later, as well as a series of thorough scientific studies.

Bandelier painstakingly kept a journal of his daily activities and observations — often spiced with very candid comments upon the people and situations he encountered. They repose today in the History Library of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe. This volume is the last of four in a series based upon the journals covering his life and travels in the Southwest between 1880 and 1892. The earlier volumes cover the periods 1880-1882 (published in 1966); 1883-4 (1970); and 1885-1888 (published in 1976). Those were the years of his field work, of his intimate association with the Indian.

For the archeologist, ethnologist, or anthropologist expecting to find a treasure trove of informative material, the present volume will prove a disappointment. Rather than being his period of field activity, this was his time of writing: he was polishing both the German *Köhare* and its English translation, *The Delight Makers;* writing articles for popular journals; putting together his *Report* to his financial supporters; and writing letters voluminously to friends and colleagues.

This is by far the most thoroughly researched book this reviewer has ever perused. Two of the authors have devoted 25 years each to the labor. Every person or episode mentioned in the Journals has been researched, and it is all presented here. And it is truly amazing how many famous people were in and out of Santa Fe in those years, and how many others were correspondents of Bandelier. The erudition is simply staggering: the Introduction covers 47 pages, and the notes on the Introduction fill 77; The Journals occupy 126 pages of text, but the notes on them consume 474 pages.

A few enthusiasts on western Americana will want this volume — but for most of us, it is just a bit too much.

—Richard F. Logan

PIONEER JEWS: *A New Life in the West.* by Rochlin, Harriet, and Fred Rochlin. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984. 144 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth, $17.95.

In a large-sized format featuring dozens of historical photographs, Harriet and Fred Rochlin have created a fine study of Jews in the West, an area that generously takes in North America from the Dakotas to Texas and west to the Pacific Coast, and chronologically from the discovery of gold in California to the admission of Arizona as the 48th state in 1912. Their purpose is to integrate the pioneer Jew into the history of the West in its fullest sense of the term, and in this they have succeeded to a remarkable degree.

An essential point made here is that Jews were

not only involved in urban centers or retail trade, as is almost stereotypically suggested in what passes for literature on the subject. The Rochlins effectively demonstrate that Jews could be found in every occupation and endeavor, from prospecting to cattle ranching. There were Jewish lawmen, Jewish cowboys, Jewish miners, Jewish politicians. Often isolated and cut off from their spiritual roots, this pioneer generation adapted to the realities of their situation and generally won respect and admiration for its acoomplishments.

To tell the story of the pioneer Jews, the Rochlins have chosen a people-oriented approach. Heavily anecdotal, the narrative provides capsule descriptions of dozens of examples of Jewish participation in the Western experience. Some of these are already well known, such as the careers of Harris Newmark, Michel Goldwater, and Emperor Norton. Then there are the success stories with Jewish origins — Levis, MJB Coffee, and Crown Zellerbach, to name a few. But the Rochlins' research also uncovers the stories of the obscure and unsuccessful, even including an anonymous and deceased tightrope walker given a Jewish burial. Wyatt Earp's wife was Jewish; and dozens of western towns elected Jewish mayors. The biographical approach has a cumulative effect — the reader comes away from this book believing that Jews truly played an important and integral role in the settlement of the West.

The biographical approach, however, does have its limitation. For some Jews, the only information the book provides is in the photo caption, not the narrative. One striking example is the picture on page 148 of "Deputy Sheriff Louis Ezekiels, Pima County, Arizona Territory." It's an undated portrait of an old man, hand-rolled cigarette in his mouth, ten-gallon hat on his head, a badge on his coat — but no information about his career or who he was beyond the cryptic caption. Of course, the Rochlins welcome additional investigation; after all, that was one purpose of this book, not merely to catalog the famous but also to call attention to the contributions of the near-anonymous.

On the other hand, the Rochlins do go a bit too far when they include people born in the West but who made non-Western contributions to society. They admit that Albert Michelson, the famous physicist who grew up in California, had no Jewish connections whatever beyond the fact of his birth. And Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, though raised in the West, can hardly be considered as contributors to Western history.

On balance, the Rochlins provide a very good introduction to a topic neglected in comparison to the study of other ethnic groups in the West. Written in a popular style, the book is nonetheless firmly grounded in research, as attested by the large bibliography. They conclude by asking questions about Jews in the West that their book left unanswered, as good a starting point as any for further investigation into a fascinating topic.

Abraham Hoffman

HASHKNIFE COWBOY: *Recollections of Mack Hughes,* by Stella Hughes. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984. 234 pp. Cloth, $17.50.

A twentieth century cowboy is something of an anomaly in literature on western ranching. Despite that aspect, the incidents and tenor of life on one of the largest ranches of the West duplicate those of thirty or fifty years before. Mack Hughes started young, at age fourteen, as a cowboy on the Hashknife, ranging from old Route 66 between Holbrook and Winslow south to Chevelon Canyon and Heber. It was a large territory with large men and large horse and cattle herds. Mack Hughes spent more than a decade riding, both in Arizona and Nevada, the latter a brief episode when his father moved the family to the Geiser ranch at Pioche, Nevada, where the family could be employed. Moving was an experience hardly to be enjoyed over mere trails and in beaten up Ford touring cars before highways linked the two states with their ribbons of blacktop.

Ranch life during the 1920's and 1930's was no lark either. Times were tough and work was hard, especially during round-ups; winter care for cattle seemed always concerned with perversities of beasts in bogs, thickets, canyons and places where they should not be. But there were times of fun with dances, good companions and friendly people who shared these experiences. Since these were years of Prohibition, Mack Hughes drove a bootlegging truck from still to town at pay far greater than thirty a month but with equal risk.

The Hughes family lived in squalid quarters on ranches or near towns with the mother making homes for a wandering broncbuster husband and for children working on nearby ranches. The old

adage — "the West was hell on horses and women" — applied clearly to this mother with her incessant toil and pains of child-birth, in the dirt and squalor of a shack, and with little money to keep food on the table and medicine for the eternally sick children. Yet she strove to give them the rudiments of an education, certainly the essentials for a life among cattle, horses and ranchers. Her family was her testament to success.

But Hashknife was the center of the story and the landscape both to be enjoyed and endured. Stories of cows, horses and men are warm but not sentimental, direct and masculine without being repelling. Through these pages sparkles a joy of life and living that engrosses the reader and never palls. Mack Hughes had a good life from fourteen to twenty-eight and his wife, Stella, brings forth all that makes a real life story live.

Raymond E. Lindgren

RICHARD H. KERN: *Expeditionary Artist in the Far Southwest. 1848-1853,* by David J. Weber. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985. 355 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $45.00

Richard Hovendon Kern's western journeys inspired another writer to describe him as "a revolutionary phenomenon: The artist as explorer." The author reveals him as gentle and quiet yet courageous and mobile; a man who managed to secure a significant niche in the history of frantic exploration into the territories of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah and California. The revelation of Kern's character does not come easy. It must be inferred from professorial treatment of events and conditions. Weber's exhaustive research and sound scholarship, however, tend to give comfortable credence to his writing.

Kern's adventures began when he was twenty-seven and he was to live but five more years. He was an artist engaged to chart new lands for the army, to seek a route for transcontinental rail but who empirically and without commission sketched the mountains, rivers, lakes and landscapes explored during his four expeditions. The author perceives that Kern was likely inspired by George Catlin, an earlier artist-explorer of territories farther east. Kern was to encounter and paint the aborigines. On his last expedition Kern dies at the hand of the American Indian as one of the "martyrs to physical science." Historian William Goetzmann describes the massacre near the Great Salt Lake as "the worst disaster suffered by the Army in the West up to that time."

Weber's account of Kern's short public life epitomizes western history during the time of its unfolding and he neatly weaves into this account the collateral historical events which place Kern in clear perspective. With Kern, however, there was no urge for gold, political fame, military prowess or even wealth from his art. Kern's motivation was much the same as George Catlin's: a desire to be among the first to see and interpret new country.

Kern's incredible accomplishment was the performance of his art work ofttimes under conditions so extreme that bare survival was almost beyond reach. The author depicts him as philosophically a fatalist with a mission; that although Kern sought to reflect aesthetics in his work, time and harsh circumstances forced him to be simply reportorial. He sketched much, but completed few canvases.

Many of Richard Kern's works were lost or replaced by his artist brother Ned and other artists who copied and discarded the originals. The author has managed to accumulate and reproduce 167 paintings (16 faithful color plates) and sketches. Most were done by Richard Kern, but all were at least influenced by him. The art, and its splendid reproduction, accounts greatly for the book's worth. But Kern's easy style of writing and the remarkable organization of materials and bookmaking justify the book's rightful place in any comprehensive library of western history.

Kern died at age thirty-two. He left a wealth of observations in a form most readily understood. This volume wonderfully memorializes those contributions.

Judge Arthur D. Guy, Jr.

A WESTERLY TREND... "being a voracious chronicle of more than sixty years of joyous wanderings, mainly in search of space and sunshine," by Godfrey Sykes. Tucson: Arizona Historical Society and the University of Arizona Press, 1984. 325 pp., $19.95

Every collector of southwest Americana should have *A Westerly Trend* as well as *The Colorado Delta,* the latter an excellent monograph by Sykes, in their library. Those who admire well-written western autobiographies will be glad that this fascinating work has been republished. Godfrey Sykes is a modest writer who describes his life and adventures in the period of time between late-Victorian England and the post World War II era. His life encompassed those years in the Far West which saw the last of the cattle drives, the breakup of large range land by ranchers and sheepmen, and the beginning of serious scientific studies of the southwestern deserts the Colorado River Basin and the Gulf of California.

His story begins with a description of his early life in England, and continues with emigration to America and early adventures on the eastern seaboard. His western life began in Abilene, Texas, where he became a cowboy and worked the trail herds in Kansas, Nebraska and Wyoming for four to five years. Eventually he moved to Flagstaff, Arizona and settled down to become a cattle rancher.

The descriptions of Sykes' adventures on the various cattle drives are excellent. His connection with the Colorado River which brought him fame, began when he was asked to join an expedition to explore the Lower Colorado River and the Colorado Delta. He responded by building a boat in Flagstaff, which the Santa Fe Railroad shipped to Needles, California, for launching on the Colorado River. The many years of intermittent studies and travels throughout the area resulted in *The Colorado Delta,* published in 1937 by the American Geographical Society.

The remainder of his autobiography related his activities on his visits to foreign countries and his employment as a staff member of the newly formed Desert Laboratory of the Carnegie Institute at Tucson, Arizona. This book is enhanced by the author's subtle sense of humor and his enthusiasm for whatever job has to be done, wherever he happened to live at the time. Mr. Sykes displays a good sense of the need to describe carefully the environment and the events involving him. His work covers such diverse features as cattle ranching, cattle drives on the Great Plains, a sympathetic appreciation of good horseflesh, building the Lowell Telescope at Flagstaff, Arizona; construction of the Toll Road to Mt. Wilson Observatory near Pasadena, California, and several chapters on the Coachella Valley-Salton Sea area which furnish both knowledge and enjoyment.

There are two excellent maps at the beginning and the end of the book illustrating his travels throughout the United States. This book is one of seven western biographies newly published by the University of Arizona Press. We should be grateful for their fine work in republishing these works.

John S. Ferguson, Jr.

REBELLION IN RIO ARRIBA, 1837, by Janet Lecompte. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $19.95; paper, $9.95.

Casual students of New Mexico history have long been aware of the well-known uprisings of 1680 and 1847, in the Spanish and American periods. Few have known much if anything about the nasty little uprising of 1837, during the Mexican period. It is all laid out in this fine new study by Janet Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba, 1837,* published by the University of New Mexico Press in cooperation with the Historical Society of New Mexico — seventh title in this productive institutional collaboration.

Often called the Chimayo Rebellion, the rising in 1837 was precipitated by two particular events set upon the background of

New Mexico's stark poverty and extreme isolation, all described clearly and sympathetically by the author. The poverty and isolation were of a kind and degree quite beyond the ken of late-twentieth-century Americans, even those familiar with the present so-called "third world." We cannot dwell on this point here, but it is a basal consideration for understanding New Mexico in the pre-railroad era, too readily overlooked, unfortunately, in favor of romanticism and other diversions. The two particular events were the moral and financial excesses of a new governor from the outside (Albino Perez, arrived 1835) plus the imposition from Mexico City of a new, centralized form of government which brought the threat of new taxation upon desperately impoverished New Mexican *pobres*. (*Ricos* then as now were skilled at tax avoidance.) Rio Arriba refers to the northern part of early New Mexico, specifically Santa Fe and points north — Rio Abajo being the southern part. It is interesting to speculate, and Lecompte's insight would be valuable if she were to offer it, beyond noting that the economy in Abajo was "better," why Rio Arriba much more than Rio Abajo was the fount of three rebellions.

The events of the 1837 rebellion may be said to have begun at the end of July when a mob at Santa Cruz de la Canada freed their alcalde, Juan Jose Esquibel, from jail where Governor Perez had placed him. On August 1 the rebellion was formally "pronounced," and the rebels received support from other Rio Arriba communities. Six days later Perez set out from Santa Fe with a military force that proved entirely inadequate with the result that he and a number of other high officials were killed. An illiterate rebel leader, Jose Gonzales, enjoyed a very brief tenure as governor before a force from Rio Abajo under Manuel Armijo (former and later governor) reoccupied Santa Fe, September 14.

These and many other events are related in this work in great detail with impressive documentation which emphasizes throughout, by contrast with all previous histories of the rebellion, contemporary native New Mexican sources. Not only is the main text heavily annotated (pp. 1-75) but the book also includes translations by Lecompte of thirteen key documents (pp. 80-155). There are even three *decimas* (popular ballads) bearing on the 1837 rebellion. In all, this is clearly a definitive work, although no doubt quibbling will continue on odds and ends of detail.

And we do not claim perfection for this book. The index is far better than most this reviewer has analyzed recently, but still, ommissions and inconsistencies are not hard to find. The publisher, no doubt, forced the annotation into a paragraph-by-paragraph mode which has contributed to some problems with notes. A bibliography would have been useful and might have paid for itself in space by permitting compaction of the notes. These are minor points, however, regarding a study that belongs on the shelves of all serious students of New Mexico history.

John Porter Bloom
Stockton, California

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