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In Print

Laurie Fruth

University of Nevada, Las Vegas, laurel.fruth@unlv.edu

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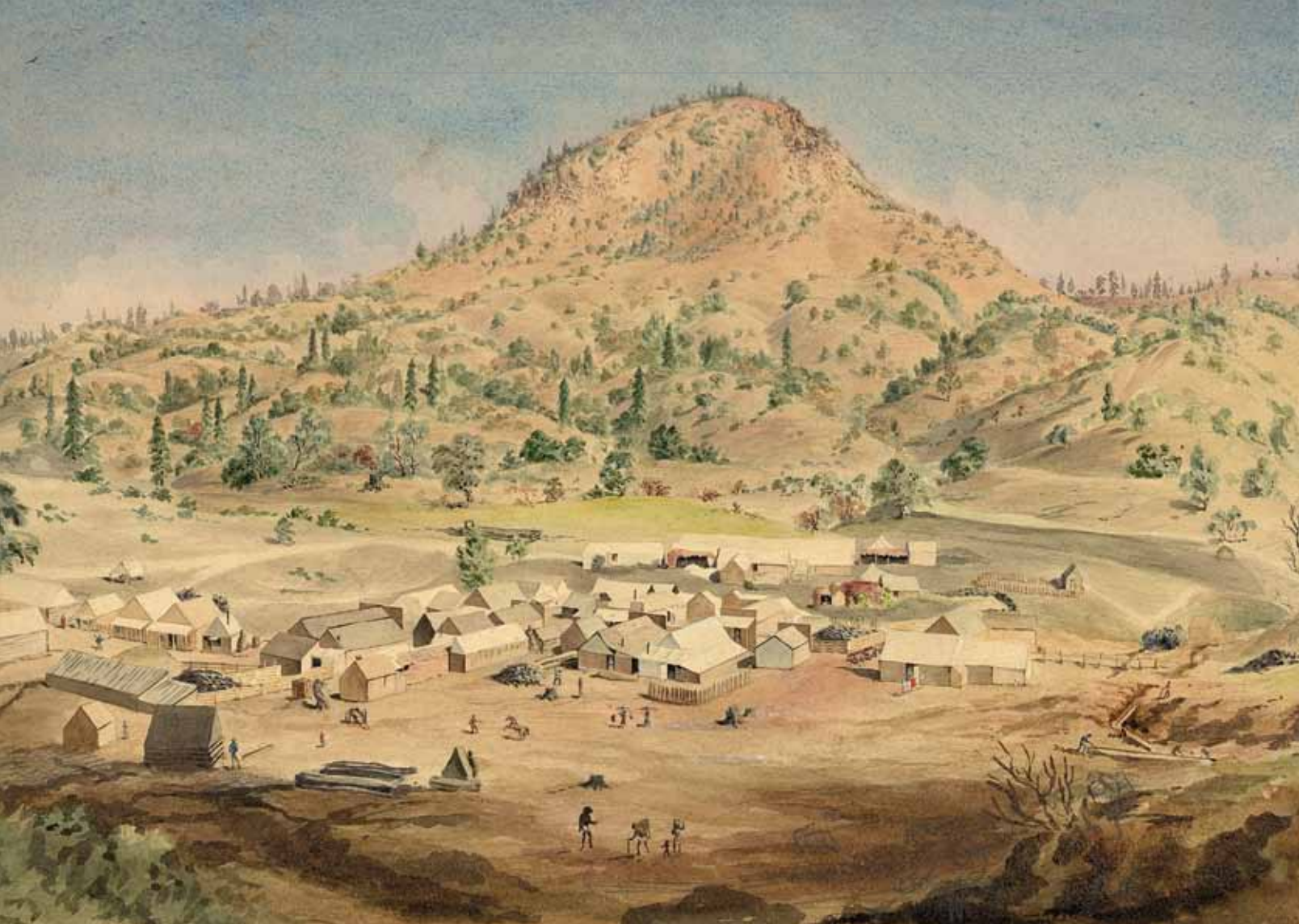
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In Print

Faculty authors explore the coming of the frontier press, life on the Round Valley Indian Reservation, and more.

STORY BY LAURIE FRUTH

PHOTOGRAPHY BY R. MARSH STARKS AND AARON MAYES

The Coming of the Frontier Press: How the West Was Really Won

By Barbara Cloud

Northwestern University Press, 2008

As she notes in her introduction to *The Coming of the Frontier Press: How the West Was Really Won*, the late Barbara Cloud had a special affinity for the early settlers who “packed all their earthly goods into a wagon ... to head out to an unknown land fraught with natural and human dangers.”

But then, Cloud herself was a pioneer both in spirit and

deed. A professor emerita of the Hank Greenspun School of Journalism and Media Studies, Cloud passed away in late 2009, a year after the book’s publication.

Her husband, Stan Cloud, notes that Barbara shared the adventurous mindset of the pioneers she studied. In the late 1960s, he notes, she pressed him to choose a postdoctoral fellowship in Canberra, Australia, over those offered stateside because she “wanted to embark on an adventure.”

The two spent eight years in the Land Down Under, and it was there that she learned what it was like to long for news from home – much as the early Western pioneers hungered for news from the homes they had left behind.

At left, this 1854 drawing and water color titled “Butte City” by George Henry Burgess serves as cover art for Barbara Cloud’s book, *The Coming of the Frontier Press: How the West Was Really Won*. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress.

So when it came time to tell the story of the frontier press, Cloud was eager to “help place both the West and its newspapers in the context of American history, where they belong.”

Cloud constructed the story of the frontier press from census data, biographies, historical accounts, other scholars’ works, and from the newspapers themselves. Her investigation focused on newspapers in areas west of the 100th meridian, produced in the period between the 1840s and the early 20th century, a period she describes as “the traditional West of cowboys and Indians, cattlemen, sheepherders and sod busters, dance-hall girls and the miner forty-niners.”

Cloud chronicles the humble beginnings of frontier newspapers in far-flung mining camps and remote settlements, noting the vital role they played for the thousands of people who came west seeking their fortunes.

“Frontier newspapers conferred legitimacy, provided a link to lives left behind, an opportunity to participate in political debate, and a sense of community in areas too remote for face-to-face congress,” Cloud writes. “The arrival of a printing press in a mining camp was often an occasion for festivities.”

Cloud effectively debunks Hollywood depictions of 19th century life in mining camps as populated solely by whiskey-swilling, whore-seeking ruffians, arguing that most of the fortune-seekers were literate; early frontier newspapers grew in response to demand for news about the world and the surrounding community. She notes that the aforementioned nefarious activities were clearly part of the picture, but they existed alongside churches, schools, and other nods to civilized life in the camps.

But life in the West was not easy for frontier newspaper publishers. Cloud vividly describes the hardships associated with securing paper, moving heavy printing presses across rugged mountain terrain, and waiting months for national and international news to arrive from the East.

To emphasize just how important paper was to western newspapers, Cloud writes that in 1859, the *Territorial Enterprise* relied on extreme measures to keep the presses running.

“The mountain men made their way over the mountains, carrying rolls of paper on their backs. While waiting for the paper to arrive, the *Territorial* printed on the back of wallpaper, cigar wrappers, or wrapping paper,” Cloud writes.

When Congress passed the Homestead Act in 1862 and chartered railroads to connect the eastern and western parts of the country, frontier newspapers forged a sometimes cozy, sometimes adversarial, relationship with



STAN CLOUD

The late Barbara Cloud, a longtime journalism and media studies professor at UNLV, lived in Australia during the 1960s. Her time there gave her insight into what it was like for the Western pioneers who longed for news of home.

those building the railroads.

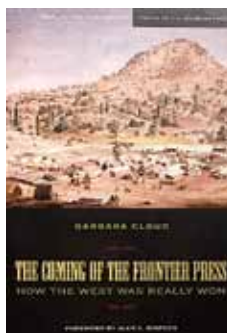
“Railway barons worked hard to ingratiate themselves with local newspaper editors and publishers, offering free train tickets and, occasionally, outright bribes. The newspapers were happy to oblige, as they saw the coming of a railroad as an indication that their newly established communities would survive,” she notes.

Although many frontier newspapers were independently owned, some were financed directly by mining companies, and later, railroad barons. Cloud writes that even those without financial ties were strong supporters of the railroad initially, with one going so far as “to choose for their logo the headlights of an oncoming locomotive.”

Cloud identifies Las Vegas as one such railroad town, born when Senator William Clark bought property in Southern Nevada to connect the Union Pacific line in Utah with Southern California.

“Even before Clark’s company completed a land auction in the Las Vegas valley, the future town had three weekly newspapers, the *Las Vegas Times*, the *Advance*, and the *Las Vegas Age*; all were started within two weeks of one another,” Cloud writes.

While newspapers thrived on the frontier, Cloud indicates that objectivity and accuracy often took a



back seat to other concerns. She cites several examples of publishers establishing newspapers to espouse their own political views and of legislators paying reporters for favorable coverage; she also notes that writers such as Samuel Clemons played fast and loose with the facts to create more colorful stories and that publishers acted more like “boosters” than newspapermen. In one humorous example, Cloud recounts how the *Oregon Statesman* told its readers that marriage notices must be signed because, “Malicious, mischievous persons are sometimes in the habit of sending names of persons to the press who have never been married.”

Cloud disputes the idealized notion that newspaper publishers were attempting to build a better society, arguing that most merely emulated newspapers in the East and turned to newspapering when they found they couldn’t tolerate the hard work associated with mining or ranching. Indeed, Cloud asserts, business savvy was the best predictor of which newspaper would survive and which would not.

“Newspapers failed not because people didn’t read them but rather because proprietors borrowed too much money, failed to collect what was due them, or otherwise mismanaged their businesses,” Cloud writes.

But not all frontier newspapers failed. Today, many western newspapers can trace their roots back to the frontier press. Notable examples include the *San Francisco Examiner*, formerly the *Daily Democratic Press*; the *Seattle-Post Intelligencer*, once known as the *Puget Sound Weekly*; the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City that began as a frontier paper in 1850; and the *Los Angeles Times* that began with the same name in the 1880s.

However, as Cloud says in her conclusion, whether newspapers failed or thrived, they all played a pivotal role in settling and civilizing the West.

“A 20th century journalist gets credit for applying the phrase ‘first rough draft of history’ to journalism, but 19th-century journalists knew they were participating in something important, and those who did leave records understood that the West needs a repository of its history, just as the East did.”

The same could be said of Cloud herself. She leaves behind a rich collection of academic works on such subjects as early journalism in the Washington territory, the business of newspapers on the Western frontier, and media law in Nevada. She served as the editor of *Journalism History* and was researching the life of Charles “Pop” Squires, a Las Vegas newspaper pioneer, at the time of her passing.

We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California’s Round Valley Reservation

By William J. Bauer, Jr.

The University of North Carolina Press, 2009

UNLV history professor William Bauer had read several books, theses, and dissertations about the Round Valley Indian Reservation in Northern California, but not one included interviews with the people who live there.

That was a problem for Bauer, an enrolled tribal member who grew up on the Round Valley Reservation, a federally established Indian reservation located primarily in Mendocino County.

So when Bauer set out to tell the story of Round Valley Indians and the role they played in California’s agricultural workforce, he made sure that native voices were part of the narrative.

“It was important to me that people who live in Round Valley recognize their history,” Bauer says. “I wanted them to read about their parents, grandparents, and other relatives in the book.”

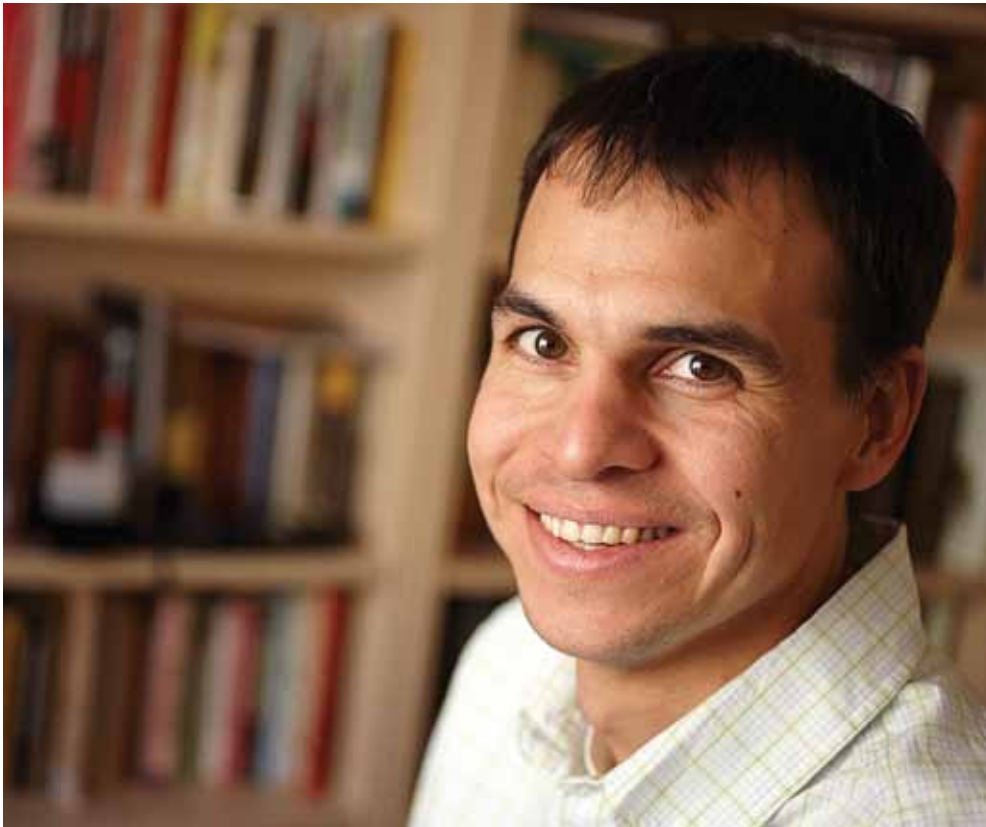
Bauer traveled back to his childhood home to collect oral histories from those who lived and worked on the Round Valley Reservation. These recollections, supplemented by extensive data collected through national government archives, are the basis of *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, an in-depth examination of the lives, work, and survival of Round Valley Indians from 1850 to 1941.

Although the history of indigenous Indian tribes in Northern California extends as far back as 8,000 B.C.E., Bauer focuses on what happens “after contact” with Euro-Americans in the mid-19th century. His book chronicles the degradation of ecologically sensitive areas during the 1849 Gold Rush and the enslavement and forced labor that followed the passage of the 1850 Act for Government and Protection of the Indians, an act that permitted whites to indenture Indians to work on farms and ranches.

“At its worst, this law created a system of Indian slavery in California,” Bauer wrote. “The law’s vagrancy clause opened the door for white men to attack Indian villages, steal Indian children ... and sell them to the highest bidder.”

Bauer recounts one horrific example in 1855 when 35 children were kidnapped from the Round Valley Yuki tribe and sold “into a life of illness, servitude, and sexual violence in white and California households.”

While children were being stolen and enslaved in Northern California, federal Indian policy was undergoing



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– William Bauer,
History Professor

change in Washington, D. C. Public demand for land in California, coupled with a desire to “civilize” native peoples by training them to raise livestock and wheat, ultimately led to the removal of Indians from their homelands and their relocation to reservations.

Bauer says that in the 1850s and 1860s, a number of different groups were forced to relocate to the Round Valley Reservation. Joining the indigenous Yuki tribe were Concows, Wailackis, Pitt Rivers, Nomlackis, Pomos, and other smaller tribes. “Of course, they all spoke different languages and had different customs,” Bauer says. “And they settled into their own little villages on the reservation.”

Bauer compares the reservation in the 19th century to that of small ethnic, neighborhoods in turn-of-the-century Chicago and New York. And, like other neighborhoods where a single industry dominates, the various tribes in Round Valley were unified by work.

The Round Valley Indians worked the reservation farms and mills, planting crops, sawing timber, and milling grain in exchange for food, clothing, and blankets. However, Bauer notes that rations were often insufficient so they “turned to other sources of subsistence, such as hunting, fishing, and harvesting Manzanita berries, practices that had been used for centuries.”

Sheep shearing and other wage labor off the reservation also added to the families’ coffers. But Bauer says the biggest draw for wage labor

was the growing hops industry in Mendocino County. Bauer notes that “During World War I, California produced the most hops in the United States.... Round Valley Indians worked in all facets of hops production, from tilling the soil to training the vines to picking the crop.”

Once the crop was harvested, the workers participated in traditional “Big Times,” a festival of games, food, and social drinking at the workplace. Round Valley Indians also took advantage of their time off the reservation to visit sacred homelands and to connect with other tribe members who had not been removed to a reservation. Bauer says this distinctive “hop culture” enabled Round Valley Indians to “forge the bond essential to the maintenance of their communities,” and he likens the annual trek to the hops fields to that of “attending an off reservation boarding school.”

Although wages were meager and the work was seasonal, Bauer says hops picking provided stable employment for families, most of whom combined their wages into a family pot. In addition, Bauer says, hops growers preferred hiring Indians to work in their fields because they returned to the reservation after the harvest and because they weren’t Chinese, whom many considered the “the pariah of California’s agricultural workforce” at the time.

But not everyone thought that migrant work was suitable for the Round Valley Indians. In the early 1880s, critics of the reservation argued that reservations locked up land that whites



wanted. This discontent led to the General Allotment Act of 1887, whereby Indians would be allowed to select individual plots of land to call their own and remaining land would be available for sale to non-Indians.

"In Round Valley, they wanted the native people to be farmers, and native people wanted to participate in migrant, agricultural work because it fit their lifestyle better," Bauer says.

In the government's view, allotment would keep the Indians at home and promote self-sufficiency through the tilling of one's own soil. This self-sufficiency, in turn, would make the Indians less dependent on government subsidies. Ultimately, the Round Valley residents agreed to the allotment.

"But each group had a different understanding of what allotment would mean. Native people saw allotment as a way to assume more control over their lands and lives. They believed that allotment would enable them to kick illegal squatters off reservation land. They thought that when the squatters were gone, they could hunt, fish, harvest, and raise livestock. Unfortunately, this is not the way allotment played out," Bauer says.

In 1892, the Office of Indian Affairs, in accordance with the 1887 Act, reduced the Round Valley reservation from more than 100,000 acres to 43,650 acres. The remaining acres were then divided into 10-acre plots and made available to Round Valley residents. Although Round Valley Indians attempted to maximize their allotments by choosing parcels near kin and then combining them into larger farms, the amount of land was never sufficient for the raising of livestock or production of market crops.

"They weren't given enough land," Bauer says. "Even today, if you were to grow grapes for a vineyard, 10 acres isn't enough and, because Round Valley is so isolated, it is too costly to transport 10 acres of grapes out of the valley to make it profitable."

Bauer calls allotment "the most economic devastating piece of legislation in the last 150 years," adding that it produced a 70 percent decline in Indian land holding.

The Great Depression in the 1930s and the introduction of a mechanical hops picker near the end of that decade were the beginnings of the end of hops picking for the Round Valley Indians. Hops were slowly replaced by pears, prunes, and grapes, and growers began to replace Indian workers with Mexican workers. Near the end of the 1950s, logging became the principal source of wages for Round Valley natives.

"My dad drove heavy machinery for some of the logging companies in the area until the early '90s when the mill closed. The entire community, not just the Indian community, has really struggled since the early 1990s

without an industry to carry employment," Bauer says.

But the community continues, and that is the story that Bauer wanted to tell.

"What I was able to find in terms of work and wage labor throughout this period, was that work and wages were almost secondary to the community or social ties that people formed while picking hops."

Bauer notes that it was this sense of unity that led him to the title of the book – and ultimately led the Round Valley Indians to their survival into the 20th century.

Europe as a Political Project in the CDU: Precedents and Programs

By Daniel Villanueva
VDM Verlag, 2009

Visiting assistant professor of foreign languages Daniel Villanueva says his love of Germany began when he went abroad as a high school exchange student. Although he has nary a drop of German blood in his family, he says he loves everything about the country, including its history, culture, language, and politics.

It was this passion that fueled an eight-year labor of love that resulted in the publication of *Europe as Political Project in the CDU*, a book that traces the cultural and historical roots of Germany's conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) from its origins in pre-war Germany to present day.

The CDU, which was founded after the Second World War in 1945, is Germany's largest political party; it is non-denominational but Christian-based. Villanueva's interest in the party focuses on its commitment to the integration of Germany into the European Union.

"The CDU was very pro-European integration, but the parties from which it was formed – prior to the Hitler years – were very anti-Europe, or at least anti-Europe in the sense that they believed that Germany should be the dominant country," explains Villanueva, who also serves as the director of the Summer Advanced Gifted Education program. "So how was it that this idea, which was present in all these conservative parties before the war, suddenly changed 180 degrees after the war?"

To answer this question, Villanueva spent three years in Germany visiting various archives and poring over letters, philosophical treatises, party platforms, and speeches from party officials dating as far back as the mid-1800s.

Villanueva uses this background to examine the history of pro-European policies in the CDU – from Germany joining the European Economic Community in 1957, all the way through 1998 when the CDU was defeated in national elections for the first time in some 20 years.

Villanueva describes German conservative thought prior



“Charting the process by which the CDU answered new challenges for Europe and Germany makes for a fascinating research project indeed.”

– Daniel Villanueva,
Visiting Assistant Professor
of Foreign Languages

to 1945 as “essentially anti-French, anti-cosmopolitan, pre-democratic, and certainly anti-internationalist.” This philosophy ran counter to pro-European integration sentiment. After the war, however, the CDU shifted under the leadership of Konrad Adenauer, CDU chairman and chancellor. Villanueva says Adenauer recognized that West Germany had to become a part of the larger European Union in the 1950s as the Cold War era took shape.

“Of course, the average post-war West German was not completely enamored of France, and many conservative intellectuals were still suspicious of other countries whose intellectual traditions they believed to be inferior to their own,” Villanueva says. “But they made the pragmatic decision to enter the Union even though this is not what their pre-1945 ideology would have predicted.”

Villanueva says tensions between previous and current ideologies became apparent when the CDU opposed attempts to normalize relations with East Germany. Although the CDU had been in power from 1949, the party was defeated in 1969 by the Social Democrats, under the leadership of Willy Brandt.

“Brandt was anti-communist and pro-Westerner like Konrad Adenauer, but he proposed that West Germany reach out to East Germany. The CDU was dead set against recognizing the existence of East Germany, even though their historical roots – all Germans under one roof – would lead one to think otherwise,” Villanueva says. “Of course, less than a year after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, West Germany, led by the CDU, engineered a political unification between East and West. The former East Germany thus ‘joined the EU’ by virtue of political union with West Germany on October 3, 1990, with solid CDU support.”

According to Villanueva, a third critical juncture occurred with the introduction of the Euro. He explains that when Germany unified in 1989, the five East German states didn’t enter the arrangement as equals. The West German constitution was in force,

West German politicians and parties were dominant, and West Germany’s social and historical traditions – with few exceptions – became the normative in unified Germany.

Because of the war, neither side could be proud of their flag or their military, so West Germans transferred their pride to the German Deutsche Mark, the official currency of West Germany (and then Germany after unification).

“Then Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the leader of the CDU, said Germans must join their Europeans partners and adopt the Euro. This caught a lot of people off guard. Here they were, a unified Germany, proud of their economy and proud of the Deutsche Mark, but they were being asked to give that up and put their economic strength behind the Euro. This was not something a conservative German party would have said before 1945 and only reluctantly after 1990,” Villanueva says.

“Indeed, Kohl expended a significant amount of political capital to ensure that Germany adopted the Euro. His statement during the Euro debate – that ‘German unification and European unification are two sides of the same coin’ – is one of the best examples of this major sea change in conservative thought on Europe post-1945.”

The book ends when the CDU is voted out of office after 20 years in power. “No one expected Helmut Kohl to be defeated, and the CDU was not prepared for the loss,” Villanueva says. “So there was an immediate need for recalibration; a power vacuum was created, and a lot of new, often competing ideas came to the fore.”

Thus, Villanueva says his next book will focus on these opposition years and what effect Kohl’s defeat in 1998 had on the priority of European-related themes within the CDU.

“Charting the process by which the CDU answered new challenges for Europe and Germany – terrorism, economic crises, and immigration issues, to name a few – makes for a fascinating research project indeed,” Villanueva says.

