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Book Reviews

- MORISON, MERK, and FREIDEL, *Dissent in Three American Wars*, by Meyer 334
- DILLON, ed., *A Cannoneer in Navajo Country: Journal of Josiah M. Rice, 1851*, by McNitt 335
- TATUM, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant*, by Wilson 337
- HAINES, *The Buffalo*, by Athearn 339
- SWAIN, *Wilderness Defender: Horace M. Albright and Conservation*, by Hampton 340
- BROWNE, ed., *J. Ross Browne. His Letters, Journals and Writings*, by Caughey 341
- KARNES, *William Gilpin: Western Nationalist*, by Current 342
- SHEPARDSON and HAMMOND, *The Navajo Mountain Community: Social Organization and Kinship Terminology*, by Kelly 344

DISSENT IN THREE AMERICAN WARS. By Samuel Eliot Morison, Frederick Merk, and Frank Freidel. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970. Pp. vii, 104. Illus., index. \$4.95.

WHEN ACCEPTING the invitation of the Massachusetts Historical Society to present open lectures on the subject of public opinion during three nineteenth-century American wars, the three Harvard historians whose addresses comprise this slim volume might have pondered the frequently summoned Shakespearean proposition: "What's past is prologue." But one need not adopt a cyclical view of history to appreciate the value of historical analogy. At a time when public dissent in the United States seemingly has reached an apex, the contemporary parallelisms are especially inviting.

Samuel Eliot Morison examines public disaffection during the War of 1812, Frederick Merk dissects the disapproval of the Mexican War, and Frank Freidel analyzes the anti-imperialist movement at the time of the Spanish-American War. Not pretending a definitive discussion, they present three suggestive essays which, when taken as a unit, indicate, among other things, how unimaginative is the war dissent of today. The doves of the last five years have composed no new chords. Congressional opposition, army desertions, draft dodging, private peace initiatives, and denunciation of elected officials are all readily recognizable in the nineteenth century. Even the argument that the United States could in no way justify mass destruction to prevent mass destruction was voiced in 1898 by Charles Eliot Norton who argued that to alleviate Cuban suffering at the hand of Spain would result in inflicting greater suffering still. The record of today's hawks is no more creative. The rhetoric contains the same shopworn refrains. Criticising those who voiced opposition to voting funds for supplies of war, many Congressmen argued in 1847 that one simply cannot abandon armies already in the field. President Polk brought into question the patriotism of his critics the same year by charging that they were "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." The academic community felt the brunt of hawkish vindictiveness repeatedly during the last century as when Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt impugned the masculinity of the Harvard faculty, suggesting that one should expect nothing more of "beings whose cult is nonvirility."

Not long ago one could recommend a work as sound, informative, and entertaining; now, however, one must add relevant. These essays are relevant, and in the best usage of that much abused word. They indicate not only that war dissent is an American tradition, but also how polarization occurs, how both advocates and opponents are sometimes motivated by political and economic expediency as well as genuine moral indignation, and how impassioned rhetoric generally obscures much more than it illuminates. This volume is a natural for the basic survey course in United States history.

University of Nebraska

MICHAEL C. MEYER

A CANNONEER IN NAVAJO COUNTY: JOURNAL OF JOSIAH M. RICE, 1851.

Edited by Richard H. Dillon, with 21 pencil drawings by Rice. Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1970. Pp. 123. Illus., map, app., index. \$14.50.

GUARDED WITH CARE usually reserved for priceless relics, the journal of a young artilleryman has reposed, all but unknown until now, in the rare manuscripts collection of the Denver Public Library. As a member of Company B, 2d Artillery, Josiah M. Rice accompanied the 1851 expedition to Canyon de Chelly led by Colonel E. V. Sumner; later he was among the first troops to garrison Fort Defiance; and at some disputed point in time Rice claims to have participated in a mysterious march of unstated purpose to the Gila River.

Until publication of this journal there were two firsthand versions of the 1851 campaign: Sumner's official report and the account of James A. Bennett, a dragoon private. The Rice and Bennett journals bear striking similarities. Both were written long after the events described, from rough notes and fading memory. Errors of formidable magnitude were a natural consequence.

At its best the Rice manuscript adds a considerable amount of background to Sumner's campaign. With minor differences Rice's observations confirm those of Bennett; their evidence, although editor Richard Dillon does not agree, points to the conclusion that the campaign was a fiasco. The Navajo avoided direct conflict until the moment of their choosing, when Sumner's troops had penetrated several miles into Canyon de Chelly. Here the advantage lay entirely with the Navajo and Sumner was forced to take shelter and then withdraw, ingloriously, under cover of darkness. Casualties on both sides were inconsequential, the Navajo were not in the least overawed (as Dillon says they were), but Rice emphasizes what Bennett

already had made clear: Sumner's loss of horses (more than three hundred, according to Rice) was staggering. For the duration of Sumner's tenure of departmental command, the cavalry operated at fractional strength and efficiency.

Following this nocturnal withdrawal and one day of rest in camp (September 14, by Rice's account), Sumner started on his return march to Cañoncito Bonito. It was there he earlier had divided his command (not at Red Lake, as Dillon says) and left Major Electus Backus to establish Fort Defiance. In describing the day of rest, and with no previous reference to the subject, Rice inexplicably interjects: "On the 16th of September, we again commenced our line of march for the Rio Gila."

Rice's journal from this point forward is a darkening descent into confusion and error. With a detachment of eighteen men of Company B he starts for the Gila by way of the headwaters of the San Juan, but at the same time marches five days more in an opposite direction with the command of Colonel Sumner—breakfast on the morning of the fifth day being projected within seconds into darkness of night. Later, on a tributary of the Gila, Rice describes "our camp of dragoons and artillery." On the return march and one night out of Fort Defiance, the sound of cannon fire is heard from the direction of the fort—"so plain that the Col. declared the Indians were at battle at the Fort." The Second Coming, as it were, of Sumner, like the mirage-like appearance of the dragoons, is not explained.

More mysterious still is how the eighteen men of Company B could have subsisted for forty-six days on less than four ounces of hard biscuit a day, and how the horses (described on September 11 as "in great agony for both food and water") could have endured a march of 1,216 miles. Dillon offers no opinion on these matters but insists that credit for "an enormous march which has been completely ignored by historians" belongs to Lieutenant Charles Griffin. Rice is silent on the point, as well he might be, for Lieutenant Griffin at the time was present for duty at Fort Defiance. Monthly post returns of the garrison are explicit about this.

Rice's confusion of the Gila River march has a startlingly similar parallel. In his journal relating incidents of a march from Abiquiu to a July 1853 rendezvous on the San Juan River, trooper Bennett described a return march into Blackfoot and Sioux country and finally to Fort Laramie (NMHR, Vol. 22, 1947, pp. 94-96). The report of his commanding officer, Lieutenant Robert Ransom, makes it clear that Bennett, on that occasion, did not carom off into Montana and Wyoming but was safely back at Abiquiu July 30.

In the end, it is Rice himself who proves that the Gila march could not have occurred in 1851. He relates, near the conclusion of the journal, that he and others of the garrison at Fort Defiance were put on short rations as

food supplies dwindled, and that Major Backus eventually was forced to the verge of abandoning the fort, even to the point of taking most of the troops to Cienega Amarilla in the hope of intercepting overdue supply trains. (The crucial turning point, according to correspondence of Major Backus, occurred November 17, 1851, when he marched "a large portion of this command" eight miles south to the hay camp. The next day, learning that supply wagons were near at hand, Backus marched the nearly starving and mutinous troops back to the fort.)

Rice remarks that for six weeks prior to the events of November 17 and 18, he and members of Company B against their will "were obliged to shoulder an axe and musketoon and march to the woods to chop logs to build quarters." This would mean that beginning about October 6, 1851, and for a long spell thereafter, Josiah Rice was not on the Gila River but helping to construct company quarters at Fort Defiance.

Dillon, a writer on western subjects, is head of San Francisco's Sutro Library. His problem here, which needs no elaboration, was taking on faith every last word Rice set down. The reality of the Gila march must remain suspect, though there is a slight possibility that such a march might have been made in late 1852 by a detachment of fourteen men of Rice's Company B led by Lieutenant Armistead L. Long. At the moment, the only certainty is that five of Rice's pencil drawings were copied from Lieutenant William H. Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance* published in 1848. It appears, too, that much of Rice's phrasing of the Gila episodes was borrowed from the same source. Paul Weaver of the Northland Press in Flagstaff, Arizona, is responsible for the book's design and typography. His contribution is outstanding.

North Woodstock, Connecticut

FRANK McNITT

OUR RED BROTHERS AND THE PEACE POLICY OF PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT. By Lawrie Tatum. Foreword by Richard N. Ellis. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970. Pp. xxii, 366. Illus. \$1.95 paper, \$5.50 cloth.

LAWRIE TATUM was a devout and sensible Iowa Quaker who suddenly found himself in 1869 appointed agent to the wild Kiowa and Comanche. President Grant's new policy of allowing religious bodies to appoint Indian agents was a part of the nineteenth-century Protestant reform movement. Many individuals who had been active in the anti-slavery crusade turned their energies to the Indian problem after the Civil War. The agitation of

reformers plus the postwar momentum of western settlement and the inevitable retaliation by the Indians combined to make a new Indian policy seem desirable.

The Quakers argued that only Christianity could pacify and civilize the Indians. This point of view was not only antedated by the eloquent appeals of Las Casas in the early days of the Spanish conquest, but was a constant theme in the struggles of medieval Christian states with the wild tribes of Europe. To Tatum and his fellow agents, however, it was a new policy, and they approached it with enthusiasm. What guns and greed had failed to do, brotherly love would accomplish.

Our Red Brothers is another welcome reprint from the University of Nebraska's Bison Press. Tatum's account of his years (1869-1873) with the Kiowa and Comanche and his general history of Quaker participation in Grant's Peace Policy was first printed in 1899. Tatum was an eminently sensible man and his book has always been basic to any study of Grant's policy or of the subjugation of the southern plains.

The success of the Quaker policy of agent-missionaries has been vigorously debated for a hundred years. Tatum was a patient and non-violent man, but he soon concluded that tribes as independent as the Kiowa and Comanche required the application of military muscle along with Christian kindness. This was a point of serious dispute between himself and his Quaker superiors and eventually led to his resignation.

Every major theme in Indian relations is touched in *Our Red Brothers* and illustrated by the experiences of Tatum or his associates. The unratified or broken treaties, the lateness and inadequacy of the rations, the encroachment of the settlers, the influence of whiskey, the destruction of the buffalo, the one-sided "justice," the attempt to turn primitive communal peoples into independent westernized individuals, the ravages of new diseases, all must inevitably form the substance of such a book.

In the foreword, Professor Ellis has provided a biographical sketch of Tatum and a brief overview of the Peace Policy. Although the lengthy, old-fashioned chapter headings are retained in the text, the modern scholar would probably prefer an index. There are rather more typographical errors than necessary, most of them trivial, but one is startled to find the prominent Nez Percé, Archie Lawyer, referred to as "Sawyer."

The book is certainly welcome as it is, but would have been even more so if the publishers had provided an index and permitted Professor Ellis to add to the text the identifications and editorial comments which he is well qualified to do.

Tempe, Arizona

MARJORIE H. WILSON

THE BUFFALO. By Francis Haines. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970. Illus., map., app., bibliog., index. Pp. x, 242. \$7.95.

THIS latest offering about the buffalo herds that covered the high plains country until almost the twentieth century does not compare favorably to its predecessors. While the author cannot be severely criticized for what he has written, it may be said that he was not sufficiently careful in his overall planning. The main weakness lies in a lack of balance, in glossing over important segments of his story while giving space to some inconsequential episodes.

Quite properly the author attempts to emphasize the role of man—both white and Indian—in his relationship to the buffalo: the hunter and the hunted. Beginning with a discussion of prehistoric bison in North America, Haines takes his story to the Great Plains, where the big herds ranged, and to the early hunters of that region. Meanwhile, he does not neglect other regions where herds were found: “the Woodland Fringe,” to use his words, and also the area east of the Mississippi.

Methods of hunting, before and after the coming of the horse, are next described. Here the Indian showed his ingenuity in cornering the behemoths and then driving them over cliffs to slaughter, and later he used the horse with considerable effect in the hunt. Later came the white fur traders in their quest for hides. Finally, the efficiency of the white hunters and their ruthless press for more animals ended the great hunt and toward the end of the nineteenth century an American species was nearly extinct.

Where the author gets into trouble is in his effort to integrate the story of the Indian and the object of his hunt, the buffalo. There is a good deal of scattered information about the Plains tribes that is peripheral and properly belongs in another book. On the other hand, where the author might well have gone into detail regarding the Indians, he has cut a lot of corners. For example, “The Golden Age of the Plains Indians” (chapter 10) is dealt with in less than eight pages. The author ought to have been given more editorial guidance, but he was not and the reader is shown what decidedly inferior editing can do to a book.

Nor are any references provided, except for an extremely “selected” bibliography. Perhaps this was intended as a work for the general reader, with information gained from sources so commonly known that no reference was necessary, or possibly it was intended for juveniles. There is nothing wrong in writing for juveniles, but publishers of such works usually indicate to the buyer that this is their intended audience.

Here, then, is a general book about the American buffalo herds, apparently written very quickly from extremely available sources, using so-so illustrations, in an effort to cash in on a well-known market.

WILDERNESS DEFENDER: HORACE M. ALBRIGHT AND CONSERVATION. By Donald Swain. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970. Pp. 347. Illus., bibliog., index. \$10.75.

HORACE ALBRIGHT was a successful man. Born in Bishop, California in 1890, educated at the University of California, Albright followed an influential professor to Washington, D.C., where he became a clerk in the Department of the Interior. Affable and intelligent, he quickly learned the political processes of persuasion, influence, and power. When the National Park Service was formed in 1916, and the flamboyant Stephen P. Mather was chosen to head the new bureau, young Albright was logically placed second in command. Impressed by Mather, Albright was content to operate in his shadow, and willing also to continue Mather policy when he succeeded the ailing director. As Director of the Park Service from 1928 to 1933, Albright had the advantage of field experience gained while Superintendent of Yellowstone, in addition to administrative experience in Washington, and a host of personal, political contacts. An able administrator and political opportunist, he moved easily under both Republican and Democratic administrations, knew and admired both Hoover and F.D.R., took part in the frenzied 100 days of the New Deal and helped establish the Civilian Conservation Corps. He was responsible for expanding Park Service activities into the historical preservation field, aided in the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, and finally emerged victorious in a thirty-year battle that ended with the establishment of Grand Teton National Park. Albright left government service in 1933 and soon became successful as a money-making businessman in the potash business. He continued his conservation work as a non-official Park Service advisor and has participated in virtually every national conservation organization to date.

Disavowing any attempt at a full-scale biography, Professor Swain quite correctly decided to emphasize the early years of Albright's life and allows conservation activities to provide the theme of the book. The results are mixed. Positively, the author directs our attention to the political manipulation that was a major part of the American conservation movement, as he surveys the inner workings of a minor bureaucracy. Moreover, the constant conflict between "use" on the one hand and "preservation" on the other, a conflict present from the beginning in the conservation movement, is explained in good dispassionate prose generally missing in essays on this still controversial issue. Objective too, is Swain's description of the various types and kinds of conservation. Interpretive problems do arise, however, when the author attempts to fit Albright into the spectrum formed by the various degrees of conservationists. He maintains that Albright followed a middle course between the "purists" and the "utilitarians," but virtually all

of Albright's reported actions and views place him more on the side of the users. Public relations usually took precedent over preservation, and public access to the wonders of nature was more urgent than the protection of those wonders. Consequently, some readers will disagree with the portrayal of Albright as a leading light of the conservation movement, and maintain instead, that his penchant for compromise often worked against what they consider true conservation. Others will be dismayed by the failure to give sufficient credit to Arno Cammerer, Albright's successor as Director of the Park Service from 1933 to 1939, an era referred to by many as the "Golden years of the Park Service." Too, some will admit that Albright, in good Mather tradition, did expand the service, did obtain larger appropriations, larger staff, and more parks. But they will also point out that these were dubious achievements, gained at the expense of the parks themselves, and that all too often, increased visitation was used to increase appropriations to take care of increased visitation. This is good Parksonian bureaucratic behavior, but it is not necessarily good conservation.

Writing with an ease that comes only with familiarity with his subject, Swain places considerable reliance upon material gained through personal interviews and oral history transcripts. This serves to give a sense of immediacy to descriptions of what might otherwise have been dreary and boring tracings of legislative manipulations or political bickerings. Read in conjunction with Robert Shankland's excellent biography of Stephen Mather, this book gives us a clear picture of how the National Park Service was formed, how policies evolved, and the manner in which those policies were applied.

University of Montana

H. D. HAMPTON

J. ROSS BROWNE. HIS LETTERS, JOURNALS AND WRITINGS. Edited, with an Introduction and Commentary by Lina Fergusson Browne. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969. Pp. xxiv, 420. Illus., app., index. \$10.95.

IN HIS DAY J. ROSS BROWNE was widely known as a traveler, writer, humorist, occasional public servant, and mining property salesman. His travels began at 17 with a stint as deckhand on a boat plying between Louisville and New Orleans. At 20, after a session as reporter for the United States Senate, he shipped out of New Bedford on a whaler and followed that with travels everywhere or, more precisely, everywhere except New Mexico. He wrote voluminously, at book length, in government reports, and for *Harper's*, the *Overland*, and many other journals.

Browne's fate was to be remembered piecemeal. How, if at all, he is recalled in Iceland, Norway, Germany, Algiers, Sicily, Arabia, Peking, Juan Fernández, or Zanzibar, I cannot say. But in the whaling ports he deserves remembrance for his *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise*, an exposé of mistreatment of sailors. On Puget Sound he is remembered for "The Great Port Townsend Controversy, Showing How Whiskey Built a City." In Texas it is for an early inspection of customs collection. In California his fame is as reporter of the constitutional convention of 1849, roving inspector of government operations, commentator on Indian policy, and appraiser of mining properties. Washoe and Arizona see him primarily as reporter on mining activities and Indian policy.

Biographers Francis J. Rock (1929), Richard H. Dillon (1965), and David Michael Goodwin (1966) have tried to pull the whole variegated career together. The latter two do it quite well, noting however that the parts do not splice smoothly. For instance, in the six years in which Browne was roving inspector of west-coast customs collection, the San Francisco mint, and the Indian agencies, saving the national treasury an estimated \$2 million, the required concentration precluded any time for writing, leaving a gap that is conspicuous in the list of his publications.

Lina Fergusson Browne, sister of three distinguished writers, Harvey, Erna, and Francis Fergusson, sees J. Ross Browne from the vantage point of granddaughter-in-law. She speaks of herself as inheritor from her husband of the project of writing a biography more personalized because it could be based in part on a family collection of letters and manuscripts. That she has done but by the method of allowing J. Ross to speak for himself on many matters through his letters or by excerpts from his published and unpublished writings. The device works well. The totality of his achievement, especially as a writer, stands out clearly and his personal experiences, discouragements, triumphs, and tribulations, and his qualities emerge more revealingly.

University of California at Los Angeles

JOHN W. CAUCHEY

WILLIAM GILPIN: WESTERN NATIONALIST. By Thomas L. Karnes. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1970. Pp. x, 383. Illus., bibliog., index. \$7.50.

HISTORIANS paid only passing attention to William Gilpin for more than half a century after he had given Hubert Howe Bancroft his reminiscences and \$10,000 to produce the *History of the Life of William Gilpin* (1889). When historians referred to Gilpin at all, they were interested in him mainly as the first governor of Colorado Territory. Then, in the midst of

World War II, when "geopolitics" was a fashionable word, Bernard De Voto rediscovered him and designated him as the first American geopolitician. Other writers took the cue, most notably Henry Nash Smith, who in *Virgin Land* (1950) declared that Gilpin could be considered "the most ambitious student of the Far West during the second half of the nineteenth century." Of *Virgin Land*, Thomas L. Karnes writes: "This persuasive gem was the book that first suggested to me that Gilpin was more than just a Colorado politician and worth further investigation."

In preparing this biography, Karnes has searched out a wide variety of sources to detail every phase of Gilpin's career, and a remarkably varied career it was. Born into a prominent family of Pennsylvania Quakers, Gilpin attended West Point briefly, served in the Seminole War, practiced law and edited a newspaper in St. Louis, joined the second Frémont expedition, "played an important part in managing a closer tie between English and Americans in Oregon," and fought with the Missouri Volunteers in the Mexican War. As territorial governor of Colorado, he did much to put the Union forces in readiness and make possible the decisive victory at Glorieta. Always interested in Western lands, he finally struck it rich by getting control of a million acres in the Sangre de Cristo grant. Meanwhile he wrote many newspaper and magazine articles and three books in which he advertised the Far West (apparently introducing the term "Great Plains"), fostered the idea of trade with the Orient, and proposed an around-the-world railway.

Karnes has done a thorough job with the facts of Gilpin's life, but leaves something to be desired in his handling of Gilpin's ideas. To what extent were these original, and to what extent a reflection of "manifest destiny" notions that were widespread? Karnes has not undertaken to compare the views of Gilpin with those of other promoters of frontier development. He says that Gilpin "thought in terms of geopolitics" when, for example, he predicted a great future for Cairo, Illinois, because of its location. But dozens of other promoters thought they saw miraculous locational advantages in dozens of other places supposedly destined for greatness—in Portage, Superior City, and even Newport, to mention only a few such places in Wisconsin alone during the 1840's and 1850's. Were these promoters geopoliticians too?

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE NAVAJO MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY. By Mary Shepardson and Blodwen Hammond. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970. Pp. x, 278. \$9.50.

MARY SHEPARDSON and Blodwen Hammond are anthropologists whose studies of Navajo life have appeared in professional journals during the 1960's. Much of their earlier work is synthesized and enlarged upon here.

During the three summers of 1960-62, Hammond and Shepardson lived among the inhabitants of the Navajo Mountain community in the remote and isolated northwestern portion of the reservation in southern Utah. At that time the community consisted of approximately six hundred persons, half of whom were children, and covered an area of 688 square miles. Many Navajo customs and traditions which are disappearing in the eastern portion of the reservation were still intact here: forked stick hogans, wagons, long satin skirts for the women and long hair for the men, belief in witchcraft and werewolves, and sororal polygyny. These instances of the traditional way of life, together with an earlier study of the area in 1938 by Malcolm Carr Collier, provided an ideal situation for a study of both traditional Navajo social organization and of changes in Navajo society over a twenty-five-year period.

The Navajo Mountain Community will be of value mainly to anthropologists and sociologists. The authors assume an audience familiar with most of the anthropological literature dealing with Navajo society, and most of their analysis is directed at testing the validity of previously enunciated hypotheses about Navajo social organization. In a large number of instances they conclude that earlier studies are still valid. One important exception to this general trend is their belief that the role of the Navajo father and husband is much more important and considerably more authoritative than has been represented in earlier literature. The "irresponsible" and "unstable Navajo father," they conclude, is largely a stereotype (p. 78). They also conclude that while income from non-traditional sources has brought change to some aspects of Navajo life, the people of the Navajo Mountain community have been able to preserve their basic values and to integrate the changes into the traditional Navajo way of life.

The greater part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the determinants of Navajo social structure and will be helpful to anyone interested in learning more about Navajo Indians. The shorter section on kinship terminology will, I suspect, be beyond the comprehension of all but a few specialists. In short, *The Navajo Mountain Community* is a monograph intended for a professional audience of relatively small size.

North Texas State University

LAWRENCE C. KELLY