## **Book Reviews**

Tim Z. Hernandez, *All They Will Call You: The Telling of the Plane Wreck at Los Gatos Canyon*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2017. 240 pp., ISBN 978-0-81-653484-5. Hardcover, \$26.95.



Woody Guthrie made lists. He compiled lists of all the songs he had written and then made new lists, sometimes changing the titles. In private notebooks he made lists of songs he wanted to write, headlines from newspapers, and names of friends he planned to write. On New Year's Day in 1943 he recorded a list of thirty-three resolutions including "work more and better," "change socks," and "dance better." In *Bound for Glory* he compiled a long list of the types that populated Skid Row in Los Angeles

("stealers, dealers, sidewalk spielers, con men, sly flies, flat foots, reefer riders...") — eighty in all! In 1941, reacting to the sinking of the USS *Reuben James* by a German submarine, Guthrie wrote a song for the Almanac Singers that memorialized the dead by listing all 115 names of the American sailors who had lost their lives at sea. Other members of the group argued that the song would be too long and an alternative version was created with a chorus that asked a question: "What were their names, tell me, what were their names? Did you have a friend on the good Reuben James."

But Woody was never able to compile a list of the Mexican workers who had perished in a plane crash near Fresno, California in 1948. He learned of this tragic event from a brief AP story headlined "32 ARE KILLED IN CALIFORNIA PLANE CRASH: Mexican Deportees, Crew, and Guard Victims in Coastal Range Disaster." The tragedy was bad enough, but what bothered Guthrie the most was the fact that the victims, Mexican workers hired for agricultural work in the Bracero program who were now being shuttled to a deportation center, were left nameless, faceless, apparently unimportant, quickly forgotten, and simply dismissed as "deportees."

It took Guthrie only a few days to compose his first version of "Los Gatos Plane Wreck," pounding out the lyrics on a typewriter with the caps lock pushed so the words leapt off the page, screaming, in upper case letters:

I DIED IN YOUR HILLS, I DIED IN YOUR DESERTS
I DIED IN YOUR VALLEYS, I DIED IN YOUR PLAINS
I DIED UNDER YOUR TREES, I DIED UNDER YOUR
BUSHES

BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER I DIED JUST THE SAME

Guthrie added a chorus that gave names to the nameless:

## GOODBYE TO YOU JUAN GOODBYE ROSALITA ADIOS MIS AMIGOS JESUS Y MARIA

He closed the song by asking a sad and painful question:

WHO ARE ALL THESE FRIENDS ALL SCATTERED LIKE DRY LEAVES?

And he answered:

## I'VE NOT GOT MY NAME AS I RIDE MY BIG AIRPLANE ALL YOU CALL ME IS JUST ONE MORE DEPORTEE

Tim Hernandez, a poet and novelist born and raised in the San Joaquin Valley, took it upon himself to answer Guthrie's question. He spent a full year painstakingly searching for the actual names of the victims. He visited the site of the crash and interviewed a handful of folks who had witnessed the horrifying event sixty years ago. Hernandez combed through municipal records, church directories, and newspapers. He tracked down relatives in the US and Mexico, and with their help was finally able to identify accurately the full names of all the Mexican laborers. And he answered the question posed by Woody decades earlier. But Hernandez was not satisfied with listing the names on a piece of paper. He organized a movement to memorialize the dead by drumming up political, financial, and religious support in a tireless campaign that culminated in 2013 with the unveiling of a beautiful granite headstone bearing all the names of the victims in a cemetery near the site of the crash.

Hernandez then took his project into entirely new directions — all of which add greatly to our understanding of one of the most powerful protest songs of the twentieth century. In Arizona, Hernandez tracked down information about the person who had composed the melody for Guthrie's "Los Gatos Plane Wreck." Martin Hoffman, a college student who followed the folk music scene and collected songs, had come across Guthrie's poem and decided to put it to music. He drew inspiration from Mexican "ranchera" songs, with their common themes of loss and sorrow, and he built the song on the three-quarter signature so typical of a *ranchera valseado*. He

altered the lyrics gently to fit the melody and shifted the voice from first to second person. With a friend named Dick Barker, Hoffman recorded the song in 1957 at Dick's small apartment in Fort Collins, Colorado. He labeled the song "Deportees."

The story might have ended then and there, but for the fact that Pete Seeger traveled to Fort Collins in 1958 for a concert attended by Hoffman and organized by the members of his local Ballad Club. Seeger was picked up from the airport and driven to campus by Club members. Following the concert, Hoffman invited Seeger and Club members to his small house to share songs. After several songs were performed and records were heard, Seeger, travelweary and falling asleep, opened his eyes when he heard Hoffman sing his "Deportees" song. Seeger asked Hoffman to start the song again. He took out his pen and began to jot down the notations of the song in his notebook. Several months later, Hoffman received a letter indicating that Seeger had recorded the song and requesting that Hoffman sign documents that credited him with the music.

With this information, Hernandez traveled to Beacon, New York, to visit Pete Seeger and to ask Guthrie's elderly comrade about the song. In discussing "Deportee," Seeger was not certain of where Woody had found the song's melody, since Guthrie almost always drew upon older melodies. But when Hernandez clarified that the melody had been written by Martin Hoffman, Seeger recalled instantly the night when he first heard the song. He also remembered that he had told his publisher, Harold Leventhal, to be sure to credit Hoffman with the music. And sadly, Seeger recalled that Martin Hoffman had taken his own life in 1971. And Pete became quiet until Hernandez continued the conversation:

"Would you like to hear Marty sing that song again?" I asked.

"Do you have a recording of it?"

"I do. Martin first recorded the song in his living room in 1957, with his friend Dick, when they were students."

"Is that a recording machine?"

"It's an MP3 player; it holds the music."

Pete put the headphones on and cupped his hands over his ears to listen. I pressed play. He shut his eyes and began mouthing the lyrics to the song. He did this the entire three minutes and fifty-six seconds. When the song ended, he tugged the headphones slowly off of his ears. "Extraordinary," he whispered.

Seeger's recording of Hoffman's melody of Guthrie's poem was covered by a gallery of folk and folk-rock musicians over the years, including Joan Baez, Arlo Guthrie, Odetta, the Byrds, and

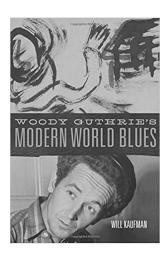
several others. "Deportee" became one of Guthrie's better known compositions.

After the successful placement of the headstone, Hernandez continued his journey in a new, final direction. With his understanding of the song's origins and trajectory and his knowledge of the names of the victims and some of their descendants, he plunged into a deeper exploration of the lives of the victims, extracting what he could from stories passed down to surviving relatives and friends about their childhood, education, work, loves, and hopes for the future. In the longest section of the book, entitled "The Stories," Hernandez offers insights into the lives, personalities, and experiences of Luis Navarro Cuevas, Guadalupe Ramirez Lara, Ramon Paredes Gonzales, and Jose Sanchez Valdivia through interviews with relatives and friends. He also reveals the story of Frank Atkinson, the plane's pilot, who was born and raised in Rochester, New York, and his wife, Bobbie, who had agreed to serve as stewardess at the last minute in order to replace one who had called in sick. When Guthrie penned his lyrics in 1948, he commented bitterly about the discrimination against agricultural laborers whose only crime was to have been born south of the border: "Both sides of the river I died just the same." Hernandez shows how the tragedy extended across lines of race, class and ethnicity.

Hernandez's research and his unusual narrative approach put genuine faces on the souls who died in Los Gatos Canyon. He gives them real names, tells their life stories, and finally allows us to know who they were.

## DARRYL HOLTER

Will Kaufman, *Woody Guthrie's Modern World Blues*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 328 pp., ISBN 978-0-80-615761-0. Hardcover, \$32.95.



Woody Guthrie had the modern world blues. Will Kaufman sees those blues as running the gamut from simple cliché such as "blues ain't nothin' but a good man feelin' bad" to modern bluesman Corey Harris's notion that "There are happy blues, sad blues, lonesome blues, red-hot blues, mad blues, and loving blues. Blues is a testimony to the fullness of human life." And what a life America's roaming bard had. From his birth at the beginning of a heretofore unseen fast-changing century to

his death in 1967, two years before his country put men on the moon, he bore witness to those changes and chronicled them in over three thousand songs, various fictional and non-fictional writings, and in a fascinating array of drawings and paintings. In Kaufman's compelling new book, he puts all of those aspects of Guthrie's blues into sharp focus. He ultimately concludes that the wandering troubadour and his art exemplified his experiences with the modern world that he so eagerly traveled through, as well as contributing to the modernist critique of that era — and era that captivated the creative culture of the mid-twentieth century. For Kaufman, Guthrie was both a modern and a modernist.

Kaufman builds on an impressive array of scholarship in his analysis. Perhaps most important are the works of Edward Comentale and Charles McGovern who, each in their own way, suggested insight into both Guthrie's modernism and his interaction with the modern era. Comentale's assertion that "Guthrie's modernity is a violent, complex affair" that "served him as a model of creativity" drives much of Kaufman's analysis. McGovern, in an important essay, "Woody Guthrie's American Century," probed the dimensions of what Kaufman sees as "changing perceptions and dynamics of ethnicity and race; shifting relations and expectations between genders; the crossed frontiers of atomic power; and the building of war machines such as the world had never seen."

By organizing the book thematically, Kaufman is able to release himself from dwelling on the obligatory background on Woody's early life. Instead, he opens the book with two chapters casting Guthrie as living both a "modern life" and as a modernist artist. He then explores a plethora of contemporary themes in Guthrie's life and writings to drive his points home. In a chapter titled "Ribbon of Highway," Kaufman explores the impact that traveling across the country over its roads and in automobiles had on shaping Guthrie's art and his commitments to social justice as well as his engagement with jalopies, Hoovervilles, and the lives of his fellow travellers along America's roadways during the Great Depression. He also zeroes in on one of the most complicated aspects of Guthrie's life, his inability settle down in one place. Kaufman notes that Guthrie came to see his life on the road as the only way to gather creative material, as he stated in a letter to his second wife, Marjorie: "Travel is the only way to get material to write about."

But the road wasn't Guthrie's only artery. In "Long Steel Rails and Ships in the Sky," Kaufman explores Guthrie's engagement with trains and airplanes — two modern conveyances that captivated Woody's imagination. Kaufman's deep research into Guthrie's unpublished lyrics in this chapter alone requires close scrutiny for those who want to know more about Woody's writing than can be glimpsed from his published catalog. Noting Guthrie's dislike of

freight trains, a contradiction to many romanticized views of Woody's life, he explores the links between railroads and capitalism, one of the sources that made life so hard for the Okies, Arkies, and other displaced Americans who needed to hop trains to get around the country as they looked for work during the Depression. Not only does Kaufman focus on this well-known aspect of Guthrie's output, but he also explores how passenger trains and the subways of New York inspired Woody's modernist approach to writing folksongs in ways that that exemplify Kaufman's thesis of Guthrie's being both a modern and a modernist. Following the trains, Kaufman explores Guthrie's vast and mostly unpublished lyrics about airplanes and flying saucers, portraying Guthrie as not only moved by the sights around him, but also by the Cold War fascination with science fiction and space travel. Kaufman ends the chapter with a discussion of Guthrie's use of the conception of the wheel as a flying saucer and as a throwback to biblical times. It appears in his original songs as well as in the old spiritual, "Ezekiel Saw the Wheel," which he recorded for Folkways Records in the 1940s. To Kaufman, Guthrie's use of the wheel in both modern and in traditional ways represents both the sweep of modernization and the "counter-revolutions," defamiliarization, and disorientation that goes along with rapid changes that define the modern era. Instead of competing notions, Kaufman sees these uses of the wheel as consistent with modern development, pointing out that "perhaps the invention of the wheel in and of itself is the first step toward modernity."

As Kaufman's analysis continues, he deftly expands the theoretical underpinnings of his study. In a chapter focusing on Guthrie's song cycle on the Bonneville Power Administration's social democratic experiment, he engages with Hartmut Rosa's views on modernity as an accelerant to the pace of life and the creation of circuitous loops that play out as new technological developments arise, creating the "dizzying ride" that leads to what Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman defined as "the horror of ambiguity" a mélange of feelings spawned by the rapidity and sheer volume of changes that led, in Guthrie's case, to "the accumulation of social and technological knowledge — both positive and negative" — an education "compounded by considerable personal trauma." This experience led Guthrie to both praise and condemn the advances of technology. Investigating a series of unpublished lyrics, Kaufman sheds light on Guthrie's often conflicted views of everything from electrification to air pollution.

Moving on from massive structural changes in transportation, aviation, and environmental technology, Kaufman goes on to probe Guthrie's engagement with communication in a lively chapter titled "Hold the 'Fone — It's Radio Time!" He sets up the discussion by introducing modernist theories on the telephone, including those

forwarded by Marcel Proust and Sam Halliday, by exploring a variety of Guthrie's writings about the telephone. Kaufman focuses particularly on an unpublished bit of verse written by a dejected Guthrie shortly after Marjorie had given birth to their first child, Cathy, and had gone back to live with her husband, Joe Mazia. In the piece, Guthrie expressed his frustration in calling his lover and getting nothing but a busy signal, ending the effort by repeating the word "Buzz" nine consecutive times. Kaufman also points out that despite such dejected odes, Guthrie also "desired 'communication and the many forms it took," again building on the work of modernist theorists such as Mark Goble and Comentale. Kaufman uses that point to explore Guthrie's association with, perhaps, the first truly revolutionary communications breakthrough of the twentieth century, the radio. He then launches into an informative and lively analysis of Guthrie's early radio tastes from listening to the Grand Ol' Opry and the rural stations that served his hometowns of Okemah, Oklahoma and Pampa, Texas when he was growing up. He discusses Guthrie's early radio career from his days with Maxine "Lefty Lou" Crissman on KFVD radio in California to his work in New York on major networks and his hopes during that time to use the radio as an instrument for progressive change. Unfortunately, the Cold War and its accompanying Second Red Scare made such dreams "a much more difficult enterprise than he imagined."

In a natural progression from the influence of radio, Kaufman investigates Guthrie's affiliation with the record industry, the phonograph being the more personalized way of accessing music and ideas. He rightly points out Guthrie's conflicting views on the subject by noting his personal dissatisfaction with the commercialization of the record industry and his own experiences as a recording artist. He deftly moves the analysis from Guthrie's association with records to the impact of movies on both his life and art as well as his infatuation with Ingrid Bergman. Sifting through a variety of Guthrie's writings, including his journalistic endeavors, Kaufman again identifies a modernist conflict within Guthrie's thought on both the inspirational value of artistic films to the "iron grip of McCarthyism on the film industry."

Kaufman then explores Guthrie's fascination with the atomic bomb and science. He moves Guthrie through the war years, concentrating on his shifting stances over the war and the use of the A-bomb. Initially a pacifist who opposed the war because he saw through the capitalists pushing for a war that would no doubt be fought by workers, Guthrie ultimately embraced it and many of its developments with enthusiasm. Kaufman attributes Guthrie's change of heart to the "about-face of the American Left after Pearl Harbor" as well as two deeply personal issues: the birth of his daughter Cathy and his marriage to Marjorie Greenblatt Mazia and her Jewish family.

(Some consideration of Guthrie's distrust of Hitler after he violated the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union six months before the attack on the Hawaiian base might have been worth exploring in this chapter.) All of these issues no doubt influenced Guthrie's change of heart. In terms of Guthrie's artistic musings, Kaufman expertly works through Guthrie's initial support for using the bomb in songs like "Freedom's Fire" and his letters that supported Truman's initial assertions that using the bomb, as destructive as it was, would ultimately save thousands of innocent lives. He then follows Guthrie coming to grips with the horrors unleashed on the world by the use and development of the atomic menace. Oddly, given his exploration of Guthrie's fascination with movies in his previous chapter, Kaufman misses an opportunity to point out how seeing the docudrama The Beginning or the End at the Sheepshead Theater in Brooklyn in 1948 had led Woody to complete the song "Dance Around My Atom Fire," which reveals Woody's newfound concerns about the bomb. He closes the chapter by tracing Guthrie's reactions to rapid international postwar changes in Chiang Kai-Check's China, the Soviet Union, the development of the UN, and the Korean War all signature events that compliment Hartmut Rosa's views on the rapid acceleration of modern life.

All this emphasis on science began to reshape Guthrie's worldview in the late 1940s and early 1950s, especially as his illness forced him to interact with physicians and hospitals on a daily basis. Kaufman points to the Modernist/Marxist ideas of George Novack who saw in the advance of science a beacon of hope that socialism would eventually replace capitalism because of its scientific and dialectic underpinnings. Kaufman notes that Woody's view of future proletarian utopias mirrored Novack's theories. Searching through some of Guthrie's writings about science, especially about concepts like light and molecules, Kaufman argues that "Guthrie's scientism — for it can be called nothing else — was connected to his overriding political mission of enabling the proletariat to realize their rightful power and influence on a world that was 'best controlled by those who are up on the science of struggle." He even sees Guthrie's scientism as "his near-religious faith in the efficacy of scientific systemization," a commitment so close to Woody's evolving worldview that he could even use it to explain his own obsessions with sex and masturbation. As Guthrie increasingly struggled with the symptoms of Huntington's disease, especially during the period when doctors attributed his erratic behavior to everything from alcoholism to schizophrenia, he became more engaged and more disillusioned with his prior hopes that science could provide all the answers, particularly as the Cold War's impact on America seemed to lead the country farther and farther away from the proletarian utopia of Guthrie's dreams. Such conflict was very much at the heart of the

modernist critique and the confusion and ambiguity of the modern world. Woody Guthrie felt and expressed that conflict extremely well.

In a complex chapter, "The Unity of Disunity," Kaufman traces Guthrie's proletarian transformation from what Wayne Hampton described as a movement from simple union advocacy in the 1930s to the "'Utopian,' 'mystical,' and even 'escapist' union songs of the mid 1930s." He juxtaposes those artistic developments against Guthrie's actual history as a laborer, pointing out that in addition to his youthful dabbling as a sign painter, his most sustained stint as a "worker" came during his time in the merchant marine. He also takes a close look at some of Guthrie's most overlooked writings, his novel House of Earth and his writings on his experiences in Italy as a merchant seaman. In those works, Kaufman sees ample evidence of Guthrie's modernism as they embrace the kind of "totalization and essentialism" that characterize modernist art. These perceptions raised conflicts in Guthrie's worldview, especially in his ideas about music as he moved from seeing jazz as the medium of the bosses, to praising folk music as the saving grace of the proletariat, to embracing John Cage's avant garde retreat from traditional harmony and incorporation of industrial sounds in his compositions. Kaufman concludes that "Guthrie had come to accept that the world of music was in fact a world of musics, and that in the tonal realm, as in every other, he would inevitably embrace a sort of 'unity of disunity'," which ultimately allowed Woody to enter a "much broader musical territory, where he can be seen interacting energetically with the various and often conflicting dimensions of American modernity."

These "various and conflicting dimensions" lead Kaufman to an energetic discussion of Guthrie's extremely complex ideas about sex and gender in a chapter titled "I Say to You Woman and Man." Kaufman explores Guthrie's relationships to women in both progressive and counter-progressive ways, seeing Woody's views as a contradiction in terms. He embraced the early twentieth-century progressive ideas that Michael Denning has labeled "refusal of the patriarch," and yet he also exhibited what Bill Nowlin has addressed as Guthrie's seeing women in traditional patriarchal ways as the keeper of the home (although Nowlin acknowledged that Guthrie's ideas "evolved" over time). Progressives might not be shocked by such inconsistencies — the twentieth-century Left's struggles with patriarchy and sexism are well documented. What might shake up some readers, however, are Kaufman's analyses of Guthrie's negative views on homosexuality and his opposition to abortion. Those revelations, however, should not be too shocking to anyone who studies the history of twentieth-century progressive movements or Woody's life. Guthrie's evolution as a progressive came about as much through personal experiences as through exposure to Popular Front politics. Given the fact that his views toward civil rights for

African Americans and his ideas about women were so conflicted, it should not come as a surprise that his ideas about abortion and homosexuality had yet to evolve to the same level.

In a spirited chapter titled "Blacks + Jews = Blues," Kaufman examines Guthrie's deep engagement with the Jewish diaspora through his relationships with friends like Ed Robbin and his incorporation into his second wife Marjorie's Jewish family. Kaufman argues that Guthrie's horror at the Holocaust might have spurred on even more of his evolution as a progressive than his relationships with African Americans and inherited views on slavery. Guthrie's evolving compassion for the other amidst a country filled with racism, anti-semitism, and segregation led him to believe that the only viable solution in the modern world would be massive miscegenation that would lead to the creation of a "mono-race" that would effectively end the differences that divided people from the "other." In tracing Guthrie's evolution, Kaufman leads the reader to one of the focal points of Guthrie's modernity — his engagement with urban life, especially in Los Angeles in the late 1930s and in New York City, the place that was Woody's home for most of his life.

These modern metropolises, to Kaufman, served as "urban centrifuges," vital pieces of lab equipment that transformed Woody from his regional, racist, patriarchal identity and into the modern citizen, with the modernist views that Kaufman sees as so essential to understanding Guthrie's works. Woody's experiences with leftists in California, hobnobbing with intellectual elites in New York, where he lived for most of his adult life, and the way his "hillbilly 'rube' facade" ingratiated him to the Big Apple's intelligentsia and artistic community all equate to his modern and modernist sensibilities. Moving to Coney Island also introduced Guthrie to the city's "great multicultural humanity." But city life also took its toll. The death of his young daughter Cathy in 1947 along with the Cold War's devastating impact on the Popular Front in the United States and the narrowed demand for Guthrie's brand of music led to the significant decline of his artistic fortunes. This combination of loss and decline, coupled with the onset of Huntington's disease, ushered in a new and truly tragic era of Guthrie's life, one that ultimately led to his permanent hospitalization. Closing with the poetic notion that "Oklahomans, Texans, Angelenos, and New Yorkers may well argue over who created Woody Guthrie," Kaufman asserts that New York was "both a magnet and his final centrifuge, drawing him like millions of others into its center, spinning him around in the whirl of its modernity, separating his art from his inner thoughts, and dispersing it outward, all around the world. Like modern American culture itself, Woody Guthrie is now, to borrow Comentale's phrase, 'deterritorialized.' He is both nowhere and everywhere."

In a short concluding chapter, Kaufman draws on Guthrie's own assessment of his modern, complex position in the world. Subtitled "Constant Changer," after a short poem of the same title that Guthrie wrote describing his own mercurial existence, the conclusion eestablishes that Guthrie possessed all of the contradictions and instabilities of the modernists and of the modern period, perhaps even exhibiting qualities of the *avante garde*, if not in his actual paintings and drawings, but in his ever evolving ideas and expressions. He even relates Guthrie's later life retreat into a hospital-induced pseudo-Christianity to Sartre's awareness of the "broken promise" of modernity.

No one who studies Guthrie can really come to grips with all of the contradictions and inconsistencies that appear in his extant papers. The same problem emerges during the investigation of any historical figure who has left behind a significant amount of evidence of their lives. Humans are an inconsistent bunch, and Woody Guthrie is not only a good example, but also, perhaps, a shining illustration of such conflicted feelings and changes. Kaufman portrays that inconsistency so expertly in Modern World Blues that it is difficult to quarrel or even quibble with his analysis. As he did in Woody Guthrie, American Radical (2011), Kaufman sets out a theoretical framework that seemingly fits Guthrie like a well-worn pair of dungarees. But unlike the American radical whose early racism, lack of real experience as a laborer, and homespun grasp of Popular Front ideology identified him as an example of a man of the radical era, the Guthrie that appears in *Modern World Blues* is more nuanced, and his complexities and contradictions are explained by the expansive, flexible, and contradictory nature of both of these elusive constructs: modernity and modernism. Kaufman has given readers a view of Guthrie that is at once difficult to fathom and immediately recognizable, at least to those who have sifted through Guthrie's remains, — not the ashes in the can that his son Arlo tossed out into the sea on the pier at Coney Island after Woody's death, but the remains that lay, as Kaufman points out, in the unpublished work that make up the lions's share of the Woody Guthrie Archives in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The Woody Guthrie that has emerged in the public imagination can mean many different things to many different people. Ronald Radosh and Jonny Whiteside, for example, might dwell on his racist ideas in the 1930s. But Kaufman — and Guthrie in his own assertion of himself as a "Constant Changer" — hit much closer to the mark and to the man. In the context of such wide frameworks as modernity and modernism, just about anything can factor into the equation. And that is probably the greatest contribution of Kaufman's book. One leaves it with an even more complicated and sophisticated

understanding of both the "hillbilly rube" and the elite artist. That is truly exciting.

MARK F. FERNANDEZ