LOS ANGELES WESTERNERS CORRAL
The Rawhiding Post
J. GOODMAN

WINTER 2019 LOS ANGELES CORRAL NUMBER 293

Figure 1: *Grafton Tyler Brown's 1879 view of Main Street, Woodland, California. Shown is the Excelsior or "Bank Block," with the Bank of Woodland prominent at left. This financial concern would later be taken over by Wells, Fargo. First published as Plate 2 in Depue & Co., 1879, the original version is tinted in spectacular full color.*

California's Pre-Eminent African American Artist Grafton Tyler Brown: *More Popular Than Ever*

Robert J. Chandler

My fascination with African American artist Grafton Tyler Brown (GTB) first bore fruit as a short article in 2011.[1] Continued research then led to a full-length biography of him in 2014.[2] As additional sources are brought to any author's attention by kind readers, any biography, especially one about a prolific artist, who only began signing his work midway through his career, is seldom

(*Continued on Page 3*)

The Branding Iron

Los Angeles Corral of The Westerners

Published Quarterly

Winter - Spring – Summer – Fall

For subscription information: Los Angeles Corral of The Westerners, P. O. Box 1891, San Gabriel, CA 91778
www.lawesterners.org

The Branding Iron is always seeking articles of up to around 20 pages dealing with every phase of the history of the Old West and California. Contributions from both members and friends are always welcome.

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Editor's Corner . . .

This issue of *The Branding Iron* is dedicated to the town of Paradise, California, destroyed in the Camp Fire of November 2018. Our fellow Western history publication, the *California Territorial Quarterly*, was based in Paradise and is now defunct, never to publish their planned winter issue. *The Branding Iron* is proud to provide a "lifeboat" for the contributors to the *CTQ*, so this installment's main article on the African-American lithographer Grafton Tyler Brown comes from our friend and Living Legend, Robert Chandler of the San Francisco and Los Angeles Corrals.

This is followed by an article by Stuart Byles, announcements by Therese Melbar, monthly Roundup summaries by Jovanny Gochez and Patrick Mulvey, and book reviews by Peter Pettler and Abe Hoffman.

Many thanks to all of the talented contributors who make *The Branding Iron* possible. If you are interested in sharing an article, poem, or book review, please feel free to get in touch with me about your ideas.

Happy Trails!

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the final word. Suddenly, "sightings" of GTB artwork, both signed and unsigned, began coming in by the dozens, from California, the Midwest, even Canada. I was also immensely gratified that my 2014 biography stimulated three different Grafton Tyler Brown exhibits, one in 2017 and two in 2018.[3] So appreciation of his talent continues to grow apace. But first, who was Grafton Brown?

Grafton Tyler Brown, Artist:
Birth is Not Destiny

Grafton Tyler Brown (1841-1918) entered this world in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The ambitious artist was the eldest of four boys born to free lower-class African Americans Thomas and Wilhelmina Brown. In 1858 his loving family sent him to California away from fugitive slave hunters and the racially-charged east coast. This teenager possessed three attributes: artistic skill, a confident personality, and light skin.

In the Golden State, Brown found work as a steward in Sacramento's St. George Hotel. While there, the Sacramento *Union*, California's paper of record, on November 15, 1859 praised Brown's "excellent painting" of the British steamship *Great Eastern*. Acclaim followed at the September 1860 state agricultural fair for a "very correctly and nicely drawn" railroad engine. The judges declared the India ink and water-color displayed a fine "inborn and self-taught style."

Meantime in 1861, lithographer Charles Conrad Kuchel, who published some fifty huge bird's-eye views of California Gold Rush towns between 1855 and 1858, fell on hard times. Emil Dresel, his sketch artist and field man, who solicited subscriptions and persuaded merchants to pay additional for border views of their businesses, departed to become a Sonoma wine maker. A lithographer? What was Kuchel's process? Developed in 1790s, lithography is printing from stone; offset printing is its heir today. A practitioner drew upon finely polished Bavarian limestone with an ink-absorbent grease crayon or sliced through the gum Arabic coating with a sharp pen. Lithography allows precise freehand drawing, not confined to lines and right

Figure 2: *Pipe-smoking Grafton Tyler Brown sits comfortably in his home at 730 Selby Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota, after living in California, Oregon, Washington, British Colombia, and Wyoming. 1896 photo from the R. J. Chandler collection, courtesy of David Hunt.*

angles like handset type, or as time-consuming as etching on copper. With Brown's flourishes and swirls, his distinctive, elaborate lettering did not have the roughness of wood engravings and it enticed customers. Many talented 19th century lithographers, including Brown, transformed themselves into successful oil painters.

In the winter of 1860-1861, 20-year-old Grafton Brown replaced Dresel. Furthermore, he "passed" as white. The Sacramento city directory had earlier pegged him as "colored," but that of San Francisco made no such distinction. This energetic kid did the job, and his first view of silver-rich Virginia City, Nevada Territory, scene and border businesses, appeared in June 1861.

Following Kuchel's death in December 1864, Brown bought the business. He worked with racist Democrats to produce seven huge tideland maps, 1870-1871, thereby becoming California's first black contractor. In 1871, the aggressively confident Brown bought a steam press and through the 1870s, increased his staff from four to eight.

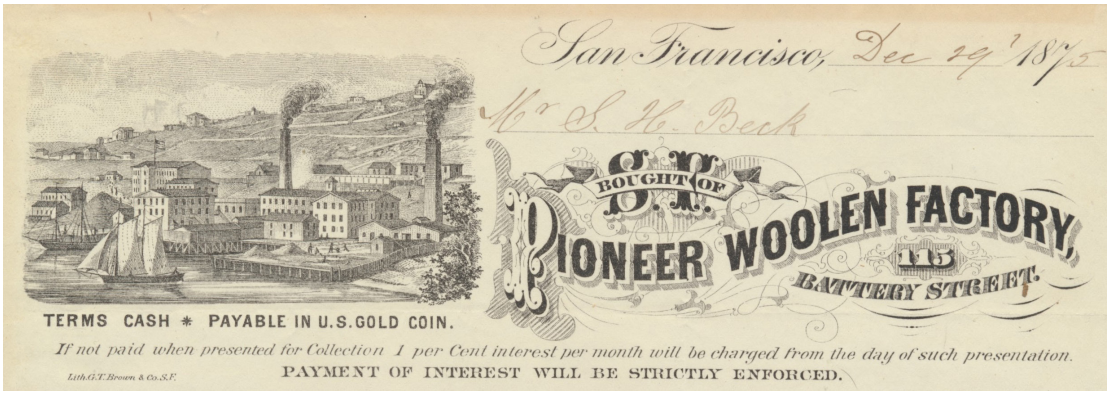

Figure 3: *In the 1870s Grafton Brown developed a uniquely pleasing lithographic style for billheads (invoices) featuring bold lettering and intertwined words. His artistry drew prestigious customers such as the California Cracker Company (Nabisco); Francis Cutting & Co. (Del Monte); James A. Folger & Co (coffee); Domenico Ghirardelli (chocolate); John H. Redington & Company, (pharmaceuticals); and Levi Strauss & Co. One of the Pioneer Woolen Mills buildings pictured above is today part of San Francisco's Ghirardelli Square. Chandler collection.*

The output of G.T. Brown & Co. varied from bird's eye views, sheet music, huge membership certificates and tickets, to lowly billheads, or invoices (Figure 3). Brown tapped into two economic forces: the first was the Oakland real estate boom, which required a plethora of large maps, while the second, the silver boom of Nevada, demanded hundreds of stock certificates. Here, Brown took on the largest lithographic firm Britton & Rey as their principal competitor, often surpassing them in excellence of design. His much smaller firm produced the second largest number of certificates.

When both booms went bust, in September 1878 Brown sold out to his partner William T. Galloway to pursue another fad: *Mug Books.* Throughout the United States, county histories at that time were becoming ever more popular. The best were huge picture books filled with lithographs of towns (Figure 1), farms, residences, and portraits accompanied by historical texts and biographical sketches. As with bird's-eye views, you "paid your way" into these local histories. The real money came from half-page, page, and double page lithographed views of subscriber's homes, farms, and businesses, their biographies and portraits—or *mugs.*

Grafton Brown, the artist, collaborated with James DePue, the publisher, first in an 1878 history of San Mateo County[4], then on a much larger 1879 effort for Yolo County[5]. In 1881, he sketched five views for a Nevada State history and for the first time signed them as the artist. In July 1882, Brown painted scenes of Lake Tahoe and by doing so transformed himself into a landscape oil painter. Now he had mastered color. Again self-taught, he *learned from Nature.*

Grafton Tyler Brown in Yolo County, 1879

In my 2014 lithographic biography of G.T. Brown, I suspected his involvement with the 1879 *Illustrated Atlas and History of Yolo County*, published by the DePues, father and son. Thanks to the 1879 Yolo County Great Register of voters and newspaper clippings supplied by Dave Herbst, this paper is the first to state that Grafton Tyler Brown, the West's first African American lithographer, ran the art department for the publishers and contributed specific scenes.

Yolo County stood ready to receive its county history. It had a population of 12,000, of whom 2,300 resided in Woodland, the county seat. In 1868, 150 years ago, the California Pacific Railroad, through its new town of Davis, connected Yolo County to the west with Vallejo and San Francisco, and to the east with Sacramento and Marysville. In the 1870s, the Vaca Valley Railroad, a spur line, ran through central Yolo, while

the Northern Railroad, a Southern Pacific Railroad affiliate, ran north from Woodland to Oregon.[6] A state directory described this wonderland. Yolo County's 1,017 square miles, "nearly all of which is adapted to agriculture," produced "unexcelled" fruits and vegetables. "Wheat, barley and hay, however, are the chief products."[7] Along iron rails, Yolo wheat and fruit rode an easy road to market. Such prosperity demanded commemoration, and it was not long in coming.

The counties surrounding Yolo succumbed to the "mug book" craze: Colusa (1880), Contra Costa (1878, two in 1882), Lake (1881, 1885), Napa (1881), Sacramento (1880), Solano (1878, 1879), and Sutter (1879). For direct comparison with the DePues' 1879 Yolo history, first up chronologically was neighboring Solano County. On March 17, 1876, the Suisun *Solano Republican* published a lengthy advertisement, endorsed by a long list of Solano politicians, businessmen, and county officers for the proposed *Historical Atlas Map of Solano County*.[8] Just embarking on his noted career, illustrator and landscape painter Meyer Straus (1831-1905) drew the striking images of the Starr Flour Mills (on page 21) and the Benicia Arsenal (on page 25), while Thomas Burton sketched St. Catherine's Academy, Benicia (pages 54-55). Alas, Burton was one of those competent, but subsequently unremembered artists who escaped notice in the standard encyclopedia of California painters, draftsmen, and lithographers.[9] Generally the Solano plates lack the toning, detail, and fullness of the later Yolo County history. Its maps are not as complete as they should be, and its scarceness today indicates the large book met with a tepid response. One Solano historian counted illustrations and estimated revenue. On December 12, 1876, the Board of Supervisors appropriated $240 for a one-page illustration of the Court House, and on February 7, 1878, $80 for a one-third page view of the County Hospital. Total: 41 illustrations, $4,500. The breakdown was:[10]

1 double page @$480	$480
6 single pages @$240	$1440
15 half pages @$120	$1800
2 one-third pages @$80	$160
15 one-sixth pages @$40	$600
2 smaller @$10	$20

James DePue and his son published two county histories, for San Mateo and Yolo, working with Grafton Tyler Brown on both. Since 1878, Brown's connection with the peninsula county has been public: His firm G.T. Brown & Co. lithographed it. However, in September 1878, Brown sold out to his partner, William T. Galloway, who then supplanted him in the the Yolo County effort. Brown's name, consequently, vanished from that volume's "credits" despite the work he had invested. In 1878, artist Elliott S. Moore and publisher James DePue saw another "mug-book" opportunity in San Mateo County, a short and convenient railroad journey from San Francisco. The *Redwood City Times & Gazette* reported that Moore & DePue were "making an experimental canvass," proposing an illustrated history, and at mid-year the paper published fourteen column-inches of subscribers.[11] Shortly afterwards, the same newspaper noted: *The artist, Mr. Moore, has already executed some fine sketches of buildings and scenery in the vicinity of Redwood City.* He had just finished the artwork for the 1877 history of Butte County for publishers Smith & Elliott, and now joined DePue as the senior partner in Moore & DePue. This remains Moore's only record as an artist, and the only artist mentioned.[12]

The famed, long-established firm of Britton & Rey divided the 64 views with Grafton Tyler Brown, and the larger firm produced these reported views of Moore's. Britton & Rey did 22 scenes along the Southern Pacific Railroad right-of-way, including fourteen in the county seat, Redwood City. Brown, for his part, sketched 41 farms, residences, and business. Of fourteen views that filled two pages, Brown did eleven. Each lithographer used distinctive corner ornaments in the San Mateo volume as a means of identifying their own artwork.[13]

Unlike the Woodland newspapers for Yolo County, the Redwood City press ignored the progress of the work in San Mateo County to the south. With two firms doing

Figure 4: *A typical Grafton Tyler Brown & Co. mugbook lithograph. Here are shown the house, hayfields and orchard of Virginian George F. Keiffer, an 1854 arrival to San Gregorio, San Mateo County, California. In the Moore & DePue history of San Mateo County, competing artists Brown and Britton & Rey each used their own distinctive borders. Originally published in Moore and DePue 1878, as Plate 71.*

the lithography, it appeared after a short seven months in November 1878. The Redwood City paper reported that Moore & DePue were "now delivering to our subscribers." It had a few extra copies available at $10. When completed, *The Illustrated History of San Mateo County* had 42 pages of text and those remarkable illustrations.[14] Surprisingly, historian H.P. Nichols wrote no biographies. With the lithography done, Brown, even though he had sold out to Galloway in September 1878, continued to work in his old office at 540 Clay Street, San Francisco. He was free again to work as an artist, and DePue had another project for him.

In October 1878, publishers Moore & DePue noted in the Woodland, California, newspapers that since they had completed *History of San Mateo County* to universal satisfaction, a similar, yet even more ambitious, effort was in the offing for Yolo County. In November 1878, James DePue, a sixty-year-old former New Yorker, brought his son, Illinois-born James Edgar DePue, 25, the "Co." in Moore, DePue & Co., out from back east to assist this new project.

Out-numbered, Elliott Moore had no part of the finished history. This artist left the DePues in January 1879, to work again for Wallace W. Elliott, who offered him a partnership and the opportunity to do a history of Santa Cruz County. W. W. Elliott & Co. finished that in quick time also, for a local paper reported receipt of its copy on August 9, 1879.[15] By January 1879, DePue & Co. was fitting out an office in the Excelsior

Block, Woodland's prime location on Main Street (Figure 1). Later that year, the local business directory compiler recorded DePue & Co., publishers, and DePue was still there when the census taker made his rounds in mid-1880. In late 1878 and early 1879, James DePue announced that he or his agents could call on prospective customers, and show them samples of what their money could buy.[16] Theirs would be no hurried production. As good historians, DePue & Co. told their story twice, once in the text, secondly through the illustrations, as stated in their newspaper advertisements.[17]

DePue & Co. from the beginning maintained two distinct subscription lists: one for the book, the other for renderings of businesses, homes, and farmlands. This was clearly stated in its newspaper advertisements:

> To prevent any misunderstanding… illustrations are a distinct department, and must be contracted for separately with agents for that department.[18] [and that] The Illustrations are to be made from original sketches drawn on the spot by Artists of the first ability.[19]

When Moore departed, who would supervise the all-important illustration section? Grafton Brown to the rescue! The *Yolo Democrat* newspaper of Woodland, California, reported:

> Mr. G.T. Brown, a draft artist, of San Francisco, arrived here Tuesday [April 1] to assist Mr. [James] DePue by way of taking sketches of the different farms and residents throughout the country for his atlas. He will commence operations by taking a sketch of the Excelsior block.[20]

At mid-month, the editors of both papers had seen several examples of Brown's "fine sketching." The *Democrat* complimented his "grace that does the eye good to observe," while the *Mail* declared his subjects "tastefully executed" and "drawn by one of the most skilled artists in his [DePue's] employ, if not on this coast, Mr. G.T. Brown." The papers named his sketches: The Bank or Excelsior Block (Plate 2) and the homes of Frank J. Barnes (5), Daniel A. Jackson (6), John E. Taylor (15), and Charles S. Thomas (32). I would add the Court House (1) and the homes of his old customers Frank S. and J.M. Freeman (40) and the Freeman Block (48).[21]

Grafton Tyler Brown had charge of this artistic department and all sketches passed his scrutiny. Besides doing his own work, he selected and supervised at least three other sketchers. So the Black artist was now in charge of at least three other, presumably white, ones too. Additional renderers may have come and gone, but, besides Brown, the newspapers identified only one by name: Richard P. Bridgens, *a talented artist of San Francisco.* [22] But Bridgens was not known as an *artist* in the 1870s: he is absent from both contemporary city directories and the standard encyclopedia of California artists.[23] His sole earlier mention in the newspapers indexed by the California Digital Newspaper Collection reports his arrival from Yokohama on July 24, 1874. So how did DePue find Bridgens? Through Grafton Brown. In the 1860s, Bridgens worked as a San Francisco civil engineer at 528 Clay Street. The 1862 city directory noted him employed as a *draftsman* at Charles Kuchel's lithographic establishment at 543 Clay, where Grafton Brown also worked, and an 1863 newspaper account notes the receipt of a lithograph from Bridgens of St. Mary's College.[24] His talent, and his connection with Brown, gave Bridgens the opportunity of sketching Yolo County homes and farms.

In contrast, although not mentioned n the Yolo County newspapers, Swiss-born Emanuel Wyttenbach (1845-1903)[25] also worked under Brown. He began the 1870s designing cigar box labels for Francis Korbel & Co. As Korbel expanded into publishing the famed Illustrated *Wasp* and making champagne, Wyttenbach evolved into a lithographer and artist, working in the next block of Clay Street, San Francisco, west of Brown. The Swiss painted landscapes, and exhibited at the Mechanics' Institute Fairs in 1874 and 1878. Wyttenbach also did and signed the drawing for Grafton Brown's 1873 sheet

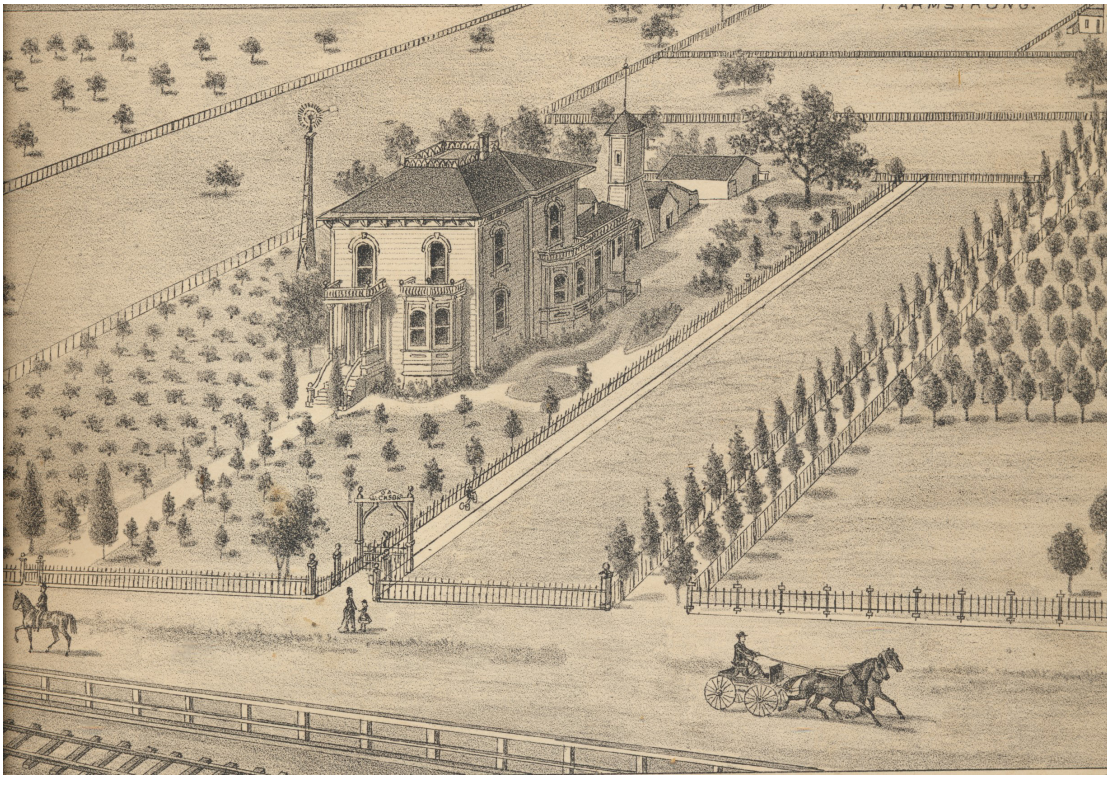

Figure 5: *Daniel A. Jackson's was the first Yolo County home Grafton Tyler Brown drew. Jackson arrived in Woodland in 1864 as a thirty-three year-old Ohioan, and prospered as a farmer and by selling land for housing developments. Originally published as DePue & Company 1879, Plate 6.*

music *Old Black Joe.* Emanuel Wyttenbach signed two double-sheet plates in the Yolo County publication, 4 (Theodore Winters) and 39 (P.S. Chiles).[26] Both clients raised stock, and Wyttenbach enjoyed drawing horses. Yolo County historian Dave Herbst has Wyttenbach's filled-in receipt to Winters for a double-page, split horizontally between two views. Vanity had its price. A single page view of the Yolo County courthouse cost the Board of Supervisors $200, while a double sheet emptied Winters' pockets of $400. He did get 50 extra views.[27] The receipt reads:

Winters, Sept. 18th 1879

In Consideration of causing a *16* by *24* inch Lithograph View of my *Farm & Stock* to be published in the Illustrated History of Yolo County, Cal., I hereby agree to pay Moore, [lined out], DePue & Co. *Four Hundred Dollars* in U.S. Gold Coin, one half on completion of Draft, Sketch or Design, the balance on delivery of one copy of the Illustrated History of Yolo County and *50* extra views.

Theo. Winters

I, the undersigned, do hereby approve of my sketch, made by *E[manuel] Wyttenbach*

In the end, the Yolo County book, with 50 plates, encompassing 102 images, pleased most subscribers. James DePue, however, implied that Yolo residents could discern a few vain ones among them. He wryly noted in his preface, that while "the artists who have sketched for this work are masters in their line" a "few" illustrations "have been drawn contrary to the conception of the artists, because of the demands of the patrons." In 1878 DePue also performed a singular

service for Yolo County: he published an official county map detailed to show landowners and accurate for the county accessor's office to use. In contrast, in the centennial year of the United States, DePue's rival publishers Thompson & West had similar ideas, but did not follow through. In their *Santa Clara County Atlas* were 12 individual maps, all at different scales; unlike DePue's Yolo County examples, they could not be joined.[28]

The *Historical Atlas Map of Solano County* provides a better example by the same publishers. Thompson & West published a lengthy advertisement, endorsed by a long list of Solano County politicians, businessmen, and county officers, proposing:

> cutting the county up into [13] small sections, such as will cover one page about 13 x 15 inches. All the valleys and better proportions of the county will be produced on a scale of forty chains or thereabouts to the inch…so large as to enable us to engrave the owner's name, number of acres, and location of houses.[29]

The result, published in 1878, just as the DePue's got started in Yolo, was disappointing. Beside a one-page county map showing townships, Thompson & West presented a mere seven maps covering only portions of Solano County, plus town maps of Benicia, Dixon, Fairfield/Suisun, and Vallejo. Worst, once again the maps were published at different scales: Three were 40 chains [one-half mile] to the inch; two 50, and two 60 chains. They could not be joined.[30] For Moore & DePue's 1878 San Mateo County history, Britton & Rey lithographed the official county map, which carried the very long attribution:

> Official Map of the County of San Mateo California, showing the new boundary line and delineating the lines of Cities, Towns, Private Claims, Ranchos, Water Works, and Railroads. Moore & DePue, Publishers, 1878.[31]

It appeared as a two-page spread before the preface, and this publication did not provide sectional maps. In contrast, for Yolo County, the DePues planned, sought publicity, and executed their work in concert with Grafton Brown. Journalist and attorney William W. Theobalds took over the Republican Woodland *Yolo Mail* on February 20, 1879, and in the next issue requested that the DePues include a good map of Yolo County. Editor Theobalds, a former Contra Costa County judge, noted that no such map was yet in existence, accessible to the public.[32] Theobalds anticipated an action by the Board of Supervisors: the following month they paid County Judge Edwin R. Bush the hefty sum of $842 for "the several maps in his possession and used by the Assessor and Board of Equalization." Mississippian Bush had, before selling them, restricted their use. Theobalds charged that these invaluable maps had been "within the sole control of private parties, to which they had no right of access except as a special favor or by payment of a regular fee." Now, by board action, the County Clerk made them "accessible to all."

DePue & Co. advertised the next week that "We have completed arrangements for publishing in our work the OFFICIAL MAP OF THE COUNTY!, thus supply a long felt want by placing in the hands of every subscriber a correct copy of the Map, which will be well drawn and lithographed and divided into six sections" [between pages 2 and 13]. Of more import, their advertisement observed, "It will be added to and perfected, and then lithographed and printed."[33] During the time he owned a lithographic business between 1865 and 1878, Grafton Brown printed around a hundred maps: about half were of Bay Area real estate tracts, and he also produced seven tideland maps for the state and numerous mining claim maps. Consequently, the Official Yolo County Map was nothing new for him. It bears the date of November 6, 1879, and carries the signatures of the supervisors. DePue & Co. also published it separately, with the six sections joined into a single, oversized, sheet. At last, all had access to the official county map.

Besides both DePues, father and son, the Great Register of Yolo County listed Grafton

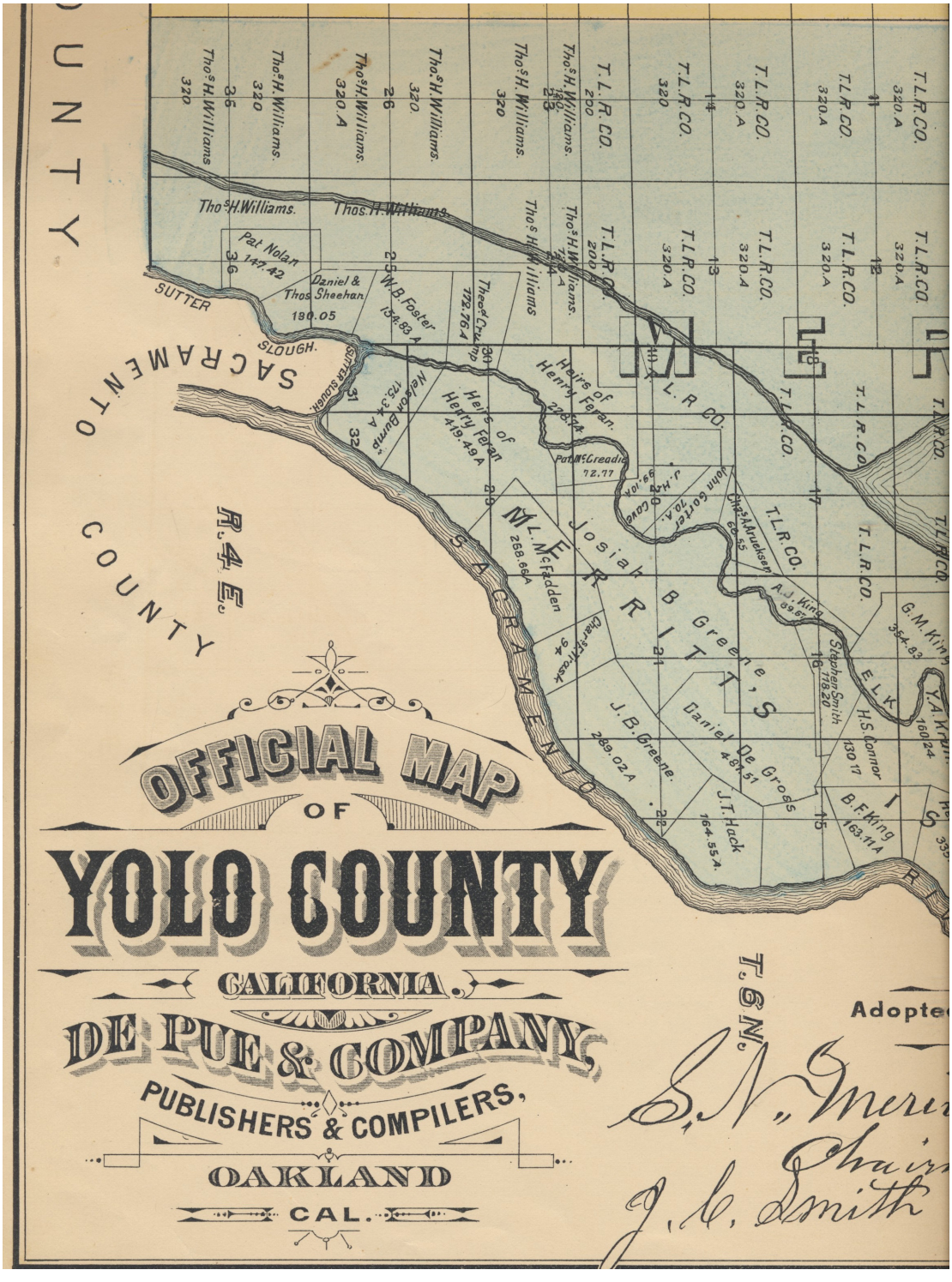

Figure 6: *As Grafton Tyler Brown had already published about one-hundred real estate, mining, and other maps, when it came time for him to create the official Yolo County map, a portion of which is reproduced above, it presented few production difficulties. The DePues put this land-holding document into the hands of all who needed it. Bound into the DePue & Company 1879 Yolo County mugbook.*

Brown, draft artist, and Colonel Frank T. Gilbert, historian.[34] The new 1879 California Constitution required a three-months' county residency to vote, indicating that the mugbook staff planned to stay a while in Yolo County. The Illinois-born Gilbert, 38 when he arrived in Woodland, was the fourth member of the Excelsior Block office staff. In spite of all the puffery about him, his name is missing from the index of the invaluable, online, *California Digital Newspaper Collection,* a sad fate for an historian! Colonel Gilbert joined the DePues on May 14, 1879 in after completing his San Joaquin County mugbook work.[35] From the thoroughness of his history and the lightness of his style, the *Democrat* correctly remarked that this experienced writer "takes great delight in his work." Gilbert immediately began touring the county, interviewing, prodding, and collecting. Gilbert departed for San Francisco on May 1, 1880, almost a year later, having filled 105 14 by 18 inch pages with text. He left hoping "to furnish a copy to the home papers, which would be of great interest to everybody." As Gilbert finished each section, he published them in the Woodland papers, inviting comment.[36] Gilbert's 384 biographies in the Yolo County mugbook appear in two lists: first are the 114 people who bought an illustration, portrait or both (pages 82-96), second are the "unillustrated" 270 book patrons (pages 96-105).

After 20 months, the Yolo County mugbook travail ended. The *Yolo Mail* editor reviewed an incomplete copy of it in early August of 1880 with a few pages remaining blank and only 45 of the 50 plates completed, but gave it high praise. Three weeks later, the *Yolo Democrat* proudly announced that "Messrs. DePue & Co. Are delivering their *Illustrated Atlas and History of Yolo County* to subscribers throughout the county." James DePue added a rueful understatement to the "Public and Our Patrons" that the project had taken "much longer than at first was deemed necessary."[37]

In spite of the expense of long stays in Woodland—The DePues for almost two years, Gilbert for one, and Brown at least nine months, the project proved profitable. Using the Solano County price chart, and converting 8 miscellaneous sizes, here is an approximate comparison of income between the two county histories; $4,500 for Solano, $12,140 for Yolo:

5 double pages @$480	$2400
19 single pages @$240	$4560
41 half pages @$120	$4920
1 one-third page @$80	$80
6 one-sixth pages @$40	$240
	$12,140

Ambitious to the end, in early November 1880, the DePues, and undoubtedly Brown, proposed a book for the city where they resided. Their *Homes of Oakland* would feature "fine, colored lithographic views of public buildings, churches and other objects of general interest, in addition to private homes." No one had yet done a mugbook with expensive *color* chromolithographs. Unfortunately, after an exhausting two years producing a county history and atlas much larger and more thorough than usual, Edgar DePue had enough. In an advertisement dated Oakland, November 28, father and son dissolved their partnership, and Edgar DePue "assumed all indebtedness" connected with the Yolo County history.[38]

While the record is silent on father James, son Edgar J. DePue (1854-1919) moved to Sacramento, bred race horses and immersed himself in Republican politics. Within a few years, he was a San Francisco grain broker, and in 1895 founded the DePue Warehouse Company with huge facilities throughout the Sacramento Valley. His social success translated into membership in the elite Bohemian and Pacific Union Clubs. Edgar DePue never forgot Yolo County, especially after marrying Rowena Hunt in 1888. She was the daughter of William Gaston Hunt of Woodland, a '49er, farmer, grain trader, banker, capitalist, and, most significantly, a patron of the Yolo County history. The DePues maintained a residence in town. In 1891, Edgar founded the Yolo Orchard Company, 510 acres five miles north of Woodland near Cacheville, specializing in fine apricots, peaches, prunes, and almonds.[39]

Figure 7: *William T. Galloway & Co., successor to G.T. Brown & Co. lithographed this Moore, DePue & Co. trade card (the 19th century equivalent of a business card) rendered by an uncredited artist around November 1878. At the time of its printing this company's principal artist was Elliott S. Moore, and James DePue, 60, and his son Edgar James DePue, 25, were the publishers. But Moore quit after only a month in harness, and Grafton Tyler Brown, who did not routinely sign his own work until later in life, may, in fact, have been the artist. Courtesy of Dave Herbst.*

The remarkable *Yolo County History and Atlas* was enthusiastically reviewed by the *Sacramento Union*. It was effusive in its praise of the Official Map, and for Grafton Brown's contribution to the scenic views, for artists "more than ordinarily skilled" and getting "just the right 'color'" for its lithographic plates:

> ***The Illustrated Atlas and History of Yolo County.***
> **De Pue & Co.: San Francisco, 1879.**
>
> This is a royal quarto volume, 15 by 18 inches, very neatly bound, and the typographic work on which is a credit to the publishers. The book contains a concise history of California from 1513 to 1850, and a history of Yolo county from 1825 to 1880, with statistics of agriculture, education, churches, manufactures, etc.
>
> Perhaps the most striking and valuable part of the work is found in the [official] map of Yolo county. This is presented on five double pages and one single page. By this means there is given a map upon a scale so large, that every quarter - section of land in the county is shown, and upon it the name of the owner (of record) of the section or the subdivisions thereof. It will be seen that such a map, quite complete in all other details, must be of exceeding local value, and be possessed of no small interest also to the citizens of the State generally.
>
> The work contains about 100 lithographic plates, most of which are full page, many double page, and nine less than quarter page in size. They present views of public buildings, farms and private residences, stock and grain ranches, portraits of leading citizens, landscape views, etc., and very pleasantly

and entertainingly give the stranger a glimpse of the homes and the people of Yolo county, the architecture of the section and something of the methods of farming. These plates are very good specimens of lithographic work, being bright, clear, of just the right "color," and are marked by what is evident to the artistic correctness of detail. The artists employed were evidently more than ordinarily skilled.

The volume contains much valuable text-matter also, such as the histories referred to, statistics of the county, not only of production, but of education, business, society, etc., in addition, biographical sketches of a great number of the citizens of Yolo, and, as the history of a county is to be found in the history of its people, it follows that these sketches are of decided value to the reader who desires reliable information concerning Yolo.

The work has, as is clearly evident, been compiled with much care. Of course it has more local than general significance, but outside of that, it is important, as cultivating home pride and informing the people of California more in detail of each other and their homes. These county histories will become more and more valuable as time rolls on, and their possession will in a few years be much coveted. The one under notice is very full and detailed, and would seem to fill the requirements of the community for which it was compiled, and to be fully worth all it cost its patrons, for the expense of such a large and elaborate volume must have been great.[40]

Grafton Tyler Brown, Landscape Artist

Sketching and preparing others' sketches to be lithographed for the San Mateo and Yolo County histories gave Grafton Brown confidence. In 1880, Thompson & West planned a massive 900-page history of the state of Nevada. A Reno newspaper casually noted a year later that "Grafton T. Brown, the artist, who is preparing views for the forthcoming History of Nevada, is at the Depot Hotel."[41] Although Brown produced only five of the ultimately 77 views that went into the finished volume, his were important in two contexts. First was their subject matter: the home of Senator James G. Fair, and four of the major mine shafts of Nevada. Second, and critical for historians and art historians, Brown now signed his work: "G.T. Brown, del.," The Latin *deliniavit* translates to "he drew it." Brown had finally become a fully self-acknowledged artist, and now was determined to abandon his former career as a contract artist for mugbook histories, and venture into the real of "fine art" as a landscape painter in oils.

However, Brown did not remain in California. His timing was poor, and there was no local market for landscapes. As famed artist William Keith (1838-1911) later recalled, before the 1880s, "the wealthy people of California bought pictures painted by California artists," but afterwards, "our wealthy men go to the Eastern [and European] markets for their pictures."[42] Even today, California landscapes are a hard sell.

So late in 1882, Grafton Tyler Brown departed for British Columbia with Amos Bowman's expedition to survey the Fraser River. Brown stayed in B.C. and in 1883 became famous as Victoria's first landscape painter to have a one-man show, of no fewer than 22 local scenes. Brown then moved back over the border to Tacoma, where he did tourist paintings of Mt. Tacoma/Rainier. Then the peripatetic artist headed south again, to Portland, where Mt. Hood now became the favorite of his brush. From 1886 through 1891, Yellowstone's bright hues enthralled Brown. All through this period of painting spectacular landscapes in British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and Wyoming, Brown lithographed catalogues of his artworks and mailed them to prospective patrons so that they could choose the ones they liked best.

By 1891, however, Grafton Brown had saturated the market for his Yellowstone landscapes. He gave up oil painting to became a draftsman for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and then for the department of public works of St. Paul, Minnesota. Soon a married man, a regular salary drew Grafton

Figure 8: *The first of three recent exhibitions of Grafton Tyler Brown's landscape paintings, in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. In early February 2017, patrons viewed nine of Grafton Brown's works, their first time on view together since June 1883. Chandler photo.*

Brown back to the skills of his lithography days: drafting maps and visualizing buildings. Most of his later work was now routine, if not mundane.

Love and Marriage Amongst the Artists

Two remarkable women, Grace Hudson (1865-1937) and Albertine Legendre Espey Brown (1860-1926), now enter our story. Grace Carpenter, a vivacious, flirtatious teenager in 1879, left small-town Ukiah to attend the San Francisco School of Design. Here she met Portland, Oregon, painter Edward Lincoln Espey (1860-1889). They became sweethearts, but Espey sailed to France in 1882 to continue his studies, especially seascapes, leaving Carpenter behind. Alas, nineteen-year-old Grace eloped with William T. Davis in 1884, and endured a brief, two-year marriage that all-but killed her artistic spirit, and ended in divorce. Meanwhile, up in Oregon, the Portland Art Club, the first in the City of Roses, flourished from December 1885 to April 1887. Edward Espey, back from France, was its treasurer, while Grafton Tyler Brown, the club's executive secretary, ran the show. "Professor" Brown also taught art. In April 1886, Espey again left for France, where he courted Albertine Legendre, who returned with him to Portland in 1887. They were wed in Corvallis in January 1889, but, sadly, on March 1, Albertine became a widow.

Love and long marriages eventually blessed the divorcee and the widow, as art nourished their souls. In 1890, Grace Carpenter found the love of her life, John W. Hudson (1857-1936), a doctor for the North Pacific Railroad. Dr. Hudson's hobby, which became his passion, was studying the Pomo Indians of California's Mendocino County. He became a self-taught ethnologist, and Grace Carpenter's family, avid Pomo basket aficionados, and Dr. Hudson now combined their collections. This became the nucleus of the Grace Hudson Museum in Ukiah, one of the best small museums not just of California, but the Western United States. Grace Carpenter Hudson had inherited her passion for Pomo Indian culture from her father, Aurelius O. Carpenter (1836-1919). A militant abolitionist in *bleeding Kansas,* Carpenter left that antebellum hotspot for California in 1857, where he befriended the Mendocino County Indians.[43] His daughter's artistic bent returned after her marriage to Dr. Hudson, and Grace began painting her Pomo neighbors in 1891. She eventually completed an amazing number of canvasses, almost 700, on many subjects. Better yet, unlike so many talented artists, she received positive recognition within her own lifetime.[44]

Meanwhile, the young French widow Albertine Espey and the artist Grafton Tyler

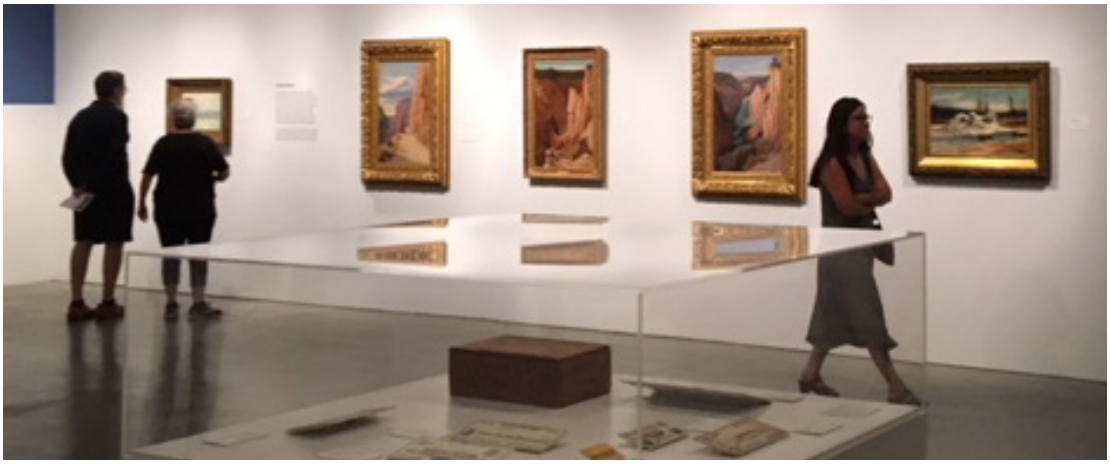

Figure 9: *Another recent exhibition of Grafton Tyler Brown's oil paintings, in Pasadena, California, in 2018. This was the first time his Yellowstone landscapes were displayed in more than a decade. Chandler photo.*

Brown became close, resided together, and eventually married in May 1896. Proud of *both* her artist husbands, Albertine was known as *Madame Espey Brown.* By displaying art works by both her husbands, living and dead, throughout her home, and also loaning them to exhibitions, and, not the least, by saving family records, she almost single-handedly preserved the artistic legacy of Edward Espey and Grafton Tyler Brown.

Grafton Tyler Brown: Three Exhibits, New Popularity

From January 21 through April 1, 2017, the Legacy Art Gallery, of the University of Victoria, sponsored *The Mystery of Grafton Tyler Brown: Race, Art and Landscape in 19th Century British Columbia.* This exhibit (Figure 8) of the artist's work was part of the African & Caribbean Cultural Society's 2017 Black History Month Celebration in Canada's south-westernmost city. For the first time since 1883, 9 of Brown's 22 British Columbia paintings were displayed together. In addition to his oils were other works, including chromolithographed labels for local salmon canners, and his final (1883) *mugbook* rendering, of George Deans' Saanich farm. I conferred with Professor John Lutz, the driving force behind this exhibit, noting that "the optimistic and aggressive Brown confidently promoted himself through life, forever seizing opportunity." Lutz mused, in response, "whether any of his frequent moves were the result of cracks in his White identity in this very racist milieu."[45]

Then, from June 17, through October 7, 2018, the Pasadena Museum of California Art hosted *Grafton Tyler Brown: Exploring California,* the first American exhibit of his work since 2004. With some 50 items—a dozen paintings, 20 large lithographs, and 15 examples of job work, it was an eclectic sampling of multi-talented Brown's artistic output. More than 8,000 people visited this second recent exhibit, and attended the series of public lectures on Brown's life, work, and times. I was honored to be one of the speakers, on June 21, 2018.[46]

The most recent of the three G.T. Brown art exhibits, at the Grace Hudson Museum of Ukiah, California, is still ongoing at the time of this writing. In 1911, long after G.T. Brown had moved to Minnesota and obscurity, the Hudsons built a California Craftsman style home in Ukiah. They filled it with Grace's paintings and Pomo baskets, and called it *Sun House.* In 1979, it was placed on the record of historic places, and became a popular stop on the California Redwood Coast tourist trail. In 1986 a brand-new facility, named after the female Mendocino County painter, opened next door. The present exhibit at the Grace Hudson Museum is entitled *Artful Liaisons: connecting Painters Grace*

Figure 10: *Brown's own penknife with engraved initials, which he used to sharpen many of the drawing pens and pencils employed in his artwork. Chandler collection.*

Carpenter Hudson, Edward Espey, and Grafton Tyler Brown. It showcases the works of the pioneering African American artist alongside those of his late 19th century friends and colleagues.[47] All three artists learned their craft in early 1880s San Francisco and later excelled in unique ways. Hudson painted Pomo Indians; Espey fell under the spell of the rolling Pacific Ocean along the Oregon coast; and Brown, "learning from nature," transformed himself from a scratcher on limestone into a landscape painter of the American and Canadian Pacific Northwest.

So, in the four years since the publication of my 2014 Grafton Tyler Brown biography, there has been a new explosion of interest in the man and his art. In 2017, for example, the Minnesota Historical Society digitized Brown's 1894 *Map of Yellowstone National Park and Forest Reserve*, originally submitted to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, but now available to all. Similarly, some of his works now are displayed with great pride within the African American Museum of Los Angeles, California.

Much of the recent attention takes the form of graphic detective work: finding and identifying Brown's unsigned efforts, especially the contract renderings he cranked out, one after another, to meet the deadlines of pay-as-you-go mugbook histories. Grafton Tyler Brown renderings, both signed and unsigned, have surfaced with increasing regularity, so much so that their number has more than doubled in just the past four years. There is little doubt that the future will see many more such rediscoveries and I am certain that interest in the West's first, very talented, African American lithographer, mapmaker, and artist, Grafton Tyler Brown, will continue to grow.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Dave Herbst of Esparto, *Mr. Yolo County.* Collecting since age eight, he now shares his continually-expanding material through large displays, through placing 19th century photographs in local businesses, and by showing it to other historians. A half-century ago Herbst began reading and indexing Yolo County newspapers: from his index came the *Yolo Mail* and *Yolo Democrat* articles cited herein. Dave noticed the name "G.T. Brown" on the 1870 Yolo County *Western Shore Gazetteer* map, and again on a few billheads. In 1967 he became fully *Graftonated,* when an antique dealer asked him about Brown items for a customer collecting *the first black lithographer.* My own conversion came much later, in 1980s, when I obtained a Levi Strauss & Co. billhead by G.T. Brown. Thanks also to the new crop of Brown boosters responsible for the three recent exhibitions showcasing his work: Professor John Lutz of the University of Victoria, Dr. Bridget R. Cooks of the University of California, Irvine, and Curator Karen Holmes of the Grace Hudson Museum.

Finally, I would like to thank four friends that made publication of this study possible. Bill and Penny Anderson, the Olympian Editors of the *California Territorial Quarterly,* in Paradise, California, had an early version of this paper in proof form when the terrible Camp Fire burned through Butte County, bringing production to an unforeseen halt. At this point Brian and John Dillon rescued my paper from the smoke and ash of Northern California, and persuaded the Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners to publish it in the *Branding Iron.* Brian and John then did all of the editorial and production work necessary

for it to rise, Phoenix-like, from the flames that might otherwise have immolated it.

Notes

1. Chandler 2011.
2. Chandler 2014. See also Dillon 2014.
3. G. T. Brown art exhibits: Victoria, B.C., 2017; Pasadena, California, 2018; Ukiah, California, 2018-2019.
4. Moore and DePue 1878.
5. DePue & Company 1879.
6. Baum and Chandler n.d.
7. Polk 1888: 101.
8. Thompson and West 1878: a book with 16 pages of text, and 41 lithographs. It can now be accessed on line.
9. Hughes 2002.
10. Goerke-Shrode 2005a, 2005b.
11. *Redwood City Times & Gazette* 1878.
12. Moore and DePue 1878: v-vi.
13. Chandler, 2014: 146-8.
14. Moore and DePue 1878.
15. *Santa Cruz Sentinel* 1879.
16. *Yolo Democrat*, 1878, 1879a, 1879f; *Yolo Mail* 1878, 1879a.
17. *Yolo Democrat* 1879b.
18. *Yolo Mail* 1879a.
19. *Yolo Democrat* 1879b.
20. *Yolo Democrat* 1879c.
21. *Yolo Democrat*, 1879d; *Yolo Mail*, 1879c, 1879d.
22. *Yolo Mail* 1879e.
23. Hughes 2002.
24. *Daily Alta California* 1863.
25. Hughes 2002: 1225.
26. DePue & Company 1879.
27. Goerke-Shrode 2005a, 2005b.
28. Thompson and West 1876.
29. *Solano Republican* 1876.
30. Goerke-Shrode, 2005a, 2005b.
31. Moore & DePue 1878.
32. *Yolo Mail* 1879b.
33. Gilbert 1879.
34. *Yolo Democrat*, 1879b, 1879c, 1880a.
35. *Yolo Democrat* 1879b.
36. Yolo County 1877-1882.
37. *Yolo Democrat* 1880b.
38. *Yolo Mail*, 1880a, 1880b.
39. *San Francisco Pacific Rural Press* 1898; *San Francisco Chronicle* 1919.
40. *Sacramento Union* 1880.
41. *Reno Gazette* 1881.
42. *San Francisco Call* 1895.
43. Schenck, Holmes, and Smith-Ferri 2006.
44. Holmes and Smith-Ferri 2014.
45. *Victoria Times Colonist* 2017.
46. *Los Angeles Times 2018.*
47. *Ukiah Daily Journal* 2018.

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1878 December 13.
1879a February 20.
1879b March 20.
1879c April 3.
1879d April 17.
1879e May 15.
1879f June 5.
1879g July 10.
1880a May 1.
1880b August 26.

Figure 1: *The West Glendale Winery (ca. 1900) does its best castle impersonation, complete with faux machicolations. Byles collection.*

The West Glendale Winery

Stuart Byles

One of the least known wineries in the Los Angeles area was the West Glendale Winery and Vineyards. It stood on San Fernando Road just south of the confluence of Verdugo Creek and the Los Angeles River. Even a 1980s pictorial history of Glendale stated that very little was known about this winery, but included a picture from the turn of the century showing a picturesque, imposing, three-story, brick building with a "castleated" look to it. However, local newspaper archives reveal some fascinating aspects of this winery's history.

The West Glendale Winery was a regular advertiser in the *Los Angeles Herald* newspaper beginning in the early 1890s. One particular ad (25 July 1892) mentions "Mssrs. Pironi and Slatri" as the proprietors, and they were moving their permanent offices to 340 N. Main St. (Baker Block) in Los Angeles. They made "pure wines and brandies for medicinal uses." Evidently Mr. Slatri went elsewhere fairly early in their partnership, as later advertisements no longer contained his name; the 1900 winery building photo only contains "C.B.Pironi" on the signage. Such was the success of Pironi's wine business that his winery was soon hard-pressed to keep up with the demand of his trade, shipping wine to all parts of the country (say the news stories). He began buying grapes from the surrounding vineyards in Burbank, La Crescenta, and—more than likely—from the close at hand, Pelanconi vineyards just north

of Verdugo Creek. He did not limit his grape purchasing to just the L.A. area. A consistent supplier was Justinian Caire, a French immigrant winemaker, who was a major grower of zinfandel grapes in his long, interior-valley vineyard on Santa Cruz Island. He supplied not only the restaurants and establishments of near-by Santa Barbara but other wineries of southern California. This fascinating and unique connection is detailed in memoirs by members of the Caire family over the years. After Pironi's death, the next owners of the West Glendale Winery continued to buy Caire's grapes, shipped from the far-off channel island.

A news article (*LA Herald*, 4 April 1897) featuring the operations of the West Glendale Winery, is a look into almost any large scale, winery of that time period:

> …The first thing to catch the eye on entering the grounds is the 'elevator,' an inclined plane provided with an endless, canvas belt, like the old threshing machine carriers. At the bottom end of this elevator or carrier are a railway track and scales, for no one vineyard could supply such a winery as this, and grapes are shipped here from all over the neighborhood by cars, in small boxes, open-topped and holding about one bushel. After weighing they are dumped into a large hopper and from there are conveyed to the top of the three story building into the crusher, which consists of a set of iron rollers that reduce them to a mash. Beneath this is a revolving cylinder, filled with holes, and a revolving fork or agitator throws out the stems at one end of the cylinder. While the pulp and juice drop through into an open shallow bin, from which they flow, with a little help, all over the building in a wooden square pipe to the vats beneath, which hold an average of 5 tons or 1200 to 2000 gallons each. There are about seventy-five of these tanks, besides those used in the bonded room and in the distillery, and there the grape juice is allowed to remain until the proper state of fermentation is reached when it is drawn off at the bottom of each tank, filtered and manipulated for the various grades of wine—sweet or sour—or brandy and vinegar.
>
> The grapes used, and after much expensive experimenting found to be most profitable and most satisfactory, are: first, the Berger, then the Zingandel [sic], the Mission, the Grenache, the Mataro, and the Muscat, favored in the order named, though many others are used with more or less success. The California grape is found superior in that no sugar is necessary… and the saccharine matter, turned into alcohol, forms the basis of all that is essential to successful table or medical wine or brandy making…

Figure 2: *The seal of the city of Los Angeles. The grapevine atop the escutcheon testifies to the importance of Los Angeles' now dimly-remembered wine industry. Public domain internet image.*

From this story one can see that the Mission grape was still important to winemakers in the southland, even more than 100 years after being introduced by the Franciscan padres; the white grape—Berger—was of primary use, but today is rarely planted; Zinfandel is state-wide in its popularity for winemakers and their customers then and now; and that the West Glendale Winery easily had a minimum capacity of 150,000 gallons. A later news story (*LA Herald*, 3 Sept.

1903) trumpeting the large vintage expected of that year, shows the West Glendale Winery wine production exceeded only by the mammoth Italian Vineyard Co. (576,200 gallons) in Guasti/Cucamonga, and the two Lamanda Park (now east Pasadena) wineries, Sierra Madre Vintage Co. (443,000 gallons) and Etienne Brothers—sometimes called Golden Park Winery—(176,600 gallons).

Charles B. Pironi was an Italian immigrant, arriving in Los Angeles where he set up a licensed apothecary shop (his training had been in Italy) on South Main St. in 1880, a business that made him quite well-off. Deciding in 1890 to begin a winemaking enterprise, he bought the abandoned building of a defunct tourist hotel, built too late to take advantage of the tremendous land-boom frenzy that overcame the Los Angeles area in 1886-88. Either he planted an extensive vineyard around the winery, or he inherited an existing one with the purchase of the brick hotel. But, as the news makes plain, the acreage just wasn't enough to supply his booming trade. With his wife—a grand-daughter of Spanish ranchero José Sepúlveda—and three children, he made the winery his home.

Interestingly he was not alone in this evidently "Italian area" of wineries and vineyards. Just to the north were the Vai, Grangetto, Mora and Randisi vineyards in Burbank; then the wineries of DeMatteis Brothers and Giovanni Piuma around the old Plaza of Los Angeles. Not only were the long established Pelanconi family (since the 1840s on the Plaza) near vineyard-neighbors to the north across Verdugo Creek, but another countryman, soon to establish the largest vineyard and winery in California at the time, started a winery close by. A full-page ad in the Los Angeles section of the 1895 Pasadena business directory, informs the public of Segundo Guasti's West Glendale Winery and Vineyards on San Fernando Road, with offices and sales rooms on Alameda and Third Streets in Los Angeles. Just what were the relations and arrangements with the Pironi and Pelanconi vineyards is not known. It seems inconceivable that there weren't amiable winemaking attachments amongst them all. But by 1900, Guasti had formed his huge Italian Vineyard Co. in the eponymous Guasti colony near Pomona and Ontario in the Cucamonga Valley wine district.

On a September day in 1901, Charles Pironi was approaching his Baker Block office in Los Angeles. Bystanders suddenly saw him "clap his hands to his head", cry out, and tumble head-first out of his buggy onto the street. An ambulance was brought and took him to the hospital where he died thirty minutes later. He was sixty years old.

The West Glendale Winery was bought by a Mr. H.S. Baer who continued the booming wine trade started by Charles Pironi. By 1905 he had changed the name to Los Angeles Wine Co., but continued on in the remodeled tourist hotel/winery started by his predecessor. It is not known when the winery finally closed its doors, but more than likely Prohibition put an end to the operation in 1920. The building went into other uses, until it was torn down in 1971 (says the pictorial history). As of this writing (2015) its site on the NE corner of Milford and San Fernando Road is a vacant lot. But the memory of the wine-making history of this place lives on in the official name of the surrounding neighborhood: *Vineyard.*

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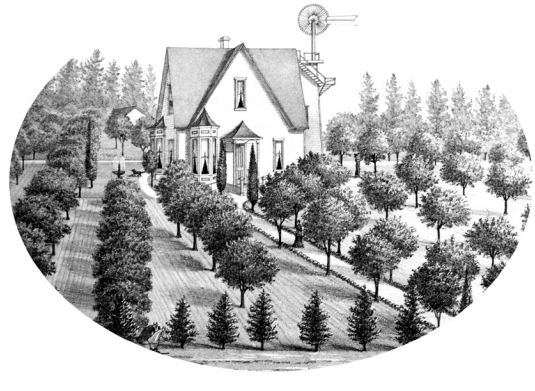


Corral Chips

Membership Dues/Directory

This is a reminder for members to submit their membership dues and directory updates. The yearly deadline for membership dues is February 15th. Late notices will be sent out on March 1st. Dues payment must be received by April 1st, or members will not be included in the latest membership directory. Pay your dues today and keep our Registrar of Marks and Brands happy!

Meeting Attendance

Those who attended the February Roundup were able to preview a copy of a new book written by Active Member Elizabeth Pomeroy, *Glenn Dawson: Mountaineer and Bookman*, published by Sagest, Pasadena. Members and visitors at the meeting all received the latest Keepsake #49, and learned why Gary Turner gave it the title "Cowboy & Cowgirl Poetry." Special recognition was given to Corresponding Member Barbara Goldeen, who received a poetry award from Westerners International. Several of her poems are included in this Special Keepsake.

Sheikh Omar Obama (Gary Turner) spent much time looking for his camel. Was it ever located? Those who didn't attend may never find out. New member John "Torro" Ortiz, past member of the San Francisco Corral, was welcomed at our February meeting.

As per our Range Rules, Active and Associate members should be attending a minimum of four events each year. By attending events, you support the Corral, expand your knowledge on western subjects, have an opportunity to socialize with some very interesting folks, and hear Corral updates.

Writers Wanted for Future Equestrian *Branding Iron*

In recognition of our hoofed friends so central to Western Americana, an upcoming *Branding Iron* (issue 294 or 295, pending submissions) will have an equestrian theme. Similar to *Branding Iron* 292, the Earthquake Issue, we would like to have members submit their stories, remembrances, research items, poetry, artwork, photographs, or anything else related to horses, ponies, hobby horses, mules, burros, donkeys, but probably not unicorns—unless it's convincing! Please send your articles to *Branding Iron* Editor John Dillon at John.Dervin.Dillon@gmail.com to be considered for inclusion.

Book Sales

The Corral has been auctioning books from a generous donation by the Pete Parker Family. Pete had an extensive collection of western themed history books, which are now being offered for sale to our members at the monthly Roundup. Come early to our social hour and find your favorite subjects to fill in your rare books spaces in your collection. Many copies also come with their broadside, letter from the publisher, invoice, or other interesting ephemera inserted onto these books. A number of books were signed by the author and many were limited issue. Most books are in very good condition. For the full catalog of other books for sale, please check our webpage or contact Brian D. Dillon at briandervindillon@gmail.com.

— Therese Melbar

Monthly Roundup . . .

December 2018

Phil Brigandi

Happy Holidays from the Westerners! Closing out the year strong, we were privileged to have Phil Brigandi as our lecturer. Phil is an astounding local historian, author of dozens of books, articles, and columns. Phil brought us an interesting piece of history about the Indian Agents of Southern California. We learned about the establishment of this Indian Agency, which attempted to mediate the Government's relationship with the Indians of Southern California at a time when large numbers of American settlers and squatters had brought about tough times for Indians in the mid 19th century.

Originally, military agents acted as intermediaries until the Indian Agency was established in 1878. The headquarters of the Agency were conveniently established for the agents in Colton in Riverside County, but the Indians had to travel miles to get to it. Some reservations connected to this agency were as far as 900 miles away! So if an Indian needed to see the doctor that was comfortably stationed in Colton, a long journey was expected. To worsen things, the agents were not often concerned about the welfare of the Indians. Many agents were simply political appointees whose tenure was contingent on the political climate of the existing administration in Washington. What followed was a tumultuous ride of Indian Agents whose moral standards, ulterior motives, and agendas were spread all across the board. Seven agents between 1878 and 1903 administered the relationships between both parties, bringing both good and bad to Southern California. Some agents truly cared about the Indians, such as Samuel S. Lawson (1878-1883), Joseph W. Preston (1887-1889), and Francisco Estudillo (1893-1897), who provided Indians education, while cracking down on crimes. They improved reservation irrigation systems, and even evicted illegal white settlers who violated the Indians' land and water rights.

This kind of leadership was anathema to many of the white neighbors and faced vociferous criticism, which eventually led to the dismantling of the agency in 1903. But until such dismantling occurred, many agents were ruthless and unqualified to lead, in accordance with contemporary standards. Agents like John G. McCallum (1883-1885), John S. Ward (1885-1887), Horatio N. Rust (1889-1893), and the last Indian Agent Dr. Lucius Wright (1897-1903) assisted in the removal of Indians. They often turned blind eyes towards white squatting and exploitation of Indians, even profiting personally off the Indians through repressive, extortionate policies.

These three decades of the Indian Agency were just as turbulent as the political climate under which they served. The lack of Federal oversight left these areas autonomous under the mercy of the agent, which as noted, could have gone either way. What came to be was a pendulum effect that hurt and healed. By the time Brigandi concluded his lecture it was clear that many in the room had gone through a rollercoaster of anger, appreciation, and interest about how these difficult relationships had to be mediated at times of adversity. Truly another Western classic!

— Jovanny Gochez

January 2019

Brian D. Dillon

Aloha! The Westerners were honored to introduce our speaker Brian Dillon who kicked off 2019 with an amazing story from the islands of Hawaii. While one may hear the word "Hawaii" and imagine beautiful islands full of astonishing beaches and stunning hula girls, we heard a less glamorous story of the islands.

The community of Kalaupapa has a tragic history, mirroring Hawaii as a whole. In 1778, the first recorded European visitor to the Hawaiian islands, British navigator James Cook, estimated a native population of roughly 200,000 to 800,000. Today the islands have a population of 1.4 million, but only 25% of inhabitants have some Hawaiian blood, and only 6% are mostly Hawaiian.

In 1866, the government of Kamehameha V established an isolation colony at Kalaupapa, on the island of Molokai. Medical understanding of leprosy—today known as Hansen's disease—was limited at this time. In fear of a mass contagion, all infected persons—real or suspected—were forced away from their families to Kalaupapa. Some inmates, in fact, were interned under false pretenses. Sadly, Dillon's grandfather-in-law, Tommy Fung, was one of the exiles. Since only one hospital existed in all of Hawaii at this time, exile to Kalaupapa was not for treatment but for quarantine and, eventually, death. By 1891, 2000 exiles had been sent to Kalaupapa. In total, 8000 people were exiled to Kalaupapa, and all died there. To cover up the size of the colony's population, patients' identity numbers were recycled. Fortunately by 1946 a cure for Hansen's disease was discovered, which prompted the decline of the colony. Today the population is under 100, being mostly national park employees. Only 6 patients remain.

Amidst such hardships came stories of great courage. Kalaupapa has produced more saints per square mile than anywhere else in the Union. Father Damien (1840-1889), born in Belgium as Joseph de Veuster, contracted leprosy himself in 1885 while caring for the exiles. He died in 1889 and became the Patron Saint of Hawaii in 2009. Mother Marianne Cope (1838-1918) ran the schools at Kalaupapa and was made a saint in 2012. Damien's successor, Lay Brother Joseph Dutton (1843-1931) may be Kalaupapa's third saint: his canonization process began in 2015.

Much of Kalaupapa history has been written by some popular figures. Mark Twain began an unfinished, unpublished novel on Kalaupapa. Jack London and James Mitchener wrote what came to be known as the Myth of Kalaupapa, and were heavily criticized by Hawaiians for their lurid depictions of Kalaupapa exiles.

Dillon's family today commemorates their deceased exiled ancestors through visits and prayers. While 1000 of 8000 buried exiles have lost their grave markings and most families can't find even one of their family members, Dillon's family has found the graves of 3 of their own 4 exiles—a remarkable ratio.

Father Damien is revered today, with a statue in front of the Hawaii State capitol building, and also in the Washington D.C. capitol. Fresh leis are applied daily. *Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa* is now a benevolent society dedicated to the memory of the exiles; its goal is the creation of a permanent Kalaupapa monument. The site is currently jointly administered by the Hawaii Board of Health and the National Park Service. When there are no longer any patients, the Board of Health will be irrelevant and the site will probably be freely open as a National Park, no longer requiring invitation or petition to visit. Kalaupapa is definitely worth a visit by Corral members. Until then, *Aloha!*

— Jovanny Gochez

February 2019

Mark Hall-Patton

The Westerners were graced with a lecture from Mark Hall-Patton, also known as "The Beard of Knowledge." Mark is a Westerner, the Administrator for the Clark County Museum system in Nevada, and is a frequent guest on the TV show *Pawn Stars*. Mark's lecture was on the commercial use of camels in the western United States. Coincidentally, one Roundup guest was an Arab oil sheikh (who bore an uncanny resemblance to Gary Turner), Omar Obama, who came looking for his lost camel.

Major George Crosman first proposed camels for military use in 1836. Camels could carry 1500 pounds and travel 40-60 miles a day without food or water.[1] This eventually piqued the Army's interest, and in 1856-1857 they purchased dromedary (one-hump) camels at great expense for Camp Verde, Texas. These camels ate their first improvised corral made of cacti. During the Civil War, Rebel forces seized the U.S. camels in Texas. One such camel, "Old Douglas," became the mascot of the 43rd Mississippi infantry, but was killed by a Union sniper at the Siege of Vicksburg. The U.S. reclaimed their camels after the war, but could not find a use for them and sold them off.

Although camels were disappointing for the Army, they found surprising success in civilian service. Camels were used from 1858-1859 to survey the California-Nevada border. Civilian contractors also operated a camel freight line from Los Angeles to the Army base at Fort Mojave. During one trip, a Mojave Indian attack was broken up by the first and only camel charge by unarmed civilians in U.S. history. Back in Texas, camels had a less illustrious civilian career as cover for the illegal importation of slaves.

Bactrian (two-hump) camels were first introduced to the U.S. in 1860 for a proposed freight line from San Francisco to El Paso. Entrepreneur Otto Esche struggled to sell his 15 fantastically expensive Mongolian camels in San Francisco, and shipped them to Nevada in hopes of finding new buyers. Fortunately, a series of illustrations by Edward Vischer depicted the camels' journey and popularized their potential viability. A buyer was found, the Chevalier brothers, who used camels to supply salt to silver mines, making $200 per trip. Esche purchased another 60 bactrians from Mongolia, though 24 of them died on the voyage home due a captain's negligence. Esche was awarded damages for the dead camels in a lawsuit, and he shortly thereafter left the camel business. The surviving camels were sold to Frank Laumeister of Canada to supply freight during the Cassiar Gold Rush in the 1870s. With the addition of cloth boots to protect the camels' padded feet from rocky terrain, the camels were more successful than their ox and mule-using competitors.

Camels also saw service in railroad construction, but their use declined as infrastructure improved. Nevada became a convenient dumping ground for camels to the point of being banned from public roads from 1875 to 1899. Eventually, most camels were rounded up and sent to zoos. The last U.S. Army camel died in 1934, and the last wild camels in Nevada were spotted in the early 20th century. However, wild camels were sighted in Texas as recently as 2003. With hit-or-miss success, camels were no doubt an interesting sideline in American history. As always, it was a treat to hear another great presentation by Mark. If you happen to see any wild California camels, be sure to let Omar know.

— Patrick Mulvey

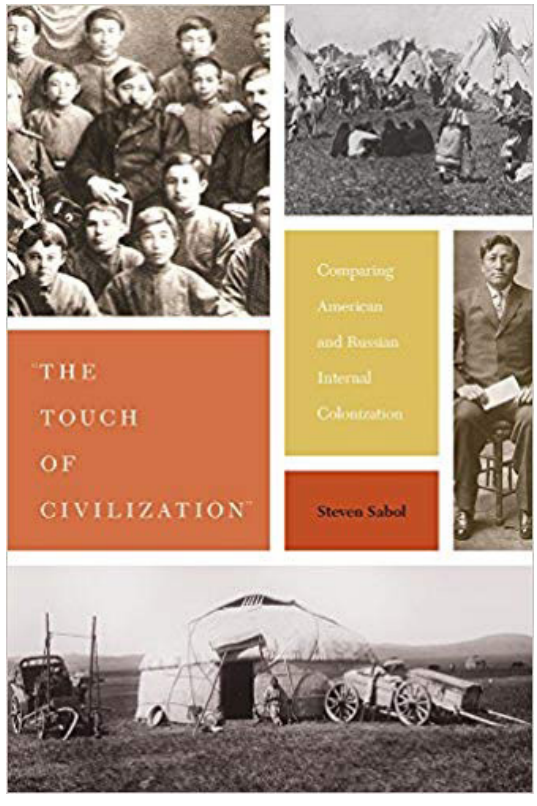
1. The secret to this endurance has only recently been discovered. Camels have special baffles in their nostrils that retain 98% of moisture when breathing.

Down the Western Book Trail . . .

THE TOUCH OF CIVILIZATION: Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization, by Steven Sabol. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017. Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Hardcover, 298 pages, $55.

This book compares and contrasts the policies of Czarist Russia and the United States in regard to their respective historical relationships with the peoples of the Russian Steppe and the American Great Plains. The Kazakhs and the Sioux are chosen by the author as representative peoples to study. The book's jumping off point is the position that the treatment of both peoples by the Russians and Americans was one of "internal colonization," a position which the author observes has been neglected in studies of 19th-century colonialism.

The book covers the subject matter thoughtfully and thoroughly. It contains a good background discussion of Kazakh and Sioux history, culture and society, which is well documented with footnotes. This is of great value to the reader. It has a detailed discussion of the relationships between the Russians and the Kazakhs on the one hand, and the Americans (and the preceding North American colonial powers) and the Sioux on the other hand, beginning in the early 16th century and continuing to the present day. The importance of the fact that the Kazakhs and the Sioux were both nomadic peoples, while the Russians and the Americans were agrarian is discussed, and the ways in which this affected both the colonizers and colonized are explored. This includes an interesting insight into how the Russians and Americans, respectively, saw themselves in relation to the Kazakhs and Sioux. The differences in colonial administration of Kazakh and Sioux lands and populations and the resulting impact on their respective cultures are analyzed. The author's conclusion that, in both cases, "[t]he state uniformly assimilated the land but not the people," is interesting and worthy of consideration and reflection.



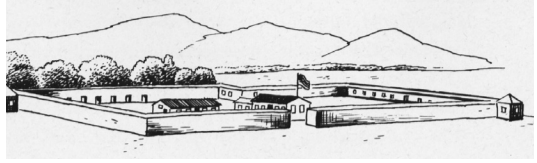
The author points out that Russia governed Kazakh lands as the result of direct conquest, while the United States became the owner of most of the Sioux territory by virtue of the Louisiana Purchase. Both countries passed laws in their respective capitals which directly affected the governed peoples. These laws were carried out by regional officials. However, the United States found it necessary to approach the Sioux as sovereign peoples residing within U.S. sovereign territory by treaty as well. The effect of this difference is not discussed. It would have been interesting to include.

There are occasional references in the text to the names of the authorities relied upon. Although these names may be meaningful to the author, they are probably not well known to most readers. Their mention in the text is distracting and their names are already provided in accompanying footnotes. The book contains only two maps. Their location is not

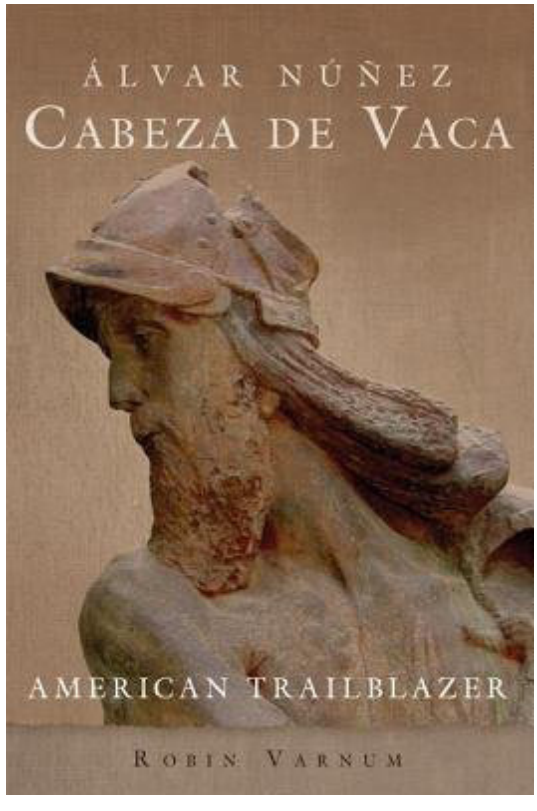
identified in the Table of Contents or elsewhere. The reader would have benefitted from larger maps of better quality, as well as more of them.

Sabol observes that "[c]omparative history ought to illuminate something about the subjects being compared that might not be clear and evident when examined in isolation..." This book does just this. The choice of subject matter to be compared is unusual and interesting. It should be of value to anyone with an interest in Russian and American history or either of them.

— Peter D. Pettler



ÁLVAR NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA: American Trailblazer, by Robin Varnum. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014. 368 pp. Maps, Illustrations, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Hardbound, $26.95.



Some readers may be confused by the subtitle of this book. Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was a Spaniard, an explorer in the service of Spain. So how can he be called an "American Trailblazer?" Wouldn't it be more accurate to call him a "North American Trailblazer?" Despite the title's ambiguity, one thing is certain. Cabeza de Vaca didn't fit the role of *conquistador*, and Robin Varnum makes a very strong case for his exceptionalism. In fact, Cabeza de Vaca did pretty well in making his own case, since his career as a Spanish-American explorer was so markedly different from contemporaries such as Cortés, Coronado, and De Soto.

In recent years historians have paid increasing attention to Cabeza de Vaca's life and experiences. Major U.S. history textbooks no longer take an Anglo-centric view of the Age of Discovery, instead devoting introductory chapters to Indigenous people and Spanish explorations. Borderlands historians, as might be expected, go into considerable detail about him. Cabeza de Vaca's account of his involuntary exploration of the Southwest, *Relación*, has been translated into English by Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz, *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez* (three volumes, 1999), and from that work they have published *The Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca: Edited, Translated, and with an Introduction.*

In 2007 *A Land So Strange: The Epic Journey of Cabeza de Vaca*, by Andrés Reséndez, was published: this book focused on Cabeza de Vaca's eight years of wandering across the Southwest. The explorer has found his way into popular history as well, as in "Heart of Darkness, Heart of Light: The Saga of Alvar Nunez [sic] Cabeza de Vaca, the First American," in the *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, January 15, 1995, and "Estevanico, the Moor," in *American History* magazine, August 1997. It

would not be a difficult task to locate additional writings about this intrepid explorer.

Robin Varnum's book offers a full-scale biography of Cabeza de Vaca, from his birth in Jerez, Castile (the exact date is unknown), to his death around 1560 (again, an uncertain date). The paucity of sources required Varnum to rely heavily on Adorno and Pautz's work along with secondary scholarship. By necessity Varnum must use intelligent speculation (a standard higher than just guesswork), qualified with such terms as "must have," "probably," "likely," or "would have." However, the story was already told by Cabeza de Vaca in his *Relación,* leaving it to modern scholars to fill in the blanks as to exactly when, where, and what happened during his peregrinations. The result is a fascinating tale that relates how Cabeza de Vaca and the other three survivors of the Narváez expedition—Alonso del Maldonado Castillo, Andrés Dorantes de Carranza, and the slave Estevanico—survived enslavement, hunger, isolation, and numerous hardships, ultimately becoming regarded by Indians as healers if not holy men. Unlike Reséndez's book, which ends when the four survivors reconnect with Spanish settlements in 1536, Varnum continues Cabeza de Vaca's career as governor of Río de la Plata and the misfortunates he met there.

Cabeza de Vaca learned much from the ordeal of his eight-year wanderings. He learned to appreciate Native cultures and became a strong opponent of slavery, views that his contemporaries didn't want to hear, especially in the Paraguay colony where rivals falsely accused him of various offenses. Perhaps his defense of Native people as not being "savages" is what makes him an important historical figure, one who deserves the attention given him in this excellent biography.

In 1991 Nicolás Echevarría directed the film *Cabeza de Vaca*, a visually stunning motion picture that is worth seeing (in Spanish with English subtitles).

— Abraham Hoffman

FROM OUR FILES

50 Years Ago
#90 – March 1969

Perhaps in belated observance of Valentine's Day, the first *Branding Iron* of 1969 dedicated its main article to the amorous misadventures of Elias Jackson "Lucky" Baldwin (1828-1909). This Southern California real estate mogul was constantly short on cash, but never short of women—and lawsuits. One lover claimed to be Baldwin's English cousin (and royalty), but shot and wounded him after her own separate affair was exposed. She was somehow acquitted, and Baldwin settled her paternity lawsuit. One teenage paramour successfully sued Baldwin for breaching his promise to make her his (fifth) wife. While in court for a third dispute, another gunwoman—the vengeful sister of the plaintiff—missed the back of his head at point-blank range. He narrowly won (and survived) that lawsuit, validating beyond all doubt his nickname, "Lucky."

This issue also announced the publication of Los Angeles Corral's *Brand Book* 13. This 230 page collection edited by William F. Kimes "strip[ped] off the unreal and fallacious conceptions of the past." This volume was also artistically rich, with two chapters reproducing historical Western posters and paintings of Indians. Seven hundred fifty copies were printed, and were sold for $20 at listed price, or $15 for active and corresponding members.

— John Dillon