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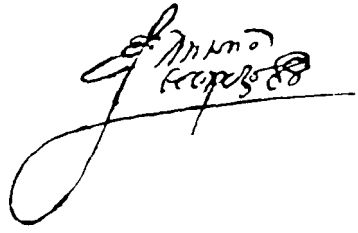

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The cover shows the signature of Antonio de Espejo. See Harry Kelsey's article that begins on p. 239.

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HEALING, IMAGINATION, AND NEW MEXICO

STEPHEN D. FOX

"I only want to find whatever of the *great spirit* there is in the Southwest."—Robert Henri, one of the founders of the Santa Fe artists' colony[1]

"The air is very pure and dry. It's been so good for the children. They seem much stronger, and they're not as high-strung as they were in the city. Those mountains are soothing. They're permanent. Nothing could ever disturb those mountains—except maybe our bombs!"—Los Alamos physicist, 1940s[2]

"The Ascended Masters told me years ago that New Mexico was destined to become a therapeutic center, one of the best in the world."—Santa Fe Naturopath Jay Victor Scherer[3]

THESE QUOTATIONS TOUCH ON THEMES that recur in the statements of New Mexico artists, writers, ethnologists, scientists, and alternative-therapy enthusiasts. Those themes include love of mountains, high-desert terrain, and warm, dry climate; fascination with pre-technological cultures; anxiety over modern civilization's direction; and mystical belief in the Rio Grande valley's "chosenness." These themes are also related to health and to the myth that New Mexico is a therapeutic place to live.[4] There is a small literature dealing with the health-seekers—those who came to the Southwest to cure respiratory disease, mostly tuberculosis, during the Era of Climatology. Climatology is the belief that climate produces and cures levels of illness, a theory that flourished in the medical community from the 1880s until germ theory eclipsed it around the turn of the century.[5]

The definition of health-seeker should be broadened, however,

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to include those searching for emotional, spiritual, and psychic well-being as well as those classified "ill" by their physical symptoms. Before the climatological era began to wane in New Mexico by World War II, there was a movement of ethnicity-seekers in the teens and twenties, which members of the counterculture repeated, with "New Age" rhetoric, in the late sixties and seventies.

A study of health-seeking in New Mexico might emphasize analysis of myth for its own sake or identification of popular belief in a mass-culture context, but a more useful approach demonstrates that a combination of idiosyncratic personal beliefs and networks of shared attitudes created social movements in the twenties and thirties and sixties and seventies. Before those movements are described, however, one must understand the first heavy immigration to New Mexico: the "lungers."

The opportunity to choose New Mexico or other southwestern states as refuge from disease often rested on a coincidence of two factors—epidemics of disease in colder, wetter, crowded areas combined with sudden availability of railroad service into higher, warmer, drier, and less populous states. "Fever and ague" was a constant topic of concern in the humid Mississippi Valley and Missouri frontier settlements in the nineteenth century, and although the term "ague" may have been used for a variety of influenza-related discomforts, ethnohistorian Robert T. Boyd makes a convincing case for identifying "fever and ague" with the malaria-pneumonia complex, the latter being a frequent complication of poorly treated malaria.[6] More lethal than the fevers and aches, however, was the bloody cough and stifled breath of tuberculosis, the leading killer of the nineteenth century.[7]

Treatment of these diseases was inadequate because medicine continued to be an inexact, developing science. Doctors in the middle and late nineteenth century could "cure" only four or five diseases, usually ones associated with diet, such as ricketts, pellagra, scurvy, or malnutrition.[8] Moreover, criteria for training and evaluating physicians varied from state to state, and physicians emphasized a wide variety of therapies, from common-sense eating and exercising to cure-all snake oils indirectly related to Indian folk medicines.[9] The few advances in health in the 1800s were effected more by sanitation engineers and urban statisticians than by phy-

sicians; doctors enjoyed status and respectability not because their cures worked, but because of the public's fervent "wish that their services work."[10] Fervent wishes for health also included religious figures, which is clear from a study of Francis Schlatter, a mysterious man who resembled the popular portraits of Christ and whose faith healing attracted crowds of thousands in Albuquerque and Denver in the 1890s. Contemporary newspaper stories from Socorro and Albuquerque denouncing Schlatter were printed alongside advertisements for miraculous, cure-all patent medicines with no medical foundation.[11]

The failure of faith also contributed significantly to popular confusion about health. Several notable social and economic changes, including industrialization, migration to urban and isolated areas, and husband-wife role changes, had separated people from traditional religious beliefs. Sects and offshoots of sects strove to reassure people, but Donald Meyer, historian of nineteenth- and twentieth-century religions, argues that there is "no evidence that the late nineteenth-century 'religion of Jesus' was helpful therapeutically."[12] Folk Catholicism of New Mexico, with its Hispanic and Indian traditions of magical healing, helped prepare the way for Schlatter, but it was not the sole source of his theology and healing techniques.[13] He admitted reading a number of the mind-cure books then popular and could easily have attended public programs on these topics in Denver.[14] Mind-cure, with its influential leaders Mary Baker Eddy and Nona Brooks of Denver, was a bridge from new sects of healing to the secular philosophies of capitalism and corporatism in the early twentieth century. For women, being sick and pursuing "getting well" became a life-style option in the latter 1800s.[15] For most people, however, patent medicines or drier climates were most tempting; a traveler noting the proliferation of odd cures in California before the turn of the century remarked that "the weakening of a general belief in the Great Physician has quickened faith in quacks."[16]

The health legend that surrounded New Mexico had roots in the remarks of many early travelers. One account of 1773 claimed that "no diseases have appeared since the settlement of the province by Spaniards, which can be said to be peculiar to the climate and country."[17] Early fur traders and mountain men such as William

Emblems of New Mexico alternative health groups: symbols of wholeness (the circle) and completeness (the equilateral triangle). At top and at 1:00—Southwestern College of Life Sciences; at 4:00, Dr. Scherer's Academy; at bottom, design for the 1983 Holistic Health Conference sponsored by 3HO (Happy, Healthy, Holy), the Sikh yoga group with an ashram in Española.

H. Ashley, co-founder of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and Kit Carson of Taos asserted that they never saw fevers or deaths from disease among their men despite the rugged life. Painter George Catlin thought mountain men the healthiest persons he had ever seen. Travelers were often struck by the "'large number of persons who live to a great old age . . . , and before they die . . . assume almost the appearance of Egyptian mummies'"; and physicians remarked on the fine health of the Indians and Spanish.[18] Against the backdrop of these early reports, businessmen, politicians, and the railroads realized how they could exploit the legend of health.

In 1880, after a decade of floundering, the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad entered upon a tremendous campaign of expansion.[19] From 337 miles of three-foot-gauge track south from Denver, the railroad by 1883 totaled 1,685 miles, laid over fabulous gorges and high passes. Millions of hand-hewn ties were bedded in the earth of agricultural and mining areas of southern and western Colorado and northern New Mexico. The adroit advertising of the railroad was handled by its general ticket agents, first F. C. Nims and then the "legendary Major Shadrach Hooper," both of whom promoted the railroad by "puffing" the country it served. In 1881 Nims published a booklet, the earliest of a multitude of similar publications, and the first word in the title was "health": *Health, Wealth, and Pleasure in Colorado and New Mexico.*

A combination of boosterism and romantic travel prose, this booklet called the traveler's attention to "sublime heights" of grand, impressive "mountain-tops, seeming to invade the very heavens."[20] References to Longfellow, Keats, and other Romantic poets are sprinkled throughout. The word "sublime," as well as the allusions to what Keats would think of the Rockies, are keys to Nims's participation in two great belief systems regarding the American West in the 1880s. One is that the "sublimity" of the mountains and the lines of sight available to mountain travelers—meaning the awe-inspiring vistas of grandeur and solitude—put complacent urban people in touch with the grandeur of God.[21] The second belief system involved the pastoral ideal of the Romantic era—a vision of a peaceful Arcady in which "natural" men and women lived close

to a beneficent unprocessed Nature, reveling in their health and pleasure.[22]

Practical advice to health-seekers is woven through each chapter, implying that Nims was certain that TB and asthma sufferers were eager consumers of such literature:

> The pure, dry air of the plains and the mountains, rarefied by an elevation of from one to two miles above the sea, and often in a high degree electrical, is bracing and exhilarating to the lungs. For asthma it is an almost unfailing specific, as hundreds of persons, confirmed asthmatics before coming to Colorado, but here able to breathe with comfort, and in the enjoyment of health [soon discovered]. . . .[23]

One can see the techniques of advertising men exploiting the public's hunger for therapy, peddling a landscape as others peddled patent medicine.

A trio of Colorado doctors—Samuel Fish, Samuel Solly, and Charles Dennison—turned promotional travel rhetoric into scientific dogma by describing respiratory cures in articles they published in medical journals all over the country. These doctors themselves arrived as tubercular or "nervous" invalids and recovered so rapidly that they became ardent promoters of southwest climate as the best-known therapy for tuberculosis, asthma, and hay fever, and hot springs as therapy for rheumatism, eczema, psoriasis, and acne.[24] Their proselytizing reached receptive ears in the East; forty-two prominent physicans, twenty-seven of them from New York, founded the American Climatological Association.[25] Thus, the weight of scientific testimony was added to the folk legends of the healing power of fresh air, high altitude, and sunshine.

Well-off and well-educated health-seekers, following doctors' orders, moved to New Mexico between 1900 and 1920 and built spas, hospitals, sanatoriums, and provided necessary economic support services. Albuquerque and Santa Fe were "made" by the railroad and health-seekers who rode it across Raton Pass. Indeed, all of Albuquerque's modern hospitals were founded in the climatological era, usually as tuberculosis clinics, and close connections between business people and health-seekers are also evident in Albuquer-

que's early sanatoriums. For example, the Commercial Club, forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce, bought land for the Presbyterian Synod's new sanatorium, and also provided free office space for the editorial offices of the *Herald of the Well Country.*[26] Eddy (later named Carlsbad after the German spa), Las Vegas, and Silver City burgeoned with hackers and lungers unconsciously following the trail of Indian and Spanish legends of hot spring healing, although naming a New Mexican hot springs after a German resort shows that civic allegiance was to European, not Native American, healing traditions. W. S. Moore, a one-man Chamber of Commerce attempting to make the nation conscious of its hot springs,[27] built an adobe hotel at the bubbling hot springs six miles northwest of Las Vegas. Realizing the commercial potential, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway bought out Moore and constructed, in Gilded Age extravagance, the mighty Montezuma Hotel. Thirty carloads of bluegrass sod brought in from Kansas carpeted the grounds, on which a herd of tame deer were kept that one could watch from wicker chairs on the verandas of the hotel. The Montezuma's guest registry was filled for a few years with the names of the great, the powerful, and the rich; the hotel was the perfect symbol of the transfer of interest in healing to the upper classes that had for several centuries been part of the culture of Indians, Hispanics, and fur trappers. Another indication of the complex culture arising in New Mexico was the pamphlets circulated by the New Mexico Bureau of Immigration that mixed scientific analyses of the waters with testimonials solicited from tycoons and doctors.

At hot springs resorts, easily accessible by rail, men and women indulged their common quest for therapy. Theodore Roosevelt's name appeared on the guest register more than once at the Montezuma Hotel, and from that Las Vegas area he recruited many of his Rough Riders. Roosevelt was "Captain Burly" in those days, ranging about the East giving his standard speech on the virtues of the strenuous life, regaling eager audiences with tales of his recovery of health on a North Dakota ranch. Heir of Manhattan wealth and a Harvard graduate, Teddy would write in his autobiography of "the free, open air of the ranchman, the pleasantest and healthiest life in America. . . ."[28] Teddy anticipated the twentieth century's interest in the West as a great playground by turning

out a huge stream of articles picturing himself galloping over the plains in a buckskin shirt and leather chaparajos and wearing a big sombrero.

What a contrast the pale ladies made as they congregated at fashionable spas. Illness, for them, tended to become a conversation piece; sometimes dyspepsia seemed to exceed consumption (tuberculosis), which young women were said to counterfeit for its cosmetic effects![29] These stylish convalescents also contrasted sharply with indigenous Hispanics, to whom illness was a dreaded threat to their ability to work. Far from feigning symptoms to buy a holiday at the hot springs, Hispanics feigned *health*, often bolting hospitals when TB symptoms doctors detected did not satisfy Hispanic criteria for serious medical intervention. To Hispanics, "only the well are bearing their parts of the burdens of life."[30]

Not all of this health-seeking was successful, however. Americans, in general, were naive, and the lack of reliable health care institutions on the frontier encouraged improvisation. In fact, many died on their pilgrimages; estimates claim that up to 60 percent of TB patients died during their first year in "The Well Country,"[31] and in Los Angeles health-seekers made the area "a mortician's paradise."[32] Promoters and doctors were often ignorant of the point beyond which tuberculosis was hopeless. Many suffering from advanced stages of the disease set out on futile journeys, and made it only as far as a shallow, roadside grave.[33]

The 1870s to the 1890s closed out in America an era of intellectual amateurism, during which laymen were encouraged to report, compare, and explain their findings. Little wonder that eager deductions led to poor methodology and inaccurate conclusions. If a person got better in the West, was the therapeutic agent the air, the sun, or the altitude; or was it the exhilaration of going on an adventure and seeing new sights; or was it faith in a widely talked-about cure? Patient, inductive reasoning was not yet a feature of the medical profession. While patients and doctors had high expectations for the power of "scientific" healing, most health-seekers coming west knew nothing of the Southwest but threw themselves recklessly on, deluded that moving west would make everything well.[34]

The story of man and climate is still a complicated and exasper-

ating jigsaw puzzle with key pieces missing.[35] Nevertheless, one meets in New Mexico, especially in Albuquerque, numbers of people whose relatives came here on doctor's advice as late as the 1940s, and some continue to come for relief in the relatively clean, dry air from certain allergies and respiratory tract discomforts. Overall, seekers of physical health accounted for one-fifth to one-half of all immigration to the state between 1870 and 1910.[36] Most persons did not realize, however, that the combination of altitude, bright sun, and fair skins has resulted in a skin cancer rate twenty-two times the national average.[37]

Two American values would have to be transformed before immigrants to New Mexico could said to be at home in the Rio Grande valley *as it was*. Those values involved the land and the indigenous people. The land received from seven to twelve inches of rain annually; it was neither fertile prairie nor green woodland like half of the continent with which Anglos were familiar. The inhabitants—few, poor, and inscrutable—could easily be dispossessed of much of that land but certainly could not be rapidly assimilated, genetically or culturally. Removal and genocide had been features of Anglo policies toward Indians during westward expansion and land-hungry but ignorant settlers did not modify their farming techniques as they passed the "ten-inch" rainfall barrier. Many of the newcomers would gladly have imported—like the trains of blue grass sod to the Montezuma Hotel—landscaping and cultural values, but the trains also brought people discontent with American values. Artists, writers, and anthropologists saw no value in making New Mexico another Missouri, Ohio, or New England. These searchers formed a counter argument to the popular opinion that Indians and Mexicans were inferior throwbacks to a brute, sensual past, arguing instead that not only climate and scenery could help one "escape the fierce struggles and intense mental strains of civilization," as F. C. Nims wrote,[38] but also the holistic philosophies of Indians and the village values of Hispanics. Suffering from inner afflictions that neither doctor nor priest could help,[39] these ethnicity-seekers concluded that native New Mexico life-styles and philosophies they encountered would contribute to a widening American search for social adjustment. Many of these newcomers

were women, reflecting Donald Meyer's assertion that getting well was a project that women largely explored after 1870.

One of the most prominent of these women was Mary Hunter Austin, who came to New Mexico having already come to value the California desert and its Indian and Hispanic peoples. Although southwestern land and natives had a restorative influence on Austin, many Americans considered these elements without value. Little knowledge existed about southwest ecology or cultures, and dime novel treatments of Indians often stereotyped them as barbaric warriors. By 1890 the murderous Indian was (along with the deceitful Mexican) a solidly rooted popular image; for example, savage, bitter *Nick of the Woods*, by Robert Montgomery Bird, was a widely read novel portraying ethnic difference as insuperable and the West as dangerous.[40] Nims's promotional writing for the Rio Grande Railroad spoke of New Mexico Indians as quaint scenery, but—like virgin timber—soon to disappear into the sawmill of civilization.[41] As for the land of the Southwest, east-of-the-Mississippi culture resisted facing honestly a new sort of terrain, even when presented with the geological data of John Wesley Powell's *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States*.[42] Americans generally either feared or denied the desert.

Mary Austin was an exception to this generalization, becoming interested in the desert and Indians in the Owens Valley of California before it was destroyed by the Los Angeles water district. Having moved west from Illinois in 1888, Austin struggled to develop an independent mind and writing skills. In 1897 she traded her mother's definition of prayer for one she obtained in conversation with an old Paiute medicine man. Later, she encountered William James during his lecture stop in Oakland and talked with him about the Paiute man's spiritual ideas and the possibility that she, when with old Indian people, could receive "ancestral experience." "What I got out of William James and the Medicine-Man," she wrote, "was a continuing experience of wholeness."[43] In 1903 Austin published *Land of Little Rain*, in 1906 *The Flock*, and in 1909 *Lost Borders*, which were evocative tributes to desert beauty, Indian and Hispanic ways, sheep herding, and the liberating and shaping effect of the land on her mind and spirit. After living in artists' circles in Carmel and Europe, she joined Mabel Dodge's

salon in New York in 1913 and four years later followed Dodge to New Mexico. Between Taos and Santa Fe, she met a representative of the Carnegie Foundation who wanted a survey done of Taos County population and culture in advance of a foundation "Americanization" program for Taos.[44] He got his survey, and Austin found her final home, New Mexico.

The artistic-literary-scientific community into which Austin settled was fed by scenery and ethnicity. Colonies of artists had grown in Taos and Santa Fe since the turn of the century. At first they added Indian models to their paintings as another motif to complement mountains, aspens, adobe, and chile *ristras*, but soon the artists noticed the Indians' art.[45] Robert Henri, one of the Santa Fe colony's founders and a "teacher with an extraordinary gift for verbal communication," began to talk of envying and wanting to understand mysterious life principles and spiritual sparks implicit in Indian pottery and rugs. As one observer notes, "no other American painter drew into himself such a large, ardently personal group of followers as Robert Henri."[46] In a similar vein Erna Fergusson wrote that southwestern Indians had no better friends than artists, who recognized that the Indian was "essentially an artist."[47]

Influential visitors to the Mabel Dodge circle during the twenties decided that the Indian was also essentially a theologian or earth spirit. Carl Jung concluded that Taos elders gave him profound insights into psychology and religion in poetic, tearful talks at the Pueblo,[48] and D. H. Lawrence announced that of all the places he had been, in search of the right psychic environment (including Sardinia, Egypt, India, Australia, and Ceylon), New Mexico had most "liberated" him "from the . . . great era of material and mechanical development."[49]

These intellectuals in New Mexico were not operating in a vacuum, for currents of anti-industrialism and feminism inspired activists in many areas of the country. While disgust with war and with mainstream values had driven many writers and artists to Europe—"The Lost Generation"—New Mexico was almost as remote as Europe and much cheaper to get to. Other dissenters went to California, where more Utopian colonies were founded during the World War I years than during any other period prior to the seventies.[50] The Harlem Renaissance of black culture and a move-

ment to preserve Appalachian crafts also illustrate the regionalistic fervor and interest in archaically indigenous culture characteristic of this period in the United States.[51]

In New Mexico, the year 1919 featured the revival, after a lapse of 150 years, of Santa Fe's community fiestas.[52] Started by the Spanish of the eighteenth century to commemorate Vargas's "peaceful" reconquest of New Mexico in 1692 after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the fiesta was reconstituted in 1919 to give one day of celebration to each of the state's ethnic groups—Indian, Spanish, and Anglo. Pueblo tribes brought their ceremonial dances out of their village plazas and into the state capital for the first time. The Santa Clara Eagle Dance had to be repeated to satisfy the throngs. *El Palacio,* since about 1912 a mouthpiece for the ethnological and archaeological communities, began in 1920 to carry on its masthead "Devoted to the Arts and Sciences of Man in the Southwest." *El Palacio* remarked of the fiesta revival that

> a real beginning had been made for the preservation of the incomparable Pueblo Indian ceremonies and drama which had been breaking down for years and threatened with extinction. That this will prove a priceless service to the entire Nation is the firm belief of thoughtful, patriotic Americans. . . .[53]

Attending Pueblo dances was an epiphany for many Anglo writers and artists. Not only did Indian ritual suggest new forms for lifeless American verse and theater, in their view; but it also seemed a key to origins of human cultural patterns. Erna Fergusson analyzed Pueblo dance as "in fact, what all dances were in the early days of the race before . . . religious ritual and the drama had become separate things."[54]

The obdurate cohesion of Pueblo life fascinated those with social awareness and a tendency toward introspection. These observers felt specialization and centralization of urban settlement patterns were weakening community ties and extended families and that men and women of the early twentieth century were struggling to redefine their personal identities and their roles as spouses and citizens without the security of familiar conventions and formalities.[55] For these newcomers the apparent serenity, dignity, and

communal solidarity of New Mexico's postwar subsistence villages offered invigorating contrast to mainstream modern life.

Mary Austin and her friends addressed themselves to promoting indigenous life-styles, Indian and Hispanic. Anxiety over the rapid decline of folk experience moved Austin to found the Society for the Revival of Spanish Arts and the Indian Arts Fund in the mid-twenties and to enlist Laura S. M. Curtin to compile *Healing Herbs of the Upper Rio Grande.*[56] Austin also bought the decaying Santuario de Chimayo by raising money for its preservation.[57] In writing her impressions of New Mexican Spanish folk life for the national Catholic magazine *Commonweal,* Austin evoked an idyllic past: before the Americans came, "everybody played the guitar or violin, everybody composed songs, acted plays or wrote them, all the women were skilled in needlework and every man was an expert horseman."[58]

Ethnologists had preceded artists in their interest in what Indians were thinking and doing, but, unlike the painters, the students of culture had no art to share, and the results of their overtures to Indians were uneven. Frank Hamilton Cushing broke ground with his unprecedented initiation into a Zuñi society, an act that alerted other ethnologists to the extraordinary research opportunities available among New Mexico Indians. These scholars were obsessed with discovering the content of the Indian cultures, assuming that such knowledge would fill gaps in the presumed linear evolution of human culture.[59] Having found that betraying religious and social secrets to the Spanish usually led to persecution, the Indians were adept at elusive repartee: for example, pioneer investigators J. Walter Fewkes and Alexander Stephen were tantalized and yet baffled as they realized how different Indians were and how little prepared Americans were for the abstract, reticent metaphors Native Americans used.[60] In discovering the esoteric mysticism of Indians, ethnologists legitimized study of Indians. By the end of the thirties, sufficient ethnographical studies had been carried out to form the foundations of an attitude of respect—even awe—that many young people of the sixties and seventies took for granted.

A particularly complete bridge between Native American art and health was built between 1919 and 1937 by Hosteen Klah, the great Navajo medicine man, and three white friends, Franc and Arthur

Newcomb, and then Mary Cabot Wheelwright.[61] Klah feared that his immense healing knowledge would die with him; he had no successor. In 1919 Mrs. Newcomb suggested Klah weave sandpainting designs into textiles. Following her advice, he and his nieces wove about forty designs, some as large as twelve by twelve feet. Then in 1927 an extraordinary rapport began to bloom between Klah and Wheelwright that resulted in the recording, by Klah and about forty other singers, as Navajo healers are known, of eighteen different Chantways or healing ceremonies, some of which span seven days. Now transferred from 2080 cylinders to modern tape, these recordings, along with 500 sandpainting drawings and fourteen large tapestries, were deposited in a museum overlooking Santa Fe built according to Klah's design. Known for years as the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, this archive of healing materials taught thousands of visitors about a Native American way to health and wholeness.

The Navajo view illness as a result of upset harmony; they recognize germs and physical malfunctions, but believe that the root cause is always spiritual imbalance. Ceremonies are intended to restore proper relations between human and nonhuman, mind and body.[62] It is difficult to gauge the impact of this display of spirituality and holism on Anglo visitors, for the myriad of ritual materials confronting the visitor contrasts sharply with scientific healing and Protestantism, the one calling for a few chemical therapies and the other for a modest range of ritual and moral absolutes.

A window open to many Anglos, though, was the mental and psychosomatic facet of Indian healing. Throughout and after the years climatology was in vogue, America had a love affair with "mind cure." This movement and its successor, New Thought, popularized the idea that one could think oneself into illness and back into health again. Leaders like Mary Baker Eddy and Nona Brooks widely spread the idea of "positive thinking"—they influenced Andrew Carnegie, Norman Vincent Peale, and Fulton Sheen. By thinking the thoughts of God, one could harmonize with the divine.[63] As Donald Meyer has noted in *The Positive Thinkers,* a philosophic basis for Anglo-Indian rapprochement was formulated: Americans in the twentieth century could not decide whether to call the doctor or the minister, and Mary Baker Eddy soothed many

by saying with startling simplicity that life is One.[64] Indians seemed to share that idea, for their medicine person was priest as well as physician.

Indeed, a complex mixture of social criticism, romantic generalization, true insight and personal projection characterized the period of ethnicity-seekers. Were *all* Indians really artists? Few Anglos knew the answer, and their actions proved they knew little about what tribal or village life was like. For example, many young Indian painters that Dorothy Dunn recruited for her Studio program at Santa Fe in the early thirties became alcoholics, unable to resolve the tensions of trying to remain both tribal people and idiosyncratic painters.[65] Thus, in reaching out to each other, Indians and immigrants satisfied some emotional needs but created others.

For three decades following the twenties America was gripped by such moods of national emergency that preoccupations with subsistence and economic recovery eclipsed quests for personal adjustment. Depression in the thirties, World War II in the forties, and the Cold War atmosphere that extended through the fifties left a mood of continuing crisis upon the country that demanded conformity to common goals. Toward the end of the fifties, however, pressures toward conformity began to buckle under protest from several sources: political dissidents opposing McCarthyism, "beatniks" resisting suburban homogeneity, and baby-boom youngsters demanding autonomy to shape their own youth culture. These currents of protest would swell and lead to the counterculture of the sixties and seventies.

Remarkable parallels exist between Bohemians of the twenties and advocates of the counterculture of the sixties. Disenchantment with dominant culture and the search for alternative visions and experiences characterized factions of both eras. The Bohemians were disillusioned by the political floundering that followed World War I, the "War to end all wars"; hippies, drop-outs, and students became enraged at the Vietnam war that mushroomed from a few advisors to nightly-news "body counts" purporting to describe the "progress" of the undeclared war. Since television covered both an Asian war and America's own civil rights violence, the youth culture developed particularly intense ideological disagreements with "the Establishment." Many young people called for a renewal that would

transcend what they saw as the joyless and repressive legacy of the Atomic Age and the Cold War of the fifties. As Morris Dickstein asked, "How did the [sixties] contrive so unique a mixture of twenties bohemianism and thirties politics?"[66]

A fundamental yearning of young people in the late sixties was, as it had been for Mable Dodge and her friends, for a sense of peaceful community. By the 1960s, use of birth control pills had further shaken traditional family values, and civil rights violence had seared the image of peaceful urban neighborhoods. On the other hand, the ideology of wholeness became diffused over a wider population; not just artists and committed radicals, but millions of mostly young, college-educated people expressed desires to "start over." For these new seekers, New Mexico's image as home of artists' colonies and diverse cultures, combined with beautiful country, once again seemed a haven from modern tensions.

Although the importance of emotional health and wholeness was implicit in most branches of the counterculture—from antiwar to environmentalism to civil rights—a distinct branch of alternative therapies began blooming in ever wilder profusion. The litany most repeated by followers of this branch emphasized "natural" and "holistic" therapies and direct, personal, spiritual experience.[67] The numbers of people who were centering their lives around aspects of health seemed to verify Philip Rieff's prediction that a new personality paradigm based on therapy seeking would replace nineteenth-century spiritualism—except that the counterculture favored a spiritualism of a different focus.[68]

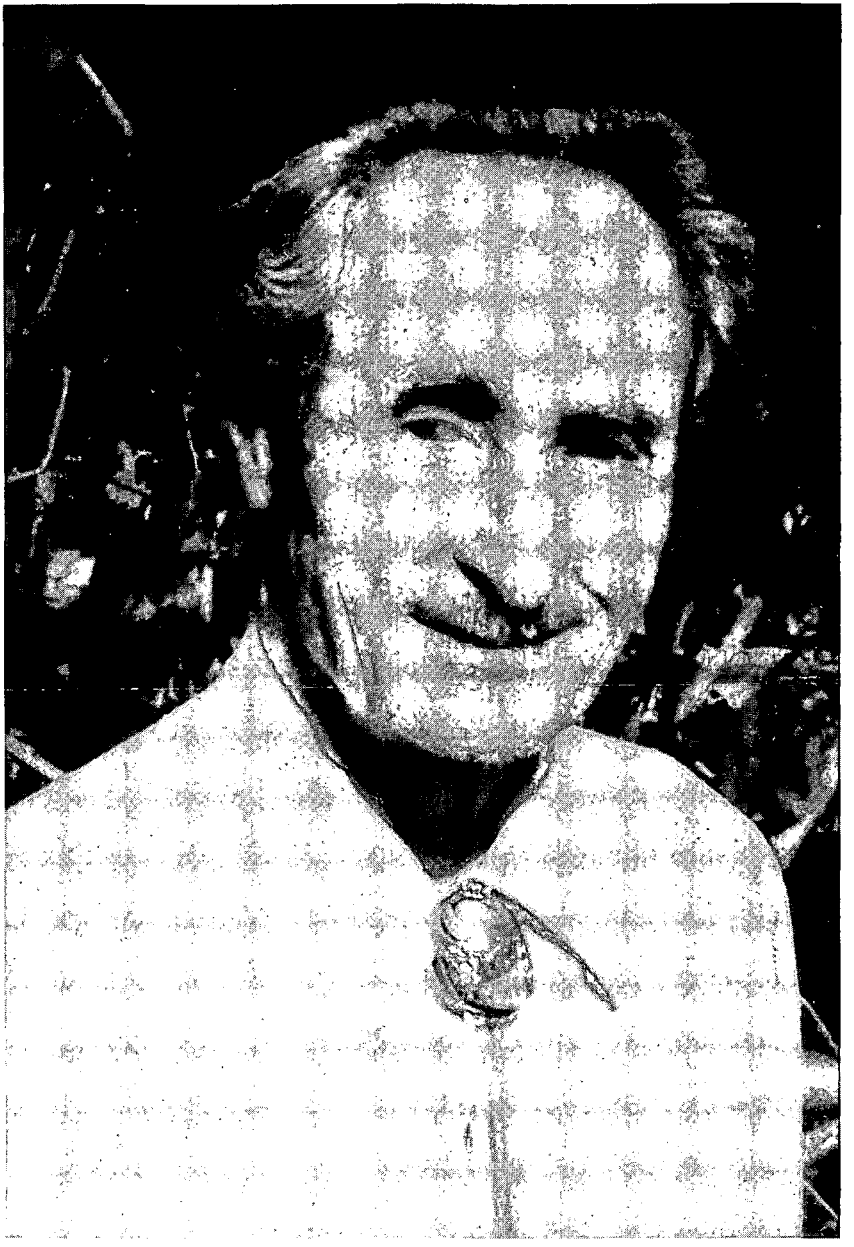
Astrology was one of the elements that colored the eclectic metaphysics of many advocates of alternative therapy. Sometime in the latter 1900s—nobody can say exactly when—the earth is presumed to come under the influence of the sign of Pisces. Since Jesus was associated with the fish, and since one of the primary characteristics of the counterculture is a nearly uncritical openness to new combinations of information, the change to the "Age of Aquarius" symbolized for some a portent as charged as the Second Coming for Christians. Promoters of new products, services, and therapies began using the term "New Age" to link their goods with the idea of personal and collective transformation. "New Age" has also been used to refer to any of a cluster of developments since

the mid-sixties, including appropriate technology (especially solar energy), geodesic construction principles, and the New Religions that grew rapidly in the seventies.[69] Alternative therapists in New Mexico always include solar energy and Indians in their pantheons, but the various new religious and quasi-religious therapies are even clearer guides to understanding advocates of the New Age.

A principal figure in the New Mexico alternative therapy field has been Jay Victor Scherer, the Santa Fe naturopath-massage therapist. Scherer grew up in the mountains of Idaho with a mother who espoused Rudolph Steiner's Anthroposophy and vegetarianism.[70] After army service, he came to New Mexico in 1939, hoping the climate would heal a problem with his lungs. He worked as a therapist at Carrie Tingley Crippled Children's Hospital in Truth or Consequences and, reactivated by the army when the war broke out, at Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. In 1953 Scherer opened a school of massage therapy and naturopathy in Santa Fe. His practice attracted many clients from the Hispanic community, and over the years Scherer has treated so many politicians and bureaucrats that he takes credit for New Mexico having few laws restricting alternative therapies. "They won't bother us because I've helped so many of 'em," he says. While California, Arizona, Texas, and most other states have had acrimonious legislative debate over legitimizing massage as therapy,[71] New Mexico has had little such controversy.

Students and associates of Scherer's have started two schools of their own, one in Santa Fe and one in Albuquerque, making sparsely populated New Mexico the only state with three schools approved by the American Massage and Therapy Association.[72] Scherer estimates his graduates, during the past thirty years, at about fifteen hundred. Charles Brown, the present co-owner of The New Mexico School of Natural Therapeutics, the school in Albuquerque founded by one of Scherer's students, estimates that several hundred students have graduated there and that daily ten to fifteen letters inquiring about the school come from around the U.S. and Europe. Students and graduates of these six-month, one-thousand-hour curricula are typically from twenty to forty years of age, sophisticated, and well educated.[73]

Many of these therapists credit New Mexico's openness toward



Dr. Jay Victor Scherer, who began his studies of metaphysics and health in the early 1920s. Scherer's thirty years of teaching and his contacts with Indian, Hispanic, and Anglo clients have made him the dean of alternative healing in New Mexico. Courtesy of author.

unconventional therapy to Hispanic and Indian attitudes concerning healing. The Hispanic tradition of folk healing places great emphasis on herbs, massage, and diet.[74] Drawing from lay people who "know a little about herbs" as well as from highly revered curanderos and medicos, male and female, Hispanics show respect for curing by manipulating the muscles and spine, by relaxed, reassuring talk, and by combinations of herbs, gathered in the mountains and arroyos or grown in gardens. These traditional preferences lead Hispanics, especially those recently from rural or village backgrounds, to be more inclined to consult the "marginal practitioner"—the medica, the massage therapist, chiropractor, or naturopath—before consulting as a last resort the standard medical doctor.[75] Although no published study has investigated the degree of Hispanic acculturation to scientific medicine, there are indications that their traditional values are sufficiently strong to foster behavior that baffles Anglos on the staffs of urban hospitals.[76] An old New Mexican grandmother, asked how she could believe in the old ways and the new, moved her hands like two animals running neck and neck and said, "'Los dos corren juntos'" (the two run together).[77]

New Age healers also profess admiration for Indian healing, especially its holistic aspects, psychosomatic understanding, and elaborate aesthetic sense. Native American healing is inseparable from religion, however, and Indians rarely reveal details of their methods of healing to ethnographers. The Pueblos have a particularly consistent sanction against those of their tribes who reveal details to outsiders. The supernatural in general and witchcraft in particular are important sources of illness in traditional Indian theory and a topic not only scary to contemplate but one that Christians and western medicine often belittle. New Age esteem for Indian medicine is very selective; as anthropologist John Bodine observed Taos Bohemians, he concluded that they accepted those Spanish village values that soothed their personal mental needs.[78]

Many practitioners of New Age therapy subscribe to a current myth that transcendent, mystical forces in the Rio Grande valley facilitate healing and that healers and therapists are being drawn here "by the droves." Few details are available about the nature

of this "magnetism," and requests for estimates more exact than "droves" are rarely answered. One person estimated that the number of serious master healers in Taos in 1981–82 would soon reach 100.[79] In another area, Los Alamos workers have sensed a mystic significance in the juxtaposition of their work with the Indian ruins at Puye and Bandelier Monument.[80] Dr. Scherer, as a member of the "I Am" Christian sect, stresses the possibility of guidance from ascended spirits. Another contributor to this myth is Neva Dell Hunter, D.D., who founded the Quimby Center, a religious-educational-therapeutic group, in Alamogordo in 1966. Hunter said that Dr. Ralph Gordon, a spirit guide of hers who identified himself as the spirit of P. P. Quimby, a mind-cure pioneer of the nineteenth century, told her to move from Detroit to be near White Sands, a "healing and preserving energy center."[81] A recent dissertation on Hunter and the group at Quimby points out that they can be understood as modern-day forms of shamanism. Under the directorship of Dr. Robert Waterman, who assumed leadership after Hunter died in 1978, the group at Quimby attracted many out-of-state students, became a college, and moved to Santa Fe in 1981.[82] Eclectic and exotic and built around Hunter's 14,000-volume metaphysical library and the healing technique of "aura balancing," Quimby and its students are understandable as one of the religious renewal movements of the seventies adapting to a New Mexico milieu. The continued success of such an institution—now called the Southwestern College of Life Sciences and granting master's degrees—is an illustration of Santa Fe's national prominence as a mecca of the New Age.

A full list of unconventional therapies being practiced or taught in New Mexico, regardless of the reasons their advocates give for coming to New Mexico, suggests that such activity is endemic here. A renowned acupuncturist, Sensei Nakazono, operates a school and practice in Santa Fe. Herbologist Michael Moore, author of the popular pamphlet *Los Remedios de la Gente* and a former California composer, is proprietor of successful herbal remedy businesses in Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Austin, Texas, and has joined the faculty of the newest alternative therapy school in New Mexico, the Institute of Traditional Medicine. This institute, with about one hundred students drawn mostly from other states, teaches massage,

Ayurveda (the traditional medicine of India), Chinese medicine, and nutrition. Moreover, the 1981 edition of the New Mexico *New Age Directory* listed practitioners in Breath Therapy, Inversion Therapy, Rebirthing, Radiesthesiology, Orthobionomics, Iridology, Chromo-Syntonics, Nutrionics, Applied Divine Light, Psychic Detective, Akashic Reader, and numerous massage therapists.[83] The Albuquerque Freedom University has offered quarterly during the late seventies an average of 150 free-access, no-credit courses, and usually about 25 to 40 percent of these classes involve varied approaches to healing. That is a much higher percentage than in such schools nationwide, according to the national clearinghouse of Freedom or alternative, community-based adult schools.[84] Suzanne Vilmaine, an Albuquerque woman who has organized festivals in the healing arts for women in Los Angeles, Los Alamos, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque, thinks that women's interest in health-related topics is similar in all four cities. She reports hearing that people in the four cities and in Phoenix say that strong psychic energies had attracted them.[85]

On a number of levels, then, health seeking continues in the West. As numerous as practitioners of alternative therapy are, recent signs indicate that migration from the eastern half of the country has already begun to foul the new nest they came to find. Albuquerque allergists report that the planting of ornamental trees by newcomers dissatisfied with the native ecosystem has generated a formidable asthma problem for the city, once the capital of "The Well Country."[86]

NOTES

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2. Daniel Land, "A Reporter in New Mexico: Los Alamos," *New Yorker* 24 (17 April 1948): 76.

3. Interview with Jay Victor Scherer, 17 March 1982.

4. By "myth" I do not mean "the untrue," but, as in Max Lerner's definition, "an imaginative idea which—whatever its truth—induces men [and women] to feel and to act" (*America as a Civilization* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957] p. 24).

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6. Robert T. Boyd, "Another Look at the 'Fever and Ague' of Western Oregon," *Ethnohistory* 22 (Spring 1975): 135–54.

7. "Living with TB," an interview with former lunger Dr. Wilhelm Rosenblatt of the New Mexico Chronic Disease Control Bureau, *Albuquerque Journal*, 9 March 1982.

8. Ferenc M. Szasz, "Francis Schlatter: The Healer of the Southwest," NMHR 54 (April 1979): 97.

9. Virgil Vogel, *American Indian Medicine* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 137–40.

10. Donald Meyer, *The Positive Thinkers: Religion as Pop Psychology from Mary Baker Eddy to Oral Roberts* (1965; rev. ed., New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 65.

11. Szasz, "Francis Schlatter," p. 99.

12. Meyer, *Positive Thinkers*, p. 65.

13. See Florence H. Ellis, "Pueblo Witchcraft," in *Systems of North American Witchcraft and Sorcery*, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1970), pp. 37–71; and Stephen F. De Borhegyi,, "The Miraculous Shrines of Our Lord of Esquípulas in Guatemala and Chimayo, New Mexico," in *El Santuario de Chimayo*, Spanish Colonial Arts Society, Inc. (1956; reprint ed., Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1982), pp. 2–28. Szasz, "Francis Schlatter," p. 90.

14. Szasz, "Francis Schlatter," pp. 99–100.

15. Meyer, *Positive Thinkers:* for women and mind-cure, see chapter 3; for infiltration of these ideas into capitalism and mainline denominations, see his entire intricately interlocked argument.

16. Horace A. Vachell, *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope* (London: n.p., 1900), pp. 65–66, quoted in Baur, *Health-Seekers*, p. 49.

17. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., "A Virginian in New Mexico in 1773–74," NMHR 4 (July 1929): 249.

18. Jones, *Health-Seekers*, pp. 48, 50–51; W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo: New Mexico and Her People* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857), p. 295, quoted in Jones, *Health-Seekers*, p. 87.

19. F. C. Nims, *Health, Wealth and Pleasure in Colorado and New Mexico* (Centennial edition, Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1980), preface.

20. Nims, *Health, Wealth and Pleasure*, p. 15.

21. Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825–1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 151.

22. Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 6–9.

23. Nims, *Health, Wealth and Pleasure*, p. 15.

24. Jones, *Health-Seekers*, chapter 7.

25. Jones, *Health-Seekers*, pp. 126–34.

26. DeMark, "Chasing the Cure," p. 6.

27. Jones, *Health-Seekers*, p. 166.

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29. Pomeroy, *In Search*, pp. 103, 20–21.

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33. Baur, *Health-Seekers*, p. 21.

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39. Meyer, *Positive Thinkers*, p. 65.

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43. Mary Austin, *Earth Horizon* (New York: Literary Guild, 1932), pp. 274–76, 282–83.

44. T. M. Pearce, *Mary Hunter Austin* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1965), pp. 15, 49. Pearce's book contains an Austin chronology and evaluation of Austin's development.

45. Arrell Morgan Gibson, "Native American Muses," NMHR 56 (July 1981): 285–302; Austin, *Earth Horizon*, pp. 359–61.

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62. Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navajo* (1946; rev. ed., Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 230–32, 192–93, 209–10, 219–20.

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66. Morris Dickstein, *Gates of Eden—American Culture in the Sixties* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), p. 12.

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68. Jeremy Rifkin, *The Emerging Order: God in an Age of Scarcity* (New York: Putnam, 1979), p. 99; Philip Rieff, *The Triumph of the Therapeutic: The Uses of Faith After Freud* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 2–3.

69. Dick Anthony and Thomas Robbins, "Spiritual Innovation and the Crisis in American Civil Religion," *Daedalus* 3 (Winter 1981): 219, 226; Charles Glock and Robert Bellah, eds., *The New Religious Consciousness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Robert Wuthnow, *Experimentation in American Religion: The New Mysticisms and Their Implications for the Churches* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

70. Information on Scherer comes from an interview, 17 March 1982.

71. Ruth E. Williams, *History in the Making* (n.p.: American Massage and

Therapy Association, 1968), an "official" lay history of the American Massage and Therapy Association from 1947 to 1968.

72. Interview with Charles Brown, co-owner, New Mexico School of Natural Therapeutics, Albuquerque, 21 March 1982.

73. Brown interview; also see William Frederick Price, "The Quimby Center: A Case of Shamanism in Contemporary America" (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1982), p. 17.

74. Schulman and Smith, *Health and Disease,* pp. 155–72; Margaret Clark, *Health in the Mexican-American Culture: A Community Study* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 171–72, 202, 212.

75. Clark, *Health,* p. 206; Schulman and Smith, *Health and Disease,* p. 136.

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77. Jewel Babb and Pat Ellis Taylor, *Border Healing Woman* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 122, provides an excellent example of how Anglos absorb Hispanic healing traditions. The book is a result of the El Paso counterculture's interest in Jewel Babb in the mid-seventies.

78. John J. Bodine, "A Tri-Ethnic Trap: The Spanish Americans of Taos," in *Spanish-Speaking People in the United States: Proceedings of the 1968 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnology Society,* ed. J. Helm (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), pp. 145–53.

79. Interview with Dick Thibodeau, owner of the Plum Tree Coffee House and Custom Framing Service, Pilar, N. Mex., 17 March 1982.

80. Lang, "A Reporter," p. 88.

81. Price, "A Case of Shamanism," pp. 6–12.

82. Price, "A Case of Shamanism," pp. 13–20.

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84. Julie Govert Walter, ed., "Course Trends in Adult Education" (Manhattan, Kans.: Learning Resources Network, 1982). This survey established that courses in health-related topics fell in 1981 to 5.8% of all courses offered at five Freedom Universities: Denver, Seattle, Manhattan, Kans., Boston, and Phoenix.

85. Interview with Suzanne Vilmaine, 21 March 1982.

86. *Albuquerque Tribune,* 14 April 1983.

NEWS NOTES

The American Society for Ethnohistory will hold its annual meeting at the Regent Hotel in Albuquerque 3–6 November 1983. Those interested in presenting papers should contact Frances Joan Mathien at the Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, 87131, or Lorna B. Cross, 3204 Lafayette N.E., Albuquerque, 87106.

Pigeon's Ranch, a historic structure on the Glorieta battlefield, is in danger of collapsing as a result of damage sustained from snow and wind. Dr. Marc Simmons, as chairman of the Pigeon's Ranch Preservation Committee, has issued an urgent plea for funds to preserve this important historic site. Please send your tax deductible contributions, earmarked for the Pigeon's Ranch Preservation Fund, to the Historical Society of New Mexico, P.O. Box 5819, Santa Fe, 87502.

New Paltz, New York, will be the scene of the Mohonk Centennial Conference on the history of reform in American Indian policy, 30–31 October and 1 November 1983. Speakers will include Francis P. Prucha, William T. Hagan, and Kenneth R. Philp. For additional information write to Lawrence M. Hauptman, Department of History, SUNY/New Paltz, New Paltz, N.Y. 12561.

The Los Alamos historical museum has announced a schedule of free summer programs open to the public. Included in the series is a concert of music of the Spanish Renaissance on accurate reproductions of early instruments, to be presented by the Santa Fe Early Music Ensemble on 4 August 1983 at Fuller Lodge at 7:30 p.m. In another program, Luis Campo and Lili del Castillo will present an evening of flamenco at 7:30 p.m. on 25 August 1983 at Fuller Lodge. For additional information, call Hedy Dunn at 662-6272.

Authors and publishers should take note of the Ray A. Billington Award in American frontier history awarded each year by the Organization of American Historians. American frontier history is defined broadly to include the pioneer periods of all geographical areas and comparisons between American frontiers and others. Books published in 1983 and 1984 meeting this definition are eligible. A copy should be sent to each member of the committee by 1 October 1984. Members of the committee include Professor W. Turrentine Jackson, Chair, Department of History, University of California, Davis, Calif. 95616; Professor Sandra Myres, Department of History, University of Texas at Arlington, Box 19529, Arlington, Tex. 76019; and Professor John Faragher, Department of History, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 01075.

THE GREGORIAN CALENDAR IN NEW SPAIN: A PROBLEM IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CHRONOLOGY

HARRY KELSEY

AFTER A YEAR-LONG JOURNEY TO NEW MEXICO, Antonio de Espejo arrived in Santa Bárbara, Nueva Vizcaya, in the fall of 1583, weary, confused, but full of information about the new country he had seen. Almost immediately he began to compose a report, signing and dating it "at the end of the month of October" 1583.[1] This dating may seem imprecise for a formal report, and the truth is that Espejo did not know how to write the date.

He seemed sure about the date of his return, 20 September, and he knew that he had been back for twenty-five days, more or less. He recorded all this very carefully in a covering letter. But Espejo was confused about the date. He could do no better in his calculations than to call it "the end of October."[2] The reason for his confusion is simple. In this Spanish colony in 1583, October had only twenty-one days. The Gregorian calendar correction made it so.

Another member of the Espejo expedition, Diego Pérez de Luxán, compiled a more detailed diary of the journey in which he said that the expedition returned on 10 September.[3] Obviously one of the men was wrong. Most historians have concluded that it was Espejo, largely because the Luxán journal accounts for nearly every day in the trip, with no allowance for a ten-day discrepancy.[4]

But the real reason for Espejo's error—and it apparently was an error—lies in the nature of the Gregorian calendar correction and the way it became effective in the New World. Moreover, probably Luxán himself was just as confused about the true date as Espejo. The Gregorian calendar introduced similar problems wherever the change was made. Since the reasons are not well understood even

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in this four-hundredth anniversary of its adoption here, the details merit a brief review.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Julian calendar was universally followed in the Christian world. The Leap Year observance in the Julian calendar made the normal year eleven minutes and fourteen seconds too long. This excess amounted to a full day every 128 years. By the late sixteenth century the calendar was ten days in advance of the true solar year, a matter of universal concern.[5]

Church officials and theologians worried that the date for the celebration of Easter no longer followed the dictates of the Council of Nicaea, which had set the vernal equinox at 21 March and computed Easter on that basis. In 1580 the vernal equinox came on 11 March, with the result that Easter and the other moveable feasts were celebrated at the wrong time.[6]

The lack of scientific accuracy made the calendar a matter of concern to scientists and mathematicians, but there were political problems as well, and some faltering steps had been taken to correct these. Prior to 1550 the beginning of the new year had been observed on dates that varied widely in different parts of Christendom. Spain, for example, observed a change in years on 25 December, and Spanish documents customarily noted the fact with a formulary similar to this one: "*año del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Ihesu Christo*" ("the year of the birth of our Savior Jesus Christ").[7]

England began the year on the feast of the Annunciation, 25 March, a practice that the papacy also followed. Bulls and other official church documents used the phrase "*anno Incarnationis dominicae*" to note that fact.[8] Still, the liturgical year began on the first Sunday of Advent, a scant three weeks before Christmas. On the other hand, calendars printed in the Roman Missal, the Breviary, and the Martyrology had for centuries shown 1 January as the beginning of the new year.[9] This observance was never abandoned in Roman Christendom. In England, where the Annunciation style was observed until changed by Parliament in 1752, New Year's Day was always celebrated on 1 January.[10]

Even though the year began officially in Spain on 25 December, few documents were signed between that day and 1 January, which was often observed as the beginning of the year even before the

official change was made in 1556.[11] The same situation prevailed in France, where the official change was made in the mid-1560s.[12]

This legal change reflected a growing tendency toward the adoption of a uniform calendar throughout Europe, where for centuries the observance had differed from country to country, province to province, and even city to city. The change was often made without dropping the formularies used to indicate calendar style. By the middle sixteenth century such phrases were more a matter of tradition than an infallible indication of a dating method. Confusion about this point has led to considerable misunderstanding about dates, even in the papal bulls that initiated the Gregorian calendar reform.

Someone had to take the lead in reforming the calendar, and the Council of Trent had already urged the pope to do so. Consequently, Gregory XIII, who became pope in 1572, called together an international body of scholars and scientists to consider the problem and suggest a solution. Once he received their recommendations, along with the advance agreement of leading Catholic sovereigns, Gregory issued a formal proclamation or bull, *Inter Gravissimas,* specifying the details of the new calendar.[13] The bull was dated "*anno Incarnationis dominicae millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo secundo, sexto kalendas martii, pontificatus nostri anno x*" ("the year of the Lord's Incarnation one thousand five hundred and eighty-two, the sixth calend of March, the tenth year of our pontificate").[14] The sixth calend of March is 24 February.

Assuming erroneously that the new year changed on 25 March for all papal bulls, some historians have concluded that the date of the bull corresponds to 24 February 1583, February being the eleventh month of the year in the Incarnation style of dating.[15] Others, citing an early but erroneous printing of the bull, have the date as 24 February 1581.[16] Both errors are incompatible with the regnal year, "the tenth year of our pontificate." Statements in the bull and many other contemporary documents amply illustrate the error of these viewpoints. In fact, a supplementary correction issued by the pope on 7 November 1582 would have preceded the bull, if the first of these erroneous views were followed.

In any case, *Inter Gravissimas* decreed that October 1582 should be shortened by ten days, 4 October being followed by 15 October.

OCTOBER.

Cui desunt decem dies pro correctione Anni Solaris.

Cyclus E. pact. Anni correction. MDLXXXII.	Lit. Dominic.		Dies Mensis.	
xxii	A	Kal.	1	Remigii Episcopi & Confess.
xxi	b	vi	2	
xx	c	v	3	
xix	d	iiii. Non.	4	*Francisci Confess.* duplex.
viii	A	Idib.	15	Dionysii, Rustici, & Eleutherii martyrum. semiduplex. cum commemoratione S. Marci Papæ & Confessoris, & SS. Sergii, Bacchi, & Apulei martyrum.
vii	b	xvii	16	Calixti Papæ, & mart. semiduplex.
vi	c	xvi	17	
v	d	xv	18	*Lucæ Evangelistæ.* dupl.
iiii	e	xiiii	19	
iii	f	xiii	20	
ii	g	xii	21	Hilarionis Abbatis. & comm. SS. Vrsulæ & sociarum virg. & mart.
i	A	xi	22	
*	b	x	23	
xxix	c	ix	24	
xxviii	d	viii	25	Chrysanti, & Dariæ marty.
xxvii	e	vii	26	Euaristi Papæ & marty.
xxvi	f	vi	27	Vigilia
25 xxv	g	v	28	*Simonis & Iudæ Apostolorum.* dup.
xxiiii	A	iiii	29	
xxiii	b	iii	30	
xxii	c	Pr. Kal.	31	Vigilia

The October 1582 calendar page from Christopher Clavius, *Operum Mathematicorum Tomus Quintus* (Maguncia: Antonius Hierat, 1612). Courtesy of author.

In this way the vernal equinox would occur again on 21 March. This change would solve the ecclesiastical problem, as Easter would again occur on the day decreed by the Council of Nicaea.[17]

The other problem was to devise a method to keep the civil year and the solar year in conjunction. This would be accomplished by revising the Leap Year rules for centesimal years (those divisible by 100). In the future only those centesimal years divisible by 400 (1600 and 2000, for example) would be Leap Years. In the other centesimal years (1700, 1800, 1900, 2100, etc.) February would have only 28 days.[18]

Partly to keep errors at a minimum, but also to reward the family of his late scientific adviser, Gregory decreed that only the papal printer, Antonio Giglio, could issue copies of the corrected calender for the year 1582. Things might have gone well if the printer had done his job promptly, but he did not. Some printed copies of the correction, covering the months of October through December, were sent out to nuncios and government officials in May and June.[19] But many governments did not receive copies until it was too late to put the calendar into effect for 1582.

The Spanish sovereign, Philip II, apparently received his copies of the corrected calendar in the late summer of 1582, as he told the archbishop of Toledo in a letter dated 4 September.[20] He immediately had manuscript copies made for distribution throughout Spain, and some printed copies were made at Madrid in early October.[21]

The distribution was accomplished with surprising speed, some copies leaving El Escorial on 12 September. The official journal of the royal monastery at El Escorial contains this note for the month of October:[22]

> The calendar reformed by Pope Gregory XIII began after October 4 of this year of 82, and the ten days that come first are eliminated in this way 1-2-3-4-15. In place of 5 we say 15, omitting ten days.

The monastic chronicler knew what he meant, even if he did not say it clearly.

The problem in France was similar to that in Spain. Copies did

not arrive in time, and the French had to print their own. As a result, they were not able to make the change in October, as *Inter Gravissimas* decreed. The pope had foreseen such a possibility and had ordered that where the change could not be made in October 1582, it should be done in October 1583.[23] Later he changed his mind about this order, saying that February 1583 would be a better time for the change.[24] The French king did not agree. Dropping ten days in February would mean no Feast of Carnival, the celebration that precedes the Lenten period of fast and penance.[25] Obviously, another date had to be selected.

Some members of religious communities suggested dropping ten days in December, which would shorten the period of fast during the Advent season. It was so ordered, and as a result the day after 9 December became 20 December in France or large parts thereof.[26]

The initial confusion about the new calendar was repeated with local variations in every country, principality, and district, whether or not the new calendar was adopted. Catholic countries generally accepted the change and immediately put it into effect, while the Protestant countries generally did not.[27] In Madrid Antonio Cardinal Granvela wrote about this matter to a friend, saying:[28]

> In Germany it is certain that the Catholics will follow the others. In the areas in heresy there is more doubt, but political considerations will force them to accommodate themselves to what is done in other places.

The cardinal was right, as it turned out, but some "areas in heresy" took an unseemly time to make the accommodation. Great Britain, for example, did not adopt the calendar until 1752, and Russia waited until the twentieth century to do so. Problems were not confined to those areas that rejected papal leadership. In the Spanish colonies change came very slowly and with considerable confusion.

On 7 July 1582 Philip's secretary, Mateo Vázquez, sent a royal order to the Consejo de Indias, directing that body to consider the problem of changing the calendar in the Indies. After prolonged study and following consultation with the apostolic nuncio, the consejo prepared its consulta.[29] This report contained little that was

original, as the problems had already appeared elsewhere, and most had been considered to some extent by Gregory or the various civil authorities who had already issued decrees.[30]

Briefly, the consejo suggested that contracts might have to be extended or adjusted, salaries and wages discounted, and considerable latitude given to local authorities in determining the date for making the calendar change. After noting and approving these suggestions, Philip ordered the consejo to prepare a document for his signature. This was done, and the king signed the *pragmática* at Aranjuez on 14 May 1583.[31]

First, the king decreed that in "the present year" of 1583 the fifth of October should be counted as the fifteenth, omitting the intervening ten days. He also ordered that whenever necessary ten days should be added to contracts and legal agreements made before publication of the calendar, "lest it cause some damage, doubt, or inconvenience." Similarly, rents, salaries, and other payments should be prorated to take into account the loss of ten days. Of those distant parts of the Indies that might not receive notice of the change in time to act upon it in 1583, the king said:[32]

> I order and command that it be done in the following year of eighty-four or in the first year in which notice of the foregoing might be received, and this might be publicized in the said kingdoms.

The royal pragmatica seems to have arrived in New Spain before the end of summer, though the exact date of arrival is uncertain. Here are the few known facts. In the spring of 1583 the king signed an order appointing Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras to be visitador general of New Spain. On 26 October 1583 the archbishop reported to the king that he had just recently received this order, as well as the order of May 1583, announcing a new audiencia for the Philippines. He added that he had publicized his visita in the city of México on 4 September and "within a few days" had done the same in all the principal towns of New Spain.[33]

The royal pragmática concerning the calendar change probably arrived in New Spain on the same boat as these other dispatches, in late August or early September 1583. It can scarcely have arrived sooner, as the king did not sign it until 14 May. The dispatch

certainly did not arrive later, because it was made effective throughout New Spain in early October. Here is how the archbishop of Mexico described the order in a letter of 26 October 1583.[34]

> The new calendar of his holiness Gregory the Thirteenth was begun in Mexico and the suffragan churches on the fifth of this month, in accordance with the order from Spain. I trust it was done properly, even though the calendars reportedly being sent from San Lorenzo el Real have not come up from the port. Everyone was informed by means of a brief handwritten summary that I made to dispatch with your royal cédula, an extract from the calendar that Your Majesty sent.

Probably the copies of the royal cédula and the new calendar were sent from Spain in printed form, perhaps done in Madrid by the same man who printed copies of the original order making the change effective in peninsular Spain.[35]

With the dispatches on the calendar, the visita, and the new audiencia all being signed by the king in late spring of 1583, with action on the first two being necessary at about the same time, and with all three being reported in letters of the same date, it is reasonable to assume that the calendar and the visita were publicized within days of one another, if not on the same date.

But how did this news affect Espejo and his men? They returned to Nueva Vizcaya probably on 10 September, as the Luxán diary makes clear. Almost immediately, and this point is clear in Obregón's contemporary history, Espejo and his men were arrested and his property was confiscated, including the original report of the expedition, doubtless Luxán's diary.[36]

Refusing to submit willingly to this indignity, Espejo submitted an appeal to the audiencia. At the same time he wrote a direct report to his friend Archbishop Moya de Contreras, addressing him as "The Most Illustrious Archbishop of Mexico, Visitor General of New Spain, My Lord," showing that he already knew about the visita.[37] Since he was without the detailed notes Luxán made, Espejo had to make do with what he and the others could remember. For this reason his report contains very few dates, and the facts are at considerable variance with those Luxán recorded.

Espejo's knowledge of the calendar change was perhaps limited

to his having heard it "proclaimed in a loud voice" in the public square of Santa Bárbara, as the custom was in those days.[38] If he saw a copy of the calendar, it was doubtless an "extract" of the Spanish calendar for 1583, which would have been ten days in advance of the one used in New Spain. In any case, he seemingly decided that the proper way to record the date of his return was to use the date as it appeared in the new Spanish calendar, 20 September, rather than 10 September. Did he also have to omit another ten days, as the royal pragmática said? Espejo did not know. He was confused, so he simply dated his report and his covering letter at "the end of October" and trusted that Archbishop Moya could work out the correct date.

In fact, he probably signed the report on or shortly after 15 October, which would have been twenty-five days after 10 September, according to the new calendar that changed 5 October to the fifteenth. This supposition is confirmed to some extent by a statement in one of the archbishop's letters of 26 October, in which he said that while he was writing, he received news of the return of the explorers from New Mexico.[39]

Confusion reigned everywhere with the calendar change. In Guatemala, for example, the new calendar became effective in January 1584 because the royal pragmática arrived too late for the change to be made earlier. For some strange reason, nearly a month elapsed before the news arrived in Sololá, only a short distance from the capital; so the change there was not made until 2 February, several days after the calendar became effective in Santiago.[40]

The real problem, however, lay with the members of the audiencia, who refused to accept a reduction in salary for the ten days omitted from the month. Finally, the king had to issue a special order telling the men to return the excess payments they had collected. Why? "Because such is my will."[41]

In the Philippines, whose bishop was suffragan to the archbishop of Mexico, the change was observed in October 1584. Melchor Davalos, arriving at Manila late in the spring of 1584, reported this curious state of affairs:[42]

> While at sea we kept Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Christi Day; when we landed we kept and celebrated

> the same feast days in Manila, because the new reckoning was not yet in force there, and does not come into effect until the fifth of October of the present year. It is a memorable event that according to the said new reckoning we arrived here on the twenty-sixth of May, and according to the old on the sixteenth of the same month.

The new calendar became effective in Peru in October 1584. This fact is clear from the well-publicized copy of the royal pragmática printed by Antonio Ricardo of Lima and regarded as one of the first items issued by that press.[43] In Córdoba de Tucumán, one of the most isolated provinces of South America, the new calendar did not become effective until early 1585.[44] Though it seems doubtful that other isolated areas adopted the calendar at a later date, it is entirely possible.

Clearly, New World dates in the sixteenth century need to be handled with caution. Manuscripts written in the early 1580s need particular care. The Gregorian Calendar—a monument of administrative reform—created mass confusion for a brief time. Historians who deal with the period must be prepared to investigate the circumstances surrounding the composition of each document, even when the writer seems to know about the new calendar. Most people simply did not know how to handle the change, as the case of Antonio de Espejo shows.

NOTES

1. "Relación del viaje que yo antonio de espejo andando de la ciudad de mex^{co} natural de la ciudad de cordova hize con catorce soldados y un religioso de la orden de San fran^{co} a las Provincias y poblaciones de nuevo mex^{o} a quien puse por nombre el a nueva andalucia a contemplacion de mi patria en fin del ano de mill y quinientos y ochenta y dos," Patronato 22, ramo 1, folios unnumbered, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Spain. Two apparently different copies of Espejo's original report are printed in Joaquin F. Pacheco and Francisco de Cárdenas y Espejo, eds., *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía*, 42 vols. (Madrid: Imprento de José María Perez, 1871), 15: 101–26, 163–89. The most recent translations made from original manuscript copies are those by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey in *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580–1594* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), pp. 213–31.

2. Espejo to the archbishop of Mexico, "a fin de Otubre de 1583 a°s," Patronato 22, ramo 1, folios unnumbered, AGI. A published copy may be found in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 15: 162–63, translated in *Rediscovery of New Mexico*, pp. 232–33.

3. *Rediscovery of New Mexico*, pp. 153–212. The earlier edition of the Luxán journal contains a facsimile of the final page of the manuscript in which the date is easily legible. See Hammond and Rey, trans., *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582–1583, as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a Member of the Party* (Los Angeles: Quivira Society, 1929), opposite p. 128.

4. Of the several historians who have published extensive accounts of the journey, only Herbert E. Bolton accepted the date September 20. See his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542–1706* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), p. 166. A minor discrepancy occurs in the accounts concerning the starting and ending points, either the mines of Santa Bárbara or the valley of San Bartolomé. Espejo seems to have used the names interchangeably, though they were about a day's journey apart. See his letter to Pedro Moya de Contreras, "at the end of October of 1583," in Patronato 22, ramo 1, folios unnumbered, AGI; reprinted in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 15: 162–63; translated in *Rediscovery of New Mexico*, pp. 232–33.

5. Few reliable summaries exist of the calendar problem and the effects of the Gregorian reform. One of the best is by Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 40 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930), vol. 19, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr, 283–96.

6. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 19: 283–96.

7. See the discussion in José Joaquín Real Díaz, *Estudio diplomático del documento indiano* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1970), pp. 283–85.

8. The best published collection of papal bulls is *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificium Taurensis editio*, 27 vols. (Turin: Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo, 1857–1894). The bulls for Pope Gregory XIII are in vol. 8.

9. See, for example, Robert Lippe, ed., *Missale romanum Mediolani (1474)*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899), 1: xiii–xxiv; *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (London: John Kingston and Henry Sutton, 1555); William Henry James Weale, "Clavicula missalis romani S. Pii V. iussu editi," *Analecta Liturgica* (Bruges: Desclee, De Brovwer et Soc., 1889), vol. I.

10. Lewis A. Scott, *Act and Bull: or Fixed Anniversaries, a paper submitted to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, November 4, 1880*, (Philadelphia: n.p., 1880).

11. Real Díaz, *Estudio diplomático*, pp. 283–85.

12. Reginald L. Poole, *Studies in Chronology and History*, coll. and ed. by Austin Lane Poole (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 27.

13. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 19: 284–88.

14. *Bullarum diplomatum,* 8: 390.

15. Among the most recent is Pedro S. de Achútegui, who also asserts that the calendar was not changed anywhere in Europe until 1583. See his article "A Problem of Chronology: The Quadricentennial of Manila and the Gregorian Calendar," *Philippine Studies* 27 (Fall 1979): 417–31.

16. Poole, *Studies in Chronology,* p. 27. The error is explained by Nicolaus Nilles in his *"Die Datierung des Liber Sextus Bonifaz VIII juncta glossa," Zeitschrift fur katholische Theologie* 25 (1901): 13–14; and in Pastor, *History of the Popes,* p. 288, which follows Nilles. In any case, the original error is contradicted in the more extensive information listed on the colophon on the same page. See Christopher Clavius, *Operum mathematicorum tomus quintus, continens romani calendarii a Gregorio XIII. p. m. restituti explicationem* (Maguncia: Antonius Hierat, 1612), p. 15.

17. *Bullarum diplomatum,* 8: 377–78.

18. *Bullarum diplomatum,* 8: 388.

19. Pastor, *History of the Popes,* 8: 289–90.

20. Cited in "Calendario," *Diccionario encyclopedico Hispano-Americano,* 28 vols. (Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1913), 4: 219.

21. José Toribio Medina, *La primera muestra tipográfica salida de las prensas de la América del Sur* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1916), p. 1. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña ó descripción de las obras imprésas en Madrid,* 3 vols. (Madrid: Tipografía de Los Huerfanos, 1891–1907), I: 83–84.

22. Juan de San Gerónimo, "Libro de memorias deste monasterio de Sant Lorencio el Real," in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* ed. Miguel Salvá y Munar y Pedro Saínz de Baranda, 113 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de Calero, 1845), 7: 356–57.

23. *Bullarum diplomatum,* 8: 389.

24. This was announced in the bull *Cupientes, Bullarum diplomatum,* 8: 390.

25. Cardinal Granvela to Cristóbal de Salazar, 10 December 1582, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* 35: 354–56.

26. Cardinal Granvela to Cristóbal de Salazar, 10 December 1582, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* 35: 354–56. See also Pierre de L'Estoile, "Journal de Henri III, 1581–1586," *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile,* 12 vols. (Paris: Libraire des bibliophiles, 1875–1895), 2: 96.

27. Pastor, *History of the Popes,* 8: 290–96. For an example of such problems see Landgrave Guillaume de Hesse to Comte Jean de Nassau, 22 February 1583, in G. Groen Van Prinsterer, *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange-Nassau,* series I, 8 vols. (Leiden: S. et J. Luchtmans, 1847), 8: 164–66.

28. Letter to Salazar, 10 December 1582, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* 35: 354–55.

29. Real Díaz, *Estudio diplomático,* p. 280.

30. Real Díaz, *Estudio diplomático,* p. 280. See also L'Estoile, *Memoires-journaux,* 2: 96; and Pastor, *History of the Popes,* 8: 290–96.

31. Real Díaz, *Estudio diplomático,* p. 281, erroneously lists the date as 14

March. Printed versions are available in "Provision y kalendario nuevamente hecho para la reformacion del ano para que se guarden en las Indias," in *Libro primero de provisiones, cédulas, capítulos de ordenanzas, instrucciones, y cartas, libradas, y despachadas en diferentes tiempos por sus magestades*, comp. Diego de Encinas (original edition; Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1596), facsimile reprint entitled *Cedulario Indiano*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica: 1945), 1: 269–71; and *Pragmática sobre los diez días del año*, facsimile reprint in Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The First Printing in South America* (Providence, R.I.: John Carter Brown Library, 1926). A facsimile of inferior quality appears in Medina, *La primera muestra*.

32. *Pragmática*, in McMurtrie, *First Printing*, pages unnumbered.

33. Letter of 26 October 1583, in Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Luna y Francisco Sosa, *Cinco cartas de Señor D. Pedro Moya de Contreras, Arzobispo-Virrey y Primer Inquisidor de la nueva España, precedidas de la historia de su vida* (Madrid: Porrua Turanzas, 1962), pp. 158–60.

34. Letter to the king, 26 October 1583, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, comp., *Epistolario de Nueva España, 1505–1818*, 16 vols. (México: Antigua librería Robredo, de J. Porrúa e hijos, 1939–42), 12: 85.

35. Medina, *La primera muestra*, pp. 1–2.

36. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., trans., and comps., *Obregón's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America* (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co., 1928), pp. 338–39.

37. Patronato 22, ramo 1, folios unnumbered, AGI. J. Lloyd Mecham, "Antonio de Espejo and His Journey to New Mexico," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 30 (October 1926): 135–36. A translation of his letter of October 1583 appears in Hammond and Rey, *Rediscovery of New Mexico*, pp. 232–33.

38. This is what happened in Lima, where "the Real Pragmatica of His Majesty was announced by Bartolomé Rodríguez, town crier, in a loud voice in the public plaza of this city," or so said Juan Gutiérrez de Molina in his certificate of 26 May 1584. Facsimile reprint in McMurtrie, *First Printing*, pages unnumbered.

39. Letter to the king in *Cinco cartas*, p. 164.

40. Adrián Recinos and Delia Goetz, *The Annal of the Cakchiquels* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), pp. 25, 153.

41. *Cedulario Indiano*, 3: 341. A Mexican scholar has written about the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar in the New World, using only this letter and the royal pragmática of 14 May 1583. He guessed correctly that the calendar was adopted in Mexico in October 1583, but erred in thinking that it became effective in Guatemala at the same time. See Juan Comas, "El Calendario Gregoriano en América," *Historia Mexicana* 7 (October 1957): 207–15.

42. Letter to the king, 3 July 1584, in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1803*, ed. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, 55 vols. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903), vol. 2, *1576–1582*, pp. 54–55.

43. McMurtrie, *First Printing*, pages unnumbered.

44. Real Díaz, *Estudio diplomático*, p. 282.

BOOK NOTES

Among new titles is *Pieces of the Promise: An Informal History of the First United Presbyterian Church, Albuquerque, N.M., 1881–1981,* by Toby Smith (available from the church in paper for $7.95). Smith has spliced together items from printed records and oral history to highlight aspects of this important institution, which began in 1881 with the Reverend James A. Menaul as pastor.

Southwest Indian Silver from the Doneghy Collection, edited by Louise Lincoln (University of Texas Press, cloth $29.95; paper, $15.95) is a new and very attractive volume that will be of interest to Southwesterners. The Doneghy Collection at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts is one of the oldest collections of nineteenth-century Navajo and Zuni silver and includes hundreds of necklaces, bracelets, concha belts, and other items. This heavily illustrated volume contains a detailed catalogue of the 875 pieces in the collection with accompanying essays on the cultural and economic context of Navajo jewelry, stylistic development, and other related topics. It is a beautiful volume that should appeal to collectors, aficionados, and scholars.

William Robinson Leigh: Western Artist by D. Duane Cummins (University of Oklahoma Press, cloth $19.95) reflects the growing interest in western art and is one of a number of books on that topic that have appeared in recent years. Trained in Germany, Leigh was an important artist and illustrator. Although his studio was in the East, much of his work dealt with the West and Southwest, which Leigh visited many times. Cummins provides a sketch of Leigh's career and an evaluation of his work. Many black and white illustrations and some thirty color plates accompany the text.

Pat Garrett: The Story of a Western Lawman by Leon C. Metz, first published in 1974, is now available in paper from the University of Oklahoma Press ($9.95). Using a variety of sources, including manuscript collections, court records, and oral history, Metz compiled a readable biography of one of New Mexico's most famous law officers. Garrett not only killed Billy the Kid; he later searched for those responsible for the disappearance of Albert Jennings Fountain, arresting Oliver Lee, successfully defended by Albert Fall. Garrett, who had been a buffalo hunter, sheriff, Texas Ranger, rancher, and customs collector, became the victim in 1908 of one of New Mexico's unsolved murders. The story of these and other events in Garrett's life can be found in this, the most complete biography of the man who killed Billy the Kid.

A Calculating People: The Spread of Numeracy in Early America by Patricia Cline Cohen (University of Chicago Press, $19.50, cloth) is a study of the development of numeracy (an ability with or knowledge of numbers) in America to mid-nineteenth century. The author focuses on certain uses of numbers including arithmetic in education, use of statistics, and the federal census.

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND IN CHIHUAHUA: THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MINAS DE CORRALITOS, 1911–1917

GEORGE E. PAULSEN

IN THE FURY OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION between 1911 and 1917, a large and unknown quantity of foreign-owned property was seized or destroyed. Unfortunately for American investors in mining operations in northern Mexico, after dictator Porfirio Díaz was overthrown, the new Constitutionalist government of President Francisco Madero was unable to restore order in the face of a revolutionary storm. Because of destructive raiding and the lack of protection during the early years of the Revolution, American mining property in remote areas, such as western Chihuahua, was particularly vulnerable to attack, and many Americans were forced to abandon it and flee to the United States. After President Woodrow Wilson decided to intervene in Mexican affairs in 1914, anti-American sentiment in that area became intense. As a result of this hostility, the American-owned Minas de Corralitos, as they were known locally, were deliberately destroyed by Mexican federal forces in 1917.[1]

Although the Revolution and the civil war have been of great interest to historians on both sides of the border, few of them have paid much attention to the effect of the insurrection on American investment in the Mexican mining industry. Since the State Department refused to release the amount of the losses in the claims filed against Mexico by American investors, the total has not been established, is impossible to estimate, and may never be known. Some information about them may be gleaned from the published decisions of the American Special Mexican Claims Commission, which reviewed the claims arising out of the Revolution. Archival

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records of the commission, however, provide historians with a much better source of information on such losses, as well as on the problems Americans faced in protecting their property. The case of the Candelaria Mining Company of San Pedro, which owned and operated the Minas de Corralitos, illustrates these problems and explains why the company was unable to obtain compensation from Mexico, despite the fact that its property had been deliberately destroyed.[2]

The mines of Corralitos were located in the municipality of Nuevo Casas Grandes in the Galeana District of northwestern Chihuahua, about seventy-five miles below the border of New Mexico. The tableland in this district, part of the rolling arid central plateau, is covered with grass, Spanish bayonet, yucca, and cactus, and is capable of supporting large herds of cattle when irrigated. Rising from the open country are detached and serrated mountain ranges, composed mainly of blue, grey, or white limestone. The hills in the outlying reaches of the Sierra Madre are folded in domes composed of rhyolite resting on sharply sloping shale. In this area, just north of the old Indian ruins at Casas Grandes, Spanish colonists established settlements late in the seventeenth century.[3]

Mining in the western part of the Chihuahua began in the eighteenth century. In the Spanish period, the village of Janos was the military presidio of the area, indicating the importance of the industry, which reportedly yielded more than $20,000,000 in gold and silver. Immense piles of slag and the ruins of the old *hornos*—adobe smelting furnaces—and *arrastras*—crushing beds—indicated that the mines had been very productive. Because of Indian depredations, however, they were temporarily abandoned and then reopened in the early nineteenth century. During the independence movement after 1810, they were again abandoned because of Apache raids. Indian problems continued until the latter part of the century, and as a result, the Mexicans were unable to exploit the mineral resources of the Galeana District to any great extent.[4]

The mines at Corralitos were discovered in 1839 by Angel and Mariano Aguirre and were acquired shortly thereafter by José María Zuloaga, who organized a company to work them. After his death, the property remained in the hands of the Zuloaga family and Ramon Remegio Luján, who managed (*propietario*) the company

until the property was sold to North Americans.[5] In 1880 the Zuloaga and Luján families sold their estate and mines at Corralitos to John F. Crosby and associates. In the same year, Crosby transferred his property to the Corralitos Company of New York, which was organized by Edwin D. Morgan (1811–1883), president of E. D. Morgan and Co., a New York City banking and brokerage firm. Initially, the company was primarily engaged in raising livestock and farming.[6]

The Corralitos Company acquired its mines at a most inappropriate time. Between 1880 and 1886 the price of silver dropped temporarily, and the prospects for the development of the mines must have seemed unattractive. In 1884, however, the Mexican government adopted a new mining code and tax law, which helped to ease the burden on silver mining. Five years later, Morgan's grandson, Edwin D. Morgan (1854–1933), organized the Candelaria Mining Company of Colorado to engage in gold and silver mining in Chihuahua. A number of the directors of the new mining company were also directors of the Corralitos Company. In 1895 the Candelaria Company bought 180,000 acres, later reduced to 80,000 acres, from the Corralitos Company, thus formally separating the mining and ranching operations.[7]

Because Mexican law denied foreigners the right to own property in the twenty league Prohibited Zone along the border line, in 1902 the directors of the Candelaria Company organized a Mexican corporation, the Compañía de San Pedro, S.A., to hold its mining properties in the zone. Although the property of the Candelaria was transferred, it owned all the stock in the San Pedro Company, except for a few shares held in the name of individuals as required by Mexican law. The latter shares were, however, controlled by the company. Several years later, the Corralitos Company also transferred its land in the zone to the Compañía Ramos, its Mexican subsidiary, in order to comply with the law. And in 1909 the Candelaria Company was reorganized and incorporated in New Jersey.[8]

Before the Mexican Revolution erupted, the Corralitos Company operated a thriving 30-square-mile, 850,000-acre hacienda, with more than 40,000 high-grade Durham cattle, 1,200 horses, and 180 mules on its ranches. It was subdivided into farms and ranches by 464 miles of barbed wire cross-fencing, and several thousand acres

Edwin D. Morgan (1854–1933), *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* 1962 ed.

produced alfalfa and other crops. The farms and ranches were irrigated with water received by canal from the Rio Casas Grandes and Rio Janos. Numerous ranch buildings, farm houses, and corrals were scattered across the hacienda.[9]

Of the principal mines of the Candelaria Company, the Candelaria, León-Congreso, San Pedro, San Benigno, and San Nicolás were the most valuable. They produced not only gold and silver, but also large quantities of copper, lead, and zinc ore. The Candelaria, San Pedro, and San Nicolás produced high grade sulfide ore, which was found in narrow fissure veins in intrusive porphyry. The León-Congreso yielded lead carbonate ore, which was found in contact veins between limestone and porphyry. The ore was shipped to El Paso on the Mexican Northwestern Railroad, which also brought in essential supplies, including coal for the boiler plant.[10]

By the turn of the century, the Candelaria Company was operating a million dollar investment. Between 1900 and 1908 its mines yielded more than $3,000,000, with the net average smelter return running more than $700,000 per annum. The heaviest shipments were about 8,000 tons per month, but were declining because of increased flooding, particularly in the León-Congreso. During these years, the work force fluctuated considerably, but averaged between 700 and 1,000, all but twenty-five of whom were Mexican.[11]

Because of the flooding problem and a decline in production, the company embarked on an expensive modernization program. Since the León-Congreso encountered a considerable flow of water, the company began construction of a large pumping operation of the air lift type. Small pumps capable of raising 6,000 gallons per minute were installed in the lower levels. They pumped the water into a large underground chamber, from which it was raised to the surface by large engines. With the first large surface pump operating, the company hoped to raise production to 1,500 tons of ore per month. After additional surface pumps were installed, it contemplated a great increase in the yield. Among other improvements, the shaft of the Congreso was enlarged and deepened, and the drifts of the León were extended.[12]

In addition to these improvements at the León-Congreso, the

company operated a boiler house with self-charging stokers. The boilers powered modern generators and compressors that provided electricity as well as air for drilling and lifting the water. Two new 450-horsepower boilers were added, which doubled the plant's steam generating capacity. By 1910 the pumping plant was capable of handling 3,500 gallons per minute. Also at the mine were modern carpenter, machine, blacksmith shops, and a completely equipped assay office, which was rated as one of the best in Chihuahua.[13]

Mining and maintenance facilities were equally modern at the Candelaria mine, the best and most valuable. It had miles of drifts, and water was not a great problem. A large warehouse provided supplies, equipment, and tools for all the mines. The company's main office was surrounded by a hotel, hospital, general store, employee houses, corrals, and a wagonyard. The San Pedro mine tunnel had 4,000 feet of track, ore cars, and modern equipment. Two railroad spurs connected the León-Congreso and Candelaria with the Mexican Northwestern line. The mines were also served by twenty-five miles of telephone line.[14]

Just before the Revolution broke out, most of the new equipment was in place, although two new cross-compound Corliss pumps at the León-Congreso had not been installed. A new 100-ton concentrating plant near the mine was ready for operation, and a survey was being made for a spur to connect it with the Mexican Northwestern line. A tunnel connecting the Candelaria with the San Benigno was being pushed, and a fifty-ton cyanide plant was being contemplated, to be ready about February 1911. Despite the construction activities, approximately 500 men were employed in the mines. Unfortunately for the company, however, although it had invested more than $428,000 for the improvement of its mining properties, it would never recoup its expenditure.[15]

In November 1910 sporadic Maderista uprisings against the Díaz regime broke out in Chihuahua, and the company soon found itself in the vortex of a mounting revolutionary storm. In the following month the rebel forces of Praxedis Guerrero in the Galeana District burned the bridges and tore up the tracks of the Mexican Northwestern line. Not only did train service become uncertain for months, but rebel bands preyed upon travelers and mining camps and seized bullion and supply trains. Initially, however, there was no violence

against North Americans. Because of the interruption of train service, the Candelaria company could not obtain coal from Juárez and was forced to close down the pumps in the León-Congreso late in the month. Although federal troops arrived at Corralitos, they could not prevent rebel bands from looting the company's supplies or from again burning railway bridges.[16]

By February 1911 the entire western part of Chihuahua was without protection, and the rebels held all towns in the area of any importance. Business was conducted under chaotic conditions, but the Mexican Northwestern line rebuilt its bridges and tracks as rapidly as possible and continued to operate. In March the rebel forces of Pascual Orozco once again burned railroad bridges and looted the company's coal. Although a force personally commanded by Madero was defeated at Casas Grandes by federal troops, the latter did not control the district and abandoned the town the following month. After the battle, the Díaz regime disintegrated rapidly, and in May Díaz abandoned his office and fled the country.[17]

Although Madero became president in November 1911, he was unable to restore order. Thousands of rebels were disappointed with the meager discharge bonus offered to them by the government and refused to surrender their arms. Numerous rebel leaders were disappointed with the positions offered them by Madero and abandoned him. Disillusionment with his leadership soon turned into open rebellion. Conditions in the Galeana district in western Chihuahua remained chaotic in the fall of 1911, and after Orozco's defection from the Madero government, danger to American residents increased.[18]

With Orozco's repudiation of Madero, it seemed to Americans in the district that the revolutionary movement had lost all coherence. The fighting appeared to be prompted by sheer lawlessness, bravado, and scoundrelism. Although Pancho Villa remained loyal to Madero, because of Villa's reputation as a bandit, Americans considered him to be one of the biggest cutthroats in the state. Villa later overcame his reputation, however, and became one of the heroes of the revolutionary movement.[19]

Because of the constant looting and the interruption of railroad service, in the fall of 1911 George A. Laird, the Candelaria company's manager, shut down mining operations altogether. He com-

piled an inventory of machinery, equipment, and supplies, valued at over $410,000, and filed it with the American consul at Juárez. In 1912 danger to Americans in the district increased because of the failure of the United States government to protect them, and because of rumors of an impending invasion by the United States. In August 1912 the company's property was again looted by federal forces of Gen. José Inéz Salazar, who warned Laird that the safety of Americans in the district could no longer be guaranteed. Consequently, Laird and the rest of the company's American employees left the mines in the hands of a Mexican caretaking staff and fled to Columbus, New Mexico, the closest point of safety.[20]

The Revolution took a fateful turn in February 1913 when Gen. Victoriano Huerta turned traitor, seized control of the government in Mexico City, and allowed Madero and his vice president to be murdered. Many insurgents in northern Mexico rallied in support of the new Constitutionalist leader, Venustiano Carranza, the governor of Coahuila. Although Orozco was lured into Huerta's camp, Villa joined forces with Carranza, supported the Constitutionalist program, and became governor of Chihuahua in December. As governor, Villa tried to maintain a precarious balance. Since he was dependent on supplies from the United States, he protected Americans and their property in order to win the good will of the Wilson administration and American investors. But he dared not alienate the nationalist sentiment of the public, whose anti-Americanism was quite strong by 1914.[21]

Unfortunately for Americans in Chihuahua, Wilson's meddling in Mexican affairs in 1914 reinforced anti-American sentiment and undermined Villa's support among the Constitutionalists as well. The capture of Vera Cruz by United States forces contributed to the overthrow of General Huerta but was also denounced by Constitutionalist leaders as an act of war. After the rupture among Carranza's generals and the ensuing civil war, Wilson finally recognized the Carranza regime as the de facto government of Mexico in 1915. Villa was stunned by Wilson's decision, and United States officials urged Americans to get out of areas the Villistas controlled. Gen. Hugh Scott, Wilson's contact with Villa at the border, warned: "His bridle is off." Thereafter irresponsible Villistas began murdering Americans and raiding towns across the border. Since the

Carranza government could not control those marauders, in 1916 Wilson ordered Gen. John J. Pershing's expeditionary force into Mexico to destroy Villa's forces. Unfortunately, the expedition was a fiasco. Villistas easily evaded Pershing's troops, who clashed with Carranza's federal forces instead.[22]

Because of the impending war with Germany, Wilson agreed to withdraw Pershing's force. The last unit rode out of Chihuahua into Columbus, New Mexico, early in February 1917. Trailing along behind them were five hundred wagons of Americans and friendly Mexicans who fled to avoid certain reprisals. They were well advised to flee. Both irresponsible Villistas and federal units were equally furious in taking revenge against Americans and their property in outlying areas of the state.[23]

During the chaotic period of rebellion and civil war, the Candelaria company made no attempt to resume operations. Although armed bands and individuals repeatedly looted the company's property, water caused more serious damage in the mines, particularly in the León-Congreso. Without fuel for the boilers, the caretaking staff was unable to pump out the water and save the timber and machinery. Such damage was due to the chaotic conditions caused by the Revolution, however, rather than the result of a deliberate attempt by Mexicans of any faction to destroy American mining property. But because the mines at Corralitos were far from protection of the government in Mexico City, they were doomed.[24]

In December 1917 a small group of federal troops under the command of Gen. Severino Ceniceros arrived at Corralitos and systematically demolished the property of the Candelaria Company. Not only did they wreck the boiler house, concentrator, and hoist houses, but also the warehouses, hotel, stores, houses, and indeed buildings of any kind. The assay office as well as the carpenter, machine, and blacksmith shops were looted and wrecked. Whatever was of value and could be moved was carted off: machinery, equipment, tools and tons of copper, brass, steel, and corrugated iron. Barbed wire fencing, cable, and telephone lines were ripped out, rolled up, and hauled off. Roofs, doors, windows, walls, floors, and timbers were taken by the wagon load.[25]

What could not be removed was wrecked and left exposed to the elements. After the roof of the boiler house was taken, rain

rotted the timbers, which collapsed on the boilers. The compressor was stripped of its brass and its cylinder heads were knocked in. The roofing and flooring of the concentrator were ripped out and the machinery hammered to pieces for its brass. All that remained were the walls and tons of asbestos lying on the ground. At the San Benigno, fire ruined the machinery, tools, and drilling steel, and even warped the tracks. The railroad spurs to the Candelaria and San Pedro were ripped up and the ties removed for firewood. When enthusiasm for this orgy of destruction paled, the soldiers gleefully sent ore cars down the tracks into the mines, wrecking the cars and the machinery at the mine head.[26]

During the first years of the revolutionary turmoil, Morgan, who was president of the Corralitos and Candelaria companies, protested to the State Department about the looting of his properties and appealed for protection. In 1912 Edward C. Houghton, manager of the Corralitos hacienda, and George Laird explained to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that Americans and their property could not be protected because the Mexicans believed the United States would do nothing. Clearly, American property in the outlying areas of the Galeana district was beyond the protection of the Díaz regime in Mexico City and was subject to looting during Orozco's rebellion against Madero. After Villa took control of Chihuahua, mining property was protected in order to raise revenue for the state. But since Carranza could not pacify Chihuahua during the civil war, Morgan could not secure protection of his property through the State Department. With its mining facilities destroyed and its mines under water, the company decided not to resume operations when order was restored. Instead it went into receivership in 1917 and sought to recoup its losses through a claim against the Mexican government.[27]

Agreement on claims against Mexico for losses during the Revolution proved to be a complicated problem that took years to resolve. Madero's government created a commission to review claims arising out of the Revolution in 1911, and the U.S. Congress also authorized a similar commission. Very little was accomplished under Madero, but Carranza promised indemnification of those who had suffered losses the Revolution caused. Again, nothing was accomplished because of issues arising over the nationalization of

mineral resources under the new Constitution of 1917. After Carranza was overthrown in 1920, the new government of Alvaro Obregón offered to agree on a claims commission in return for recognition. After prolonged haggling, two claims conventions were approved at the Bucareli Conference in 1923 and ratified the following year. In addition to a general claims commission, a special commission was to consider claims arising from acts of revolutionary forces between November 1910 and May 1920.[28]

With the negotiations for a claims convention underway, the Candelaria Company receivers decided to obtain an estimate of their losses at Corralitos. In 1921 Morgan, one of the receivers, and Homer L. Carr, a mining engineer and general superintendent for the American Smelting and Refining Company in northern Mexico, examined the property. They were unable to inspect the mines since they were under water, but it was obvious that their timbers had rotted and their machinery had rusted and that all would have to be rebuilt. Carr estimated that rehabilitation costs would amount to $300,000, of which $200,000 would be required to pump out the mines.[29]

Since rehabilitation was out of the question, the receivers decided to file a claim with the Special Claims Commission for the company's losses. El Paso attorney Robert L. Holliday was engaged to prepare the claim. He spent several years gathering copies of deeds and affidavits of eyewitness testimony from former employees. In October 1926 the company's claim was filed with the American commissioner for losses in the amount of $710,675. This sum included $410,000 for the inventory of supplies that Laird had prepared in 1911 and Carr's estimate of $300,000 for rehabilitation.[30]

A long delay occurred before the American commission took any action on the claim, caused mainly by Holliday's failure to submit adequate evidence in its support. He failed to obtain affidavits of citizenship for a number of claimants, evidence of the total amount invested in the property, or proof of the actual annual profits of the company. No proof existed, however, that revolutionary or federal forces caused all losses, or that company officers had appealed to local Mexican officials for protection. There was also a question about the legality of the allotment of the San Pedro Com-

pany's claims to American citizens without the approval of the Mexican government. In addition, there was conflicting testimony as to the value of property seized or destroyed.[31]

Holliday's correspondence with the commission over a period of years reveals that he never did supply the necessary evidence. Although he was able to obtain copies of the articles of incorporation for the Candelaria and San Pedro companies, he was unable to provide proof of American citizenship of the allottees of the latter. In all fairness, he was unable to obtain affidavits as to their citizenship because they were elderly and could find no one to attest to the circumstances of their birth.[32]

Even though the record showed that the company had suffered the complete destruction of its property between 1910 and 1918, the commissioner decided that it had not proved its case. Satisfactory proof of ownership was lacking. American citizenship of the owners of the Candelaria Company was established, but there was no proof of that of the allottees of the San Pedro Company at the time the losses were sustained. Moreover, no record showed the conveyance of the mining property from the Corralitos Company to the Candelaria and San Pedro companies. In addition, there was insufficient proof as to the value of the property lost and the liability of the Mexican government. As a result, in 1932 the commissioner ruled that the evidence did not make a prima facie case and that the company was not entitled to an award.[33]

For several years thereafter there was no further consideration of the claim by the commission. In 1935, however, it was again reviewed, at which time attorney Louis W. McKernan suggested a possible basis for an award. Even though the record indicated that the owners of the Corralitos Company controlled the Candelaria and San Pedro companies, and although most of the Candelaria property seemed to be within the Prohibited Zone, the Candelaria Company seemed to be the beneficial owner, regardless of title, and as such might be entitled to an award of no more than $50,000. Despite McKernan's suggestion, the commissioner refused to reconsider the claim. The claimants, he said, had ample time to remedy the defects of proof and had failed to do so. Hence, because of the inability of the company to satisfy the commission,

it was unwilling to press Mexico for a nominal award, even though the company's property had been completely destroyed.[34]

The history of the Candelaria Company claim reveals the nature of the problems that some American investors faced when they sought indemnification for losses suffered during the revolutionary period. Very simply, the company's receivers could not obtain an award because their attorney was unable to construct a prima facie case. He was unable to do so because he could not secure, or the company could not supply, vital evidence as to the total value of the property, the company's profits, or the citizenship of some of the claimants. From the record it appears that the company's attorney was remiss and dilatory in his preparation of the claim. Surely, the Candelaria Company could have supplied proof as to the value of the property, the amount spent on improvement, and annual profits through 1910. Such evidence, however, was not in the record.

Whether the San Pedro Company could have submitted such evidence as to its operations raises another question. Since the company was a closely held subsidiary of the Candelaria Company, it may not have kept a separate balance sheet. Such evidence was not in the record and was an important omission because Mexico contended that allotments for a share of damages a corporation suffered had to be accompanied by a copy of its balance sheet.

In short, the manner in which Morgan and his associates organized their companies undoubtedly made it difficult for them to obtain compensation for their losses. As the American commissioner noted, a singular, and indeed, unusual lack of evidence existed as to the Candelaria company's total investment in its mining property and its annual profits. One of the most striking aspects of the case is the company's very modest claim for losses, only $710,675, for an investment reputedly worth a million dollars and producing more than $700,000 per annum before the Revolution. Why the company limited its claim to only the loss of machinery and supplies and the cost of rehabilitation is a matter of conjecture. One problem in regard to evidence may be that the mining property was purchased as part of the Corralitos hacienda and was later sold by Morgan and his associates to the Candelaria company, which Morgan organized and controlled. Another was the organization of

the San Pedro company by the Candelaria company to circumvent the prohibition of foreign ownership in the Prohibited Zone. Since it is unlikely that Morgan failed to keep records of the annual production and profits of his companies, his failure to provide such evidence may possibly be due to the falsification of records in order to evade taxation.

Whatever the explanation, Morgan and his associates failed to secure compensation from Mexico for their losses. In the Díaz regime they seized the opportunity to exploit the rich mineral resources of Chihuahua. But in the whirlwind of the Revolution, their investment was swept away. Given their failure to present a prima facie case, the refusal of the American commission to press it against Mexico seems justified, even though Mexico's federal forces had deliberately destroyed their property.

NOTES

1. Marvin D. Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry, 1890–1950: A Study of the Interaction of Politics, Economics, and Technology* (Albany: State University of New York, 1964), pp. 104–5, notes that it is impossible to estimate the loss of American-owned mining property. Since the department refused to release the total amount of damages claimed against Mexico, the loss has not been established and may never be known. Ramón Eduardo Ruíz, *The Great Rebellion: Mexico, 1905–1924* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), pp. 100–135, covers the origins of the Revolution, nationalism, anti-Americanism, and foreign investment in northern Mexico. P. Edward Haley, *Revolution and Intervention: The Diplomacy of Taft and Wilson with Mexico, 1910–1917* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970), considers the response of the United States government to the Revolution. Berta Ulloa-Ortiz, *La Revolución intervenida, Relaciones diplomáticas entre México y Estados Unidos (1910–1941)* (México: Colegio de México, 1971), uses Mexican and American archives.

2. David M. Pletcher, "An American Mining Company in the Mexican Revolutions of 1911–1920," *Journal of Modern History* 20 (March 1948): 20, notes the lack of interest in the effect of the Revolution on American investment in the mining industry. Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry*, pp. 104–5; U.S., Department of State, *Special Mexican Claims Commission, Report of the Secretary of State*, Arbitration Series No. 7 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 609, gives the decision of the commissioner on the Candelaria Mining Company claim; U.S., Congress, Senate, Affairs in Mexico, Senate Report 645, 66th Cong., 2d. sess., 1920, pp. 14–15. In 1902 Consul General Andrew D. Barlow reported that American firms and individuals had invested five hundred

million in Mexico, of which $80,000,000 was in the mining industry. However, Marion Letcher, Consul in Chihuahua, later estimated that $233,000,000 had been invested in that industry.

3. Jorge Griggs, *Mines of Chihuahua, 1907* (n.p.: n.d.), pp. 233–34, 279, 281; Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 229.

4. Griggs, *Mines of Chihuahua, 1907*, pp. 295–96; Robert C. West, *The Economic Structure of the Mining Company in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), p. 17, notes that there were two types of hypogene sulfide ores in the area: silver-bearing lead sulfide (galena) and lead-free sulfide (argentite).

5. Francisco R. Almada, *Diccionario de Historia Geografía y Biografía Chihuahuenses* (Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, México: Impresora de Juárez, S.A., 1968), pp. 119, 314, 576–77; Mark Wasserman, "Foreign Investment in Mexico, 1876–1910: A Case Study of the Role of Regional Elites," *The Americas* 36 (July 1979): 3–21; Wasserman, "Oligarquía E Intereses Extranjeros En Chihuahua Durante El Porfiriato," *Historia Mexicana* 22 (January–March 1973): 279, 285.

6. Memorandum of Counsel, Claim Docket 2378, The Candelaria Mining Company, Et al . . . , Special Mexican Claims Commission, Disallowed Claims, Records of United States and Mexican Claims Commission, Records of Boundaries and Claims Commission and Arbitrations, Record Group (RG) 76, National Archives (NA), Suitland, Md. Hereafter cited as Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA. In addition to Morgan, the directors were: Cornelius and George Bliss, Theodore K. Gibbs, Solon Humphreys, David F. Merritt, and John T. Terry. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* 1893 ed., s.v. "Edwin Dennison Morgan."

7. Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry,* pp. 18–19; Certificate of Incorporation of the Candelaria Mining Company, 1 February 1889, Division of State Archives and Public Records, Denver, Colo.; Memorandum of Counsel, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* 1962 ed., s.v. "Edwin Denison [sic] Morgan."

8. Memorandum of Counsel and Certificate of Incorporation of the Compañía de San Pedro, S.A., 18 February 1902, Claim 2378 SMCC, RG 76, NA. The 200 shares of stock were held as follows: 170 shares in the name of Edwin D. Morgan; 5 shares each held by Arthur S. Dwight, Richard L. Lloyd, Joseph C. Burson, and Charles I. Reeves, but owned by the Candelaria Company; 5 shares each were held by two Mexican attorneys.

9. Statement, Claim of the Corralitos Company . . . , Records of the Special Mexican Claims Commission, 1936–1938, Awarded Claims, 1924–38: Docket 133, Records of Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations, RG 76, NA, Suitland, Md.

10. Depositions of George A. Laird, 20 January 1926, and José María Azios, 3 July 1925, Claim 2378 SMCC, RG 76, NA. Donald F. Roberts, "Mining and Modernization: The Mexican Border States During the Porfiriato, 1876–1911" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1974), Annex C, p. 245; Griggs,

Mines of Chihuahua, 1907, pp. 294–95; Griggs, p. 192, lists the mines as follows in 1904:

Galeana District	Production in 1904				Hectares	Metric Tons
Congreso y León	Candelaria	Mining	Co.	Casas Grandes	63 "	161
Candelaria	"	"	"	San Pedro		
San Librado	"	"	"	"	26 "	224
San Pedro	"	"	"			
Santo Niño	"	"	"	"	30 "	304
Wallace	"	"	"	"		73
Hennesy	"	"	"	"	12"	112
San Albino	"	"	"	"	26 "	15
San Nicolás	"	"	"	"	12 "	962
La Cortada	"	"	"	"	5 "	20
Mills	"	"	"	"		20
Pedro Pena	"	"	"	"	891 "	111
Buenos Aires	"	"	"	"		110
Noventa y Nueve	"	"	"	"		

11. Roberts, "Mining and Modernization," Annex C, Mining Companies in the Border States, p. 245; Wasserman, "Oligarquía E Intereses En Chihuahua," pp. 298–99, finds the Candelaria company the third most prominent in the state in 1908.

12. Deposition of L. T. Bryant, 27 July 1925, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

13. Deposition of L. T. Bryant, 27 July 1925, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA; *Mexican Mining Journal* 10 (May 1910): 36, and 11 (July 1910): 35.

14. Depositions of Bryant and Azios, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

15. Depositions of Bryant and Azios, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA. *Mexican Mining Journal,* 11 (July 1910): 35, and 11 (December 1910): 35.

16. C. M. Leonard to Secretary of State, 7 January 1911, 812.00/646, Mexico, Internal Affairs, Decimal File, 1910–1929, Records of the Department of State, RG 59, NA, Washington, D.C. Hereafter cited as 812.00 RDS with the document number. Ruíz, *The Great Rebellion,* pp. 100–119; Paul J. Vanderwood, *Disorder and Progress: Bandits, Police and Mexican Development* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), pp. 156–64; Charles C. Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution, Genesis Under Madero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952), pp. 3–29, 119–51; Robert Sandels, "Antecedentes De La Revolución En Chihuahua," *Historia Mexicana* 24 (January–March 1975): 390–402; William H. Beezley, *Insurgent Governor: Abraham Gonzalez and the Mexican Revolution in Chihuahua* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 49. For additional background on the Revolution, see Francisco R. Almada, *La Revolución en el Estado de Chihuahua,* 2 vols. (Mexico City: Impreso de los Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1964).

17. C. M. Leonard to Secretary of State, 11 February 1911, 812.00/832, RDS, and Luther Ellsworth to Secretary of State, 11 March 1911, 812.00/947, RDS.

18. Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution,* pp. 185–207; Vanderwood, *Disorder and*

Progress, pp. 165–67; Michael C. Meyer, *Mexican Rebel, Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1915* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp. 38–66; Paige Christiansen, "Pascual Orozco: Chihuahua Rebel: Episodes in the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1915," *New Mexico Historical Review* (*NMHR*) 36 (April 1961): 97–120; William H. Beezley, "State Reform during the Provisional Presidency: Chihuahua, 1911," *Hispanic American Historical Review* (*HAHR*) 50 (August 1970): 524–37; William H. Beezley, "Madero: The Unknown President and His Political Failure to Organize Rural Mexico," William H. Beezley, et al., *Essays on the Mexican Revolution, Revisionist Views of the Leaders*, ed. George Wolfskill and Douglas W. Richmond (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), pp. 1–24.

19. Marion Letcher to Secretary of State, 20, 26 February 1912, 812.00/2931 and 3028 RDS; Friedrich Katz, "Villa: Reform Governor of Chihuahua," in *Essays on the Revolution*, ed. Wolfskill and Richmond, pp. 25–45. John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico* (New York: D. Appleton, 1914), describes Villa's army and the fighting.

20. Deposition of Edward C. Houghton, manager of the Corralitos hacienda, U.S. Congress, Senate, Revolutions in Mexico, Hearing Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 62nd Cong., 2d. sess., 1913, pp. 3–22; depositions of Abraham Jiminez, 29 July 1925, and Azios, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA; Frederick C. Turner, "Anti-Americanism in Mexico, 1910–1913," *HAHR* 47 (November 1967): 502–18; Edward J. Berbusse, "Neutrality-Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico, 1910–1911," *The Americas* 12 (January 1956): 265–83, covers the problem of enforcing neutrality in the Taft administration; U.S., Congress, Senate, Affairs in Mexico, p. 40, reveals that Salazar drove 4,000 Americans out of Chihuahua and Sonora.

21. Michael C. Meyer, *Huerta: A Political Portrait* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), pp. 32–63; Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution*, pp. 229–43; Vanderwood, *Disorder and Progress*, pp. 170–74; Katz, "Villa," pp. 25–45; Louis M. Teitelbaum, *Woodrow Wilson and the Mexican Revolution, 1913–1916: A History of the United States–Mexican Relations from the Murder of Madero until Villa's Provocation across the Border* (New York: Exposition Press, 1967), pp. 242, 251.

22. Necah S. Furman, "Vida Nueva: A Reflection of Villista Diplomacy, 1914–1915," *NMHR* 53 (April 1978): 171–92; Friedrich Katz, "Pancho Villa and the Attack on Columbus, New Mexico," *American Historical Review* 83 (February 1978): 101–30; Haley, *Revolution and Intervention*, pp. 152–223, covers Wilson's diplomacy and the Pershing expedition.

23. Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Chihuahua, Storehouse of Storms* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), pp. 262–63; Mark T. Gilderhus, *Diplomacy and Revolution: U.S.-Mexican Relations Under Wilson and Carranza* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), pp. 32–52.

24. Deposition of L. T. Bryant, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA; according to Bryant, the machinery and timbers in the mines had been under water for thirteen years by 1925.

25. Depositions of Jimenez and Bryant, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

26. Depositions of Jimenez and Bryant, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

27. De Lancey K. Jay to Secretary of State, 10 March 1911, and Edwin D. Morgan to Secretary of State, 5 August 1912, 412.11 C 165, Claim of the Candelaria Consolidated Mexican Mining Company, Decimal File, 1910–1929, RDS, RG 59, NA, Washington, D.C. These papers were incorrectly filed with the claim of the Candelaria Consolidated company, which operated mining properties at San Dimas, Durango. I am indebted to Frederic A. Greenhut for locating the file. U.S., Congress Senate, Revolutions in Mexico, pp. 3–22; certificates of receivership, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

28. U.S., *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1912* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), pp. 929, 934, 944, 951, 966, 985; *1913* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), pp. 924, 946, 956; *1914* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), p. 655; *1915* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924), p. 836; *1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930), pp. 793, 800; U.S., Department of State, *American Mexican Claims Commission, Report to the Secretary of State* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 71–74, contains a brief history of the claims before the commission. A. H. Feller, *The Mexican Claims Commission, 1923–1934: A Study in the Law and Procedure of International Tribunals* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), pp. 15–23, covers the negotiations on the claims commission. John W. F. Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919–1936* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), covers the rise of Obregón; Douglas W. Richmond, "Carranza: The Authoritarian Populist as National President," and David C. Bailey, "Obregón: Mexico's Accommodating President," in Beezley, *Esssays on the Mexican Revolution*, ed. Wolfskill and Richmond, pp. 46–99; U.S. Congress, Senate, Claims Against Mexico, Sen. Doc. 67, 66th Cong., 1st sess., 1919, reported the total in the claims in which the amount was specified as $26,629,597.61; Issac F. Marcosson, *Metal Magic: The Story of the American Smelting and Refining Company* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1949), p. 238, notes the paralysis of the mining industry through 1917.

29. Deposition of Homer L. Carr, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

30. Deeds, depositions, and correspondence, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

31. Decision 902: Claim of Candelaria Mining Company, *Special Mexican Claims Commission, Report*, p. 609; Louis W. McKernan, Memo of Counsel, 21 May 1937, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76 NA.

32. Holliday to the Commission, 11 May 1929, and to James A. Langston, 20 February 1931, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

33. Attorney William Tutherly, Statement, 13 February 1932, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

34. Edith McD. Levy to Holliday, 12 December 1935, Edgar E. Witt, chairman, to Holliday, 19 December 1935, McKernan Memo, 21 May 1937, and 8 January 1938, and Memo, 15 February 1938, Claim 2378, SMCC, RG 76, NA.

"LUTHER BURBANK OF NEW MEXICO": DR. LOUIS B. BOELLNER, 1872–1951

ELVIS E. FLEMING

NEW MEXICANS HAVE CONTRIBUTED much to the cultural heritage of the United States. One of these contributors was Dr. Louis B. Boellner of Roswell, who developed a thin-shelled, large-lobed black walnut and a fragrant dahlia, as well as other new dahlia varieties. These significant contributions to American horticulture represented fulfillment of Boellner's lifetime aspirations. A self-taught plant hybridizer, he used his yard in Roswell for a laboratory to develop new plant varieties and to make improvements in existing varieties. For more than four decades, from 1910 to 1951, he grew an amazing variety of hybrid plants: nut trees, fruit trees, vegetables, field crops, flowers, ornamentals. Since Boellner's experiments and some of his independently developed methods resembled those of the nationally known hybridizer, Luther Burbank, Boellner inevitably became known as "the Luther Burbank of New Mexico."

Boellner's greatest accomplishment was the development of the "Kwik-Krop Black Walnut, Boellner Strain." He sold the propagation rights to his hybrid walnut in 1949 to Stark Brothers, a major nursery that has offered the Boellner walnut in its catalogs since 1957. Boellner also achieved national recognition for his new varieties of dahlias, particularly a scented flower in a species that ordinarily has no fragrance.

Boellner's interest in horticulture began when he was a child. The eighth of eleven children of Henry and Mary Ann Boellner, Louis was born at St. Charles, Missouri, on 14 February 1872. A few years later the Boellners moved to Butler County, Kansas, where they homesteaded west of the town of Leon. Henry Boellner

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Dr. Louis B. Boellner. Courtesy of author.

raised staple crops common to Kansas, but he and his sons also planted a nursery of fruit trees and hedge bushes that helped the Boellner farm to prosper. As a young child, Louis exhibited a love of plants that foreshadowed his lifelong interest in horticulture. At the age of five, he planted nuts, hedges, and evergreens in any space available on the farm.[1] Although the family nursery business left an indelible impression on young Louis, he sought a career in another area.

In 1890, Louis became an apprentice to a jeweler in Leon. Later, he attended Parsons Horological Institute in Peoria, Illinois, where he studied watch-making and repairing. Graduating on 1 March 1894,[2] Boellner seven months later went into business for himself, opening a jewelry store in Leon. Next, Boellner took a correspondence course from the Needles Institute of Optometry, and in 1897 added the practice of optometry to his jewelry business.[3] Since Leon provided a limited clientele, Boellner in September 1898 moved his store to El Dorado, the nearby county seat. There, his business increased considerably every year.[4]

Meanwhile, Boellner had taken a bride. In May 1897 he married Grace Blanche Rees in Leon, where their first child, Arden Rees Boellner, was born the following February. Edith, their second child, joined the family in March 1900.[5]

Although Boellner's business continued to grow, the young couple was restless. Boellner was acquainted with a travel agent for the Santa Fe Railroad who told him about the Pecos Valley of New Mexico and the town of Roswell. This promoter related that artesian water had been discovered in Roswell a few years earlier and that officials of the Santa Fe Railroad believed the Pecos Valley would soon be advertised nationally to attract settlers. Fascinated by the idea of a frontier area, the Boellners decided to move to Roswell. Not everyone thought this a good idea. Boellner's banker was astounded when he learned of the planned move to New Mexico Territory. Revealing the "American Nativism" attitude typical in the eastern areas toward the strange place called "New Mexico," he cautioned his client, "New Mexico country is no place for you and your family. Thieves, outlaws, murderers make up the country. It is just the jumping-off-place!"[6]

But the Boellners were not to be discouraged. They sold the jewelry store and optometry office and boarded a train in Wichita that took them to Amarillo, Texas. Eventually they arrived in Roswell in a chair car attached to a small freight train of the Pecos Valley and Northeastern Railway.[7] Roswell had been incorporated as a town in 1891 and was the county seat of Chaves County, organized on 1 January 1890. The town was growing rapidly and by the time it was re-incorporated as a city in 1903, it had attained a population of 4500. It still had the atmosphere of a frontier town,[8] however, and the Boellners were surprised that it was so small.

After they got off the train in Roswell, the Boellners were driven in a hack to the Grand Central Hotel, where they lodged until they located a house. Most of the houses in Roswell were made of adobe, many with mud roofs, and the Boellner family lived in one such house for a short time. Later, they moved to a two-room house made of native stone at 504 North Kentucky[9] that they had arranged to purchase on 24 September 1903.[10]

The arrival of the newcomers was noted in the 2 September 1904 edition of the *Roswell Record*, a weekly version of the daily newspaper. In its "Local News" column, the following item appeared;

> L. B. Boellner, of El Dorado, Kansas, is in the city, and is preparing to open an up-to-date jewelry establishment in the Ingersoll book store. Hamilton Bros., who have been occupying one side of the building in front and the entire building in the rear, will move to the rear to make room for the jewelry store. . . .[11]

Ingersoll's Book Store was located at 224 North Main; "Hamilton Bro's." was a tailor shop.[12] Boellner opened his jewelry store sometime in September and soon after began his practice of optometry. Thus he was the first optometrist in Roswell and one of the first in New Mexico.[13] Boellner did not remain at his first Roswell location for long, however. On 21 August 1907, he bought lots at 314–16 North Main Street and had two commercial buildings erected. He then used 316 for his business as long as it existed.[14] The jewelry business apparently was more profitable than the optometry practice, although the firm's records do not differentiate between the

two. Both businesses, however, grew steadily throughout the lifetime of the firm.[15]

Once Boellner's businesses were established, the family began to enter into the life of the community. A second daughter, Frances, was born in Roswell in August 1906.[16] In May 1909, the Boellners bought a lot at 508 North Missouri Avenue,[17] and Grace Boellner designed a house for the family. The spacious, two-story structure was built in 1910, but Mrs. Boellner enjoyed the house for only a few years. In 1916–17 she was afflicted with cancer and died at home on 2 November 1917. Her remains were transported back to the "old home" at Leon, Kansas, for burial.[18] The house remained the family's permanent residence, however, and Louis developed the yard as a "laboratory" for his many horticultural experiments.

Boellner continued to dabble in horticulture while his children grew to maturity. After nine years in the Roswell public schools, Arden Boellner attended New Mexico Military Institute (NMMI) in Roswell to complete high school and junior college. After graduating in 1919,[19] he attended Bradley School of Jewelry in Peoria, Illinois, and upon his return to the Southwest, entered into partnership with his father in the jewelry business. Arden married Hazel Daring in 1924, and they raised their two daughters in Roswell. Later, Arden continued to follow in his father's footsteps and became an optometrist, and the father-son partnership continued until Arden entered the army in the summer of 1941.[20]

Meanwhile, the older daughter, Edith, grew up to be an attractive and intelligent young lady who graduated from Roswell High School in 1917. Six years later, Frances graduated from the same school.[21] Edith married Carl J. Turner, an aircraft purchasing agent in Glendale, California, and Frances also married a Glendale resident, merchant Theodore T. Brough. Both women are now deceased.[22]

As World War II loomed on the horizon, Arden, at the age of forty-three, was called into the army as a lieutenant-colonel. Captured by the Japanese sometime in 1942, he spent three years as a prisoner. When his group was in transit to Taiwan in a Japanese ship, American warplanes strafed and sunk it on 15 December 1944. Arden's body was never recovered.[23]

Following the death of his wife, Boellner devoted himself to his

businesses and numerous hobbies as well as his horticultural work. After twenty-five years as a widower, Boellner, at the age of sixty-nine, remarried. His new bride, Martha Cowan, was a fifty-year-old teacher of history at Roswell High School. After the wedding, which took place on 22 August 1942, Martha became Boellner's assistant at the optometry office. He continued his optometry practice until six days before his death in 1951,[24] although he sold the jewelry business in 1946.

While Boellner worked as an optometrist and a jeweler, he had also devoted himself to his horticultural studies. As a boy on the farm in Butler County, Kansas, he had developed a taste for black walnuts that grew there. Reminiscing in 1950 in a letter to President Harry Truman, he wrote "you remember when we were boys how we could crack the wild black walnuts with a stone or a hammer and pick out the kernel, usually with a horseshoe nail, but seldom getting all the kernel. But we all thought it the best nut grown. . . ."[25] He began to think about how much more pleasure the nuts would give if only the shells were thinner and not so hard to crack and if there were more meat in a larger kernel. He thought often about his dream of improving the black walnut, but he was not able to begin his experiments until after he was established in his professional career, probably about 1906.[26]

Boellner used two very large trees on the Kansas farm as the foundation of the walnut development. One of the trees produced a black walnut that was unusually large, and the other produced a medium-sized nut with a full lobe and a thin shell. These nuts became the basis for a forty-year process that culminated in the patented "Stark Kwik-Krop Black Walnut, Boellner Strain."[27]

Boellner cultivated fourteen "working trees" around his house on North Missouri in Roswell as a "laboratory," and he experimented and tested his hybrids on a larger scale on the farm in Kansas, which he acquired after his parents died. The working trees were grown as seedlings from Kansas black walnuts planted about 1910. In the ensuing forty years, Boellner produced more than two hundred different varieties of hybrid nuts, crossing black walnuts with English walnuts, Japanese walnuts, butternuts, pecans, and others. Boellner kept careful records of each step and each cross, and the manager of his Kansas farm did likewise. These

records allowed the experimenters to make the best use of each growing season.[28]

The first step in the hybridizing process was to pollinate the female blossoms of one tree with pollen from another tree. The nuts produced were carefully sorted, with the best specimens selected for planting. Each year, the nuts were planted in the fall to be ready to sprout when warm weather came the next spring. The next step in the procedure originated with Boellner and allowed the outcome of a nut cross to be determined in only one to three years. In April, when the young nut shoots were several inches tall, Boellner cut buds from them. The seedling buds were then inserted into the stock of mature trees, wrapped with cord, and covered with paraffin. The host trees became an "incubator" in which the seedling buds could mature faster. Each bud would produce a new limb on the host tree and bear the new hybrid nut the following year. With this process, the trees in Roswell brought to maturity some sixty to eighty new buddings each year. Boellner's system stressed speed and volume so that he might test as many new hybrids in as little time as possible. The procedure cut the waiting time to a fraction of the nine or more years required for a nut tree to bear on its own root, and it was also faster than grafting. In all his experiments, Boellner never let any nut bear on its own root; he always used budding.[29]

Once a new cross produced nuts, the selection process became a crucial step. Boellner chose the best nuts that exhibited the characteristics he was cultivating. More often than not, hybrids would regress rather than improve. Sometimes, for example, there would be no kernel—just wood; Boellner called these "blanks."[30] But Boellner carefully crossed and re-crossed the black walnuts, each season meticulously selecting seed nuts with the traits he sought. He also crossed them with other varieties to cultivate distinctive qualities; for example, crossing with the English, or Persian, walnut made the shell thinner and eliminated the corrugation on the inside of the shell; and butternut was introduced to improve the flavor.[31] After he had spent twenty-four years hybridizing black walnuts, Boellner's dream became reality in 1932 when the nut he had envisioned appeared on one of the working trees: a large nut with a thin shell and a large, double-lobed kernel. No horseshoe

nail was needed in the removal of these kernels! Boellner spent the remainder of his life seeking to improve this nut.[32]

The two old trees that Boellner referred to as the "grandparents" of his hybrid black walnut were almost lost during World War II when the federal government appropriated many walnut trees to use for making gun stocks. Federal officials at first told Boellner that the trees would be confiscated. In protest, he wrote many letters to government authorities to explain that he was breeding from those ancestral trees, that they produced good nuts, and that he believed his work was "more important than sawing up the trees into gun stocks to kill men." He offered the authorities any or all of the other five hundred trees on his place if they would only let him keep those two. When a federal official asked Boellner if someone else could corroborate his estimation of the importance of his work, he replied that his son, Arden, could have, but "you killed him. Now, you want to use these trees to kill people, but I'm trying to use them to feed people." Finally, the government agreed to spare the valuable trees and took four others instead.[33]

In the late 1940s, Boellner began to correspond and negotiate with Harry W. Guengerich, head of the research team of the famous Stark Brothers Nurseries and Orchards Company of Louisiana, Missouri, about the possibility of selling the propagation rights for the Boellner walnut to the giant nursery. On 19 September 1949, Boellner and Lloyd C. Stark signed an agreement in which the rights to the hybrid were conveyed to the nursery. The specific tree from which Stark Brothers were to propagate was located on Boellner's Kansas farm and was described in the contract as a "hybrid of a black walnut and a Persian (English) Walnut." The contract provided for a cash payment of $300 plus ten cents in royalties for each tree sold by Stark Brothers during the seventeen-year life of the U.S. Plant Patent to be obtained on the walnut.[34]

Boellner chose the *Denver Post* to announce the development and availability of the walnut "when the time . . . [came] to release the news." In a letter to the *Post*, he wrote, "as soon as the Stark Bro's Nurseries complete their preliminary work on the patent and say we can make this known, it will be all right. The patent is already filed in Washington, D.C., in the name of Louis B. Boellner as breeder and developer."[35] In January 1950 the sale of the walnut

was finally announced. A news item in the *Denver Post* broke the news;[36] and when the announcement was made in Roswell a few days later, Ralph Partridge, farm editor of the *Post,* was present for the press conference. Also present were several Roswell dignitaries and newsmen. An item in the *Roswell Daily Record* stated that the selling price was $10,000 plus seventeen years of royalties.[37]

The patent for the new walnut, to be known as the Kwik-Krop, was granted in 1952. According to Jerome L. Frecon, product development manager for Stark Brothers, it took five years to build up scionwood, so royalties did not begin until 1957.[38] Boellner did not live to see the payment of royalties on his walnut, and existing records do not reveal how much his estate received for the nut. Although newspapers stated at the time of the sale that Boellner received $10,000 cash plus the seventeen years of royalties, his widow asserted that the $10,000 figure was an estimate of how much the tree would yield in royalties during the life of the patent.[39] Boellner apparently did not care to divulge the terms of his agreement with Stark Brothers, because he did not correct or change the statements of the news media. In fact, when interviewed by *Life* magazine shortly before his death in 1951, Boellner referred to his walnut as "the $10,000 nut."[40] The first royalty, paid in 1957, amounted to only $22.70.[41] Royalties for the next two years were also rather small, but Paul Stark, Jr., promised Martha Boellner that they would increase substantially after 1959.[42] The royalties did not, however, measure up to the projected $10,000 figure. Mrs. Boellner believes that royalties paid to Dr. Boellner's estate, between 1957 and 1969, totaled no more than $3,000.[43]

Stark Brothers has been enthusiastic about the qualities of the Kwik-Krop, and the tree is still sold through the firm's catalogs. Recent evaluation of the walnut by the nursery continues to be quite favorable. It is a precocious and early-bearing walnut, according to Frecon; and it sometimes bears nuts in the nursery if held over two years after grafting. Stark Brothers has continued to sell the walnut because of its early-bearing characteristics, its satisfactory appearance, and the quality of the nut; and customer demand continues to exceed the nursery's ability to supply planting stock. Some years the Kwik-Krop is omitted from the catalog in

order to give the nursery time to build up its supply. Although mature trees reach a height of sixty-five feet and are desirable as shade trees,[44] Boellner's hopes that the Kwik-Krop would make walnut abundantly available for furniture making has not yet been proven.

The Kwik-Krop is adaptable to diverse climate and soil conditions; even in the southern parts of the United States some growers successfully produce the walnuts. The main problem in the South and the Southwest lies in the alkaline soil in some areas of Louisiana, Texas, and western New Mexico. The Kwik-Krop is grafted onto black walnut seedlings, but they cannot tolerate the alkaline soil conditions.[45]

Second only to the black walnut in contributing to Boellner's national renown was his development of dahlias. Boellner started growing dahlias in the 1920s, and for a quarter-century his flowers took top awards in flower shows at the New Mexico State Fair in Albuquerque and at the Eastern New Mexico State Fair in Roswell.

The first accomplishment that attracted national interest was the "Martha Boellner" dahlia, which first bloomed on the day that Boellner and Martha Cowan were married in August 1942. Together they continued to refine the large flowers and in 1945 submitted the "Martha Boellner" to the trial gardens of the American Dahlia Society (ADS) at the University of Connecticut at Storrs.[46] Roland H. Patch, superintendent of the ADS trial gardens, placed the "Martha Boellner" in both the "A-large" and the "B-medium" classifications, explaining that the flower was considered a Certificate of Merit dahlia. By scoring it as "A" and "B," the judges implied that it was a dual-purpose variety, with "A" designating the "exhibition" classification and "B" the "cut flower" group.[47]

A short while later, Lynn B. Dudley, national authority on dahlias, placed the "Martha Boellner" on the 1946 Honor Roll of Dahlias in the December 1945 issue of *The Flower Grower* magazine. He described the flowers as "scarlet red with flush of deeper carmine, velvet sheen on petals." The blooms were described as eight to nine inches in diameter, with straight stems.[48] Patch had suggested to Boellner that he negotiate with certain nurseries in New York or New Jersey to introduce the "Martha Boellner" to the public, but Boellner apparently decided to attempt the introduc-

tion on his own. In the same issue of *The Flower Grower* in which his dahlia was honored, Boellner ran an advertisement for his prize flower, offering it for sale at $20 per root.[49] Response to the advertisement is unknown, but the Boellners received much acclaim for the dahlia at the Mid-West show in St. Louis, Missouri, and other flower shows in 1946.[50]

Boellner's other principal project with dahlias was the scented dahlia. About 1935, he began removing the pollen from his better blooms and pollinating them with pollen from zinnias, daisies, and various other fragrant flowers. For ten years he experimented, sometimes producing a faint scent, only to lose it in the next generation.[51] Boellner mentioned his efforts to other prominent dahlia growers, who gave him much encouragement. According to Mrs. Boellner, her husband was a judge at the Greater St. Louis Flower Conference of 1946, where he was encouraged to "go home and produce a *fragrant* dahlia."[52]

In 1947, a third-generation dahlia emitted a distinct fragrance. This success not only created a sensation in Roswell, but also attracted the attention of dahlia fanciers across the country.[53] George Currie and Lewis West, two leaders in the Dahlia Society, revealed their enthusiasm for the fragrant dahlia in their correspondence with the Boellners. Currie wrote to Mrs. Boellner, "You have every right to be enthused over your fragrant dahlia. If it will reproduce itself it may well mark the greatest advance in dahlia culture in this century."[54] West expressed similar optimism, declaring "If you can succeed in producing a fragrance appropriate to the character of the flower, it will be the most significant development since the Dahlia Juarezii was discovered in 1872."[55] The December 1947 issued of *The Dahlia* featured an article about Boellner's work, noting that Boellner "has been referred to as the 'Luther Burbank of New Mexico,' and if this seedling reproduces itself, it may well be the crowning success of his long career in plant breeding."[56]

Despite these hopeful predictions, the 1947 scented dahlia seeds turned out to be sterile. Another delay ensued, but finally two seeds from the 1949 crop sprouted in 1950. One of the plants was lost to cutworms, but the other produced blooms with the same scent as the parent plant. Boellner called in local garden club members to ask their opinions of the scent, which they likened to

Louis Boellner checking the buds on a walnut tree at his Kansas farm. Courtesy of author.

that of many other flowers. Most flower growers, however, agreed with Boellner that the fragrant dahlia was closest to the scent of the wild sweet william.[57]

Boellner described one of the two blooms on his scented dahlia as Carrell Pink and the other as "bordering on Lavender Carrell." Notably, the flowers did not sunburn and turn brown, but rather retained their colors and transparency even when dried. The blooms were about eight inches in diameter on a bush about five feet tall.[58]

As expected, the 1950 blooms produced seeds that were fertile, but Boellner again had only two plants in 1951. He almost lost one of them to cutworms, but fortunately found the plant minutes after the worm had cut it off. He quickly grafted the stalk onto the root of another dahlia and saved the rare plant.[59] Boellner did not live to see the beautiful scented blooms his prize dahlias produced in 1951, but Mrs. Boellner carried on with their plans to exhibit the new dahlia at fairs and flower shows in New Mexico and elsewhere. Perhaps the most noted showing of the dahlia was in October 1951 in Kansas City, Missouri, where the Mid-West Dahlia Conference and the Greater Kansas City Dahlia Society held a joint show. The show afforded prominent floriculturists an opportunity to examine firsthand the scented dahlia, which was given a special award and attracted much attention. Lewis West, E. J. Wind of the Rocky River Dahlia Gardens, and other leading dahlia growers agreed that the flowers did indeed have a fragrance even though they had been cut a few days before the show and had bloomed several days before they were cut.[60]

The final tribute to Boellner in the dahlia world came in Louisville, Kentucky, on 20 and 21 September 1952, when the Dahlia Society of Kentucky hosted a joint show of the Mid-West Dahlia Conference and the Southern States Dahlia Association. In memory of her late husband, Mrs. Boellner provided a special award ribbon and trophy for the largest bloom in the "A" size category.[61]

Martha Boellner, also a skilled dahlia grower, carried on her husband's dahlia projects in other ways as well. She enlisted the aid of her friend, Dora Lewis Sanders, and they removed the Boellner dahlias to the Sanders' South Spring home southeast of Roswell. The two women spent five years working on dahlia-breeding experiments, and the Boellner dahlias thrived at the Sanders

gardens until about 1957. But they eventually were abandoned as a result of damage from insects and cold weather and other complications such as regression in some varieties.[62]

The Kwik-Krop black walnut and the scented dahlia brought Boellner national recognition, but they were by no means his only horticultural accomplishments. In July 1951, he had the opportunity to display his experiments when a team of reporters from *Life* magazine came to Roswell to interview him for a projected article. In addition to Ed B. Ogle and Carl Iwasaki from *Life*, Daniel A. Storm, local correspondent for the *Denver Post*, and a few other friends and relatives of the Boellners were present. Boellner described the day he spent guiding the group round his yard and explaining his experiments as "the greatest experience" in his life.

The Roswell hybridizer began the tour with a demonstration of his unique method of "budding." He then pointed out various stages of his walnut testing and, of course, he spent a considerable amount of time showing off his famous Kwik-Krop. The single-lobe walnut that Boellner developed along with the Kwik-Krop was almost ready for marketing, and other nut crosses, including the Persian/black walnut cross, butternut/pecan cross, English walnut/pecan cross, and the "hican," a cross between a shag-bark hickory and a pecan, were in various stages of development.

The tour continued as Boellner exhibited his insulated peach tree, which had a hooded blossom that could withstand temperatures as much as ten degrees colder than other peaches. Another unusual tree was the fountain or "weeping" mulberry, a product of Boellner's grafting mulberry vines into a standard mulberry tree (it still yields abundant crops of tasty berries more than thirty years after Boellner's death). Other fruit trees and vines displayed to the *Life* visitors were dwarf peach trees, a cross between a plum and an apricot, and grapevines grown from seed.

Boellner also exhibited field crops, including colored cotton and a "Super Wheat" that experts declared capable of producing ninety-four bushels or more per acre. In addition, Boellner's "perpetual alfalfa" was an extremely hardy variety that drew the interest of local farmers, since Chaves County was the leading producer of hay among New Mexico counties, and alfalfa was one of the top cash crops in the state. However, the only field crop that Boellner

deemed ready for marketing was a hybrid of popcorn and sweet corn, a popcorn with the flavor of sweet corn. Despite Boellner's enthusiasm for his new hybrid, his attempts to interest popcorn producers or distributors in his "sweet corn popcorn" were unsuccessful.

Next, Boellner led the group to his dahlia beds, which included the yet-to-bloom scented dahlia. He also displayed a French lilac and a Rose of Sharon, each of which at one time bore fifteen varieties. The visitors then progressed to still more of Boellner's projects. Although many were in the early stages of development, the aging hybridizer confidently asserted that he would live to see his experiments completed.[64]

The visit of the *Life* magazine representatives turned out to be a "climax" in Dr. Boellner's life. A few days after their visit, he and Martha left Roswell to spend a week in Kansas, where they studied the progress of the walnut experiments, marked some, and collected specimens of others.[65]

Upon his return to Roswell, Dr. Boellner resumed his optometry practice. A week later, he entered St. Mary's Hospital for a check-up and a rest. His condition was not considered serious. But, on Friday, 24 August 1951, Boellner's condition suddenly worsened, and he died that afternoon. Two days later, the widely respected optometrist and horticulturist was buried in South Park Cemetery.[66] Unfortunately, with the news of his untimely death, *Life* cancelled the magazine article.[67]

While the article for *Life* never appeared, numerous other articles had been written about the New Mexico hybridizer, often referring to him as the "Luther Burbank of New Mexico." It is unclear who first used the term, but Jack Wooten, in an article that appeared in *Western Farm Life* in 1947, first used it in print.[68] Thereafter, every writer who wrote about the Roswell hybridizer used the catchy phrase.[69]

Was Boellner, in fact, another Burbank? Luther Burbank (1849–1926) ranks as the foremost horticulturist in American history. He developed more than two hundred varieties of plants, including fruits, flowers, nuts, and vegetables. Burbank's principal methods were selection and cross-breeding; he used special conditions of

fertility, temperature, and moisture in controlled situations to hasten the changes that he sought to produce.[70]

The horticultural work of Boellner was very similar to Burbank's. Boellner used the same methods Burbank employed, selection and cross-breeding, in the development of the Kwik-Krop black walnut. In addition, Boellner and Burbank conducted similar experiments on dahlias, nuts, and potato-tomato crosses. But Boellner did not imitate the work of Burbank. Rather, he conducted experiments independently. He developed some unique methods that included using paraffin instead of grafting wax. Boellner's most significant development in method, which greatly accelerated the number of his experiments, was his concept of "budding" rather than grafting nut trees. Although Boellner's horticultural work was an avocation, his experiments in quality and in quantity merit comparison with Burbank's. Thus, Louis Boellner is justly recognized as one of the most notable horticulturists in the Southwest.

Boellner believed that he cooperated with the natural forces of the Creator in developing new and improved varieties. Although Boellner employed Darwinian concepts, such as "survival of the fittest," his widow strongly believes that he would have opposed the principles of genetic engineering because they violate the natural laws of God. He considered his work to be God-given and would have been repulsed at the idea that he tried to violate God's creation.[71]

Why did Boellner not release some of his other developments to the public? A high-yielding, drought-resistant wheat, for example, could have done much good in the world. In an interview with Daniel A. Storm of the *Denver Post*, Boellner gave two reasons for not releasing the plants. First, he was a perfectionist. As long as a plant continued to show improvement, he did not want to stop working on it and breeding into it the characteristics that he wanted. Second, he had long planned for his only son, Arden, to follow in his footsteps in the hybridizing work as he had done in the jewelry business and optometry practice. Arden's death in World War II ended those plans, and Boellner delayed making efforts to place his developments with commercial producers. By the time he began to make contacts with nurseries and growers, the end of his

life was drawing near, and his death left his experiments short of the perfection that he desired.[72]

In 1977, Martha Boellner, at considerable expense, assembled an exhibit for permanent display at the Chaves County Historical Museum in Roswell. To ensure that Dr. Boellner's work receives the recognition and the honor that it deserves, the exhibit contains samples and illustrations of his work and items he used in his jewelry business and optometry practice. One elaborate display shows the various steps and crosses in the development of the Kwik-Krop black walnut. Containers of his corn, wheat, cotton, and other crops are also displayed, as are the vases and other items that Boellner covered with pine cone petals or "Pecos Valley Diamonds." His large collection of rattlesnake rattles, the watch he made at Parsons Institute in 1894, and numerous other items are in the exhibit. Mrs. Boellner explained that the purpose of the exhibit is "not only to recognize the life and work of a deserving hybridizer, but also to inspire talented youth to work with the laws of nature by recognizing that 'In the beginning, God created' (Genesis 1:1), rather than the theory of genetic engineering, where 'Mother Nature' is substituted for 'Father God.'"[73]

Louis B. Boellner was a pioneer optometrist and a prominent Roswell businessman for almost half a century; but it was his avocation, his love for horticulture, that motivated him to develop new plant varieties to benefit mankind. Although most of his experiments were incomplete at the time of his death, many Americans enjoy the benefits of his hybrid black walnuts and the beautiful trees that produce them. Further, Boellner's dahlias have brought immeasurable pleasure to flower enthusiasts. Since these unique accomplishments are important gifts to the world, Louis B. Boellner deserves to be remembered as "the Luther Burbank of New Mexico."

NOTES

1. Zeola Van Winkle to author, 25 August 1980; Jessie Perry Stratford, *Butler County's Eighty Years, 1855–1935* (El Dorado, Kansas: n.p., 1934), p. 185.

2. Parsons Horological Institute, Diploma, L. B. Boellner, 1 March 1894,

Louis B. Boellner Papers, envelope 3, box 80, Chaves County Historical Museum (CCHM), Roswell, New Mexico.

3. His early entrance into the profession of optometry qualified Boellner as one of the first optometrists. Indeed, the *Optometric Weekly* in 1949 referred to Boellner as "one of the fathers of optometry" in a picture caption accompanying an article in which Boellner related the changes in optometry during his career (Dr. Louis B. Boellner, "Early Days and Birth of Optometry," *Optometric Weekly* [20 January 1949]: 85–86).

4. Ledger, Boellner Papers, envelope 3, box 80, CCHM.

5. Interview with Hazel (Mrs. Arden) Boellner, 27 June 1980; interview with Leroy F. Fry, 29 June 1981.

6. Boellner, "Roswell Early-Day History" (Manuscript, 1951), Boellner Papers, envelope 11, box 80, CCHM, p. 1.

7. Boellner, "Roswell History," p. 1.

8. Elvis E. Fleming and Minor S. Huffman, eds., *Roundup on the Pecos* (Roswell: Chaves County Historical Society, 1978), p. 142.

9. Boellner, "Roswell History," p. 10.

10. *Chaves County Deed Records,* vol. T, p. 156.

11. *Roswell Record,* 2 September 1904. This information, important in establishing the date of Boellner's move to Roswell, differs from family and local traditions that he arrived in Roswell in 1898. He always advertised his business as "since 1898," apparently because that is the date he established it in El Dorado. His financial and church records and the birth and school records of his children support the date of 1904.

12. *Roswell City Directory,* 1904, pp. 9, 10.

13. Boellner, "Roswell History," pp. 10–11.

14. *Chaves County Deed Records,* vol. 28, pp. 43, 262.

15. Ledger, Boellner Papers, envelope 3, box 80, CCHM.

16. Roswell Independent School District, *School Census Records,* 1920.

17. *Chaves County Deed Records,* vol. 30, pp. 314, 517.

18. *Roswell Daily Record,* 2, 3 November 1917.

19. New Mexico Military Institute, *The Bronco* (Roswell: New Mexico Military Institute, 1919), p. 36.

20. Interview with Hazel Boellner, 27 June 1980.

21. Roswell High School, *El Coyote* (Roswell: Roswell High School, 1917), p. 8; *El Coyote,* 1923, p. 12.

22. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 15 August 1976.

23. *Chaves County Probate Records,* No. 3086, Cause No. 13083 (Arden R. Boellner), Book No. 4, pp. 88, 183, 289; Book No. 20, pp. 281–313; interview with Hazel Boellner, 27 June 1980; interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 15 August 1976.

24. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 22 March 1977. For more information on Martha Boellner, see Fleming and Huffman, eds., *Roundup on the Pecos,* pp. 142–46.

25. Boellner to Harry S. Truman, 12 December 1950, Boellner Papers, envelope 4, box 80, CCHM. Boellner sent samples of his various nut crosses to the president, as well as to several other people who he thought might be interested.

26. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 22 March 1977.

27. "Roswell Man Sells New Variety of Black Walnut to Large Nursery for $10,000," *Roswell Daily Record,* 14 January 1950.

28. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 22 March 1977. The manager of the Kansas farm was George Daring, Arden Boellner's father-in-law.

29. Boellner, "Lecture to *LIFE* Magazine Representatives" (Manuscript, 1951), Boellner Papers, envelope 9, box 80, CCHM, pp. 1–2; interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 22 March 1977; *Roswell Daily Record,* 2 February 1951.

30. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 22 March 1977.

31. "Notes," Boellner Exhibit, CCHM.

32. "Plant Perfectionist," *Denver Post,* 23 January 1949.

33. Boellner, "Lecture to *LIFE,*" p. 15, Boellner Papers, CCHM; interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 23 May 1982. The two historic trees died during the drought of the 1950s.

34. Stark Brothers Nurseries and Orchards Company and Louis B. Boellner, "Agreement," 19 September 1949, Boellner Papers, envelope 6, box 80, CCHM.

35. Boellner to Editor of *Denver Post,* 25 November 1949, Boellner Papers, envelope 4, box 80, CCHM.

36. *Denver Post,* 11 January 1950.

37. *Roswell Daily Record,* 14 January 1950.

38. Jerome L. Frecon to author, 18 March 1980.

39. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 22 March 1977.

40. Boellner, "Lecture to *LIFE,*" p. 15, Boellner Papers, CCHM.

41. Stark Brothers Nurseries and Orchards Company, "Royalties Invoice," 10 July 1957, Boellner Papers, envelope 6, box 80, CCHM.

42. Paul Stark, Jr., to Martha C. Boellner, 30 June 1959, Boellner Papers, envelope 4, box 80, CCHM.

43. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 22 March 1977.

44. Frecon to author, 18 March 1980.

45. Frecon to author, 18 March 1980.

46. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 28 December 1978.

47. Roland H. Patch to Boellner, 9 October, 8 November 1945, Boellner Papers, envelope 7, box 80, CCHM.

48. Lynn B. Dudley, "1946 Honor Roll," *The Flower Grower* 32 (December 1945): 4.

49. Boellner, "A 1946 Honor Roll Dahlia," *The Flower Grower* 32 (December 1945): 20. Thirteen months later, Boellner advertised the roots for $2.00 each (*The Flower Grower* 34 [January 1947]: 86).

50. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 28 December 1978.

51. Boellner to Lewis J. West, 1 October 1950, Boellner Papers, envelope 7, box 80, CCHM.

52. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 28 December 1978.

53. *Roswell Daily Record,* 28 October 1947.

54. George R. Currie to Mrs. L. B. Boellner, 17 November 1947, Boellner Papers, envelope 4, box 80, CCHM.

55. Lewis J. West to Dr. and Mrs. L. B. Boellner, 30 November 1947, Boellner Papers, envelope 4, box 80, CCHM.

56. "Scented Dahlia Grown by Dr. L. B. Boellner," *The Dahlia* (December 1947): 5.

57. Boellner to West, 1 October 1950, Boellner Papers, envelope 7, box 80, CCHM.

58. Boellner to West, 1 October 1950, Boellner Papers, envelope 7, box 80, CCHM.

59. Boellner, "Lecture to *LIFE,*" p. 11, Boellner Papers, CCHM.

60. Mrs. C. J. Hubbard to Mrs. L. B. Boellner, 31 October 1951, Boellner Papers, envelope 4, box 80, CCHM.

61. Mrs. L. B. Boellner to Louise Kleinjohn, 21 October 1951; Kleinjohn to Mrs. L. B. Boellner, 6 February 1952, Boellner Papers, envelope 4, box 80, CCHM; Dahlia Society of Kentucky, "Program, 1952 Midwest-Southern States Dahlia Show," 20, 21 September 1952, Boellner Papers, envelope 7, box 80, CCHM.

62. Interview with Dora Lewis Sanders McKnight, 21 November 1982. Apparently none of the Boellner dahlias, including the "Martha Boellner" and the famous fragrant dahlia, were ever patented.

63. Boellner, "Lecture to *LIFE,*" pp. 1–18, Boellner Papers, CCHM.

64. "Noted Horticulturist Gets Valentines on His Birthday," *Roswell Daily Record,* 14 February 1951.

65. Mrs. L. B. Boellner to Ed B. Ogle, 22 October 1951, Boellner Papers, envelope 4, box 80, CCHM.

66. *Roswell Daily Record,* 26 August 1951.

67. Ed Ogle to Mrs. Louis Boellner, 27 August 1951, Boellner Papers, envelope 4, box 80, CCHM.

68. Jack Wooten, "Luther Burbank of New Mexico," *Western Farm Life* (September 1947): 24.

69. See for example Oliver H. Williams, "Adventures in Garden Magic," *New Mexico Magazine* 25 (March 1947): 20, 35.

70. Luther Burbank, *How Plants Are Trained to Work for Man,* 8 vols. (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1921), 1: 23–24, 67–68.

71. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 8 June 1980.

72. "Plant Perfectionist," *Denver Post,* 23 January 1949.

73. Interview with Martha Cowan Boellner, 10 April 1980.

Book Reviews

ORIGINS OF THE MEXICAN WAR: A DOCUMENTARY SOURCE BOOK. Edited by Ward McAfee and J. Cordell Robinson. Salisbury, N.C.: Documentary Publications, 1982. Vol. 1: pp. xix, 177; vol. 2: pp. v, 175. Notes, bibliog. $39.95.

THESE WELL-EDITED AND ATTRACTIVELY PUBLISHED volumes achieve their purpose. They reveal clearly the conflicting policies and objectives of the United States and Mexico that led to war. Most of the more than one hundred documents in this collection will be familiar to students of the Mexican War period, but the editors have added a number of highly significant documents, not readily available, from the Mexican archives. The latter selections explain Mexico's diplomatic position with remarkable clarity. They reveal a feeling of hopelessness in Mexico City and the desire to negotiate a settlement with the United States. Quite properly the documents begin with the intensification of the Mexican-American quarrel over Texas in 1845 and Gen. Zachary Taylor's move to the Nueces. Thereafter the first volume develops three additional themes: the determined exertions of the United States to re-establish diplomatic relations with Mexico, culminating with the dispatch of John Slidell to Mexico in November 1845; President James K. Polk's evolving interest in California; and the efforts of Foreign Minister Manuel de la Peña y Peña to frame a Mexican policy that would resolve the burgeoning quarrel.

Convinced that a war with the United States would end in disaster for Mexico, Peña y Peña sought opinions from the minister of finance and the minister of war to reinforce his peace policy. Both ministers agreed that Mexico could not wage a victorious war. The British documents included in this collection stress these inner doubts among Mexican officials. For Peña y Peña Texas remained the divisive issue. If Mexico could not recover that lost province, it might, through an indemnity, at least recover its lost honor. This was Mexico's basic diplomatic objective. Unless Mexican officials were ready to give up all claims against the United States for the loss of Texas, they could not recognize Slidell. Slidell came to Mexico, not to settle the Texas question, but to negotiate boundaries beneficial to the United States. Any recognition of Slidell would have eliminated the very issue that troubled the Mexican government.

From the moment of Slidell's rejection the United States and Mexico moved toward a military confrontation. In rejecting Slidell Mexico had sought to preserve what remained of a disintegrating diplomatic position. To Polk, however, Slidell's misadventure in Mexico was an inexcusable affront. Thereafter, on Atocha's advice, he increased the diplomatic pressures on Mexico. The United States would demand its rights, leaving the issue of peace or war to the Mexican government. The unpaid claims of American citizens against Mexico, that country's rejection of Slidell, and its objection to Taylor's presence on the Rio Grande—for Mexico

an act of war—were not causes of war. There was no danger to American security, no threat of invasion. If war came, somebody wanted it. Polk spoke freely to an unquestioning cabinet of the need of settling affairs with Mexico. In his war message of 11 May 1846 he cited Mexico for rejecting Slidell and forcibly objecting to Taylor's presence, nothing more. Unfortunately, continued diplomatic disengagement would not have established the Rio Grande boundary or eliminated the Mexican title to California. Within two days after the declaration of war the cabinet made some portion of California the *sine qua non* of peace. To the extent that such a clear objective reveals a motive for war, these documents suggest that the Mexican War was ultimately a war of expansion.

University of Virginia NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

ÁLVARO OBREGÓN: POWER AND REVOLUTION IN MEXICO, 1911–1920. By Linda B. Hall. College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 1981. Pp. xiv, 290. Illus., notes, chronology, bibliog., index. $22.50.

LINDA B. HALL'S *Álvaro Obregón: Power and Revolution in Mexico, 1911–1920* is an important work discussing a foremost yet overlooked leader of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Even though Emiliano Zapata, Francisco Madero, and other prominent leaders of the revolution have received considerable scholarly investigation and analysis, Professor Hall is the first to examine and interpret the significance of Álvaro Obregón in such an intensive manner. Obregón deserves such attention, for he survived the years of upheaval beginning in 1910 to lead the Mexican nation to peace during the early 1920s.

This study centers upon Obregón's public life and political leadership from his election as mayor of Huatabampo, Sonora, in 1911 to his inauguration as president of the Republic in 1920. Major concern is directed at understanding how the man from Huatabampo became the architect and leader of a new elite of revolutionaries who were to rule Mexico. Obregón's military exploits, charismatic leadership, and his overtures to agrarian and labor movements arising out of the revolution are stressed as key factors in bringing him to power. Emphasis is also given to Obregón's political shrewdness and his public image as a "reasonable man" and a "peace maker." This well-written discussion is grounded on extensive archival sources, oral history testimony, and significant secondary accounts.

Scholars interested in Mexico, Latin America, and revolutionary movements will find this monograph outstanding and will hope that Professor Hall continues her work on Obregón to include his presidential years. Hall might also consider expanding her analysis of Obregón the man for strengthening her portrait of Obregón as a public figure. The man from Huatabampo was a complex individual, for he rose from the middle class background of the "gente decente," or literally the good people, to extraordinary success as not only a military general and political leader but also as an inventor, agriculturalist, and entrepreneur. As most self-made men, he firmly believed in the virtues of private business and free competition. Nevertheless, Obregón transcended his class position to defend the

interests and concerns of rural and urban workers. Understanding this complex and significant leader of twentieth-century Mexico has been greatly advanced by Professor Linda B. Hall's account of Obregón's rise to power.

Texas Tech University FRANCISCO E. BALDERRAMA

AL NORTE DEL RÍO BRAVO (PASADO LEJANO) (1600–1930). By Juan Gómez-Quiñones and David Maciel. México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1981. Pp. 263. Bibliog. $6.40 paper.

THE BOOK CONSISTS OF TWO SURVEY ESSAYS, one exploring the history of Mexican labor in what became the United States and written by Juan Gómez-Quiñones of the University of California, Los Angeles, the other covering the topic for the early twentieth century and written by David Maciel of the University of New Mexico. The authors make no claim to being definitive or even comprehensive; rather they present their work as a summary and initial hypothesis designed for further investigation and refinement. In the process, they reject what might be called "their own fault" interpretation often applied to Mexican laborers as a rationalization for the lowly status of such workingmen and women in the United States. In its place, the authors emphasize the historic struggle of Mexican workers against economic oppression, laying the blame for interminable problems on the racism, chauvinism, and profit-taking of a capitalistic system geared to throwaway labor from south of the border.

It is instructive to note that the essay by Gómez-Quiñones takes up 75 pages surveying 300 years, while Maciel's contribution totals 129 pages covering 30 years. By necessity, Gómez-Quiñones concentrates his essay on the nineteenth century when a true labor movement began among Mexicans as among other workingmen in the United States. Although they became involved with the Knights of Labor, the first powerful union in the United States, most Mexicans had to rely on their own resources to protect themselves in the marketplace, as capital played one ethnic group against another and domestic labor unions excluded their highly competitive compeers from Mexico. Accordingly, a double standard of wages and conditions favored the profits of American capital, the wages and status of Anglo labor, and the industrial and agricultural expansion of the United States. A Mexican proletariat laid the track, dug the mines and ditches, manned the factories, and spread the American table with fruits and vegetables, working from Pennsylvania to Chicago, San Antonio to Los Angeles, plus points in between and beyond.

This book is one of a series of seventeen volumes being published on the working class in Mexican history by the Institute of Social Research of the National Autonomous University of Mexico. It is a fine piece of work, scholarly, articulate, sensitive, and thought-provoking, made possible by the thorough research and clear and coherent writing of the authors. One would hope that somewhere along the line all seventeen volumes will be translated and published in English.

San Francisco, Calif. JOSEPH V. METZGAR

CAÑONES: VALUES, CRISIS, AND SURVIVAL IN A NORTHERN NEW MEXICO VILLAGE. By Paul Kutsche and John R. Van Ness. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. Pp. xxv, 244. Illus., glossary, bibliog., index. $17.50.

ALTHOUGH CAÑONES WAS SELECTED FOR ethnographic study by the authors because it is a small isolated village, it is no doubt largely representative of the rural village patterns of livelihood and adaptation that one encounters elsewhere today in Rio Arriba, the upper Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico. This culture region is beginning to receive much attention in scholarly literature by anthropologists, sociologist, historians, and geographers. The authors of this volume, anthropologists, found that in Cañones elements of Spanish-American culture persist because the people struggled to retain their ways and traditions, yet they were realistic in making their culture adaptable for the ultimate purpose of survival within today's dynamic and urban-oriented socioeconomic system.

Spanish-Americans are a proud people who settled the region's numerous microbasins and made the best of the semiarid environment by irrigating small plots of cropland and grazing livestock. The authors provide a routine background of the Cañoneros' use of their environmental setting in pursuing their livelihoods and the importance of landownership and water rights. In addition, Spanish-American material culture is discussed as it fashioned the village landscape. Within this setting and using 1967 as the base year for observations, the authors analyze Spanish-American social values and traditions as they set into motion the daily, seasonal, and annual activities. Much of the book's value is found in the discussions of Spanish-American terms such as *dignidad de la persona, vergüenza,* and *misericordia* and in the accounts showing the village's internal social structure and behavior of its thirty households.

The most stimulating chapter discusses the conflict that Cañoneros had with state officials in closing their village school. Although Cañoneros had contact with the outside world through seasonal work and children who had migrated elsewhere, it was this incident that seemed to make them aware that they had to participate in politics and become involved in external affairs. Their physical and cultural isolation pulled together the villagers, but that was not sufficient in denying the demands of Anglo culture. This study, like others, tends to portray Spanish Americans as anti-Anglo American.

In conclusion, the authors provided an update in 1980 of the village. The villagers have become more dependent on a cash economy and less dependent upon one another or upon nearby villages than previously. They still have, however, an emotional attachment to the land.

This easily readable ethnography contributes much to understanding contemporary Spanish-American life and culture change in northern New Mexico. The reader may be left with the question of what insights and changes would have been found if Cañones had been subjected to a broader analysis by an interdisciplinary team of scholars.

Bowling Green State University ALVAR W. CARLSON

CHICANO INTERMARRIAGE: A THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL STUDY. By Edward Murguía. San Antonio, Tex.: Trinity University Press, 1982. Pp. xiv, 134. Tables, notes, appendixes, bibliog., indexes. $15.00 cloth; $9.00 paper.

CONVINCED THAT "INTERMARRIAGE is the single most conclusive indicator of the amount of assimilation that a minority group has undergone," (p. 3) sociologist Edward Murguía attempts to further our understanding of Chicano assimilation by examining intermarriage of Spanish surname and non-Spanish-surname individuals in the Southwest. The study, however, is neither a broad nor a definitive work on Chicano intermarriage, for it is limited in geographic scope as well as time frame. The significant feature of Murguía's book is his statistical analysis of Chicano intermarriage, the data for which were gathered from marriage applications in four southwestern counties (Bexar, Nueces, and Hidalgo in Texas and Bernalillo in New Mexico) between the years 1960 and 1971. *Chicano Intermarriage,* therefore, should be considered a regional base for subsequent, more comprehensive studies or a tool for researchers interested primarily in Anglo-American/Mexican-American marriages that occurred during the 1960s.

The book has two major divisions. Part one is a review of established sociological theories regarding the assimilation paradigm, barriers to intermarriage, and comparative data on exogamy of other minority groups in the U.S. Information about the Chicano experience per se is scattered throughout this section, but these references tend to be of a generalized nature and are disappointingly brief. For example, Murguia presents only a few aspects of the Mexican-American experience that set it apart as unique among immigrant groups, and he offers only two poorly researched pages on the history of Chicano intermarriage in the Southwest. He does demonstrate, however, using data primarily adapted from earlier studies, that the rate of Chicano-Anglo intermarriage has been slowly increasing over time. He contends that this trend will likely continue because the Chicano population is moving steadily toward middle-class status, a significant factor in the weakening of ethnicity and promotion of cultural assimilation.

The substantive portion of the book is part two, the computer-aided, statistical analysis of 7,883 intermarriages of Spanish-surname and non-Spanish-surname individuals occurring in various years between 1960 and 1971 in three counties in Texas and one in New Mexico. Here, at last, appear some fresh, solidly documented sociological findings about Chicano-Anglo intermarriage presented in a new theoretical framework developed by the author. Instead of concentrating exclusively on minority members, as is usually the case when working in the assimilation paradigm, Murguia employs his new "breaking of ties" theory in order to present parallel statistics for majority individuals.

Murguía determines the relationship of intermarriage to two contextual variables, county and year of marriage, and ten individual characteristics variables, which include: Spanish or non-Spanish given name; Catholic, civil, or Protestant ceremony; metropolitan or non-metropolitan place of birth; southwest or non-southwest place of birth; number of generations in the U.S.; civilian or military status; sex; age; and previous divorce. This empirical study demonstrates that

several variables, particularly type of ceremony, sex, generation, and given names, have a significant effect on exogamy.

Chicano Intermarriage, although limited, is a timely contribution to scholarship dealing with the assimilation of what is projected to be the largest minority group in the U.S. one hundred years from now. Keep in mind that it is a sociological analysis, written in report form, with heavy use of statistical terminology and frequent appearance of tables (47 of them on the 114 pages of text and notes). Therefore, do not expect a flowing narrative.

University of Texas at El Paso REBECCA M. CRAVER

IN DEFENSE OF LA RAZA: THE LOS ANGELES MEXICAN CONSULATE AND THE MEXICAN COMMUNITY. By Francisco E. Balderrama. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982. Pp. xii, 137. Notes, bibliog., index. $14.95 cloth; $7.95 paper.

IN DEFENSE OF LA RAZA is a study of the Mexican consulate in Los Angeles and the role it played in aiding Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the city during the Great Depression. According to Professor Balderrama, the consuls took the initiative in confronting the crisis of the times by working hard to feed starving families, shelter the homeless, and combat prejudice. They sought also to prevent the deportation of Mexicans legally in the United States, help jobless Mexicanos to secure repatriation to Mexico, and relieve distressed Angeleños through the *Comité de Beneficencia Mexicana*, a non-profit organization charged with assuaging conditions among indigent Mexicanos.

When members of la raza turned to the consuls for assistance with problems, the consuls at times overstepped their diplomatic mission by intervening in politics and the internal afffairs of the United States. They fought, for example, to change policies of school segregation and aided in the unionization of farm workers. Techniques "in defense of la raza" included using diplomatic channels to protest the violation of civil rights, appealing to sympathetic Anglos and Anglo organizations, actively participating in Mexican-American efforts at self-amelioration, and publicly denouncing injustice. For their endeavors, some of the consuls became "folk heroes," especially Rafael de la Colina (1931–32) and Vice Consul Ricardo Hill (1931–36).

Balderrama does not allow himself to focus strictly on the consuls, for his book is more than diplomatic history. Indeed, it fits neatly into the definition of Chicano history, and so, the Angeleños are as much a subject of his writing as the Mexican emissaries. The consuls did not always take the lead on matters, and in those cases where the *colonia mexicana* mobilized to correct some wrong, Mexican-Americans drafted the consuls into their cause; the consuls then helped because of their own patriotic sentiments and political views. Furthermore, Angeleños made up the forefront of projects being coordinated jointly with the consuls. Colonia leaders gave generously of their time and energy to make the Comité de Beneficencia function successfully and others in the community contributed with

what they could. As testament to the commitment of the Mexicans to their purpose, they were able to attract personalities like Will Rogers and Buster Keaton to their fund raisers.

By taking cognizance of this aspect of the Mexican community in Los Angeles, Balderrama also breathes life into heretofore unacknowledged figures in Chicano history. Those selected include Doctors Camilo Servín, Reynaldo Carreón, and José Díaz who did so much for their less fortunate compatriots during the crisis. Balderrama shrinks from depicting these figures as members of a self-seeking petite bourgeoise and instead describes them as personalities who, despite their social standing, retained a connection with the working class by donating their services to poor clients. The newspaper *La Opinión* is also given due attention as a news organ playing a vital role in the Mexican-American community. His presentation of this and other aspects of the Mexican community in Los Angeles is one more addition to the recent trend in Chicano studies that treats Mexican-Americans as subjects instead of objects in the historical process.

This could have been a dull and unexciting book. The topic is narrow, the work of the consular offices is often administrative and predictable, and the author had practically no other study to emulate. To Professor Balderrama's credit he has produced a readable, provocative, and instructive monograph.

Angelo State University ARNOLDO DE LEÓN

THE VANISHING AMERICAN: WHITE ATTITUDES AND U.S. INDIAN POLICY. By Brian W. Dippie. Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982. Pp. xvii, 423. Illus., notes, index. $24.95.

BRIAN DIPPIE'S BOOK SWEEPS across nearly two centuries of relations between whites and Indians in America, from the late eighteenth century to the most recent developments. He rests the story on the concept of the "vanishing American," which, since the origins of the Republic, has served as the basis of American understanding of the native people and for the formation of government policy. Thus he has written an intellectual study, but in fact the work is a good deal more. As the subtitle indicates, he treats the broad area of "attitudes," which includes formal philosophical and anthropological ideas in addition to those vague and encompassing conceptions that go under the title of popular opinion, all of which have influenced the formation of government policy. Dippie does not make the point, but it might be noted that the Indian, above all the major elements in the American story, has been susceptible to this approach. He has from the earliest period of contact been an ideational problem for the white American.

Dippie strikes a nice balance between continuity and change in the white man's approach to the Indian. He traces the movement of attitudes from the environmentalist humanitarianism of the early Republic that culminates in removal, through the development of evolutionary anthropology and racial theory in the mid-nineteenth century, to the rise of a rather cold-eyed humanitarian insistence on allotment later in the century, and ultimately to the governmental determination

in the 1930s, under the influence of John Collier, to preserve Native American culture. From the Washington administration to the change of policy in the New Deal, the object of the government had been the end of Indianness and the assimilation or even amalgamation of the native people with the predominant society. Now, with Collier, that intention changes and a century and a half of policy is seen as, at the same time, futile and destructive, although, in fact, nothing changes, for after Collier the same scenario is repeated, only on a much constricted stage.

The unifying theme is the notion that the Native American is doomed, by racial constitution, by historical necessity, by the realities of Indian-white relations, to disappear from the face of the earth. Dippie is surely right in seeing the importance of this idea from the late eighteenth century on. He makes a convincing case that it was crucial in virtually every intellectual and policy development in the succeeding decades. Roy Harvey Pearce, in a sense, made the point thirty years ago, when he argued that "pity and censure" are in fact only manifestations of deeper perceptions and feelings that haunt the American mind and force Americans into anxious deliberations about the Indian and ultimately about themselves. Dippie touches on some of these themes, but he finds the "vanishing American" more central for his purposes.

One question remains unanswered, or answered ambiguously. From the age of discovery until the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Indians of North America do seem to have suffered a serious population decline; that is, during the period Dippie treats, the Indian does appear to have been a "vanishing American." Dippie deals with the population problem and its relationship to the major theme in a number of places, but he is never quite clear about just how the demographics relate to the formation of attitudes. One suspects that the attitudes come first and that the numbers are tailored for support. It just happened that for more than a century the numbers confirmed the idea.

Indiana University BERNARD W. SHEEHAN

THE NAVAJO ATLAS: ENVIRONMENTS, RESOURCES, PEOPLE, AND HISTORY OF THE DINÉ BIKEYAH. By James M. Goodman. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. Pp. x, 109. Illus., bibliog., index. $22.50.

THERE IS ALWAYS A NEED FOR reference works that provide the details of what, when, where, who, and how many, or how much. An atlas is primarily concerned with the "where" kinds of questions, but locational information must necessarily relate to clear definitions, placement in time as well as space, identity of populations, and accurate quantification. Goodman's *The Navajo Atlas* fills a need, but suffers from being a once-over-lightly treatment of some of the data that give substance to the maps. The forty-eight maps present a diversity of subjects, ranging from the environmental to the political, in a format that is generally easy to comprehend.

The Navajo specialist using these maps and the explanatory text that accom-

panies them is not likely to be misled by errors such as the assertion that there is no written form of the Navajo language nor that each chapter has its own grazing committee, but for the worker to whom Navajo geography is a peripheral but essential subject for the completion of a research project, greater pitfalls and confusion await.

Most serious is the poor handling of the checkerboard area. On some maps it is omitted entirely, while on others it would seem to be a part of the Navajo Reservation. The word "allotment" does not appear in the book, nor is there any intimation of the legal complications arising from the varied land status categories of the checkerboard country.

For the historian and ethnohistorian, dating is of special relevance. Maps relating to geology, climate, and ecology display information that does not change on a time scale of consequence to most readers, but roads may come and go, political boundaries shift, and schools open and close. Fully twenty of the maps that present data that can change rapidly are not dated. Thus it is difficult to know whether a map should be criticized for failing to show a road as paved or omitting a coal lease. Most of the maps appear to date at least several years prior to the date of publication.

The atlas does make available much useful material. Particularly valuable are maps of voting precincts, Navajo chapters, Navajo Tribal election districts, rural dwellings, and the Navajo-Hopi boundary problem. Weakest are the maps based on archeological data, which the author obviously does not understand very well, and the map of parks and sacred places that lacks many well-known sacred places, especially in the eastern portion of Navajo country. The drawings by the author's wife include a number of subjects that will bring pleasant memories to those who know Navajo country.

In view of the price, this is a book that most readers will want to see in a nearby institutional library.

National Park Service DAVID M. BRUGGE

NAVAJO RELIGION AND CULTURE: SELECTED VIEWS. PAPERS IN HONOR OF LELAND C. WYMAN. Edited by David M. Brugge and Charlotte J. Frisbie. Papers in Anthropology, No. 17. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1982. Pp. xii, 249. Illus., notes, references cited, index. $14.95 paper.

LELAND WYMAN IS ONE OF THOSE rare scholars who has been able to make significant contributions to two diverse fields. In biology, in which he received his basic training, he is well known for his studies of the function of the adrenal glands in animal forms. In ethnology, which he made it his business to master, he is equally respected for his contributions to the understanding of Navajo religion. This volume, composed of papers written by twenty-two of Wyman's admiring co-workers, celebrates his accomplishments in the Navajo field.

There is a common denominator to Wyman's work: he doggedly pursues the relationship of some important part to the whole. In biology it is the place of the

adrenals in the totality of bodily activity; in anthropology it is the function of Navajo ceremonialism in the sweep of the culture. There is another characteristic of Wyman that should be noted and is quite evident from a glance at his bibliography, namely, his ability to collaborate with others. In this connection the long years he has spent editing the Navajo texts of Father Berard Haile may be mentioned.

The collection begins with a graceful and informative paper about Wyman by David McAllester, revealing his amazing range of interests. Next, Chien Chiao compares practices and concepts that mark Navajo sandpainting with those drawn by Tibetan lamas during initiation rites. Some striking parallels lead to speculation that sandpainting might have been brought from Asia to the New World. In succeeding articles Seymour H. Koenig, Caroline Olin, Bertha Dutton, Marian Rodee, and Nancy Parezo deal with sandpaintings: those of specific ceremonies, those of a particular ceremonialist, the tie between sandpainting and weaving, and the intrusion of commercialism into sandpainting.

In other contributions Carmie Toulouse summarizes stories that illustrate Navajo witchcraft beliefs; David Brugge gives detailed information about eighty-nine plants that the Navajo utilize for food, medicine, ceremony, or manufacture; Charlotte Frisbie copes with the problem of determining whether the word commonly used for "medicine bundle" refers to the container or the contents and whether "bundles" can be classified by size or content. In still other articles Malcolm Farmer compares Navajo beliefs and ceremonies concerning the bear with those of other Apacheans; Theodore Frisbie traces the often prickly relationship between the Navajo and Zuni over the years; Susan Kent explores the Navajo conception of space; Stephen Jett writes of a sacred cave where clay heads, believed to represent *yé'ii,* are to be found; Roger Kelly describes the wooden figurines used in ceremonial context; Eric Henderson gives proof of the decline in the number of ceremonialists in a specific area; John Wood tells of his survey of the religious affiliations of one hundred Western Navajo households, indicating that more than 88 percent acknowledged some tie with the Native American, Catholic, Protestant, or Mormon church (sometimes more than one), although nearly half of these also held to traditional beliefs.

In the remaining papers, Karl Luckert calls for a historical assessment of Navajo religion and its place in the general evolution of religion; Dennis Fransted details the multiple uses (therapeutic, social, political, commercial, etc.) of traditional religion in modern Navajo society; Mary Shepardson gives a historical overview of outsiders' attitudes toward Navajo religion, from the negative and punitive stance of an earlier time to the acceptance and even friendliness of today. Yet, as David Aberle shows in a concluding section, at the same time that approval is at its high point, the declining use of the native language, the decrease in the number of surviving ceremonies, the dwindling of the number of ceremonialists, and the serious inroads of the Native American Church and the various Christian denominations leave the future of traditional Navajo religion in considerable doubt. There

is much to applaud in this book—a fitting tribute to the beloved scholar whose work inspired it.

Norman, Oklahoma MORRIS E. OPLER

FOUR AMERICAN INDIAN LITERARY MASTERS: N. SCOTT MOMADAY, JAMES WELCH, LESLIE MARMON SILKO, AND GERALD VIZENOR. By Alan R. Velie. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. Pp. xi, 164. Illus., notes, bibliog., index. $14.95 cloth; $9.95 paper.

BEYOND BEING THE *first* book to appear on contemporary American Indian writing, this might have been a *good* book, one to be grateful for. Velie is right to concentrate on a few Indian writers, rather than attempt a survey; and the four figures he discusses are surely as important and deserving of attention as anybody (if not necessarily "masters"). Likewise, it is commendable that Velie has tried to come to terms with poems and fictions that constitute a new and exciting but problematical sector of American literature. And anybody who has tried seriously to explore that sector will see the merits of Velie's central purpose: "to show how contemporary Indian writers have drawn on their tribal heritage and how they have been affected by modern American and European literary movements" (p. 10).

But "first book" does not necessarily mean "trailblazer," and the sad fact is that there is much more to regret about Velie's book than to applaud. If his basic purposes are good, he fails to realize most of them; someone else—someone willing to take more time and pains with the task—is going to have to write the pioneering book on modern Indian writing that Velie might have written.

What is wrong with *Four American Indian Literary Masters?* Nothing wrong with singling out Momaday, Welch, Silko, and Vizenor for scrutiny—but surely Velie might have taken the trouble to indicate how these four artists belong to a whole field of native writers. In dealing with Welch and Momaday as poets, he does not so much as mention such accomplished Indian poets as Duane Niatum, Simon Ortiz, and Ray Young Bear; and the historical fact that Indian fiction had a century-long tradition *before* Scott Momaday appeared apparently means nothing to Velie. At the least, he might have provided an addendum of other important writers—Niatum, Ortiz, Young Bear, Hanay Geiogamah, the late D'Arcy McNickle, and so on. Not to do so seems remarkably ungenerous to his readers and to Native American writers.

Again, Velie evidently wants to be helpful to his fellow teachers: in his "Preface" he indicates how the book has grown out of his own courses at the University of Oklahoma. But, if so, where are the full bibliographies and "suggested readings" whereby teachers and their students might carry on with their studies? Although Velie devotes a third of his book to Momaday, he neglects to use or even cite Momaday's most important critical statement on his work to date, "The Man Made of Words," and his bibliographical treatment of the other writers is equally slapdash and unhelpful. It would be all too easy to read *Four Masters* and never realize

that a new and sophisticated field of American literary studies is in fact opening up around gifted writers like these four; and indeed Velie's tone often suggests that he has pitched his commentary in the other direction, at a very low level of literary sophistication. About Welch's poem "Getting Things Straight" he says, characteristically, "The poem is an existential statement about Welch's search for meaning in his life" (p. 78); elsewhere we are offered highly simplistic little lectures, *a la classroom,* on Surrealism, The Comic Novel, Post-Modernism, and so on. There is too much chalk in this book.

But Velie's most serious failure of good purpose lies in his inability to "show how Indian writers have drawn on their tribal heritage. . . ." Again, his references suggest almost no awareness of the important work done on this crucial and difficult question by writers associated with *MELUS*, the ASAIL *Newsletter*, and other journals; nor does he make use of or even acknowledge the researches of ethnopoetic scholars like Dell Hymes, Barre Toelken, and Dennis Tedlock, whereby we begin to understand what the native tribal literary heritage was, and is. How Velie can discuss Leslie Silko's *Ceremony* as a "grail romance" without acknowledging in detail that the novel's *explicit* informing myth is the Keresan *Nau'ts'ty'i* cycle is beyond anybody who has read Silko's novel. Nor is there any excuse, given Velie's purposes, for his concluding remark in an otherwise adequate treatment of Momaday's *House Made of Dawn:* "Like Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*, [the novel] ends as it began. Abel is running, and as he runs he sings. It is important to notice *what* he sings: the Navajo prayer song, 'House Made of Dawn.'" The fact is that such unamplified mere "notice" begs every kind of interpretive question about Momaday's novel and its considerable debt to native oral tradition: it is typical of Velie's method.

Perhaps we are to be prepared for such glosses by his remarkable admission that "my reason for emphasizing contemporary Indian writers is that my training and knowledge of the earlier literature is only marginal. Anthropologists, it seems to me, are the best teachers of myths" (p. x)—but *prepared* does not mean *reconciled.* It is impossible to reconcile this book either to what it promises, or to what its literary subjects deserve.

University of Rochester JAROLD RAMSEY

THE DIVIDED MIND OF PROTESTANT AMERICA, 1880–1930. By Ferenc Morton Szasz. University: University of Alabama Press, 1982. Pp. xiii, 196. Notes, bibliog., index. $19.95.

EVER SINCE THE APPEARANCE of Frederick Lewis Allen's *Only Yesterday* in 1931 as a commentary on the decade of the 1920s, students of twentieth-century American history have interpreted that period as a watershed in the scope of American life, thought, experience. In many respects this view is held by those who analyze the American religious scene. In 1980 Oxford University Press put its imprimatur on George Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870–1925.* Now the University of Alabama

Press has published Professor Ferenc Morton Szasz' interpretative monograph, *The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880–1930*. Both authors trace the roots of the religious scenario of the 1920s to the last quarter of the nineteenth century; both terminate their studies about the same time in the twentieth century.

Certainly this half-century span witnessed the emergence of division in the "main line" Protestant churches—Baptist, Disciples of Christ, Methodist, and Presbyterian. While the division was not organic, it was certainly functional, and the Northern Presbyterians experienced the splintering withdrawal by J. Gresham Machen of Princeton and his cohorts. The rift within the churches was a widening gulf between "liberals" and "conservatives." Thus Szasz correctly points out that denominational distinctions that for centuries had held meaning no longer served as clear lines of demarcation among the churches. Rather, within the denominations a polarization developed around the Fundamentalists (conservatives) and the Modernists (liberals), which issued from the revitalization of the evolution issue by William Jennings Bryan.

But Szasz points out that the roots for the polarization go much farther back than the hot July days of 1925 in Dayton, Tennessee. It was the development of the higher criticism as a tool for Scriptural understanding that served as the major issue for nineteenth-century American Protestantism—a movement that Szasz discusses widely and in depth. "No denomination completely escaped the controversy" that higher criticism introduced to America is his judgment. For the issue centered essentially around the question, "Who wrote the Bible?" And only the advent of World War I temporarily diverted the growing antagonisms arising out of this question.

After the war the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy heated up. Churches were divided, consequences of which are still evident. However it was Bryan's entrance into the evolution controversy that polarized and solidified Protestantism's parties. Szasz claims that Bryan was "used" in the Dayton debate, that he was not really theologically in accord with the core of the Fundamentalists: he was not a premillinialist, nor a dispensationalist, nor pessimistic concerning man's ability to effect changes in society. And he was neither anti-Catholic nor anti-Semitic. "His sudden increased interest in evolution, his lack of theological training, his concern for all aspects of Christianity, especially the Social Gospel, and the magic of his name had thrust him into the center of the controversy." Bryan was inclusive where the Fundamentalists were decidedly exclusive, "unique in the Fundamentalist movement. He could never be replaced."

"Evolution" had many meanings. According to Szasz it has not proved to be an important point in conservative Christianity, yet without the broad appeal of the issue Christian conservatives would not have attracted the large following that the issue gave them, he concludes. Thus it was the wedge that sank deeper into the Protestant churches, making the cleavage within ever wider.

Szasz has given American social and intellectual as well as religious students a good bone to chew on. Supporting 138 pages of text are 32 pages of notes and a bibliography of 17 pages—that in itself could serve adequately as a bibliography

for a course in recent American religious history. Szasz worked through the manuscript collections of major religious and secular archives. This reviewer found only one sentence with which he could not agree: "[Charles] Hodge, McCosh and Wright were not widely known" (p. 5). But perhaps this disagreement lies with this reviewer's orientation. When one has finished reading a monograph like Szasz', he leans back in his chair, wishing that he could have written it.

Western State College of Colorado HAROLD M. PARKER, JR.

VISION OR VILLAINY: ORIGINS OF THE OWENS VALLEY–LOS ANGELES WATER CONTROVERSY. By Abraham Hoffman. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981. Environmental History Series, no. 3. Pp. xix, 308. Illus., notes, bibliog., index. $18.50.

A RECENT ADDITION TO THE DISTINGUISHED Environmental History Series of Texas A&M University Press, this volume traces in impressive detail the seventy-five-year history of Los Angeles's efforts to secure water from the Owens Valley. A remarkable combination of politics and engineering, this feat stemmed from the simple yet almost unbelievable fact that the natural water supply of the Los Angeles Basin is sufficient for only about 100,000 persons. In an effort to remedy natural "deficiency," civic leaders, notably the controversial Water Department superintendent, William Mulholland, turned to the eastern drainage of the Sierra Nevada. Inevitably, a Peter-and-Paul situation arose; Los Angeles emerged the winner, and the settlements in the Owens Valley paid. The resulting bitterness lingers to this day. Abraham Hoffman tells us that as recently as 15 September 1976 the Los Angeles Aqueduct in the vicinity of Lone Pine was blown up, presumably by disgruntled local residents.

The title of this book also suggests the strong feelings involved. Because of them, and in the light of the controversial writings on the subject in the past, Hoffman has taken great pains in his research. His account is definitive, and it is balanced. But Hoffman is also alert to the broader meaning behind the piles of data. He understands how the public estimation of men like Mulholland could change over time. In 1905, when the aqueduct project commenced in earnest, utilitarian conservation was widely celebrated. Theodore Roosevelt was in the White House, and Gifford Pinchot held the post of chief forester. From their perspective water was wasted if it was not used efficiently. The Los Angeles Aqueduct fitted perfectly the philosophy of the emerging Bureau of Reclamation and was consistent with water-importation projects such as the one that brought Yosemite National Park water to San Francisco via the Hetch Hetchy Project. With the passage of time, however, such instances of the deficit environmental financing of large cities came under increasing fire. Today water developers are no longer universally regarded as conservation heroes in the West. A different perspective—one that recognizes the limits of the earth and the need for self-sufficiency within a bioregion—has turned the water movers into exploiters. But the Los Angeles Aqueduct is alive and well and, hypocritically or not, many

protestors of the drying up of the Owens Valley and the shrinking of Mono Lake drink what it provides.

This excellent book is a model for anyone who admires careful historical archaeology in a sensitive subject area. Thanks to Hoffman, this story will not need to be retold soon.

University of California, Santa Barbara RODERICK NASH

FORGING THE COPPER COLLAR: ARIZONA'S LABOR-MANAGEMENT WAR OF 1901–1921. By James W. Byrkit. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982. Pp. xiv, 435. Illus., notes, bibliog., index. $24.95.

THE HISTORY OF ARIZONA HAS OFTEN been distorted by the myths of frontier history. Arizona connotes Apaches, United States cavalry, cowboys, lonely prospectors, gunfights at the O.K. Corral, the Grand Canyon, and today the "valley of the sun." This is the frontier portrayed in pulp westerns, Hollywood epics, and television series. This Arizona seems the least likely setting for hard-bitten, exploited wage workers, transnational corporations, a heterogeneous labor force, including new immigrants from the east and south of Europe, and one of the more protracted and violent labor-capital conflicts in the early twentieth-century United States. But it was just that, as James W. Byrkit's new book discloses.

Making ample use of all the relevant local, state, and national sources available, Byrkit tells the full story of Arizona's labor-management war. Illustration and maps add grace to his diligent research in the archives, enabling the reader to feel closer to the events and personalities that Byrkit describes. This book makes clear that Arizona's history from 1901 to 1921 was part of a larger American phenomenon, the nationalizing, corporatizing, and consolidating of the political economy. We see how mining corporations with headquarters in New York, Boston, England, and Scotland made Arizona the most productive copper-producing site in the world and, in the process, transformed the state's society, economy, and government.

In the story, as told by Byrkit, from 1901 to 1916 Arizona labor held the upper hand politically, if not always economically. The original state constitution was the nation's most prolabor, and the first governor, G. W. P. Hunt, evidenced clear prolabor sympathies. Corporations found themselves unable to discipline workers or to smash miners' unions. Byrkit describes how corporate leaders, most notably Walter Douglas of Phelps Dodge, planned to weaken labor's power in Arizona and to forge a copper collar around the state. The crisis of World War I provided the occasion for Douglas to put his plan into operation.

Identifying miners' unionism with treason in wartime, striking workers with the IWW and German subversion, and the corporations with Americanism, Douglas and his allies acted swiftly in the summer of 1917. They had already used corporate influence to defeat Hunt in the 1916 election and to replace him with a pro-corporation governor, Thomas Campbell. On 12 July 1917, in a plot Douglas carefully prepared, vigilantes in Bisbee rounded up more than 1,200 local resi-

dents identified loosely with unions. The vigilantes marched their captives to a local ballpark, herded them into cattle cars, and shipped them to the New Mexico desert, where the U.S. Army took custody of the deportees. This mass kidnapping and deportation went smoothly. It had active cooperation from interstate communications and transportation companies: Bell Telephone, Western Union, and the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad (a Phelps Dodge subsidiary). Neither state nor federal officials ever brought the vigilantes to justice, nor did they offer redress to the victims. Instead the media in Arizona and most state officials applauded corporate patriotism, as Wilsonian Washington looked the other way. By 1917 corporate capital had broken labor's influence in Arizona. Except for its culmination in an act of mythical frontier vengeance, the Arizona labor-management war followed the national pattern. Douglas and his cronies forged Arizona's copper collar as Carnegie and his successors forged Pennsylvania's steel collar. This is a story that Byrkit tells well and fully.

State University of New York, Binghamton MELVYN DUBOFSKY

A HISTORY OF BANKING IN ARIZONA. By Larry Schweikart. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982. Pp. x, 253. Illus., notes, bibliographical essay, index.

SOME YEARS AGO, THE DISTINGUISHED western historian Earl Pomeroy pointed out that historians of the American West, contrary to those writing about the East, have tended to emphasize the antiquarian, parochial, and colonial aspects of the region's past. He urged a "modern historiography" that would put "Western history in a larger setting," within a national context with a recognition that, contrary to popular belief, the frontier "disposed frontiersmen to undertake collective action to meet new problems that put too much strain on individual effort." Thus "the West sometimes assumed a more capitalistic shape than the East." Pomeroy asked for more sophisticated studies of western urbanism, economics, politics, and society. Modern corporate tycoons rather than picturesque sourdough grubstakers should command more historians' attention, he said.

Fortunately, in the years since Pomeroy observed these western historiographic shortcomings, some redress has appeared. Larry Schweikart's *A History of Banking in Arizona* is one contribution. Schweikart's book sets out to show how and to what degree banking institutions accompanied Arizona territorial and state development and then grew in the twentieth century to become modern banks that "furnish virtually every service imaginable." Schweikart also demonstrates the on-going ties high finance in Arizona has always maintained with outside financial centers such as San Francisco and New York.

A History of Banking in Arizona shows how the late nineteenth-century period "reflected the most laissez-faire type of financial capitalism" and how "an absence of banking laws allowed a greater ease in bank formation, but also contributed to some of the bank failures." During the 1920s, as a result of lax chartering laws, "Arizona banks sprang up like speakeasies" and, just as quickly, closed. Overconfidence, overbanking, white-collar crime, and mismanagement collapsed many

banks. Consequently, remedial legislation made Arizona a national leader in banking reform. This resulted in a weeding out of weak banks and a merging of others. These new conditions together with the nation's great depression of the 1930s created a selectivity in which only strong banks with strong individual leadership survived. Between 1928 and 1932 the number of Arizona banks dropped from seventy-eight to thirty-four. Out of this evolutionary test emerged two major modern banks: Valley National Bank and First National Bank of Arizona with banking men like Walter Bimson and Frank Brophy leading the field.

Between 1939 and 1945—the World War II years—Arizona bank deposits increased by more than 415 percent with the Valley National holding 53 percent of the state's deposits. By 1956, Valley National and First National (First Interstate today) together held more than 72 percent of the state's banking assets. Moreover, corporate control of Arizona's banks appeared to be interwoven in such a way as to impair healthy competition. These suspicious circumstances provoked a federal investigation. Subsequently (but not necessarily consequently), Arizonans organized more banks, and the 1960s saw a period of declining deposit concentration. However, by 1970 there were still only thirteen banking institutions in Arizona.

In his foreword, Schweikart states that the Arizona Bankers Association commissioned him to write this history. It shows. This book is a history of banks and bankers—but not banking. The author says little about depositors or borrowers, about clever investments or behind-the-scenes manipulation. An occasional token nod toward candor is demeaned by his general emphasis on the "respectable" nature of banking. The politics, the ideological conflicts, the greed of Arizona's history are overshadowed by Schweikart's praise of squeaky-clean heroes in Arizona's banking establishment. While well-researched and well-edited, the book emphasizes superficial banking mechanics at the expense of historical tension and historiographic skepticism.

While *A History of Banking in Arizona* is not a cornerstone of a Pomeroy-style history, it is a substantial building block in the reconstruction of Arizona's economic past.

Northern Arizona University JAMES W. BYRKIT

THE CODE OF THE WEST. By Bruce A. Rosenberg. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1982. Pp. vi, 213. Illus., notes. $15.00.

THE BEST ASSESSMENT OF THIS VOLUME is set forth in the author's introductory essay where he describes the book's purpose.

> *The Code of the West* offers no major new understanding of that vast and nebulous region we call the trans-Mississippi West, either historically or folklorically. The data base has been taken from recognized historical sources, and a great deal of new oral material has not been used. Rather, the present book examines nearly a dozen old standbys of the mass media's rendering of the period and region and evaluates the continuing popularity of these cultural symbols (p. 13).

This is an accurate and faithful statement of what follows.

The standbys include the mountain men, prospectors, the overland passage (both wagon trains and Mormon handcarts), the Pony Express, railroad construction, and outlaws. Custer, that enduring hero/goat, has a prominent place in the work. Attitudes of white superiority over the natives are set forth in a chapter called "The Moslem Princess of the Prairies," an account of rescues of fair maidens, etc. An essay "The White Steed of the Prairies," discusses the white stallion as a symbol of the wild, untamed, and independent West, a place where, we like to think, men lived unfettered lives. Rosenberg's chapter on the race of the *Natchez* and the *Robert E. Lee* geographically may fall into the category of the trans-Mississippi West, but the content and the spirit depicted here seem out of tune with events in the Far West.

The book is spotty; some chapters hang together well, others do not. Although the introduction anticipates the problem at hand, and this is probably the best part of the book, a good conclusion would have pulled together the points Rosenberg made and provided an ending a little less lame.

Not critically important, but regarded as a useful part of a scholarly work, is a bibliography; there is none. Nor is there an index, and that omission is subject to more criticism. Perhaps the current parsimony of publishers in general is to blame for cost-cutting here. Even more serious is the inferior publishing job. This is not merely a case of carelessness; it is a downright shabby piece of work. The long list of errors, editorial and typographical, lends a very poor impression. One wonders if the author ever saw a galley sheet. In any case, nobody appears to have been driving when this accident occurred.

The idea behind this book is a good one. What the American reading pubic, and that abroad, *thought* was important in western history is of considerable significance, then and now. More will be done on this subject. Rosenberg has shed some helpful light on the path ahead. But next time he wends his way west he should bypass Bloomington. Enemies lurk there.

University of Colorado ROBERT G. ATHEARN

BELLE STARR AND HER TIMES: THE LITERATURE, THE FACTS, AND THE LEGENDS. By Glenn Shirley. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. Pp. xi, 324. Illus., notes, bibliog., index. $19.95.

FEW FEMALE PERSONALITIES of the frontier have attracted the attention accorded Belle Starr, "the outlaw queen." In popular literature and the Hollywood movies, this infamous desperado is often portrayed as the consort of even more notable outlaws, such as Cole Younger, and just as often she is the leader of her own band of freebooters. In *Belle Starr: The Literature, the Facts, and the Legends,* Glenn Shirley presents the fullest and most authentic account of this infamous frontierswoman. Shirley's name is by no means new to readers of western Americana. His list of published books includes sixteen volumes. Among his most recent works are: *West of Hell's Fringe: Crime, Criminals, and the Federal Peace Officer in*

Oklahoma Territory, 1889–1907 (1978); and *Temple Houston: Lawyer with a Gun* (1980).

Myra Maybelle Shirley was born in Jasper County, Missouri, in 1848. As a young girl, she obtained some education, but the dislocations of the Civil War interrupted her normal progress to womanhood. A brother joined the guerrillas and was soon killed. The Shirleys moved to Texas after the war, but trouble followed the family. Belle soon married an ex-guerrilla, Jim Reed, who pursued the outlaw's life. A lawman killed him in 1874. From this misadventure in marriage, Belle progressed through successive weddings or liaisons with persons of descending order of respectability: Bruce Younger (distant relative of Cole Younger); and Sam Starr, an Okalahoma badman. The latter helpmate was also killed in a gunfight. In the meantime, Belle Starr resided nine months in federal prison for horsetheft and was suspected of other crimes. She distracted the public with her abilities as an equestrienne and displayed dash and flair at regional fairs. Her relationship with her children, Rosie and Ed, was stormy, and she seldom endeared herself to neighbors. On 2 February 1889 an unknown assassin murdered Belle Starr near her home in Youngers' Bend, Indian Territory.

As the title of this book implies, Glenn Shirley describes not only the life, but the legends and literature, about Belle Starr. Dime novels and highly imaginative biographies soon appeared about this "outlaw queen." Shirley devotes much space—perhaps an excessive amount—to the correction of this misinformation. While the author has performed an admirable job of research into the elusive facts and has gathered a varied assortment of photographs and illustrations, Starr emerges as a mere harborer of badmen and a compulsive chooser of criminal husbands. The deeds of these second-rate outlaws often overshadow the events of Belle Starr's life. Her place is rather that of the tragic victim. The life of the mythic Starr began only with literature that appeared after her death.

Arkansas State University LARRY D. BALL

INVENTING BILLY THE KID: VISIONS OF THE OUTLAW IN AMERICA, 1881–1981. By Stephen Tatum. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. Pp. xi, 242. Illus., notes, bibliog., index. $19.95.

THE STORY OF THE NEW MEXICAN outlaw known as Billy the Kid (1859?–1881) has been told and retold hundreds of times. Journalists, novelists, folklorists, poets, scriptwriters, and historians all have attempted to enter the world that Billy knew and seek insight into his personality and popularity. The Kid's story is familiar. Born Henry McCarty, probably in New York City, he spent his youth in Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico. A fugitive from justice in his teens, he assumed an alias and drifted into Lincoln County, New Mexico, where he became involved in a range war and eventually was gunned down by Sheriff Pat Garrett. But Billy never died. Newspaper writers and dime novelists seized upon his exploits and "invented" a larger-than-life portrait that captured the public's imagination and in time made him a permanent ornament in southwestern folklore.

In his book, *Inventing Billy the Kid,* Stephen Tatum, an English professor at the University of Utah, surveys the changing portrayals of the Kid in literature and media over one hundred years, identifies the interpreters and forces responsible for the changes, and suggests that these images mirrored cultural preoccupations with dominant themes in American society. The result is a thoughtful, provocative study that not only places the legend of the Kid in perspective but explains its enduring attraction and vigor.

Tatum divides his work into three parts: Discovering the Outlaw; Inventing the Outlaw; and Understanding the Outlaw and His Interpreters. In the first part—an excellent overview—the author discusses the roots and dimensions of the Kid's legend, the highlights of Billy's life, the media that have portrayed the Kid, and the role played by historians in separating fact from fiction.

In part two—the heart of the book—Tatum explores the images of the Kid in four time periods: 1881–1925; 1925–1955; 1955–1960; and Cold War through Watergate. The Kid first appeared as a villain in a romance story "whose death reaffirmed the benevolent course of American history" (dust jacket), then was cast as a romantic hero, a symbol of the Old West. Beginning in the 1950s, however, image-makers gave Billy less heroic roles. As historians unearthed new facts about his life, film makers increasingly presented him as a tragic figure caught in an unfortunate drama, then finally placed the stamp of insignificance on his life, declaring the Kid a misfit. At the same time avant garde writers such as Jack Spicer and Michael Ondaatje sought to capture the "reality" of Billy's life in free verse and photographs. Throughout this part of the book, Tatum stresses the larger picture, emphasizing that the images of the Kid reflected how different generations viewed violence, civil law and moral justice, and individual freedom. In effect, these images reveal "crucial aspects of ourselves and our cultural history" (p. x).

In part three, Tatum comments on the Kid's current status. Although historians continue to peck away, the legend of the outlaw persists. No one has yet captured the "real" Kid, Tatum suggests. To do so, an interpreter must perceive Billy "in his own historical context" and enter into his "living consciousness" (p. 177). Legend and myth are a part of this reality. In a concluding chapter—probably the best in the book—Tatum reviews and evaluates Billy's life and legend and speculates on his immortality. He notes (p. 203) that in Ondaatje's *Collected Works,* the Kid is questioned about his future and replies "I'll be with the world till she dies." Tatum agrees.

In this fine book, Stephen Tatum captures it all—the changing faces of the Kid, his various interpreters, the audiences served, and what the story of Billy's legend tells us about ourselves. The volume is enhanced by chapter notes, a bibliography, an index, and twenty illustrations that reflect different images of the Kid. For anyone seeking to understand the life and legend of Billy the Kid, Tatum's book will be required reading.

University of Arizona HARWOOD P. HINTON

APACHES AND LONGHORNS: THE REMINISCENCES OF WILL C. BARNES. By Will C. Barnes. Edited by Frank C. Lockwood. Introduction by Paul Scheips. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982. Pp. xx, 214. Illus., index. $17.50 cloth; $8.50 paper.

WILL CROFT BARNES WAS an unlikely candidate for honors as a western frontiersman and chronicler of pioneer times. Born in San Francisco, he grew up in Indiana with no apparent yearnings for adventure. He worked in a music store, studied piano, ushered at the Academy of Music in Indianapolis during the opera season, and sang in a church choir with James Whitcomb Riley. He was unimpressive physically, being only five feet four inches tall, and he was innocent of knowledge of such things as horses, guns, and Indians. All this changed, however, when, aged twenty-one, he enlisted as a private in the Signal Corps. His training finished, he was assigned to Fort Apache in the mountains of Arizona as a telegrapher, arriving in February 1880.

A typical tenderfoot, Barnes was fascinated by what he saw, and he learned fast. When trouble broke out on Cibecue Creek in 1881 and hostile bands moved on the fort, he volunteered to try to get through to Camp Thomas, ninety miles away. He and a civilian scout named Owens took separate routes. Tenderfoot Barnes got through; Owens was ambushed and killed. For this feat the former choir boy was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

When his time in the army was up, Barnes began a second successful career as a cattleman in the still-wild country near Holbrook, next door to the Tonto Basin and the Pleasant Valley War. His fellow settlers sent him repeatedly to the Arizona legislature, and his importance as a spokesman for the cattlemen got him an appointment to the forest service with an office in Washington. He stayed there for twenty-one years.

From 1880 on he made a profitable sideline of writing about the western country and his experiences in it. He collected western history with the passion of a convert and was particularly interested in names on the land. His *Arizona Place Names* is an indispensable tool for researchers in Arizona history, and his posthumous autobiographical work *Apaches and Longhorns,* edited by his professor friend Frank C. Lockwood and first published in 1941, is a western classic. The new edition, edited by Barnes-specialist and distinguished historian Paul Scheips, should find a place on every western bookshelf.

The book is not a formal autobiography. It concentrates on Barnes's experiences as a soldier and cattleman, passing lightly over his earlier and later years, and might have been titled "My Life in the Wild West." As a result of this selective method, there is not a dull page in the volume. At the same time it is historically important because Barnes was there when so many historically important episodes occurred and because of his close friendships with so many noted western figures—anthropologist Adolph F. A. Bandelier and conservationist Gifford Pinchot, for example.

In one respect Barnes was far ahead of his time. He liked and respected the Apaches, or at least some of them. He comments on "Apache deviltry" (p. 101)

but is aware of the Indians' grievances. "In my opinion they were far more sinned against than sinning," he says (p. 85). "There were, and always will be, good as well as bad Indians. I have always believed that the American Indian was, and is, exactly what the white men have made him."

Barnes's reminiscences are in no sense scholarly. He writes in a colloquial style, using a slang word if it fits his need, and he exhibits a fine sense of humor that keeps him humble and helps him to avoid melodrama. His touch is light, but his book is a solid performance—the kind that ought to be reprinted.

Arizona Historical Society C. L. SONNICHSEN

COWGIRLS: WOMEN OF THE AMERICAN WEST, AN ORAL HISTORY. By Teresa Jordan. New York: Doubleday, 1982. Pp. xxxi, 301. Illus., bibliog., index. $19.95.

TERESA JORDAN HAS WRITTEN a different kind of book about the West. In the first place, it is about cowgirls as opposed to cowboys, and secondly (at the risk of making a contradiction in terms), it is an oral and contemporary history. To create her composite portrait of the modern day "cowgirl"—a label that does not differentiate between ranch owners, rodeo participants, or ranch hands—the author has interviewed and photographed twenty-eight extraordinary women in whom the pioneer spirit lives on.

Their testimonials, however, quickly dispel the romanticized version of the woman of the West to reveal that life on the land is full of adversity and hardship imposed by circumstance and nature. Stories of severe injuries sustained from a fall off a horse, of struggling to feed cattle in temperatures twenty-four degrees below zero, of storms and lightning strikes, all combined with financial problems, provide a realistic view of everyday ranch life. In forthright and earthy language these modern day cowgirls also describe days filled with chores traditionally considered "man's work"—riding, roping, calving, branding, and herding—in addition to the usual cooking, cleaning, and child care. In this sense, the situation of a ranchwoman parallels that of the urban wife who must somehow manage home and career.

Like the urban career women, however, contemporary cowgirls, in some instances, are sharing indoor *and* outdoor chores with their husbands. In a selection from Mary Kidder Rak's *Mountain Cattle*, Teresa Jordan quotes the following dialogue:

> "What lovely biscuits!" exclaimed Mrs. Mellot when we were at breakfast.
> "I made them while my wife fed the cattle," responded Charlie [the husband]."
>
> On the other hand, there are those like Donna Lozier, who readily admits:
> "There's a lot of male chauvinism in ranching. . . . They don't like you getting too capable. You know, it's their male ego."

Despite the interesting mixture of male chauvinism and sharing reflected in these interviews, the majority of the women expressed no desire to be considered

a part of the women's liberation movement. The consensus appears to be that there is simply no need for it; they *are* liberated. In action and in word, these women repeatedly express their feelings of independence and equality—a freedom directly related to their chosen way of life.

"I don't believe in women's lib," Fern Sawyer says. "When I started cutting, a woman had to do double good to get the same marking [as a man]. But I don't believe in preaching women's lib or hollering about it."

Or as Pearl Mason bluntly states:

"I'm not going to talk to you because I am not a women's libber. I have no time at all for women's lib."

The author, however, believes that sympathy for the movement is growing, especially for what she terms "the real issues of self-respect . . . , of just treatment before the law (including inheritance law), [and] of recognition for work well done."

Not too surprisingly, some of these cowgirls migrated from the East, products of wealth and boarding schools. In the West, however, they discovered that life held new dimensions, that outdoor work provided them a sense of satisfaction and worth never before experienced, a feeling that they had accomplished something extraordinary.

An added bonus for the reader of *Cowgirls* is Jordan's practice of using carefully selected quotes from secondary sources, such as Agnes Morley Cleaveland's *No Life for a Lady,* to add interest and cohesiveness throughout the book. Enhanced by excellent photographs, an annotated bibliography, and an index, this study would make an excellent supplementary reader for a course in the American West or women's history.

Albuquerque NECAH FURMAN

COWBOY LIFE ON THE TEXAS PLAINS: THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF RAY RECTOR. Edited by Margaret L. Rector. Introduction by John Graves. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982. Pp. 119. Illus. $19.95.

RAY RECTOR WAS BORN in Indian Gap, Hamilton County, Texas in 1884. By 1902 he had acquired the necessary equipment to set up a photographic studio and had set to work taking portraits and documenting the young and bustling West Texas town of Stamford. Probably his happiest moments, however, came as he, with Kodak camera in hand, toured the Flat Top, Spur, Swenson, and other ranches in the area and photographed cowboys at work, play, rest, and showing off. Hardly an element of cowboy life escaped Rector's inquisitive lens. The roundups, brandings, drives, breaking horses, roping, relaxing around the chuck wagon—even the timely visit by a group of women and the impromptu square dance on a wagon sheet, thrown on the ground to hold down the dust.

The well-known photographs of another Texan, Erwin E. Smith of Bonham, instantly come to mind, and the almost simultaneous thought is: too bad Rector could not have been there earlier, for most of his photographs were made during

the 1920s and '30s, well after the historic cowboy vanished into the dusk, dictating his memoirs as he went. But in a lucid piece of thinking and writing, John Graves, perhaps best known for his *Goodby to a River,* suggests that while that logic is irrefutable, there is an occasional "yahoo throwback who just wants to live out where it's lonesome and take care of cows for a meager wage" (p. 24). In these unusual characters, Graves suggests, the spirit, if not the real, classic cowboy lives on.

After reading Graves's refreshing essay, one can look at Rector's photographs with new eyes. No longer is the presence of cars and trucks important, because Graves has centered one's thinking on the character of the cowboy. "That . . . old cliché about being part of the horse was wrong," Graves writes of one word-shy cowboy he encountered in Wyoming. "Instead the horse, whatever horse he was on, turned into a swift, strong, quick-turning part of him" (p. 25). And even though many of Ray Rector's photographs show camp meetings, rodeos, and turn-of-the-century Stamford, his pictures of the West Texas cowboys ring true—just as true and almost as graceful as Graves's fine essay.

Amon Carter Museum of Western Art RON TYLER

A PASSION FOR FREEDOM: THE LIFE OF SHARLOT HALL. By Margaret F. Maxwell. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1982. Pp. x, 234. Illus., notes, bibliog., index. $17.50.

IN HER SENSITIVE BIOGRAPHY of Sharlot Hall, Margaret Maxwell reveals a woman of amazing contradictions. Sharlot admired her gentle, long-suffering mother, but was trapped in a guilt-hate relationship with her domineering, anti-intellectual father. Born on the Kansas frontier in 1870, she migrated with her family down the Santa Fe Trail to settle a homestead known as the Orchard Ranch near Prescott, Arizona in 1881. During the journey Sharlot was thrown from her horse and suffered a spinal injury that plagued her throughout life.

Her keen intellect and poetic nature could not be dulled, however, despite the cruel environment of her youth and her limited formal education. Influenced by the petty meanness of her father, she vowed early she would never marry to become a "tame house cat of a woman" or chattel like her mother.

Nonetheless, as a young woman she became deeply involved in romantic but unfulfilled relationships with older men who were the antithesis of her father. Notable among them were Samuel Putnam, apostle of Freethought, and Charles F. Lummis, who, beginning in 1900, published her poetry in *Land of Sunshine* and *Out West* and encouraged her to research and write on southwestern themes. Sharlot traveled to Los Angeles to work briefly as the energetic editor's assistant and to develop a reputation as a poet, writer, and speaker.

Sharlot's forays from home, unfortunately, were of short duration. Her sense of duty and guilt always drew her back to the chores of the Orchard Ranch and the abuse of her tobacco-drooling father. She broke away again, however, from

1909 to 1912 when her scholarly reputation led to her appointment as territorial historian under Republican Governor Richard E. Sloan.

In enthusiastic response to the call, she set out with horse and wagon to explore the territory, especially the little known Hopi and Navajo reservations and the isolated Mormon communities north of the Grand Canyon. There she accumulated notes, documents, and artifacts and met legendary figures such as Indian trader John Lorenzo Hubbell, anthropologist J. Walter Fewkes, and Mormon pioneer Joseph Fish. One of her best received books of poetry, *Cactus and Pine,* was published during this productive period.

Her success was short-lived, however. When Democrat George W. P. Hunt became governor in 1912, Sharlot was promptly replaced by Mulford Winsor, a rival historian waiting in the wings. Embittered, Sharlot returned to the Orchard Ranch. Her mother died soon after, driving the daughter into debilitating neurosis and depression. This intense condition, Maxwell observes, was not uncommon to frustrated intellectual women of that era.

Slowly, however, Sharlot pulled herself together and began writing and speaking in public again. In 1925, dressed in a copper gown, she represented Arizona at the inauguration of President Calvin Coolidge. The death of her father that year also lightened her burden, and she began to press for realization of a dream to restore the historic territorial governor's mansion in Prescott as a museum of regional history.

In an act of benevolence that marked a simpler age, Sharlot was allowed by the city fathers to make her permanent home in the dilapidated log building that had been erected in 1864. Reconstruction was not an easy task, but Sharlot was accustomed to struggle and sacrifice. Even as her health declined, she continued to acquire artifacts and documents and supervise improvements by WPA workers during the depression years. By the time of her death in 1943, the unique museum that today bears her name was an established reality.

Maxwell has done a highly commendable job of piecing together, from a vast array of scattered sources, the life story of a remarkable frontier woman. It is a fascinating psychological study that the author wisely highlights with excerpts from Sharlot's expressive letters and poems. The book constitutes a splendid contribution to the history of Arizona and the American West.

University of Texas at Arlington CHARLES C. COLLEY

BUT TIME AND CHANCE: THE STORY OF PADRE MARTÍNEZ OF TAOS, 1793–1867. By Fray Angelico Chavez. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1981. Pp. 173. Notes, bibliog. $11.95 paper.

BIOGRAPHY IS PROBABLY the most difficult facet of the literary arts for a writer to master. Like the portrait painter, the biographer produces either an objective, albeit sympathetic, fair likeness or a distorted, possibly unrecognizable, representation of the subject. Fray Angelico Chavez's resolute study of Padre José Antonio Martínez, the fiery pastor of San Fernando parish in Taos, falls somewhere

in the middle. Actually, in some respects, Chavez's biography of Martínez resembles more a colorful collage than a finely-etched portrait of a controversial personality.

Born in 1793, José Antonio joined a small delegation of seminary candidates en route to Durango where he studied at Tridentine Seminary. Ordained in 1822 after returning to Taos, he subsequently won election to New Mexico's departmental assembly. Frequently mixing politics, economics, and religion, Martínez became the principal advocate of Spanish-speaking people in northern New Mexico for about thirty years. Retired from the pastorate and drained by the stresses of controversy, the padre died in 1867.

For Fray Angelico, writing a biography of Padre Martínez was a commitment of honor. The product of dedicated effort, *But Time and Chance* is not a whitewashed exoneration of Martínez. It is a combination that reveals strengths and flaws of character. For instance, concerning the question of the padre's amorous indiscretions, Chávez treats the matter with dignity and veracity.

Throughout most of his adult life, Martínez lived in a vortex of conflict. First, critics denounced his alleged encouragement of a protest insurrection at Chimayó in 1837. Next, the enigmatic Gov. Manuel Armijo unjustly accused the padre of complicity in an uprising of Utes and Apaches in 1838. Then, Martínez clashed in an egotistical power struggle with Bishop Zubiría's personal vicar for New Mexico for public recognition as premier of the Spanish-speaking Catholics. Finally, in the Anglo-American period, Padre Martínez collided with French-dominant Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy over the issue of compulsory tithing and withholding of the sacraments from non-contributors.

In part, Martínez's feud with Lamy stemmed from a deep resentment of a military conquest of New Mexico, compounded by the American imposition of a foreign-born episcopal leader. Martínez outwardly respected the office of bishop, while privately, and later openly, disliking the incumbent prelate. According to Chavez, the crux of the dispute with Lamy concerned allegations of a suspected breach of the seal of confession by Joseph P. Machebeuf, the bishop's trusted aide, confidant, and vicar. Machebeuf, and ultimately Lamy, took umbrage at what they perceived as a direct attack on ecclesiastical prerogatives, blaming Martínez as the source of their troubles with the Spanish-speaking clergy and laity. Ever faithful to historical accuracy, Chavez candidly discusses the padre's failing mental health as a factor in the rupture of relations between prelate and priest.

But Time and Chance (a title inspired by Ecclesiastes 9:11) leaves much to be desired in the realm of style and in its reliance on two primary sources (Valdez's *Biografía* and Sanchez's *Memorias*) for almost every milestone in Martínez's complex life. The assistance of a skilled editor would have improved the quality of the ebb and flow of the biography. Notwithstanding these imperfections, *But Time and Chance* is a praiseworthy endeavor to present José Antonio Martínez's participation in an important aspect of New Mexico history that heretofore has been interpreted entirely from the vantage point of the French-dominated clergy.

Texas Catholic Historical Society FÉLIX D. ALMARÁZ, JR.

ARIZONA: HISTORIC LAND. By Bert M. Fireman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. Pp. xii, 270. Illus., maps, bibliog., index. $16.95.

THIS IS BERT FIREMAN'S final tribute to the state he knew so well and loved so passionately. The book is vintage Fireman, the final fruit of a career of involvement in Arizona's story, combining in a unique volume his loves of journalism, history, and politics. Well turned phrases abound, and intimate insights appear with frequency. There is small likelihood that the future will produce such a happy combination of writing talent, of detailed knowledge of all aspects of the land, and of more than sixty years of participation as resident observer and as writer, researcher, publisher, and teacher.

The book is divided into brief chapters appropriate to panoramic coverage of Arizona's rich tri-cultural history from the dawn of time to the atomic age. The first fifteen chapters are concise, balanced, and forthright in presentation, unfettered by footnotes, but based on solid research as is evident in the appended bibliography. In chapter sixteen, consisting of evaluations of the governors since advent of statehood in 1912, the author becomes tentative and handles his subject with kid gloves, hardly his normal life-style, but obviously more a reflection of his later career as a professional historian rather than his earlier life in the rough-and-tumble arena of political journalism.

A final chapter, not written by Fireman, is anticlimactic and stylistically an abrupt change, savoring of unabashed chamber of commerce statistical material. It is unnecessary and could be easily dropped in the second printing that such a basic book will eventually have.

Although there is not a great deal that is new in *Historic Land,* its style makes it a book to grace every collection of Arizoniana, even if the collection be limited to a single book. The nearest approach to novelty is the author's frequent assertion that the Old West, and particularly Arizona, was not really a land of outlaws and of rampant disorder, but was blessed normally by rigorous insistence upon legality and constitutionality, enjoying orderly progress. This contention is amply supported by his facts and is diametrical to the Hollywood and television caricature of the West with its "cowboy image."

In a day of deteriorating printing standards, publisher Knopf has produced a book exceptionally free from mechanical errors—a rarity. It has appropriate illustrations and a series of fine maps by Arizona's cartographer, Don Bufkin. In short, on all counts this is a book worth having.

St. Mary's University DONALD C. CUTTER

LAST OF THE CALIFORNIOS. By Harry W. Crosby. Edited by Richard F. Pourade. La Jolla, Calif.: Copley Books, 1981. Pp. ix, 196. Illus., glossary, bibliog., index. $22.50.

BAJA CALIFORNIA IS PROBABLY the least-known area of the Southwest, and until recently, it has been the most difficult borderland region to get to know. Its geographical isolation is practically definitive; its historical literature has been limited.

Harry Crosby has bridged the gaps of isolation in remarkable ways in *Last of the Californios* and provides the reader—professional or armchair historian—with an amazing and distinctive introduction to the peninsula. By the time the reader has finished the book, or rather, the first chapter or two, he begins to feel no longer the outsider to Baja California; he feels as if he is actually witnessing everyday life as it is and has been in Baja California for two and one-half centuries.

Against a background of sketchy chronology, Crosby draws the reader into vignettes of Baja California social history. In a region where the spectacular events of human history have been absent—there have been no flashy wars, booms, or busts—the historian is forced (willingly in Crosby's case) to direct his efforts to *lo diario*. In Baja California, especially in the mountain reaches where Crosby has concentrated his study, regular everyday, common events constitute the region's history: *lo diario* has become everything.

In Crosby's capable hands, and with the aid of his excellent photographer's eye (sixty-five striking photos taken by the author are distributed through the book), Baja California life is revealed. In order to understand what the author sees as a very special place, which he believes is now coming to the end of a historical period, he has approached his research in two ways. First, he has done a thorough job with traditional kinds of historical study. He has consulted all available published works and has worked in all the appropriate manuscript collections to formulate his story of mining, irrigation and agriculture, domestic industry, trade, architecture, religion, and other aspects of the Californios' history. At the same time, Crosby has traveled extensively in the peninsula and has made extended stays among the people he describes.

The results are very special indeed. Only rarely can a writer convey to his readers so completely the spirit of a place and its past. And it is unusual for a historian to be able to make such a convincing case on so difficult a point. Crosby has concluded that because of particular historical circumstances, isolation, and limited natural resources, life in Baja California until very recently has been part of an uninterrupted continuum stretching back to the earliest days of Spanish settlement on the peninsula. The life he has visited, photographed, studied, and described in *Last of the Californios* is virtually unchanged from the colonial period. The pre-modern society that Crosby presents to his readers with great charm and affection is only now being ruffled by modernization. His work is an attempt to capture in print the final days of a social order and way of life that may have already survived past its time. Remarkable though this may be, Baja California culture has somehow maintained its traditional aspect not very many miles south of the world's postmodern headquarters in southern California.

Obviously, there are not many places left in the Southwest that could qualify for the kind of examination that Crosby has given to Baja California. It should be obvious too that even if there were, not many historians could do the kind of job Crosby has done so beautifully on Baja California.

Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History JANET FIREMAN

FAIR LAND, FAIR LAND. By A. B. Guthrie, Jr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982. Pp. 262. $14.95.

IN AGREEING SIGHT UNSEEN to review this book, I was under the impression that it was a non-fiction capstone on the author's lifelong work as journalist and then novelist, one whose first successful novel, *The Big Sky,* gave Montana the words that distinguish its auto license plates.

I was soon set right. *Fair Land, Fair Land* is a sequel to *The Big Sky* (1947) and its successor *The Way West* (1949), the one a novel of the fur trappers, the other of the Oregon Trail. In choosing to review it in a journal of history, were the editors also under my mistaken impression?

If it is a poorer novel than its predecessors, it is a better book. Writing in old age (Guthrie was born in 1901, and I assume he wrote it recently), the author has depurpled his prose, streamlined his narrative, and made his few characters spokesmen for his mature philosophy of nature, man, and history.

By taking his earlier characters back over the Oregon Trail to the author's beloved heartland of the Teton wilderness, Guthrie sees what settlement has done and will do to this fair land. As well as a simple story of search and vengeance, of love found, made fruitful, and lost, this autumnal, elegiac book is a lament for a West won and lost to violence and death, all in hardly more than a century. It is also a book to shelve with DeVoto and Stegner as well as Ashley, Ruxton, and Garrard.

American literature is strewn with the wrecks of burn-out and sell-out. Neither has happened to A. B. Guthrie. Here is a book of old age with the passion and power under stricter discipline than in the first two books of his trilogy. His is an inspiring example to writers who would leave their books as their monuments.

University of Arizona LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL

THE WEST OF WILD BILL HICKOK. By Joseph G. Rosa. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. Pp. xvi, 223. Illus., bibliog., index. $24.95.

JOSEPH G. ROSA STATES in his preface that the inspiration for this book came from reviewers of his earlier biography (*They Called Him Wild Bill*) who lamented its small number of photographs. This work rectifies that shortcoming in its pictorial representation of Hickok and the people, sites, and events associated with his life and legend. Although some new information unearthed since the 1974 revision of Rosa's definitive biography is presented, this latest book is intended to complement, not to supplant, *Wild Bill.*

The West of Wild Bill Hickok is not a pictorial history of the entire Great Plains frontier where Hickok achieved notoriety, nor was it intended to be. Instead, it is a photographic biography presenting people and places as Hickok would have seen them. These images constitute an excellent study of the portraiture of Wild Bill and the merchandising of his image. The book also contains a fine collection of photographs depicting Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska in the 1860s and Cheyenne, Wyoming, and Deadwood, Dakota Territory, in the 1870s.

Like *They Called Him Wild Bill,* Rosa's pictorial biography is arranged chronologically. The legend surrounding Hickok is discussed in the final chapter that includes the last two years of Wild Bill's life. Each chapter begins with a prose summary of Hickok's life during the period followed by twenty or more plates supplementing the text. The photographic reproductions in the book are quite good in spite of the marginal quality of some of the original negatives and prints. Rosa has clearly worked diligently for many years compiling the information and photographs presented here.

The portrait of Hickok that emerges is sympathetic without being adulatory. The author allows critics of Hickok their due, but balances the negative comments with samples of the hyperbole rampant during Wild Bill's life. Rosa is careful, however, to separate proven facts from exaggeration. As in his earlier books, Rosa's citations are precise; he uses original sources extensively and well. Generally he resists referring readers to *They Called Him Wild Bill* and instead cites the original documents. Rosa's writing style in the brief chapter narratives is engaging and highly readable.

The high quality of the reproductions and general layout of this book is diminished by the irritating number of errors. A relatively high number of words are misspelled for such a brief text. The most serious mistake is in the place name *Ottumwa,* spelled correctly in the source document but quoted incorrectly in the book (p. 9). The description of plate 66 tells of a "grinning boy at the far left" (p. 97), but the photograph reproduced shows little of his face. The map (pp. 68–69) incorrectly shows the location of Monticello, Kansas. Although not errors, a number of place names are mentioned without their state or territory, confusing those unfamiliar with the geography of the area. One such mention of Fort McPherson in close conjunction with Wichita (p. 140) leads one to assume that the fort may have been at McPherson, Kansas, but it was two hundred miles away in Nebraska.

Judging from inquiries received by historical agencies, the public's fascination with the accounts, photographs, and documents relating to gunfighters and cattle towns remains high. This curiosity about the Old West extends not only throughout this country but also abroad. Joseph Rosa, an Englishman first entranced with James Butler Hickok when he saw Gary Cooper in *The Plainsman,* has assembled an extremely good collection of photographs depicting Wild Bill and his era. This book will appeal greatly to those who seek accurate images (literary and photographic) of Hickok and his environs and to serious students of photography of the American West. Through Rosa's painstaking efforts, neither group will go unrewarded.

Kansas State Historical Society BOB KNECHT