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THE COVER

The recently completed quarters of the Nevada Historical Society.

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John Neely Johnson, president of the 1864 Nevada Constitutional Convention, in which the delegates adopted a strong statement of paramount allegiance to the federal government.

Accepting the Verdict:

National Supremacy As Expressed in State Constitutions, 1861–1912

by Michael J. Brodhead

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR was fought, in part at least, to determine whether the Union was indissolvable and its government sovereign. Arguments concerning other issues should not obscure the fact that blood and iron created a unitary nation, much in the same manner as in Italy and Germany during the same period.

Before the war, the sovereignty question had been extensively debated. Even the staunchest unionists, however, believed that the states possessed some degree of sovereignty. Many debaters admitted that both the federal and state governments were sovereign within their respective spheres. Several agreed that President Buchanan had been correct in stating that the Constitution did not explicitly forbid secession. It was Lincoln's task to present a constitutional interpretation denying the right of states to leave the Union. In doing so, he went beyond earlier champions of federal supremacy such as Joseph Story and Daniel Webster, virtually saying that the United States was a unitary nation. The Supreme Court and the Congress later strengthened his extreme position. The *Texas* v. *White* decision (1869), the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and the Reconstruction laws made it clear that the federal government possessed the supreme and ultimate power.

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The above concepts are well known to historians and need not be elaborated upon here. What has been ignored is the response of the people and the states to the new federal omnipotence. To measure the changed attitudes in the hearts and minds of citizens in all sections would be difficult. What can be done, however, is to look to the state constitutions adopted during and after the Civil War and take note of the attempts made in those documents to define the relationship of the state and its citizens to the government in Washington.

Before the Civil War, none of the state constitutions touched directly on the question. Afterwards, declarations of federal supremacy were found in almost all of the constitutions of the southern states. They were also incorporated in the constitutions of the new states of the West. At first glance, it is natural to assume that in the case of the South, vindictive unionists had inflicted them upon the defeated rebels—centralizing salt in state's rights wounds. Such a conclusion seems to be strengthened when it is noted that almost none of the constitutions drawn up during the period of mild presidential Reconstruction recognized the supremacy of the federal government. Georgia's constitution of 1865 was a partial exception. Article V, section 1.5 declared that the "Laws in general operation now in force in this State are 1st, as the supreme law, the Constitution of the United States; the laws of the United States in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States. . . ."[1]

The constitutions of the Radical Reconstruction period went beyond this simple repetition of what was plainly stated in the federal Constitution (Article VI). By 1870, all of the constitutions of the former Confederate states, except those of Tennessee and Texas, proclaimed that the "paramount allegiance" was to the federal government.[2] These statements were generally included in the "bill of rights" portion of the constitutions. In the same section, or in many cases, in separate sections, the right to secede was denied.

A typical rendering of these doctrines is in South Carolina's constitution of 1868 (Article I, sections 4 and 5):

> Every citizen of this State owes paramount allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States, and no law or ordinance of this State in contravention or subversion thereof can have any binding force. This State shall ever remain a member of the American Union, and all attempts, from whatever source, or upon whatever pretext, to dissolve the said Union shall be resisted with the whole power of the State.

The printed deliberations of the various constitutional conventions show that these provisions received scant attention. In some conventions they were not debated at all. While it is true that the Radicals in all cases had majorities powerful enough to pass them easily, it is curious to find so little opposition coming from the Democratic-Conservative minorities. These sections were not required by any act of Congress. Moreover, the doctrine of *paramount* allegiance to the federal government was novel and

obnoxious even to many northerners. How can the retreat from principle by the southern conservatives be explained? In part the answer lies in their desire to haggle over more pressing matters, such as the new status of the Negro. Beyond this, there is evidence to indicate that they accepted the verdict of the war. To many of them the abstractions of the sovereignty question had been settled permanently on the battle fields. The new attitude is reflected in the remarks of Governor James L. Orr to the constitutional convention of South Carolina. The governor, a former Confederate States senator, explained to the delegates that

> The doctrine of States rights, as taught in South Carolina, has been exploded by the war. The allegiance of the citizen according to the results of the controversy, is due to the Government of the United States, and not to the State. I recognize this doctrine to the fullest extent, and, in my inaugural message as Governor of the State, I announced my judgement that heretofor the supremacy of the United States Government over the State was undisputed and indisputable. I am aware that many of my contemporaries deny the proposition, but, if I can properly comprehend the legitimate sequences of war, no other result presents itself to my mind.[3]

As in most other conventions during Radical Reconstruction, the conservative delegates in South Carolina voted against the paramount allegiance and non-secession sections without giving their reasons for doing so. The Radical point of view was well expressed in the valedictory remarks of A. G. Mackey, president of the convention:

> . . . we have obliterated from our political system that most pernicious heresy of State sovereignty—a heresy which, for nearly half a century, taught by our leaders, had, like an *ignis fatius* [*sic*], led the people of South Carolina, on more than one occasion, to the brink of rebellion, until there arose at length, as a necessary result of this doctrine, one of the most fratricidal wars that the world ever saw. The theory of a divided allegiance, and of a sovereignty within a sovereignty, alike incongruous with all the principles of political science and with the system of national power established by our fathers, has received from you a death blow. . . . In establishing this principle of a paramount allegiance to the national Government, you have thrown a protection around the national life for the future, and you have justified the acts of the Union men, who, in the midst of a wide-spread and threatened rebellion, nobly stood by this doctrine you have announced, and would not acknowledge that the State, however much they loved it as their home, could supplant in their affections, the nation from which they received protection.[4]

The allegiance and non-secession statements were neither imposed from above nor vigorously resisted by the southern conservatives. More importantly, the principles first appeared in constitutions of states that had not been members of the Confederacy: self-reconstructing Maryland and Missouri and the new states of West Virginia and Nevada. A proposed Illinois constitution of 1862 incorporated the concept of a permanent union (Article II, section 31), but this instrument was never adopted.[5] West Virginia's constitution of 1861–1863 announced that the

state "shall be and will remain one of the United States of America" and that the federal Constitution "and laws and treaties made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land" (Article I, section 1).

A proposed constitution for Nevada, drafted in 1863, contained a full and forceful acknowledgment of national sovereignty (Article I, section 2):

> All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for the protection, security and benefit of the people; and they have the right to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it. But the paramount allegiance of every citizen is due to the Federal Government; and no power exists in the people of this or any other State of the Federal Union to dissolve their connection therewith, or perform any act tending to impair, subvert or resist the supreme authority of the Government of the United States. The Constitution of the United States confers full power on the Federal Government to maintain and perpetuate its existence, and whensoever any portion of the States, or the people thereof, attempt to secede from the Federal Union, or forcibly resist the execution of its laws, the Federal Government may, by warrant of the Constitution, employ armed force in compelling obedience to its authority.[6]

The voters of the territory, however, rejected the constitution. In 1864, the Radical majority at the Maryland constitutional convention inserted the "paramount allegiance" principle in their handiwork (Article 5 of the "Declaration of Rights") and the acceptance of the document by the voters made it the first effective constitution to embody the term "paramount allegiance":

> The Constitution of the United States and laws made in pursuance thereof being the supreme law of the land, every citizen of this State owes paramount allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States, and is not bound by any law or ordinance of this State in contravention or subversion thereof.

The conservative delegates at the Maryland convention, unlike their fellows in the former Confederate states, committed themselves to a fight against the "novel" doctrine. These gentlemen were armed with the pronouncements of the great American authorities on constitutionalism and sovereignty. They were able to draw from the vast body of writing, court decisions, and oratory that had accumulated in the seventy-five years of wrangling over the nature of the Union. Their Radical opponents responded in kind. Madison, Hamilton, Jackson, Lincoln, John Marshall, Webster, Jefferson, and Maryland's own Luther Martin were quoted freely in support of both sides. Since the principles debated at Annapolis in the spring of 1864 were to be repeated in many of the constitutional conventions of other states for the next half-century, they may be summarized here.

After the committee on the Declaration of Rights had presented its report, including the provision on paramount allegiance, three members

of the committee submitted a minority view. They objected to the allegiance article, arguing that neither the Founding Fathers nor the framers of other state constitutions had found it necessary to "insert amongst the rights and prerogatives of their citizens any language enforcing the obligations of allegiance to the General Government of the United States." They further believed that civil strife did not necessitate a "voluntary offering of allegiance to the [federal] Government, on the assumed condition of hostility in the legislation of the State to the Government of the United States."[7]

The arguments of delegate Daniel Clarke were representative of the sentiments of the conservatives. He held that both the states and the federal government possessed certain sovereign powers and therefore allegiance was owed equally to both; each was sovereign within its sphere as defined by the United States Constitution. Neither had paramount sovereignty and thus, he contended, paramount allegiance was not due to one or the other. His thinking in this regard was based on the divided sovereignty concept as explained by Madison in the *Federalist* and Chief Justice Marshall in *McCulloch* v. *Maryland*.[8] Clarke also quoted Blackstone's *Commentaries* to demonstrate that "paramount" allegiance involved the feudal concept of "liege" allegiance; and if the principle of paramount allegiance was adopted, the Maryland citizen, like the vassal of old, would be compelled to follow the dictates of the "liege lord" (the federal government) should a conflict of loyalties arise. The citizen would be forced to obey the national government "irrespective of the question whether the government is exercising its proper powers or usurped powers."[9]

Delegate Miller argued from the familiar historical interpretation of state's rights advocates. According to him, the federal Constitution was adopted by fully independent and sovereign states. Although he denied the right of secession, he opposed the notion of a consolidated government.[10]

Few of the members cared to advocate the extreme state's rights position which denied the federal government any sovereign power. Calhoun and his theories were anathema; and the Radicals at this and subsequent conventions branded those who opposed the extreme national sovereignty position as Calhounites. Only one Maryland conservative, delegate Edward F. Belt, contended, *a la* Calhoun, that the federal government was "practically a mere agent" of the sovereign states. He further charged that Lincoln was the only man ever to assert the proposition that the Union had created the states. The war, said Belt, had brought the consolidation theory into practice.[11]

The champions of the proposed article responded with equally elaborate testimony. The chairman of the committee on the Declaration of Rights, Archibald Stirling, admitted that Article 5 was somewhat of a novelty and that war-time was perhaps not the best time to introduce a change in the interpretation of supremacy. Nevertheless, he believed that

the war clearly demonstrated the results of an inadequate definition of constitutional supremacy. According to Stirling, if the state constitutions had contained sections declaring that the primary loyalty of the citizen was to his national government, there would have been no Civil War. He cited the example of Stonewall Jackson, who believed that Virginia's secession ordinance released him from his oath to support the United States Constitution because Jackson assumed that he owed his first allegiance to his state.

Stirling also defended the inclusion of the article in the Declaration of Rights: "I consider the right of the people of Maryland to the existence of the National Government, to the preservation of the Union, and the perpetuation of the Supreme Court of the United States to be only one of their rights, but so far as government can be a political right, the very dearest right they can possess."[12]

Few, if any, of the Radicals were prepared to advance the theory of absolute national sovereignty. They too accepted the "two spheres" doctrine of sovereignty. But they insisted that the federal government possessed the ultimate power. Delegate George W. Sands put it bluntly: "There is a difference between the sovereignty of the United States and the sovereignty of a State, and it is this: the one is paramount, and the other is subordinate."[13]

His colleague, Cushing of Baltimore, advocated the adoption of the article on the grounds that the federal government could give, and was giving, protection to the state of Maryland in time of war. The federal government was exercising its supremacy for the good of the people of Maryland and should therefore, Cushing reasoned, receive recognition of its paramount authority and power.[14]

Another Radical, Ridgely, explained that the article was simply the logical extension of the language of the United States Constitution: If the Constitution was the supreme law, supreme allegiance was owed to it. Recognizing that the objectionable word in the article was "allegiance," he argued that it was synonymous with "obedience," a term that the conservatives had employed when they were defining the proper relationship of the people to the federal Constitution.[15]

In contrast to Ridgely's conciliatory tone, John L. Thomas took an extreme position. He reiterated Lincoln's view that the Union existed before the creation of the states. He accepted Webster's concept of the Constitution as a fundamental law agreed to by the people, rather than a compact made by sovereign states. The Constitution was therefore supreme and paramount, "over-riding and controlling all local State governments."[16]

After the prolix debate, the article was adopted by a vote of 53 to 32.[17] It is apparent that the delegates of both parties were cognizant of the full meaning of the paramount allegiance idea which their new constitution enunciated. As one of the conservatives put it, ". . . by this Constitution

the cardinal principle of the rights of the State have been repudiated, and a rapid stride is taken toward centralization of power in the Federal Government."[18] The statement is, of course, an exaggeration. One small portion of the constitution of one small state could hardly cause a sweeping change in the power structure of the American Union. But Article 5 was significant. It was the first statement of its kind ever to be included in a state constitution—an emphatic declaration that the first loyalty of the citizen was to the national government. It was the first time that a fundamental law of one of the states proclaimed the state to be, in effect, a mere sub-division of a sovereign nation.[19]

The rejection of the proposed constitution of 1863 denied Nevada the credit for being the first state to have a constitution embodying the paramount allegiance concept. In the summer of 1864, a convention met to draft an instrument more acceptable to the people of the territory. By the re-adoption of Article I, section 2, of the proposed constitution of the previous year, the Nevada constitution of 1864 (which was accepted by the voters) contained—and still contains—the most forthright, all-encompassing statement of subordination to the national power to be found in the organic law of any state. The delegates even strengthened the earlier declaration by adding to the third sentence an acknowledgment of the power of judicial review, as indicated in the italicized portion: "But the paramount allegiance of every citizen is due to the Federal Government, *in the exercise of all its constitutional powers, as the same have been, or may be, defined by the Supreme Court of the United States. . . .*"

Pro-Union sentiment in Nevada's constitutional convention was particularly strong. Curiously, however, the debate over Article I, section 2, was heated and prolonged. Only one delegate, Francis M. Proctor, the lone Democrat at the convention, voted against the measure in its final form.[20] But other members, Republicans and Unionists, had qualms about such a bold assertion of federal sovereignty. Most of them, however, favored some statement defining the relationship of Nevada's citizens to the government on the banks of the Potomac. The views of delegate Thomas Fitch exemplify the reservations of many of his colleagues. He held that both the state and general governments possessed sovereignty, and that the citizen owed allegiance to both; therefore, "paramount allegiance" was "an unhappy combination of terms." He admitted the *supremacy* of the federal Constitution and laws and denied the right of nullification, but cautioned against letting patriotism lead to a denial of certain rights and sovereign attributes of states: "Let us not mar the symmetry of the structure we hope to erect by the language of extravagance, even if it be the extravagance of loyalty, or by the insertion of an uncomely surplusage of what those who come after us may designate as questionable and indistinct patriotism."[21] On the final vote for the section, Fitch and others ignored or suspended their qualms and voted with the majority in accepting it. Nevada's paramount allegiance section was

copied almost *verbatim* by the Radical constitution-makers of Arkansas in 1868 (Article I, section 1).

Another loyal, self-reconstructing border state, Missouri, promulgated a new constitution in 1865 which contained both the paramount allegiance and non-secession concepts (Article I, sections 6 and 7):

> . . . this State shall ever remain a member of the American Union; the people thereof are a part of the American nation; and . . . all attempts, from whatever source or upon whatever pretext, to dissolve said Union or to sever said nation ought to be resisted with the whole power of the State.
>
> . . . every citizen of this State owes paramount allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States, and . . . no law or ordinance of this State in contravention or subversion thereof can have any binding force.

The printed proceedings of the convention indicate that there was little debate over these sections.[22]

It is not surprising that the non-secession and paramount allegiance sections first appeared in the constitutions of border states demonstrating their loyalty to the Union, or in the organic laws of the war-born states of West Virginia and Nevada. It is likewise natural to find such declarations of federal supremacy in the constitutions drawn up during Radical Reconstruction. What is striking is the *retention* of such statements in the constitutions drafted by conservatives of the "redeemed" South in the post-Reconstruction period of the 1870s and 1880s.

The paramount allegiance sections were kept in the "redeemer" constitutions of North Carolina (1876), Florida (1885),[23] and Mississippi (1890). Attempts to strike out or modify the wording were feeble and easily defeated in all three conventions.

Although none of the other states kept the sections intact, most of the southern constitutions of the seventies and eighties contained some statement of the relationship of the state and its citizens to the federal government. The "redeemer" constitutions of South Carolina, Arkansas, Virginia, and Louisiana contained no such statement; but South Carolina and Virginia did not replace the Radical constitutions until 1895 and 1902 respectively.

The Alabama constitution of 1875 declared that "The people of this State accept as final the established fact that from the Federal Union there can be no secession of any State" (Article I, section 35). At the convention, a minority report on the bill of rights submitted a substitute embodying the paramount allegiance idea. It was tabled—as were proposed amendments emphasizing state's rights.[24] Georgia's constitution of 1877 simply stated that "Legislative acts in violation of this Constitution, or the Constitution of the United States are void, and the Judiciary shall so declare them" (Article I, section IV, paragraph II).

The Texas constitution of 1876 struck a more defiant note:

> Texas is a free and independent State, subject only to the Constitution of the United States; and the maintenance of our free institutions and the perpetuity of the Union depend upon the preservation of the right of local self-government unimpaired to all the States [Article I, section 1].

Despite the chip-on-shoulder tone, it should be noticed that although the Texans described their state as "free and independent," they did not claim sovereignty. Moreover, they preferred the euphemism "local self-government" rather than "state's rights." An attempt to substitute "subject only to" with "limited only by" failed.[25]

The majority of the states of the former Confederacy, then, felt it incumbent to define, explicitly or implicitly, the nature of the American Union. Why were they so willing to do so when there was no longer any pressure from the Radicals? Recent interpretations of the period have stressed the desire of the Bourbon leaders of the South during the post-Reconstruction era to put their region in the mainstream of American destiny. They strove to tie the South's economy to that of the other parts of the Union. They wanted a voice in the direction of national policy. The "New South" was but part of a new, consolidated nation. The consolidation had been achieved by force of arms and the leaders of the South in the later nineteenth century accepted the fact. The departure of the carpet-baggers was not the signal for reviving Calhounism. The spirit of the period, the section, and southern leadership were reflected in the salutatory remarks of Samuel Pasco, president of Florida's constitutional convention of 1885: "The present is an auspicious time for entering upon the work of [constitutional] revision. The passions engendered by the late war have cooled; the Union is firmly restored and permanently established; the people have become accustomed to their new political relations. . . ."[26] The address of Leroy Pope Walker, president of the 1875 Alabama convention (and a former Confederate cabinet member) struck a similar note: "The events of the last decade have eliminated from our institutions the only element of sectional controversy. Let us recognize this fact with a broad significance, and incorporate into the Constitution the National spirit and the National law of the perfect political and civil equality of all men, of whatever race, color, or previous condition."[27]

Pronounced opposition to the paramount allegiance principle came, oddly enough, in the loyal border states. In 1867 the Democrats of Maryland elected all of their candidates to the constitutional convention.[28] A mere repetition (Article 2 of the Declaration of Rights) of the supremacy clause of the United States Constitution replaced the Radical-inspired allegiance article of the 1864 instrument. Article 3 was substantially a reiteration of the Tenth Amendment; and Article 4 declared that "the People of this State have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof, as a free, sovereign and independent State."

A more prolonged debate took place in the Missouri convention of

1875. There was again no apparent desire to retain the paramount allegiance doctrine; but since many members of the convention were Union and Confederate veterans, there arose a heated argument over what was to replace it. The original proposal of the committee drafting the bill of rights stated that "all political power is vested in the people of the State with those limitations only which are imposed by the Constitution of the United States. . . ."[29]

A delegate of the state's rights persuasion objected to the word "imposed": "I say there is nothing imposed on the State by the Constitution of the United States: that Constitution exists by a grant of power from the states."[30]

The reply to this and similar remarks came from a delegate who had been a soldier of the Confederacy and "a former believer in State rights":

> The question [of federal supremacy] was hotly contested four long years, and finally a decision was rendered, and though it was against me any my comrades, yet I must regard it as final, and I assure you . . . that those who were with me at Bull Run, at Manassas, at Balls Bluff, at Richmond, Kentucky, at Vicksburg, at Champion Hill, at Knoxville, and other points where the case was argued are equally content to recognize this as a settled question. . . . [This] Section of the Bill of Rights simply asserts the fact that the States are subordinate to the general Government; that they have no rights and can have none in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the Federal Government.
>
> I have no objection to the recognition of the supremacy of the Federal Government, as set forth in this declaration. . . .[31]

In its final form, the statement of federal supremacy in the Missouri constitution of 1875 was similar to that of the Texas instrument of 1876:

> . . . Missouri is a free and independent State, subject only to the Constitution of the United States; and as the preservation of the States and maintainance of their governments are necessary to an indestructible Union, and were intended to co-exist with it, the Legislature is not authorized to adopt, nor will the people of this State ever assent to, any amendment or change of the Constitution of the United States which may in anywise impair the right of local self-government belonging to the people of this State (Article II, section 3).

In the third border state drafting a new constitution in the decade after the war, there was again a reaction to the concept of federal supremacy. The West Virginia constitution of 1872 retained the non-secession statement of the state's first constitution. But two attempts by delegate Waitman T. Wiley to insert the paramount allegiance idea met with defeat.[32] The majority of the delegates voted instead for declarations stressing state's rights and rigid interpretation of the federal Constitution (Article I, sections 2 and 3):

> The government of the United States is a government of enumerated powers, and all powers not delegated to it, nor inhibited to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people thereof. Among the powers so

> reserved by the States, is the exclusive regulation of their own internal government and police; and it is the high and solemn duty of the several departments of government, created by this Constitution, to guard and protect the people of this State, from all encroachments upon the rights so reserved.
>
> The provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and of this State, are operative alike in a period of war as in time of peace, and any departure therefrom, or violation thereof, under the plea of necessity, or any other plea, is subversive of good government, and tends to anarchy and despotism.

Most of the states of the trans-Mississippi West being admitted to the Union included in their organic laws statements of the supremacy of the federal Constitution, or the permanency of the Union, or both. None of them, however, followed Nevada's lead in the matter of the paramount allegiance doctrine.

Nebraska adopted two constitutions in this period; one in 1867 and another ten years later. Neither alluded to the nature of the federal Union or the United States Constitution. The next western constitution adopted, Colorado's of 1876, contained a section which branded its drafters as more state's-rightist than the southern constitution-makers of the same era:

> . . . the people of this State have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, sovereign, and independent State, and to alter and abolish their constitution and form of government whenever they may deem it necessary to their safety and happiness, provided such change be not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States (Article II, section 2).

Montana's constitution of 1889 had an identical section. Thus Colorado, Montana, Maryland, and later (1910), New Mexico, were designated as "sovereign"—a word not found in any of the constitutions of the former Confederate states.

Unlike the other western constitutional conventions, the convention to form a new organic law for California in 1879 was the scene of a hard-fought battle over the question of federal supremacy. In fact, the debate was longer and more intense than in the southern conventions.[33] The explanation seems to lie in the anger of many Californians over the federal government's immigration policies. A strong minority of the delegates were followers of Dennis Kearney; and the baiters of "John Chinaman" were in no mood to admit the supremacy of a government then in the process of thwarting their programs of repression. President Hayes had recently vetoed an immigration bill because he believed it to be a violation of the Burlingame treaty of 1868, which allowed free immigration to the United States from China. Furthermore, the federal Supreme Court had ruled that California had no right to interfere with foreign immigration and had declared California's discriminatory legislation unconstitutional.[34]

One delegate asserted that Calhoun's state sovereignty theories were correct and even denied that the United States was a nation.[35]

The section (number 3 of Article I) that finally emerged was a compromise: "The State of California is an inseparable part of the American Union, and the Constitution is the supreme law of the land." The states of Idaho, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming, Oklahoma, and New Mexico used identical wording in their constitutions. An additional section of New Mexico's constitution of 1910 declared that "The people of the State have the sole right to govern themselves as a free, sovereign and independent State."[36] The constitutions of Washington and Arizona simply stated that "The Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land."[37]

It is understandable that the western constitutions would be less emphatic on the matter of federal supremacy than those written during the high-tide of war-time patriotism or under the auspices of Radical Reconstruction. It is curious, however, that they were less emphatic on that score than some of the southern documents of the 1870s and 1880s. Perhaps it was because the citizens and leaders of the South had experienced first-hand the reality of what had been an almost abstract proposition before the war.

Paramount allegiance, federal supremacy, and "inseperable Union" declarations in the state constitutions were products of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Their continued appearance in constitutions adopted well after the conflict indicates acceptance of the omnipotence of the national government and the permanent Union. They did not end all debate over sovereignty; and their legal significance seems limited when it is noted that most of the state constitutions did not have such statements, while others, such as Nevada's, would make the allegiance and non-secession doctrines applicable to all other states. Their real significance is that they were local manifestations of the post-war spirit of national solidarity and of adjustment to the new centralization.

1. All constitutions referred to, unless otherwise noted, are found in *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies now or heretofore forming the United States of America,* ed. Francis Newton Thorpe, 7 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909).

2. Tennessee, which was never under Radical Reconstruction, had no such statement in its constitution. The Texas constitution of 1868 did not use the term "paramount allegiance," but the concept was implied in Article I, section 1: "The Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties made in pursuance thereof, are acknowledged to be the supreme law; . . . this constitution is framed in harmony with and in subordination thereto; and . . . the fundamental principles embodied herein can only be changed subject to the national authority." The preamble to the bill of rights (Article I) denounced nullification and secession as "heresies" to "be eliminated from future political discussion."

3. *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina, held at Charleston, S.C., begining January 14th and ending March 17th, 1868* (Charleston: Denny & Perry, 1868), pp. 52–3.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 925–6.

5. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois, convened at Springfield, January 7, 1862* (Springfield: C. H. Lanphier, 1862).

6. The debates of Nevada's convention of 1863 were never printed and the manuscript version is unavailable. Fortunately, however, the Nevada State Archives has the manuscript of the convention's minutes. The minutes indicate that Article I, section 2 was the subject of many proposed changes. An earlier draft of the section stated that "the paramount allegiance of every citizen is due to the Federal Government, *in the exercise of all authority conferred by the Constitution of the United States. . . .*" The same draft embodied a statement denying the power to dissolve the Union *"except by consent of the people of all the States of the Union."* Both of these qualifying remarks, italicized here, were deleted from the wording of the section in its final form.

7. *The Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Maryland, assembled at the City of Annapolis, April 27, 1864* (Annapolis: R. P. Bayly, 1864), pp. 81–2.

8. *Ibid*, pp. 273, 303.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 415–27.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 330, 337.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 525–6.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 314.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 314–21.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 489–98.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 534.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 503.

19. William Starr Myers, *The Maryland Constitution of 1864* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1901), pp. 59–60.

20. *Official Report of the Debates and Proceedings in the Constitutional Convention of the State of Nevada, assembled at Carson City, July 4th, 1864, to form a Constitution and State Government* (San Francisco: Frank Eastman, 1866), p. 202.

21. *Ibid.*, 43–4.

22. *Journal of the Missouri State Convention, held at the City of St. Louis, January 6–April 10, 1865* (St. Louis: Missouri Democrat, 1865).

23. A separate non-secession section (number 3 of Article I of the 1868 constitution) was dropped in the 1885 instrument.

24. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Alabama, assembled at the City of Montgomery, September 6, 1875* (Montgomery: W. W. Screws, 1875), pp. 50–3.

25. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Texas, begun and held at the City of Austin, September 6, 1875* (Galveston: The News Office, 1875), p. 435.

26. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of*

Florida, which convened at the Capitol, at Tallahassee, on Tuesday, June 9, 1885 (Tallahassee: N. M. Bowen, 1885), p. 9.

27. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Alabama, . . . 1875,* p. 5.

28. William Starr Myers, *The Self-Reconstruction of Maryland, 1864–1867* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1909), p. 113.

29. *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875,* ed. Isidor Loeb and Floyd C. Shoemaker (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1930–1940), p. 426.

30. *Ibid.,* p. 538.

31. *Ibid.,* p. 540.

32. *Journal of Constitutional Convention, assembled at Charleston, West Virginia, January 16, 1872* (Charleston: H. S. Walker, 1872), pp. 167, 174–5.

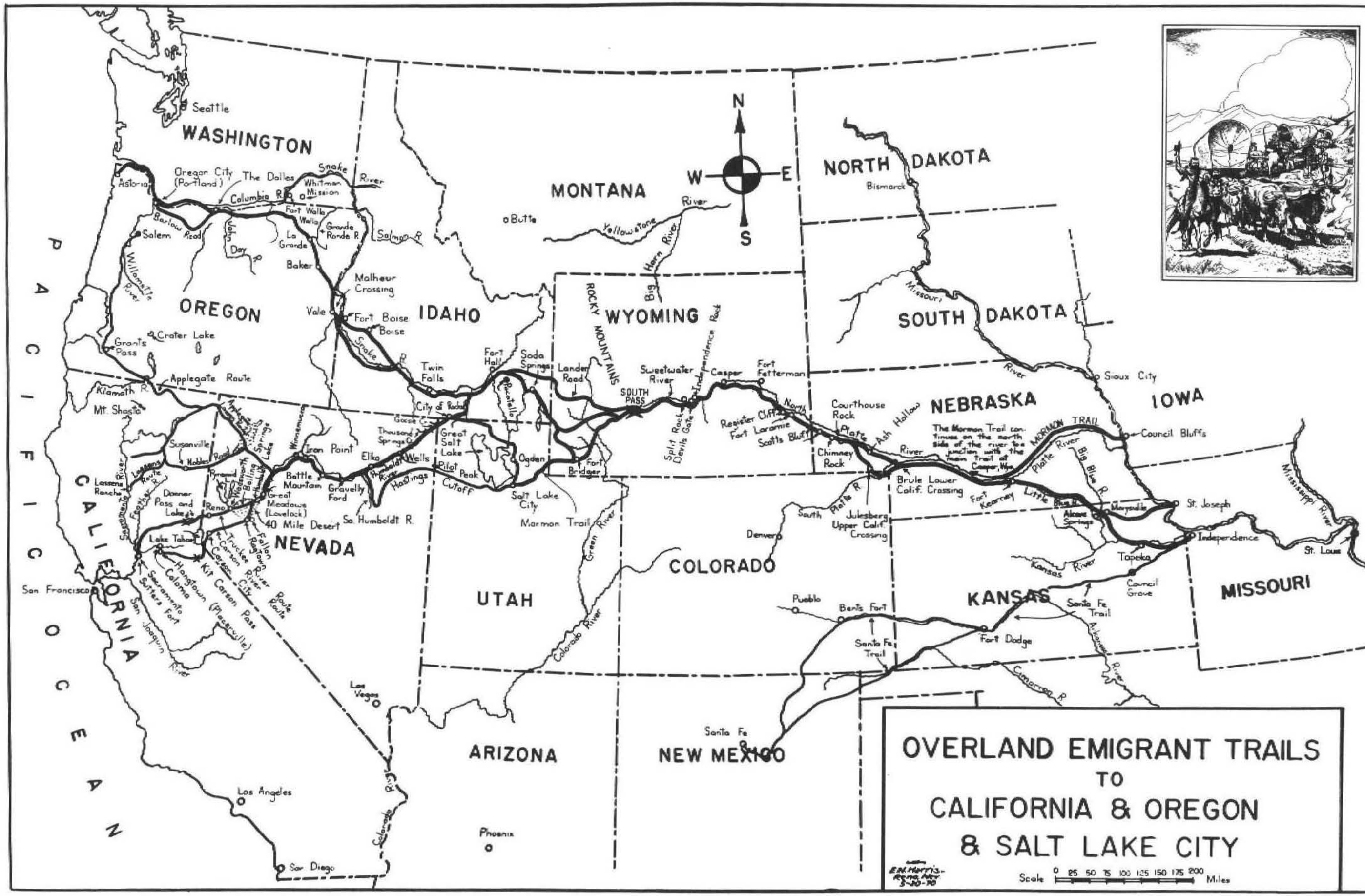
33. *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of California, convened at the City of Sacramento, Saturday, September 28, 1878* (Sacramento: State Office, 1880–1881), pp. 1180–1188.

34. Carl Brent Swisher, *Motivation and Political Technique in the California Constitutional Convention, 1878–79* (Claremont, California: Pomona College, 1930), pp. 86–92.

35. *Debates and Proceedings,* pp. 242, 1169.

36. *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of New Mexico, held at Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 3rd, 1910, to November 21st, 1910* (Albuquerque: Press of the Morning Journal, 1910), p. 195.

37. U.S. Senate, 61st Cong., 3d Sess., Senate Document 798, v. 85 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 2.


OVERLAND EMIGRANT TRAILS
TO
CALIFORNIA & OREGON
& SALT LAKE CITY
Scale 0 25 50 75 100 125 150 175 200 Miles
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
IDAHO
NEVADA
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
ARIZONA
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
IOWA
MISSOURI
PACIFIC OCEAN
N
W
E
S
Seattle
Astoria
Oregon City (Portland)
The Dalles
Columbia R.
Whitman Mission
Snake River
Fort Walla Walla
Grande Ronde R.
La Grande
Baker
Salmon R.
Salem
Barlow Road
John Day R.
Willamette River
Malheur Crossing
Vale
Fort Boise
Boise
Crater Lake
Grants Pass
Applegate Route
Klamath R.
Mt. Shasta
Twin Falls
Fort Hall
Soda Springs
Pocatello
City of Rocks
Thousand Springs
Great Salt Lake
Pilot Peak
Hastings Cutoff
Ogden
Fort Bridger
Salt Lake City
Mormon Trail
Green River
Colorado River
Butte
Yellowstone River
Big Horn River
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
Lander Road
SOUTH PASS
Sweetwater River
Independence Rock
Split Rock
Devils Gate
Casper
Fort Fetterman
Register Cliff
Fort Laramie
Scotts Bluff
Chimney Rock
Courthouse Rock
North Platte River
Ash Hollow
Brule Lower Calif. Crossing
Julesburg Upper Calif. Crossing
South Platte R.
Denver
Fort Kearney
Platte River
Little Blue R.
Big Blue R.
Marysville
Alcove Springs
St. Joseph
Independence
St. Louis
Mississippi River
Council Bluffs
Sioux City
Missouri River
Bismarck
The Mormon Trail continues on the north side of the river to a junction with the main trail at Casper, Wyo.
MORMON TRAIL
Topeka
Kansas River
Council Grove
Santa Fe Trail
Fort Dodge
Bents Fort
Pueblo
Arkansas River
Cimarron R.
Santa Fe
Susanville
Lassens Rancho
Nobles Road
Lassens Route
Sacramento River
Feather River
Donner Pass and Lake
Reno
Lake Tahoe
Truckee River
Carson River
Carson City
Ragtown
Fallon
Great Meadows (Lovelock)
40 Mile Desert
Battle Mountain
Gravelly Ford
So. Humboldt R.
Humboldt River
Iron Point
Winnemucca
Elko
Wells
Kit Carson Pass
Hangtown (Placerville)
Coloma
Sacramento
Sutters Fort
San Francisco
San Joaquin River
Las Vegas
Los Angeles
San Diego
Phoenix
Colorado River
E.N. Harris - Reno, Nev.

1863

Diary of a Journey Across the Plains

Part Two

Camp Willow Springs[45] *Sunday 21.* We are now camped at Willow Springs twenty seven miles from the Uper Crossing & about twenty eight miles from Sweet Water River. After resting one houre at our camp below the crossing, we hitched up our teams & rolled out again. One mile brought us to the bridge, which was very long & well made and strong resting on quite a number of log pens filled with rock. We paid two dollars per wagon tole. Now we had come to the point where we had to bid far-well to the Platt, a river & a name that had become dear to us. First the *Platt* next the South *Platt* & last the North *Platt*; it has been *Platt* all the time; for breakfast for dinner & for supper it was Platt water that we drank it was in to the *Platt* that we drove our stock to water; it was in to the *Platt* we went to bathe when the days were hot & from day to day we correled our wagons & turned loose our weary stock to graze on the banks of the *Platt*. Good by! Noble Platt many of us probably have looked upon you our last time & will meet you no more, but we will remember you as we tug our way along the journey of life & when far away on the parching desert famishing & weary we will turn our eyes eastward & wish—the ox the mule the horse—all—"wish the *Platt* was here." Good by! *Platt*. After ascending several hills, the two first very steep, we found our selves on the high rolling praire far above the Platt, & after ascending & decending long hill along decending crooked road around & across the bed of a dry creek,

we found our selves at Minerel Springs—& night at that. We camped there, but we had to keep our stock away from the water that run from the spring, which stood in marshy swamp or slough for we are told that it was poisinous. We watered our mules & horses out of the spring & the rest of the stock had to do without water. Wood was scarce here;[46] those who had not halled wood from the Platt had to do without wood consequently many went to bed with short, or no, suppers. Minerel Springs is ten miles from the Uper Crossing This morning we left Minerel Springs before sun rise, without breakfast. We passed several curiositys[47] in the way or rocks. They stood nearly on edge & run nearly north & south. The last one was high and looked very much like an immense wall that was now crubleing & falling down in places Our wagons went around the south end of the wall but I & several others took a short way through a gap in the wall. From the gap I ascended to the top of the wall. The wall is about twenty five feet at the base but narrower at the top. The rock is hard sand stone too hard to cut with a knife Nothing more on the mornings drive of much interest unless it is Poison Springs which we passed about five miles before getting to this point The water was all dried up leaving a white coatting over the ground that tasted like salaratus We got here about noon. We are now about two hundred & fifty two miles from Fort Bridger & three hundred & sixty five from Salt Lake City We are now in the country of the Snakes who are hostile to the whites & attact small trains some times. There is not much dependence to be put in indians any way. We still follow the telegraph line & will follow it to Salt Lake City. The last telegraph station we passed was at the crossing of the Platt. We have two springs here one sulphur water & one fresh. Below the sulphur spring a short distance the watter is runing but it gets less & less untill it disapears in fifty yards of the spring. The bed of the little stream beyon where the water disapeared was moist & I was told by an indian trader that after sun down the water raised in every part of creeks bed & run off quite briskly. The roads have been tolerable good to day

Fish Creek Monday 22 We have halted on this little stream to water our stock & while they are drinking I have seated my self on the ground to write. It is fine clear water & the stock are thirsty. We had but little grass at Camp Willow Springs so we left it after taking dinner, traveling up the sage covered valley of Willow Springs & correlled for night about three & a half miles farther up at the head of Willow Springs near a fine cool spring of water From where we first camped the whole three & a half miles, up to this point is called Willow Springs & there is not a solitary willow switch on it any wher, though I was told that in forty nine the whole way was thick with willow trees, the emigration since that time having clean them out. We called this camp Camp Sage Brush Valley from the great quantity of sage brush. There was but little grass here but by driving our stock over the little mountain on our right we found a small

patch for them. The ground is quite marshy at this point; in watering our cattle we drove some of them over a place & several liked to have mired down; one of them, a cow did and had to be pulled out with ropes. The ground appears solid on top but it is only a crust. We had to use sage brush for fuel here which was a fine substitute for wood for it burns well even where it is green & makes a hot fire; the only dificulty is it burns out too quick. On each side of the road especially in the kanyons & valleys & sometimes runing to the tops of the hills & mountains the earth is covered with sage brush & hardly any thing else on the road from the crossing of the Platt to this point. Some places there is greese wood. There is sage in spots from the Black Hills up. We left Sage Brush Valley this morning after early breakfast, ascending a long graduel slope to begin with & after traveling four or five miles we came to this little stream that is known as Fish Creek. After ascending the hills this morning we could see the mountains on Sweet Water before us & to our left.

Horse Creek Noon—We have had good roads to day especially from Fish Creek to this point The water in this creek is cool & tastes well though there is alkli in it but not enough to hurt our stock; not with standing the banks on each side of the creek is coated with a white substance that tasts like soda. The grass here is some better than we have been having since we left the Platt. Thick patchs of greese wood is intersperced over the creek bottom The country around us is quite level. We lose another ox, at this point from alkli.[48] Mike has shot two sage chickens with his pistole while I am writing; one is an old hen & the other is a young chicken. The wagon run over our pointer dog "Rock" to day & he wont eat any dinner. Rock is our great pet.

Independence Rock[49] *Tuesday Morning 23.* Well, we have at last arrived at this noted rock. It is a massive long oval formed granit rock, standing alone on the bottom on Sweet Water. I walked over it yesterday evening, ascending from the end next to the river. Thousands of names are on its top and sides, dated from eighteen hundred and forty nine down; some as early as eighteen thirty two. It is a great curiosity. It has seams of quartz runing through it. On the opposite side of the river is another curiosity, a round sharp toped granate rock, with a rock on the east side of it in the shape of an enormous lizard in the act of ascending the rock. But to begin at Camp Horse Creek we had fine level roads untill we got to within five or six miles of Sweet Water, when we came to deep sand, which we had the remainder of the way About the same time we began to have a change of scenery, something new, mountains of solid rock, that is nothing but rock, riseing up on the left first & then on both sides; they were rather detached from each other & appeared to be granate though of a dark collor on the surface; they grew larger as we neared the river. We came in sight of snow on a peak far beyond the river. Some two or three miles before reaching Sweet Water we came to several alkli lakes,[50] some of

them being dried up, leaving a coat of salaratus or alkli on the bottom from a quarter to an inch in thickness, as white as snow. One lake on the left of the road that I exhamined, contained water and all over the water was a solid substance an inch in thickness, that looked like ice. It looked exactly like a frozen pond & the white alkli lay an inch deep ten or fifteen yards out all around the pond having quite a harmony & naturel appearance—snow & ice. I broke a piece of the ice and exhamined it closely but ice it looked like and nothing else I had ever saw before. Just before I got to the river I saw another, larger lake which I supposed to be an alkli lake off to the right of the road some distance. The road crosses Sweet Water at the south end of the rock. A telegraph station is here. A squad of soldiers are stationed here; two or them visited our camp yesterday evening. I had to stand guard in the fore-part of the night last night.

Devels Gate,[51] Noon—Crossing to the left hand or south side of the river to begin with five miles of deep sand brought us to Devels Gate. Devils Gate is a chasum between two very high cliffs of rock through which Sweet Water dashes. I and several others made a tour through the gate at the uper end ascended the left hand wall. We entered the lower end of the gate, following up the left hand side, climbing over fragments of rock untill we could find no place to set our feet, when it became necessary for a retrograde movement, retracing our steps untill we found a shallow place, we waided to the other side, then we followed up the right had side untill we got near the uper end of the gate when we recrossed on some large rock through which the river dashed; next we commensed ascending over loose rock and sand and over steep ledges of rock, zigzag, where ever we could find foot & hand holt and at last we found our selves on the top of the left hand wall which is about three hundred & seventy five feet above the water At the sumit the rock over hangs the river. I laid down on my face & crawled up to the edge of the precipice & looked down in to the chasem; one look was enough, I felt so much like falling off down in to it that I did not look again. We fired our pistols off across to the opposite bluffs & the echo roared beneath us lik a peal of thunder. The opposite cliffs are much higher but they receed as they rise from the water. The rock is of the same kind of Independence Rock a kind of granate having a dark appearance on the out side but whiter inside. A few scraggy pine & cedar grew in the crevices of the rock on both sides of the chasem Plenty of sage brush & greese-wood & no grass much to day. There is a little above the Gate. With the exception of what is in a narrow bottom on Sweet Water I have seen nothing but sage & greese wood since we left Horse Creek. There is one strange thing about both walls of the Gate several veins two or three yards wide of a kind of black scally rock that has the appearance of having been burnt run east & west through the granate from top to bottom This black rock is a ledge of its kind & probably once

before this part of the world was turned "up side down" lay in a horizontel position, but now it and the granate ledges stand on edge

Passing Dome Rock Wednesday 24. The train is now rolling and I am on the seat writing We have just left noon camp. We left Devils Gate after noon on yesterday, traveling over sandy road some of it heavy camping for the night six miles below what I called Sweet Water Pass, nameing our camp for it. This morning we started early passing Sweet Water Pass a place where Sweet Water runs through a gap between two high cliffs. I ascended the one on the south side There is a range of mountains of rock, rocky mountains would not express it, on the north side of Sweet Water, all granate with the exception of these veins of black rock runing through it all piled up in raged disorder, bursted & broken yet in the main held to-gether. Sweet Water runs near the foot of this range, sometimes amediatly at the foot and in the cases of Devils Gate & this pass the river ran so close that it cut off a huge block of it to the south side This rock that I am now speeking of is one of those slices cut off by the river. I commensed to ascended from the south side next to the road. After a hundred feet or more of ascent it became dificult, moving along partialy on hands and feet on the steep slopes & then through narrow gaping seams so narrow that some times I had to turn side ways & reaching sometimes many feet above my head, & then pulling my self up over juting crags, finding occasionly places where I could stand up strate over which I passed rapidly but at last I found my self hemed in & cut off from the highest point, which I was endeavoring to gain, by a chasem runing east & west. Being out of breath & short of time I concluded to make a "safe retreet" by the way of the west end the direction that the train had now gotten from So letting my self down in to the chasem I followed it down untill it gave out on the west end when I found my self cuff by a short precipice. I paused here but a moment; a scruby pine was standing at the foot & I was not slow in leting my self down in to the top of it. The rest of the decent was easy. About three miles farther we came to a peak on the north side of the river that I first noticed after passing Devils Gate for its highth. Two miles farther we came to another peak with a chasem in its top this also, I noticed from near Devils Gate Just above this gap we passed an isolated cliff on the south side of the river and also of the road. Above this the mountains and the river, both bend to the right which gave us a rear view of Chasem Rock as I chose to call it. A mile or more, farther brought us to our noon camp below Dome Rock which we are now leaving which I called *Camp Dome Rock.*[52] This is a large rock with a large smooth peak in the shape of a dome, on the north side of the river. Just below it a kanyon between is a similar rock but with a rougher dome & more blunt. I forgot to mention a cliff of white sand stone which we passed on the south side of the road, soon after leaving Sweet Water Pass. which is the first variation from the kind that I have named since we entered Sweet Water Valley at

Independence Rock. At Independence Rock a rang of mountains came close to the river on the south side but since then they falln back & for most of the way up to this point have been at some distance, probably as much as fifteen or twenty miles at times There has been some low hills betwen us & the range most of the way This southern range differs very much from the one on the north side of the river. They appear to be higher and of a different nature having some grass on them & in places covered with timber very densly while the north rangs is comparativly nothing but rock In some cases of the north range there are crevisices filled with sand with low scragy cedar or pine growing in them & occasionly one that whose base is sand & rock. Opposite Independence Rock the mountains are quite rocky & look very much like those on the north side.

Camp Sweet Water River. Evening—We have correlled again three miles above where we nooned, at a point where the river comes through the north range. It is now raining a little. A squad of cavelry have come down the river and crossed over camping on the opposite side of the river. They have several wagons with them that they are guarding to some point below. Several of them have come over to our camp beging for milk and whiskey, more particularly the latter; one brought over some coffe to grind. We had some masonic speeches[53] to night from Judg Hays E.B. Willson Kahill & more probably I did not stay to hear but two but went to my tent. The little rain we had this evening, was the first, the soldiers said, that had fallen here for three months

Thursday Morning 25. We "rolled" out early I walked on ahead of the train and I am now at the point where the road comes to Sweet Water again eight miles from our late camp; the first six miles the river was hid from us by the mountains, at the end of which they crossed over to the north side of the river. There is a telegraph station here & a squad of soldiers posted here. This station is called Three Crossings[54] We had good level gravel roads to day. We have had tolerable good grass at every camping ground since we have been on Sweet Water. The wagons are nearly up so I will travel on.

Ten Oclock & Twenty Five Minutes A.M. The train has halted here to fill their kegs with water & while they are at it I am seated with my feet almost in Sweet Water writing. From where I last wrote the road enters a kanyon through the north range following up the river, crossing the river three times very close together, which gave the station a name; the first time amediately after passing the station & then twice more after going a short distance. The scene in the kanyon was very grand; on either side it seamed that nature had done her best to leave this kanyon in romantic disorder, some places huge piles of large loose oval rock others huge ledges standing on edge. Two miles brought us out of the kanyon in to an opening the mountains on the left giving out with the exception of some small

scattering ones, or rather we had about cut the north range in two & had gotten on the north side of them.

Noon. After wandering among isolated mountains, having to leave the river to our left, a mountain comeing in between our road & the river we found our selves back on the south side of the mountains on the river at noon camp Three narrow kanyons open out on the valley, on our right. We have come twelve miles to day. Snow can be seen on the south range from this point, though this is not the first snow I have seen on the same range.

Friday 26. Our teams are rolling again and I am seated on a sand hill writing again To begin where I left off yesterday. After a couple of hours reast at noon, we started; following along the foot of the rocky north range for two or three miles, we commensed to ascend which ended in a narrow pass. This pass was between a cluster of ruged cliffs on our left & the main range These cliffs obstructed our vew of Sweet Water, but only for a short while, which was now some distance to our left. (Emigrants dont like to get out of sight of water) A short distance beyond the pass the main characteristic ceases & it becomes like the south range, showing a surface of dirt & sand is covered with some vegetation. This range in a few miles either ceases or becomes so much to our right that it is lost to view. After gaining the sumit of the pass, we turned obliquely down a slope to the left, one mile to Sweet Water. Sixteen miles from where we started in the morning. The road thus far was good with the exception of a little deep dust or sand. After crossing the river we left it to our right, ascending some sandy hills to a high level plain. Here we came in view of a snow clad range obliquely before us, two or three clusters of misty peaks far away to our right & on our left, through a gap in the range south of the valley, we could see another distant range of mountains. The range before us is the Wind River Mountains & is distant fifty or seventy five miles; the peaks to our right is probably a part of the same range & from their misty appearance I would suppose they were a hundred or a hundred & fifty miles. Continueing on the high plain, crossing several hollows of deep sand, we came to an alkli slough, which was white with alkli; up this we turned obliquely to the left, through heavy sand and over uneven road, for about one mile when we turned to the right crossing the slough and going a short distance the other side, the lateness of the evening compelled us to camp, which camp I will call *Camp Destitution* as there was nothing but deep sand greese wood & sage brush, a few strugeling sprigs of grass & no water to give it a name. We made a haisty supper and went haistily to roost. The calculation was to sleep a few hours & then travel on to water & grass but we all sleped untill day. Eight miles from the last crossing of Sweet Water. Near this point is a flat, that by diging down two or three feet clear solid ice is found.[55] Many emigrants get ice from this flat. It is there in inexhaustable quantity at any season. How it come there is a

question. We left *Camp Destitution* on *Alkline Slough* before sun rise, without breakfast, traveling through some heavy sand to begin with but mostly good gravel road; some ascents and decents for about seven miles to an alkline creek. I walked up the creek some distance. Where we first came to the creek the bed of the creek was only moist, after walking up the creek a short distance I came to a little water, a short distance farther I came to more water & it runing; I followed it up untill it became quite a ripling stream. I think it heads in a bottom about a mile to the left of the road

Camp Relief Four miles from alkline creek over good roads we foud ourselves at this point on the banks of Sweet Water and plenty of good water & grass Our camp is about a mile & a half below the next crossing of Sweet Water. The snow striped & spoted Wind River Mountains are before us. We arrived here about eleven oclock in the morning & will remain untill tomorrow.

Saturday 27. Eight oclock A.M.—Our train is now rolling. Mike & I washed our clothes yesterday evening for the first time. A little hole of water was our wash tub. It took most of the evening but I think we got them clean A little rain fell in the evening late It seamed to have rained hard on the Wind River mountains. I saw two antelope across the river opposite camp this morning, one of them came up nearly to camp; some of the boys tried to get a shot but the antelope took a hint & give the hunters distance as well as "fur". One and a half miles up the river to the ford, across & three miles more to the sumit of the hill where I am now seated waiting for the train. There came very near being a dificulty between our tain and another one which tried to get before us, between the crossing of the river & this point The trouble was, the train violating the rules of the plains by dashing in to the road where ever they could find an opening They were confident that our train would give way to them in which they were very much mistaken; a few oaths passed our captan first inviting the intruders to observe the rules of the plains, which was responded to with "go to h--l" about that time a few shotguns pistols and rocks were rapidly displayed when the intruding train took the sage brush. One or two rocks were thrown which stove in some of the enemys hard ware, a skillet was crushed. No damage on our side. This train was from Iowa Wisconsin Illinois & a few from other states. They finally got ahead but they dared not to enter the road untill they reached the head of our train.[56] *From* the sumit of the hill we decended a mile and a half to Sweet Water. Here a road crosses the river, to the left & going a short distance recrosses and joins the main road. Our train followed the main road over a few short steep hills and down to the river again to where I am writing

Camp Blue Grass. It is now eleven oclock in the morning & we have stoped for dinner on the bank of the river about ten miles from where we crossed the river last. To commense where I left off, we followed up the

river at no time out off sight of it & frequently near its banks to this point. Fine grass in the river bottom all the way from Camp Relief to this point. A great deal of blue grass and red top mixed in it. The valley is narrow here high bluffs riseing on both sides. We are having some rain

Antelope Springs. The rain ceased about two oclock in the evening, after which we started following up the river about two miles passing an old ranch on the left hand side of the road, to where the bottoms ceases & the river comes out of a narrow gate between two bluffs of rock. Turning to the right we entered a narrow steep crooked kanyon Here we began to realize that we were ascending the Rocky Mountains[57] We have been ascending slowly since we came to the Black Hills but now it is very perceptable to man & bruit that we are ascending. Hill on hill to the right & to the left & to every point of the cumpass; some of the hills were steep & some both rocky & steep and after twisting around from one gulch to another, we at last reached the top, at least we came to good roads and easy grade. Two or three miles of fine road passing three large ponds on our left brought us to Atelope Springs. One of our boys went out hunting this evening and he said he saw about thirty antelope in two gangs.

Sunday Morning 28. I stood mule heard & correll guard last night in the latter part. The night was quite cool & the guard kept up fire all night. Frost on the ground this morning. In our ascent up the mountain the change of atmosphere was quite perceptable. I was driving and soon had to draw on my over coat and was not cumfortable at that. I have been sleeping under four blankets for more than a week and nerly every morning and evening for a week I have had to draw on my over coat. Good grass and water here. Our train lost a cow last night & lost an ox at our last camp on Sweet Water.

Camp Willow Creek Noon—After breakfas we started. We had good roads being long easy grades all the way. Seven miles brought us to Strawberry Creek[58] a little stream of clear cool water; crossing it we followed Strawberry Valley a mile or two and four miles brought us to Rock Creek,[59] a larger stream with rocky banks. We crossed this stream & traveling two miles more to Willow Creek, a stream about the same size of Rock Creek; crossing this & ascending the hill a litte we found our selves at our present camp. This creek has a dense thicket of willow on its banks No grass of any consequence on either of the creeks but plenty of grass hoppers on this & Rock Creeks. I never saw as many at one time before in my life; I could not walk without tramping on them at every step & they keep up a desperate hopping; they filled the air like a swarm of beas. They have about cleaned the ground of grass I saw three antelope this morning two directly after leaving Antelope Springs & one on Strawberry.

Camp Alkli Sinks Evening—After a short noon, our teams rolled out again traveling over about such roads as we had in the morning; I would

call them good in any country. Six miles brought us to Sweet Water again and to a telegraph station A squad of soldiers were stationed here. Here the grasshoppers had cleaned the ground again. "Landers Cut Off" branches off to the right from this point, going to Beaver Head Salmon River Snake River Oregon &c We crossed the river, & ascending a hill to a level plain & four miles of as fine road as ever I saw brought us to our present camping place. Our camp is about a half mile to the right of the road. On the left hand side of the road are some alkli sinks or lakes. They are called Alkli Sinks. The grass here is common

Willow Park Monday 29. We left Camp Alkli Sinks tolerable early. Our mules strayed off last night, that is a couple of them, & we had to go back beyond the telegraph station after them this morning. Almost unconciously we found ourselves in the South Pass ascending graduelly towards the sumit. The road excelent gravel road. No raged precipices rose up on every side but the country adjacent had the appearance of a valley[60] of gently ascending slopes such as I have seen often on the rout. After about six miles drive we turned off of the main road, going to the right to Sweet Water about a half mile, & crossing we camped about nine oclock in the morning. Good grass and a beautiful park of young willow. We seam to be quite near the foot of the Wind River Mountains but it is good days travel to the foot of them yet. They are the tallest mountains I have been any ways near. We had a little shower to day—raining on the Wind River Mountains.

Pacific Springs June 30th Forty minutes past eight A.M.—I am now siting on the margin of Pacific Springs. It is about twenty five feet both ways. The water boils up in as many as twenty places & is very cool. A grassy swamp surrounds it. Between the spring and the road the swamp is impassable although it is soded over with grass. I tried to walk from the road opposite the spring to the spring, but when I had gotten about thirty feet out in to the swamp the ground sunk so that the water came up to my ankles. The sod appeared to be sitting on the top of water. I could shake the ground for several yards around The spring is on the right hand side of the road. I was dry having walked about five miles and I took a good drink of the first water that runs in to the Pacific Ocean. This water runs in to Green River & then into the Rio Colorado & that emties in to the Gulph of Calafornia So on the same day, on the same morning & within a space of two hours I drank of the Pacific & Antlantic. We started from our late camp early recrossing Sweet Water we ascended to the main road & two miles of fine road found us on the dividing ridge between the waters of the Pacific and Antlantic the comb of the Rocky Mountains, the sumit of the South Pass. Three miles of decending brought us to Pacific Springs. The remains of an old ranch is at this point.

Camp Pacific Springs. Evening—We followed on down the left hand side of Pacific Spring creek one mile when we crossed. At this point the

grassy swamp gives out and the banks on each side are dry & covered with sage brush Below this point several hundred yards the creek spreads out in to a wide grassy swamp again. After crossing the creek the main road and telegraph poles went strate on but we took a left hand road following down the edge of the flat four miles & we camped, at Camp Pacific Springs. The grass is tolerable good

Camp Dry Sandy Wednesday July 1st We left our late camp early, leaving Pacific Creek to our left, takeing an oblique course to the right, strikeing the main road after a mile or twos travel and five miles more brought us to the top of a hill; about a mile more to a spring and the top of another hill and another mile of *decent* brought us to Dry Sandy.[61] It is a sulphur or alkli stream. There was but little water at the crossing and none below. Crossing the creek we followed down, from a half to a mile & a half from it, to our present camp. Two miles back on the road we passed Sublets Cut Off[62] comeing in from the right. This road goes by the way of Fort Hall to Origon and to all the new gold mines on Powder River Snake River Salmon River &c. Dry Sandy is over the hill to our left about a mile; and a very appropriate name it is for most of it is dry. The striped and spoted Wind River Mountains, are in view to our right. We have only stoped here to rest our stock and eat dinner as there is no grass.

Camp Little Sandy. Evening—Our wagons are now correlled for night. After a very short noon at Camp Dry Sandy we continued on down the Dry Sandy, getting nearer to it all the time finaly getting amediatly on the bank of the creek. By diging down in to the bed of the creek a couple of feet water will rise About seven miles brought us to Little Sandy and a telegraph station. A squad of soldiers were posted here. We crossed the stream and followed down two miles and camped. Little Sandy is about twenty five feet wide and is a little mudy. Some of our men having quite a deal of sport this evening shooting sage hens. A considerable "banging" was kept up around camp for a half or three quarters of an hour untill they had killed about twenty an scared the rest away. I went out down the creek with my pistol towards the last but the hens were all frightened away and I saw nothing but a jack rabit and that disapeared in to a thicket of willow about as soon as seen so I lost no powder by that evenings hunt. The banks of the creek are lined with willow. The Wind River Mountains are still in view on our right. Good grass here. We have had fine roads to day

Camp Big Sandy[63] *Thursday 2.* We are now on this fine stream of water; it is about twice the size of Little Sandy. Sandy would be a very appropriate name for the country around here for sand & sage brush is nearly all there is here. We left our late camp about six oclock in the morning, riseing from Little Sandy to a level plain. Here we came in vew of a snow clad range of mountains from their misty appearance I supposed them to be at least a hundred miles off. Our road seamed to run towards them.

The Wind River Mountains were becoming misty with distance; they are probably fifty miles away; they falling more behind us instead of to our right. I course was down Little Sandy, though at some distance from it at first. Seven miles brought us to a bend of Big Sandy on our right, Here we found our selves on a narrow strip betwen Big & Little Sandy. We followed down between the two, two miles to the crossing of Big sandy & camped for noon. I will name some of the objects that attracted my attention One a mound isolated and alone the only object that broke the monotony of the level plain for many miles. It looked like a hay stack & like the last one standing in a big medow. I noticed it yesterday & this morning standing off to our righ. The other objects are two mountains standing about thirty miles off to our left. They slope up from each end, and are level on the top. They look like they were turned out of the same mould They stand about fifteen miles apart If these objects had been part of a range of mountains where cliff rises on cliff & peak on peak, they would not have been noticed much less mentioned, but standing on a level plain isolated the eye of ther traveler and emigrant rests on them every time he sweps the horizon. Not much grass here. There is quite a number of prarie squirrels[64] here. There holes are all along on the bank of the river. They are chunky short tailed and looke a little like a rat though their tail is nothing like a rats We have seen a great many in the last two weeks. The boys have got up quite an excitement & several are out hunting with pistols & shot guns. Mik has killed the largest number (thirteen) with his "navy"

Big Sandy Again. Evening—We left our noon camp after about two hours rest leaving Big Sandy & riseing a long slope to begin with & with fine roads with a little ascending & decending, nine miles brought us to Simpsons Hollow Here a train of twenty four wagons were burned by the mormons and indians during the time of the troubles A black circle of coals mark where the wagons were correlled. One mile more brought us to a bend of Big Sandy where we correlled & prepared supper. We had a fine mess of fat squerrels for our supper There is but little grass here; a few little spots across the river that the stock has waded over to

Camp Big Sandy No. 3. Friday 3. It is now morning. After finishing our suppers yesterday evening we rolled out again & a moon light drive of about eight miles found us correlled at our present camp, about ten oclock at night, still lower down on the Big Sandy. We made haisty beds and soon was all asleep—After crossing Dry Sandy we followed it down on the right hand side, Little Sandy after crossing on the right hand side & Big Sandy after crossing we followed down on the same side. Pacif Creek we crossed & followed down on the right hand side & we have only crossed all these streams once. At this point the main road & telegraph poles cross the river.

Green River.[65] Noon—We left our late camp early, not crossing the river but following down six miles to sand bluff & rocky bar on the river.

Passing between the river & bluff seven miles more of level road still down the river but graduely geting farther from it, brought us to the ford on Green River about two miles above the mouth of the Big Sandy & about a mile above the ferry. We forded, the water coming up to the bottom of the wagon beds Many of the beds were blocked up & the water would have run in to some of them if they had not have been The ford is wide gravely and swift. After crossing we went up the river about a mile and camped. We will lay over here a day or more.

Saturday July 4. We are yet at Camp Green River. I tried my hand fishing yesterday but did not have much luck, only caught one, though there was two or three more caught by our mess and being large we had enough for breakfast this morning. There is some timber here more than I have seen since we left the North Platt. There is some willow on Big Sandy but not at any camp we had on it; there was a fine quantity at our camp on Little Sandy; none on Dry Sandy or any thing else but sage brush and greese wood; none on Pacific Creek; at our last camp on Sweet Water plenty of willow; none on Rock Creek; none on Strawberry; none at Atelope Springs; plenty of willow on Sweet Water at the next camp, runing back; none at the next, & on most of Sweet Water none, except a little scrubby cedar and pine in the mountains. The timber here is cottenwood & willow brush. We have had fine roads since we left Atelope Springs & with a small exception a graduel & easy grade where it was not a level plain. We are many miles from mountains Since leaving Pacific Springs we have been advancing out into a level and gently rolling country, mostly as level as any prarie I have seen, unlike any thing I expected to see so near the sumit of the Rocky Mountains. Between our camp on Little Sandy & Big Sandy, I never saw leveler prarie & it spread many miles to the north west & as much as twenty or thirty miles southward. And such streets, in any city I ever saw, as was the roads, I never saw. They were composed of gravel and sand, beat down by travel, & where the wind had blown the dust off, it looked like cement, as smooth as the rolled gravel walks of Lafayett Squar & the Capitol yard in Washington City. Yet there are many miles to travel before we are out of the Rocky Mountains. I have not noticed any of the prarie grass proper since we came to the Black Hills, but mountain bunch grass and other mountain grass on the highlands and various kinds in the bottoms. From the crossing of the North Platt to the present camp with the small exception of spots & strips on water courses & in the gulches of the mountains & with the exception of the sage & greese wood between water courses & occasionaly a little timber on water courses it would be a sandy desert. There is good grass here. We are still in an alkli country and have been ever since we came to the first Platt, but only in places where it was injurious. Soon after leaving Camp Big Sandy No. 2 we passed a dangerous alkli slough in the river bottom &

just before we got to the Green River another smaller slough on our right in the river bottom

Evening. Some little excitement to day on the fishing subject. Both mails an females have been trying their luck but not very many fish caught. We had a vote this evening whether we should drive to night and lay over tomorrow as it was Sunday[66] or remain here untill tomorrow morning & travel on Sunday. Some of the most religious ones suspicioned that we "night men" designed to trick them, that is to travel all night & then continue on tomorrow, as the "night men" was great on traveling, so we were voted down by a small majority. The victorious party laughed and exulted much over their victory for a few minutes but when the captin cride— "oh yes! oh yes! every man of you, fill your kegs this evening & be ready to start tomorrow morning at *one oclock!* it rather took them down & then we done the laughing. But it all went merry with both parties. There are two large trains camped on the river above us. Tomorrow we must make a long hot drive without water.

Camp Half Way Sunday 5. We left our camp on Green River between two & three oclock in the morning. About five miles across the river bottom & up a long ascent brought us to the top of the hill. Here commensed a graduel ascent of a couple of miles. The remainder of the way was a succession of ascents & decents, but mostly very easy slopes. The roads are not as good as the last forty miles on acount of round rock or boulders. We are now about ten miles from Green River The Wind River Mountains could be seen from the sumit of every hill this morning; also another snow spoted & striped mountain range in front of us that appeared to be about fifty miles distant.

Camp Blacks Fork. It is now evening & we are thirteen miles farther on our journey We made a short noon at Camp Half Way as there was no grass or water. To begin with we ascended a hill & then decended in to a valley or basin being bounded on the left by a half circle of semented sand & sand stone bluffs and from this point on to Hams Fork[67] it was a succession of hills and ruged vallys with numerous bluffs in and around them becoming more ruged as we advanced Some parts of the road was rocky. A steep rocky decent brought us to Hams Fork twenty one miles from Green River. At this point we come to the main road and telegraph poles again. A telegraph station is at this point, also a blacksmiths shop. Our stock was quit thirsty by this time having done without water since leaving Green River, and they went in to the creek with a rush. Some of our train stoped here to have some repares made. Good grass here. Crossing the creek and the main road we followed a branch road to the left two miles to Blacks Fork where we are now camped. Both forks are very respectable streams. Good grass here & plenty of willow I noticed som willow on Hams Fork. Fine large sage brush here; I noticed some eight or nine feet high with bodies six inches in diameter. It makes very hot fires.

Camp Jiants Castle on Blacks Second Fork Monday 6th. We have now gone eleven miles farther and are now camped on Blacks Second Fork about the same size of Blacks Fork We made a tolerable late start this morning on acount of our mules being hard to catch Leaving Blacks Fork we returned to the main at a point a mile or two farther on than where we left it. Our road was through a kind of dry sandy bottom, so dry that nearly all the sage brush & greese wood was dried up and dead. Only along the bed of a dried up creek could any be found that was green. High bluffs of soft sand stone or cemented sand raised on every side, some standing isolated & alone in the bottom & some forming part of the boundry of the bottom Their sides were nearly perpendicular; their tops were nearly level, and they appeared as if all the rest of the surrounding country had been at one time as high as they are & had been removed for some purpose by some mighty hand, & left them standing as marks of the original highth of the country. The sides of these bluffs are striped with the different layers of different collors & shades of collors, runing their while length in paralel lines, the same lines being found at the same highth on every surrounding bluff; layer after layer from top to bottom resembling the different deposits of leavs & sand on the bottoms of rivers by every rise, such as is to be seen on the Missouri River. The action of the weather on these bluffs form something like carved or ornimental around the sides of many of them, moulding many of them in to the shape of ancient churches & castles of immense dementions, with their odd deviced colums with the forms and heads of men & beasts. They resemble and are something of the same kind of rock as is on the North Platt from Mud Springs to Fort Laramie.[68] Some of them looked like huge forts & fortifications. Passing through all this scenery; about a mile and a half before we got to the creek we came to a tall domed top rock with a great deal of ornimental work on it and around it which I have named Blue Beards Castle. There seamed to be forty different layers of different shades & hues, & of different hardness, some of the layers giveing way to the weather faster than others, making the ornimental work more beautiful. Between this rock and another large bluff is a much smaller rock resembling an ancient church crowend by a hundred spires of columns which I called Fary Castle. They both stand on the left hand side of the road. About three quarter of a mile farther and we decended a steep hill to the creek bottom. Near this hill on our left standing on the bottom is another larger rock of similar structure which I named Jiants Castle. A short distance across the bottom brought us to Blacks Second Fork and to our noon camp. We get on the mail & stage line here.[69] A stage office is at this point. The banks of this stream is lined with willow sarvice berry & some other kind of redish brown slick barked tree; more of the latter kind than any other. The trees are all small like on most streams that I have crossed. I am sitting under one of the last named kind while I am writing The bluffs near where we decended into the bottom is of a light green

collor. There are several stripes in Jiants Castle of the same collor. Tolerable good grass here.

Camp Rocky Mountains Evening—We left our noon camp late, traveling up the creek about two and a half miles, when we crossed to the west side and two and a half miles more up the creek and we camped. The same peculiar formed bluffs continue up the river. Just above where we crossed a differently carved bluff set in, honey combed or notched; the hard layers remaining while the soft layers were carved by the weather in to imitation columns and other shapes. Good grass here.

Camp Unita Tuesday 7. Noon—I stood guard last night, and we drove our stock across the creek to herd; my guard came on the latter part of the night and after driving all the stock this morning with the exception of one horse across and leading that one down under the bank of the creek so that I could the more easily jump upon its back, but as I mad a spring to light on the horses back it sprang in to the creek which threw me on my breast across its back and gave me a severe hurt; I think cracked one of my ribs. We left early this morning traveling up the creek about a mile and crossed the east side. Following on up the creek and making a bend to the right with the creek brought us to Smiths Fork, two miles more. We crossed Smiths Fork and still followed up Blacks Second Fork six miles farther and camped for noon. The The banks of both forks are covered with small timber of several kinds. Grass common

Camp Fort Bridger[70] *Wednesday 8.* Well we are six miles farther on our rout. We left our noon camp yesterday after two hours rest continueing up the river five miles and crossed again; to Fort Bridger. We halted a few hours at the fort & then continued on our journey crossing a half dozen or more little bridges across different parts of the creek one mile and camped for night on a part of Blacks Second Fork. Quit a number of Snakes were around and about the fort I was told there was five hundred They were here treating with the United States No fortifications were here only a military post. The houses were made strong. I noticed one that was built of boulders cemented together. The grass was short here. A couple of soldiers viseted us last night & entertained us for a couple of hours giving us a history of the country &c. Yesterday after crossing the creek we were apparently near the Unita Mountains, the same range that we saw from the hill west of Green River several days ago, which I then supposed to be about fifty miles off but I was told by a soldier yesterday evening was yet seventy miles off. Yesterday the range was on our left all day. I am told there is gold in them; also in the Wind River Mountains

Cool Springs—Noon—This morning we started early leaving the creek entirely acending for several miles Eight miles brought us to this spring. This is a fine spring of cool water. It stands on the left hand of the road. The grass here is common.

Camp Muddy Creek. Evening—We are now camped on a bend of Mudy Creek. We left our camp at the spring early and traveling over high land to the brow of a steep hill we came in view of Mudy Creek and valley. We decended the hill over a road rough with boulders, crossing a little creek we ascended another lower hill & then down to Mudy[71] Creek. We crossed the creek near a ranch and went up a short distance and camped. Not much grass here. The banks of the creek is covered with a thick growth of willow & other kinds. Our road to day was tolerable good Some times we had to cross beds of boulders some of them very large. Since I have been on the plains I have seen many kinds & colors of sand and rock About six miles this side of Camp Big Sandy No 3. I noticed the first bed of brown & black boulders, & from there on to Fort Bridger they have been in noticable quantities. After passing Fort Bridger the little chanels of Blacks Second Fork that were not bridged was very dificult to cross owing to the sand being washed out from among the boulders and when our stock walked on them they would move about. The most noticable bed of white sand is just below Three Crossings on Sweet Water; the most noticable bank of yellow sand is just below the crossing of Dry Creek; the most noticable bed of red sand is in Red Valley a couple of miles west of Elk Creek; green sand on the hill side before geting to Camp Jiants Castle; purple near the crossing of Dry Creek; & black sand in the Black Hills. I have seen more white sand than any other kind.

Pioneer Valley Thursday 9. We left our camp on Mudy this morning before breakfast and before the sun was up, and riseing from the valley we crossed over a mountian and down in to a valley, two miles. The dry bed of an alkli creek ran through the vally or kanyon as it is quite narrow for a valley Crossing the creek we went one mile up it & then turned up a right hand kanyon to Soda Springs.[72] Here I stoped for a drink of cool soda water. It taisted very well. The spring is on the left hand side of the road. We followed up this kanyon to its head on the top of the mountain. The most of the rest of the rist of the road was over the mountain. Seven miles ten miles in all to day to Pioneer Valley. To enter Pioneer Valley, we left the main road on the mountain, going to the right down a small kanyon. On the left hand side of the kanyon & valley where the kanyon joins the valley, in a thick cluster of bushes and small trees is a number of springs of coald water. Where the springs are the ground is black and marshy The sides of the mountain is doted with srubby cedar. The finest grass, I believe that I have seen on the plains is here. Farther down the valley it got better and widened, & farther up it narrowed. In fact there was good grass in all the valleys and on some parts of the mountains since leaving Mudy Creek. In some places some wild rye or wheat is found. A sprinkle of grass is now found most any where among the sage & the sage is becoming thiner, & where the grass is the thickest the sage is the thinest & wher the grass is very thick there is seldon any sage brush. Low down

on the sides of the mountains where the soil is richer & more moist are clusters of quakeing asp; higher up where there is but little soil is scrubby cedar.

On The Road Friday Morning 10. After leaving camp Pioneer Hollow we commensed ascending the hollow on the right hand side strikeing the main road about the head of the hollow, about a quarter of a mile beyond a ranch. A half mile or more and we found our selves decending a steep narrow kanyon, and very crooked. About half way down it, on the left hand side we came to a spring. At the foot of this kanyon we came to another larger one, which we turned down to the left, following it down several miles to where it turned off to the right, we turned up a branch kanyon to the left. We followed ut this to its head, over a mountain and down another short kanyon to a creek. Crossing this creek, we followed it down on the left hand side two miles to Bear River.[73] Ten miles since noon. Below where the kanyon joins the creek on the right hand side of the creek are some peculiar formed rocks They stand on edge and run at right angles with the creek. There is a tole bridge across the river at this point. There is a stage station here. The first cultivated land that I have seen is at this point. A small patch of wheat or some other kind of small grain & a small patch of vegetables. The ground was eregated, that is it was watered by water conveyed in a ditch through the garden from the rver. We forded the river below the bridge & camped at Camp Bear River Bear River is a rapid stream runing over a bed of boulders. The water is cool & clear A great deal of small growth along its banks & some large trees. Decending the first kanyon after leaving Camp Pioneer Hollow we passed several pretty groves of quaking asp; most of the telegraph poles in this part of the country is made of this kind of timber; they grow just large enough for telegraph poles as a general thing. The large trees here are cottenwood; and most of the large timber that I have seen since I left the Missouri River is of the same kind; in fact all since I came to the first Platt

Camp Kneedle Rocks. Noon—We left Bear River; passing over a mountain brough us down in to a beautiful little valley finely set in a good quality of grass mixed with wild wheat; crossing the valley diagonaly we ascended and easy slopeing mountain and passed over in to what appeared to be the same valley; down which we decended to Kneedle Rocks, where we are now camped. A small stream of water runs through most of the valley. In the uper part of the valley there is only the dry bed of the creek. This is called Sulphur Creek. Two or three miles before reaching this point we passed a spring of water close to the road side nearly as coald as ice-water. Kneedle Rocks is a cluster of large sharp pointed rocks, standing on the right hand side of the valley. They are the greatest curiosities in the way of rocks that I have seen. They are immense spears of rock composed of boulders of all sizes and collors cemented together with burnt and

melted sand. Parts of the sand was crumbling and the boulders would fall out, and could be picked out; but some parts was very hard holding the boulders and little pebles fast and solid. Some of the boulders was spoted and wringed with white. At this point about three weeks ago an emigrant train was attacted by a party of Utes. The train consisted of fifteen wagons and forty men There hapened to be a squad of cavelry near by at the time, which was all that saved the train probably from masacre. The cavelry disperced the indians killing two. One of the emigrants was wounded. We left the Snake country & entered that of the Utes at Bear River. A band of Ute wariors are camped on Yellow Creek six miles above where we will cross it. There is a small squad of soldiers posted at a station a mile & a half below here. They are not sufficiently strong to attact the indians but have to act on the defensive at present. They are here to guard the road. They are expecting reenforcements soon when they expect to drive the indians from their position. Most of the Utes are said to be armed with rifles & navy revolvers. We have received by telegraph news of other outrages perpetrated by indians & bad white men, connected; burning stations killing stage drivers &c. We have the benifit of a fine spring of ice water though it was not known to be there when we first stoped here but it was found in time to fill our kegs before leaving. It is on the opposite side of the creek four hundred yards or more above the rocks It is eight feet deep & three feet wide. It is about the coaldest water I have drank on the rout. It is eighty miles from where we crossed Bear River to Salt Lake City & nine miles from here to Bear River. It is called three hundred & fifty miles from Fort Bridger to Banock City on the head waters of the Missouri. The grass is tolerable good here

45. Willow Springs was a camping place between the Upper Crossing of the Platte near present Casper, Wyoming, and Independence Rock on the Sweetwater River, providing the only good water in a desert stretch of about 50 miles. The Upper Crossing Bridge noted by Yager was built in 1859, replacing the original Mormon ferry established in 1847.

46. In the plains region wood was so scarce that the emigrants used the droppings of buffaloes, termed "buffalo chips," to fuel their campfires.

47. The curious rocks mentioned were a long escarpment of jagged rocks, rising from 30 to 50 feet above the plain, termed Rock Avenue, or the Devil's Backbone.

48. Since losing cattle from alkaline water was a common occurrence on many desert stretches along the trail, careful guarding of livestock was necessary.

49. Independence Rock, one of the most famous trail landmarks and campgrounds, is a gigantic granite rock about a mile in circumference and rising about 100 feet above the Sweetwater River plain. It was deposited during the Ice Age by a receding glacier which had at one time covered much of the North American plains.

The rock was supposedly named by trader Wm. Sublette, who celebrated the 4th of July at this point, and it later became the site of the traders' and trappers' rendezvous held in the spring of each year.

When pioneer Edwin Bryant passed by the rock in 1846 he noted that several thousand names had been carved or painted upon it, including those of many famous plainsmen, and today a large number of those names are still readable.

50. There were several soda lakes in the Sweetwater River Valley from which the emigrants obtained soda to raise their pancakes.

51. Devil's Gate was the next famous landmark of the pioneers, located about five miles west of Independence Rock where the little Sweetwater River breaks through the Sweetwater Range. The name was derived from the river's noise as it crashes between rock walls some 400 feet high in a narrow cleft in the mountains. This landmark excited much curiosity and was always noted by the pioneers in their journals.

52. Dome Rock is hard to identify. It may be the Old Castle, a sandstone formation isolated on a hill near Split Rock. The trail from Independence Rock to the South Pass of the Rockies lay along the Sweetwater River to its headwaters. Points of interest in this stretch were Split Rock, Old Castle, Three Crossings, Ice Slough, Sweetwater Canyon, Rocky Ridge, Strawberry Creek, Rock Creek, Last Crossing, Oregon Buttes, and South Pass.

A few miles west of Independence Rock was a conspicuous notch in the Granite Range, in silhouette on the skyline, like a gunsight pointing the way west. It was named Split Rock. Ice Slough was a marshy area, below the surface of which was a layer of ice which did not melt even in the summer.

53. Many members of the Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges were among the emigrants bound for California and Oregon. The close ties of fraternalism offered security and a source of ready help. At Independence Rock on July 4, 1862, the first Masonic meeting in Wyoming was held by twenty Masonic emigrants enroute to Oregon.

54. Three Crossings refers to three crossings of the Sweetwater River where the trail lay in a narrow gorge formed by the Granite Mountains and an adjacent spur. The close confines of the gorge made three crossings a necessity.

55. This was the famous Ice Slough, a marshy area with a permanent layer of ice just below the surface. With an elevation of 6,000 feet, cold night temperatures, and a layer of turf to provide insulation, the ice never melted even in summer. The emigrants dug some of the ice up for cooling drinks, and considered it a marvel of the trail.

56. Violating the rules of the plains usually caused trouble. In 1846 the ox teams of Reed and Snyder, of the Donner Party, became entangled in passing on a sand hill near Iron Point on the Humboldt River. Snyder became enraged and struck Reed with a bullwhip, after which Reed killed him with his Bowie knife.

57. The trail here is approaching the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains in west-central Wyoming.

58. Strawberry Creek was a small stream where very rich placer mines were discovered in the late 1860s.

59. Three miles west of Strawberry Creek lay Rock Creek. Here, in November, 1856, members of the James G. Willies Mormon Emigrating Handcart Company perished in a blizzard. Others died at Martins Cove further back near Devil's Gate. Today a memorial monument marks the site.

60. Yager's account of South Pass is typical. The pass is in fact a gently sloping sage-covered plain totally unspectacular when one thinks of Rocky Mountain passes. So gradual was the final ascent to the crest that the emigrants could not tell when the crest was reached until they noted the first water flowing to the west. This they named Pacific Springs and Pacific Creek. The true elevation of the pass is about 7,800 feet above sea level.

61. The Emigrant Trail crossed the Dry Sandy, Little Sandy, and Big Sandy successively as it led westward. These rivers, in turn, made a confluence with the Green River in western Wyoming.

62. Sublette's Cut-Off, which carried the greater portion of the gold-rush pioneers, by-passed Fort Bridger on the main Fort Hall Emigrant Trail to Oregon and California. The cut-off severed a U-shaped loop of the trail, with Fort Bridger located at the base of the U. The two trails later intersected near the western Wyoming state line and led northwest to Fort Hall on the Snake River.

63. The trail here leads southwest to Fort Bridger, in the southwest corner of Wyoming.

64. Yager probably means prairie dogs, common to this area, which many emigrants considered to be good food.

65. The Green River is a sizeable body of water and in flood stages can be dangerous to cross. Early emigrants had to ford, as Yager's party chose to do, although the Lombard Ferry had been established by Mormons in 1847 near the confluence of the Big Sandy and the Green.

66. Many emigrants made a standard practice of laying over on Sunday to rest men and livestock and to cook, wash, and repair wagons and harness. They claimed that in the long run this practice actually shortened the time on the trail, as well as giving deep satisfaction to the religious members of the party by allowing them to have church services.

67. The trail intersected both Hams Fork and Blacks Fork, tributaries of the Green River, as it approached Fort Bridger.

68. These stratified sandstone formations are quite common in this area, and do resemble to some extent the eroded formations of the North Platte.

69. The Pony Express, established in 1860, had lasted only 16 months and by 1863 had been completely abandoned. However, that route was being heavily travelled by mail and stage lines, and the first trans-continental telegraph line was in operation.

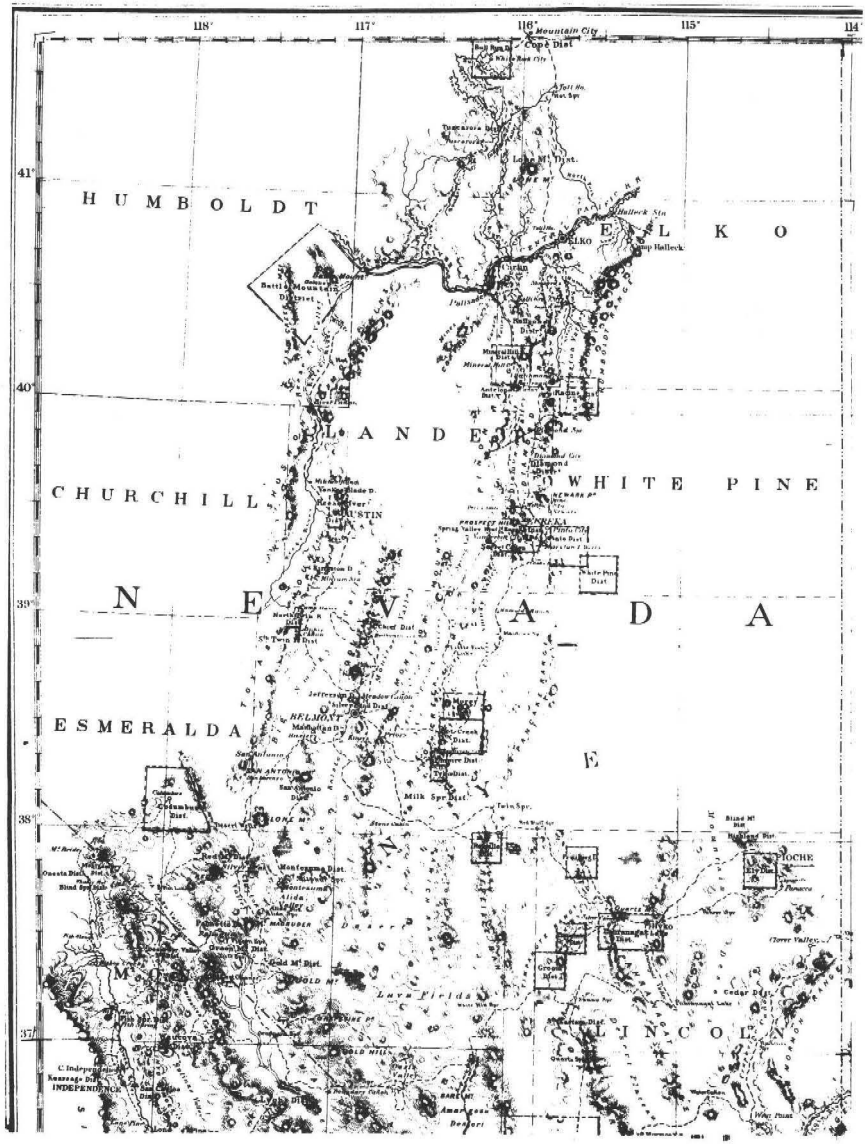
70. Fort Bridger was established in 1843 by mountain man Jim Bridger as a trading post for emigrants, Indians, and others. The fort was located at a strategic location to serve travelers headed for either Fort Hall or Salt Lake City. It was taken over by the Mormons in 1853, and then by the U.S. Army in 1857. Today the fort is a National Monument, with a museum to preserve the history of its pioneer days.

71. Leaving Fort Bridger, Yager's company crossed Muddy Creek and headed southwest toward Salt Lake City. This route was a portion of the ill-fated Hastings' Cut-Off which the Donner Party traveled in 1846. In that year the route was unbroken to wagon trains and the Donner party was forced, literally, to chop their way through the Wasatch Mountains, thus losing much precious time. This started the chain of events which ended in the tragic deaths of members of the party who were trapped in the winter snows at Truckee (Donner) Lake in 1846–47.

The older, established Fort Hall route left Fort Bridger to the northwest, passing along the Bear River, through Bear Valley and Soda Springs, to Fort Hall on the Snake River.

72. The Soda Springs mentioned by Yager is not to be confused with the more famous one that lay southeast of Fort Hall on the Fort Hall Emigrant Trail.

73. The trail west from Fort Bridger crossed Muddy Creek, Sulphur Creek, Bear River, and Yellow Creek enroute to Echo Creek and Echo Canyon, and then to Salt Lake City.



Central Nevada in 1870

Hot Creek and the Wide Gray Valley

by Marvin Lewis

AT THE BEGINNING of 1968 the Atomic Energy Commission detonated 3,200 feet underground a nuclear bomb of enormous power. Hundreds of miles away the tremors jarred buildings in Salt Lake City and San Francisco. The site of the explosion was the obscure Hot Creek Valley of southeastern Nevada.[1] A few scattered ranches and the Atomic Energy Commission's installation are the principal assets of the valley today. A hundred years ago it was different. The prospectors and miners, who had their camps in the canyons of the Hot Creek range, were busily mining.

The history of the Hot Creek camp might have been lost if it had not been for the diary of Martha James Gally. Martha's record of the fortunes of her family and of life in the small, isolated, silver-mining camp is one of the most detailed and perceptive of its kind.

Before the Gallys came to Hot Creek, they had already plumbed the depths of frontier mining existence. In the spring of 1864 they had left Iowa City for California—one of the thousands of emigrant families from the border and southern states who were fleeing the upheaval brought by war. The Gallys interrupted their westward journey at Austin, Nevada, where Dr. James W. Gally joined the ranks of the Nevada prospectors.[2] He lost most of his savings in ill-advised speculative ventures and tried to make a living by prospecting and by taking miscellaneous jobs. For a number of months he had a ranch at Roberts Creek, sixty miles east of

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Austin on the Overland Road, where he sold hay to teamsters and travelers.

A momentous event in the lives of the Gallys came with the mining strikes of 1866 in the ranges southeast of Austin. Dr. Gally made two trips to the new mines during the fall of 1866, and found that a dozen camps had already sprung up. The Danville District on the eastern slope of the Monitor range, the mines of the Silver Bend range (of which Belmont was the principal mining center), and the Hot Creek range camps were the new rage of the Nevada prospectors. By June, 1866, sixty locations had been made in the Hot Creek District, and by September a hundred men were residing there.[3] Fifteen miles north of Hot Creek were the Morey mines, and twelve miles south was the Empire District.

The most remarkable canyon in the range is Hot Creek. It presents a striking contrast to the dry, sombre sagebrush land all around and plants grow there that are not commonly found in Nevada: grasses, sunflowers, and willows cover the ground; and reeds, tule, and cat-tails flourish in marshes. The profusion of plant life is watered by a stream which originates in a hot spring located on the western slope of the Hot Creek range, and by the cold springs in the area.[4]

The canyon was extraordinary not only for its beauty but for its mines. A cross section of the mineral deposits was exposed in the canyon wall. The Indian Jim mine, which was the pride of Hot Creek, was reported to have "not less than 50,000 tons of milling ore in sight."[5] Another description of this mine claimed the face of the vein was 600 feet long and 60 feet wide, the observer commenting that "nature seems in this instance to have given the miner an example of her method of opening a vein on a grand scale."[6] The Indian Jim had sold for $50,000 to capitalists, with the original locators holding a one-fifth interest in it. To work the ore a mill had been erected in 1866 by the Consolidated Silver Mining Company. Scattered throughout the district were other locations with exciting possibilities: the Old Dominion rich in horn silver assayed from $100 to $5,000 per ton; the Silver Glance was abundant in black sulphuret and native silver; the American Hunter was running assays from $40 to $1000 per ton; and both the Shenandoah and Gazelle were showing promise.[7]

The earliest reports of the ledges at Northumberland, Danville, Hot Creek, and Reveille created, according to the State Mineralogist, a sense of "incredibility." Miners in the Reveille District were talking of veins of "immense proportions," thicknesses varying from 40 feet in the Atlantic mine to 106 in the Crescent. Knowledgeable mining men were skeptical, pointing out that mineral was being found in limestone and that a regular vein system had not been disclosed.

The next few years would reveal the narrow base of the discoveries, most of the silver ore coming from the surface limestone rather than from a network of veins. Soon after the surface ore had been worked out, many

of the districts faded away. The hopeful discoverers had before them a few years of success at best. Where one company was able to gain control of a major part of a district, as at Morey, the working of the irregularly distributed surface ore was profitable.[8] Prospectors and independent miners were enormously impressed by surface appearances, and in 1866, 1867, and 1868 the hopes of these men were inflated, as they tramped through the country exulting in the good times ahead.

In mid-December, 1866, Dr. Gally bundled up the family, put their belongings in the wagons, and began the 110-mile trek to Hot Creek. The trip took eight days over roads covered with snow; the horses had hard pulling most of the way. They took pot luck in locating shelter for the night, sleeping in their tent or a wayside cabin. A wet snow fell as they entered Hot Creek Canyon and the horses had a hard pull. The road was treacherously soft and the wagon Dr. Gally was driving unavoidably hit a place where the wheels settled to their hubs. By doubling teams he succeeded after much effort in freeing the wagon. It was nearly mid-afternoon before they came to the cabin they were to occupy in the lower canyon, but they had to leave the wagons and cross the creek to get to it. The cabin walls were made of sod and the roof of dirt; a spring, providing soft water for washing, was nearby. After the rough camping of the past eight days, Martha Gally declared that the dwelling "seemed fine to us." The bad weather had blown over and the day of their arrival was warm and pleasant.[9]

Their first Christmas at Hot Creek was as "warm as springtime." Dr. Gally invited two of his friends, Rockyfellow and Cooke, to a festive dinner that Martha Gally had ready by four o'clock. She served "roast mutton, cabbage, potatoes, turnips & carrots, pickles, jelly, cold bread & hot biscuit, tea & coffee, with an apple pudding." Martha, who preferred to be called Mat, was quite proud of her accomplishment, "not a home dinner by any means, but tolerable for so new a town."

There was much work to be done in getting settled. They had to build a house of their own and the first weeks at Hot Creek were given over to cutting timber. The Gallys were building their house on a flat outside the canyon. Above them in the canyon was the middle village and at the summit of the range was the upper settlement. By the beginning of February their rough-hewn log cabin was completed and they moved in. Dr. Gally's sketch of the Hot Creek home, with the two rooms that were added later, suggests a fairly comfortable frontier dwelling. A large yard, planted with trees and enclosed by a picket fence, gave a neat look to the grounds. As spring came Dr. Gally and his son James, who was eleven years old, planted a garden of onions, peas, and beets. Martha and her daughter Matty, who was nine years old, found wild flowers and planted them in front of the cabin.

The hum of activity at Hot Creek encouraged the Gallys and spurred

them to new activity. The Indian Jim mine was producing ore and sustaining the reputation of the district. Dr. Gally was elated by the interest his properties were attracting. A twenty-stamp mill, the Old Dominion, was completed and operating shortly after the Gallys arrived, and the pounding of the stamps had a pleasing sound. "To a stranger's ear," wrote Dr. Gally, "this ceaseless rhythmic roar in the otherwise silent land becomes at first a sort of grand, loud, yet muffled harmony; then a painful, thundering discord; still later a bearable monotony; and, finally, the agreeable pulsating music of prosperity."

To the experienced eye of the Doctor, the camp was thriving. Up and down the canyon were the log, stone, adobe, and canvas shelters of the bachelor miners who made the hills resound with their boisterous shouts. The road through the canyon was Main Street, a meeting place for men coming in and going out. In a small community like Hot Creek, boasting a store, two saloons, and a blacksmith's shop, everyone lived on the closest terms of association. Men congregated in the middle village, known as Carrollton, to socialize, some of them in the street and others in the local store or saloon "reading (for miners read the news and support newspapers)—playing cards—annecdotizing [*sic*] or philosophizing." The prospectors and miners of a small outside camp were types, as Dr. Gally saw them, somewhat rough but without being a "gawk or booby," and always willing to learn. These same men could, when the mood was upon them, "drink and fight like the souls in Walhalla."[10] Even on weekdays, drunken, noisy men might be out on the street, making a roaring nuisance of themselves. On holidays high spirits could be expected to lead to fights. On July 4, 1867, Martha recorded in her diary that a "Mr. Bond jumped on Mr. Twain, then on Rocky, and afterwards on Mr. Tipton, whom he nearly killed."[11]

The mining district, which had been organized at Hot Creek nearly a year before the Gallys arrived, had as its main function the recording of claims. The miners of the district met on January 1, 1867, to elect a recorder for the year to come, Dr. Gally acting as secretary of the meeting. The closest civil courts were at Belmont, some thirty miles west of Hot Creek. It was not until July 1, 1867, that Hot Creek would have Dr. Gally as its first Justice of the Peace and ex-officio Coroner, appointed by the Board of County Commissioners.[12]

Except for occasional drunkenness, Hot Creek was ordinarily a quiet place. A rare disturbance occurred four months after they arrived in Hot Creek. Mat called it "quite an 'episode'." The Doctor had left early in the morning, and Mat, after giving the children a midday dinner, had lain down in the backroom. An intruder, who appeared to be drunk, entered the front room and summoned her in a "strange manner"; she sprang from the bed to face the man, who was standing in the doorway demanding a meal and a bed for the night, which she promptly denied. Rebuffed, he unburdened himself of his blankets and "pointed very wickedly at me

what I supposed to be a knife." Unable to control him, Mat sent the children for their neighbor, Mr. Twain, who after a struggle forced him out; but he returned several times, and Mr. Twain and Mr. Gerow gave him a thrashing and locked him up in a room for the night. The men sent him on his way the next morning, warning him not to return under any circumstances, since he had already made a general nuisance of himself taking articles from several cabins.[13]

Mat was the recipient of much courtesy and deference in a place where she was for a number of months the only white woman. Prospectors and travelers stopped at the cabin to talk to her; men in the camp told her their troubles and discussed their plans for the future. The Doctor undoubtedly had her in mind when he made a character in one of his stories say:

> She was naturally motherly-like, and cheerful with every body that came anigh her. She put the boys in mind of their mothers and elder sisters. Often we had the children with us, and some of them 'boys' had left little ones of their own away back behind them, and they used to take to our children like fathers, until I got afraid they'd spoil them with presents, and odd talk to the boys about being a man and chewing tobacco and the like, and to the girl about which of them the child liked the most, and pretending that they'd fight about her, and all such carryings-on for fun.[14]

The business outlook at Hot Creek in 1867 appeared good. Two of Dr. Gally's mines, the "Henry Clay" and the "Leviathan," had been put in the hands of I. T. Irwin for sale in the eastern markets. Much depended on the mines maintaining their reputation. One indication of their value was the output of the mill, which netted during ten days in October $8,060 in silver bullion. The struggle of the camp for permanence depended upon a lucky combination of circumstances, but the fate of a Nevada mining camp was always unpredictable.

Hot Creek had its first tragedy toward the end of 1867. Until December the camp had not known a death. A man by the name of Peters fell from his horse in the canyon not far from the Old Dominion Mill. The accident occurred on a Monday, and the man, suffering from a back injury, went to the Gallys for help, but Dr. Gally was away with James prospecting in the surrounding hills. The two were found and Dr. Gally remained with Peters during the night, but he could offer only comfort. Peters died before dawn, and on Wednesday, December 11, Mat watched the men "bringing him over to his grave which was made on the top of the hill behind the house." Downhearted at the sight she added: "This was the first death in the camp & it made me sad enough."[15] Before the year closed another death took place under mystifying circumstances. A man whose name was James Kelly hanged himself on December 21. Matty came for her father about 9 o'clock in the evening to inform him of the event. The Doctor left at once to verify the report. In the Coroner's Report, he stated:

> I found a man of medium stature lying, with a portion of half-inch cord about his neck, under the windlass of Page and Johnston's butchering gallows. The deceased lay upon his back and, to all appearance, dead; he was clad in a drab colored woolen coat, and pants of the same but lighter in color. One cotton ducking over shirt and two woolen under shirts, a pair of coarse low shoes (no socks!) all pretty well worn.

Immediately the Doctor selected six jurymen to witness him search the man's body for personal effects and to search out the cause of death. He took from his pockets a pipe and tobacco, a bandana and a pocket whip. Witnesses, five in all, were summoned. From their testimony Kelly's story emerged. Financed by his father, he had come across the plains with a partner, Joseph Springer. He had worked at a sawmill for three months, had given up his job, and had arrived at Hot Creek several days before he took his life. His partner was prospecting as far south as the Colorado River, and Kelly was awaiting a report from him. He had said that his fate was sealed if his partner failed in the prospecting venture, and that "he (Kelly) would not be alive in six months." Kelly took his life after he gambled away his few remaining dollars.[16]

With the advent of 1868, events rapidly culminated in disaster for the camp. First, it was the worst extended period of winter storms ever recorded to that time in the Far West. The heavy blanket of snow in the Sierra had cut off travel between California and Nevada; freight shipments from Virginia City were halted; and horse teams were not leaving Austin for the southeast, although a few ox-teams were attempting to stay on the road. When they looked out their door on the morning of January 20, there were ten inches of snow on the ground and more falling. "The storm begins to look serious," observed Martha Gally. All during the remaining days of January the cold hung on tenaciously, letting up briefly for a fresh fall of snow. Even the water and meat stored in the house froze solid. Looking out on the stark white expanse framed by a clear moonlit night, Mat saw a first quarter moon that offered the "remarkable spectacle of being attended by two evening stars Venus and Mercury—to which phenomenon the wise men attribute our stormy weather."[17]

Along with the winter cold came nagging reports of the camp's difficulties. The little mill that had commenced operations early in the month and the Old Dominion Mill ground to a halt by the end of January. Activity in the camp was slow, and some of the tradespeople were abandoning the place. The worst possible calamity happened when the larger of the two mills, the Old Dominion, caught fire on the night of February 4 and burned to the ground. The fire had occurred when rubbish beneath the engine room was ignited as men worked to thaw out a water pipe leading into the mill. The flames, as described by one spectator, appeared "to dance like fiends among the shadows of the great rocks. . . ."[18]

"This last misfortune," sighed Martha Gally, "will I suppose ruin this camp, at least temporarily."[19] The immediate construction of a new brick

mill failed to materialize and the camp literally fell into bankruptcy at the beginning of April. The cherished hopes of the Gallys and the other people in the camp, however, were not extinguished easily. The discovery in May of rich leads in Rattlesnake canyon, a few miles south of Hot Creek, was encouraging. Operations began about the same time on several new mines, and the Gillett mine, yielding "rock with great lumps of native silver," came into its own by the end of the summer. The Old Dominion Mill was being rebuilt. However, the camp's new lease of life was fairly short and by September the future was bleak. The partially restored mill was operating by fall, but stagnation had set in. The White Pine mining boom was drawing people and money away from the scattered outside camps. Toward the end of 1868 people were leaving the place. The store in Upper Town went out of business in September while Joslyn's store had hardly anything to sell. In December the Old Dominion saloon was removed to White Pine, and the boilers of the Old Dominion Mill were transported to Hamilton to be used in the plant of the White Pine Mill Company.

The period of collapse was marked by personal tragedy and unhappiness. A carpenter by the name of Pete Cunningham, who was working in the Gillett shaft, fell and broke his ankle. The night before the accident Mr. Gillett had carelessly thrown the rope around the windlass, planning to anchor it properly the following day. Cunningham, unaware of the situation, seized the rope, swung himself into the shaft, and was hurled to the bottom. "It was of course unintentional (the arrangement of the rope)," declared Martha Gally, "but horribly & it appears fatally careless."[20] At first there appeared to be some hope for the man's life. Dr. Dehl and Dr. Cummings were summoned from Belmont to set the fracture. The day after their arrival, Cunningham felt somewhat better, but within a week he declined rapidly, having suffered more serious internal injuries than could be treated by the medical knowledge of that day. The sick man lingered on for almost three weeks. Mr. Johnston, the butcher, looked after him, but in caring for Cunningham's injured leg developed an infection in his own hand. They buried Peter Cunningham in the Hot Creek graveyard on June 1, 1868.

Family life particularly suffered from the decline of the camp. A number of families, confronting extreme hardships and difficulties, broke up. Of the seven family women mentioned in Martha Gally's diary, four separated from their husbands. They survived the Hot Creek experience by resorting to various expedients. With some money in hand, the produce of their gardens, and by undertaking common living arrangements two of the women did quite well until their husbands returned to the family fold. One of the women, Mrs. Shafer, who had a newborn baby, found living quarters with J. D. Page, who was the proprietor of the butchering gallows. Page and Mrs. Shafer became companionable, and a few months later Martha Gally saw them at Mrs. Ferguson's place: "Shortly Mrs. Shafer

came in & presently Mr. Page. I was a little astonished & greatly displeased at the familiar insolence of his manner & of her gracious reception. I am afraid she has already come to grief."[21] The familiarity between the two came to an end when Mrs. Shafer set up housekeeping with Mrs. Fergerson in the old Gerow house, which was without a stove or fireplace but had the warmth of floorboards and the splendor of papered walls. In November Mr. Shafer was back in camp and living again with his spouse, although she was no happier with him than before.

The other woman, Mrs. Fergerson, gave birth to a baby and was promptly deserted by her husband. Mrs. Fergerson went to Martha Gally and poured out the details of her husband's insensitivity, which had Martha corroborating that "he disowns his child & all such stuff—much of this I heard myself." Unable to bear her busband's abuse, Mrs. Fergerson elicited Mat's help in moving into another place. Mr. Fergerson did not take kindly to the move, and arriving home in the dark "swore dreadfully because he was unable to get into his house." Martha Gally lent a helping hand to the Fergerson woman, "who is trying to do her washing—poor woman she had a sore time."[22]

The Shafer and Fergerson women were joined in their matrimonial tribulations by a Danish couple who separated three weeks after coming to Hot Creek, the wife leaving the settlement in the company of another man. Even some of the women who had no serious marital difficulties were nevertheless burdened with the wayward antics of their spouses. Shortly after Mrs. Smythe's baby was born, her husband gave in to the prevailing mood of the camp and along with the Miller boy and Reno made a drunken spectacle of himself. Mat castigated him for his behavior, and in the diary suggested he "ought to be ashamed of himself![23] To his credit he mended his ways and in mid-December the Smythes, including the baby, made a companionable visit to the Gally's cabin.

A single woman at Hot Creek, Miss Gregory, whom Martha Gally liked, conducted herself loosely in the months before she left the camp for White Pine. Miss Gregory had run the boarding house at Hot Creek and later at Rattlesnake canyon. As early as June, she became friendly with Mat's neighbor, Mr. Dillmer, and by September the two were intimate. She spent a great deal of time with Mr. Dillmer, and Mat felt her friend was deteriorating in personal appearance as well as morals. When Miss Gregory came to obtain a saddle to ride with two men to Morey, Mat commented that "she is rougher & more untidy than I ever saw her." Mat's staid sensibilities were shocked by Miss Gregory's open liaison with Mr. Dillmer: "She is quite a gay young woman in her style of traveling—she supped slept & breakfasted at Mr. D's cabin, I presume being totally independent of womankind & all conventionalities." Miss Gregory could throw convention to the winds since she had decided to remove to White Pine. Sensibilities aside, Mat was ungrudging in her admiration for this adventuress, who would have "to try her fortune—not having the least idea of what or

how she is to do—a brave woman I think." On the day she left, Mat knew she would miss her.[24]

The pettiness, boredom, and uncouthness of the Hot Creek camp became more galling to Mat the longer she stayed. Drunkenness periodically manifested itself. The old time exuberance of Rocky, Hinkle, and Gerow, who were no longer permanent residents, found ample expression in the antics of Reno, Tipton, Ellis, Smythe, and the Miller boy.

Most of the women were untutored and tiresome. The Fergerson and Shafer women, who crowded her little room with their squalling babies and noisy children, were increasingly bothersome. Mrs. Fergerson's ineptness in domestic matters irked her, and after spending an entire day in instructing her how to make a pair of pants, without much real success and while the children created a bedlam, Martha was tired and angry.

All kinds of petty impositions made her fret. She had labored long and hard in sewing a coat for Mr. Reno, who paid an insignificant sum for her labors, but she remained silent "as I do not expect to accomodate [*sic*] him again."[25] Mr. Shafer irritated her with his quibbling about the money he owed the Doctor on his meat bill. "The greediness of the little man," she confided to her diary on December 25, "makes him forget the great desire he has to be thought and treated like a gentleman." Not less galling was the impudence of Captain Rossiter, who borrowed the Gally's wagon from Martha under the false representation that the Doctor had given him permission to take it. When the Doctor came home he was justly outraged and asked for its immediate return. Rossiter refused the request, telling James, who had carried the message to him, that his understanding was the Doctor had loaned him the wagon, and he would make use of it for another week. Quite exasperated Martha exclaimed: "Grand old rascal he is." The Doctor brought suit against him, but the papers could not be easily delivered since he and the wagon were mired in the mud some distance from the camp. To avoid more trouble about the wagon, Ed, the younger Rossiter, came around proposing to pay a dollar a day in greenbacks for the time the wagon had been borrowed. The Doctor refused the offer and the elder Rossiter eventually put in an appearance. He worked "himself into a terrible passion, abused the Dr., refused to pay & at last pd the 35 dollars in greenbacks & left an order from Crockett to put in a felloe. The Dr. kept his temper & was quiet & gentlemanly." The next day the old man Rossiter jumped the camp with a harness and a horse collar that did not belong to him, and left behind him bad feelings among those to whom he had palmed off depreciated greenbacks. One of his victims, Mr. Rooker, swore he would publicize him "as a swindler."[26]

Martha Gally was not alone in experiencing the little meannesses of the camp. The shabby treatment of Mrs. Cummings, who was managing the mill's boardinghouse in September, and later of Mr. Rocky, who was visiting the camp in October, stirred Mat's indignation. Mrs. Cummings had nearly killed herself with an overdose of opiates—taken after learning of

the nasty slurs upon her reputation which had circulated in the camp. Martha Gally refused flatly to countenance slander and she walked up the canyon to help Mrs. Cummings. Martha pitied her, noting "that she was up there all alone."[27]

Even the Gally's old friend Rocky, who had succeeded in business in Belmont, and who had sent Matty "a beautiful crimson merino frock—all very nice but to(o) expensive for Rocky to buy & too gay for Matty under the circumstances," was gulled and cheated on a business trip to the camp. Mr. Reno waited until Rocky went on one of his sprees and then bought his horses; he recovered the purchase money in a card game. Rocky should have known better, and Martha thought he "deserved it to be so base and foolish as to incapacitate himself so completely," for he knew having been around at the time of Kelly's suicide the unscrupulous character of Reno and his friends.[28]

Martha Gally had always had a good feeling about Rocky. Upon arriving in camp in December he had surprised her in one of her blue moods, but he "came in so kind & bright that it was a pleasure to see him," and he was encouraging too about the future. After the many disappointments in people and events, Rocky had suddenly lifted her above the pettiness of her surroundings. Several times in the midst of the harsh realities, a small sign of human worth restored her equilibrium. In those last months at Hot Creek life often took on a gentler aspect and suggested a meaning for her beyond that of its real significance. A friendly offer by Old Mose to work on the woodpile was not accepted by her, but she was moved by his thoughtfulness. "I was," she wrote, "grateful & surprised by his courtesy—old French gallantry not quite worn out yet in the old gentleman."[29]

She was of course most aware of the developing minds of her children. From their old friend Mr. Bell came the loan of a volume of Burns's poetry, which James and Matty eagerly read. Martha continued to press Shakespeare upon them and commenced drilling them in the fundamentals of grammar. Quite frustrating were discussions with James on the subject of mesmerism. The boy's interest had been aroused by a book he had read, and he pursued his mother with questions that she honestly could not answer. The thirst of the Gallys for culture had little direct impact on the community, but a friend of her son, Smith Nelson, came by to ask if Mrs. Gally would teach him to read at the same time she was instructing James. So sincere was the request she began the first lesson immediately.

The disintegration of the Hot Creek camp was reached by late autumn 1869. A few families had resolved to remain into the coming year, but the Gallys rather than stagnate there any longer had decided to move on. Dr. Gally had fulfilled his obligation to the camp as its Justice of the Peace. His mining ledges had failed to attract a buyer and there was no work of any kind. The rage of the day was White Pine, and Dr. Gally turned his face toward the new Eldorado.

The Gallys spent several months at White Pine, residing in Shermantown, a milling center for the district. Like their many other ventures, this one, too, turned out to be a misadventure. Without permanent employment and without luck, Dr. Gally soon found himself penniless. The family went on short rations and not infrequently there was no food. "Oh if we had only something to do," lamented Martha Gally. They were sick a great deal of the time. Martha Gally particularly suffered from recurring bouts of dysentery. Defeated and discouraged, they abandoned White Pine and returned to their old Hot Creek home.

The retreat to Hot Creek was a move of desperation. Many of their old neighbors had departed or had died, and only about thirty of the former inhabitants were hanging on. Martha Gally was seriously ill and Dr. Gally as penniless as ever. The outlook was terribly bleak and the fabric of their family life began to tear apart. Martha noted in her diary on December 14 that her husband "is at times so insultingly cross and abusive at home that his occasional absence is endurable." By Christmas of 1870, the situation had improved somewhat at Hot Creek. Ore was being extracted from a few of the mines and Dr. Gally was employed hauling quartz. They were able to survive but in a state of grinding poverty.

After so many defeats and difficulties, the discovery on August 28, 1870, of the Two G ledge by Gally and Gillett in Jerusalem canyon, later known as Tybo, came as an anti-climax. The Gallys began the slow climb from poverty to prosperity. A profitable return on the 1,200 feet of the Two G claimed by Gally and Gillett was not realized immediately. Early in 1874, John B. McGee, who was superintendent of the Richmond Consolidated Mining Company at Eureka, became interested in the Tybo mines, and he negotiated to purchase for $97,000 a total of 3,440 feet, comprising the best ground of the Two G, the Hunkidori, the Lafayette, and the Casket, of which the lion's portion of 2,100 feet belonged to Gally and Gillett. After the division of the money, Dr. Gally's share might have been as much as $25,000.[30]

Between 1870 and 1874, with the exception of a few months at Tybo, the Gallys continued to live at Hot Creek. Bound to Nevada by struggle and adventure they had become permanent members of the community. In 1874, ten years after having arrived at Reese River as emigrants and after having experienced high adventure, the Gallys left their valley for California, where they bought a fruit ranch in the Pajaro Valley near Watsonville. More than a year after they had left Nevada, Martha Gally declared in a letter written to her brother, George, that "I sigh for the vast repose of the desert and if it were not for the ridiculousness of sentiment in a fat old woman should weep for the strength of the mountain and the rest of the wide gray valley."[31]

What happened at Hot Creek after their departure? The principal mines were worked for a number of years, and in 1880 a ten-stamp mill was built. A million dollars worth of bullion, it is estimated, was extracted

from the mines of the district between 1866 and 1880. Eventually the area became more valuable for its cattle and hay ranches. Today the Hot Creek Ranch lies in the valley at the eastern end of the canyon. The Hot Creek canyon is deserted. The shells of old cabins, barns, and corrals remain. On a summer day the quiet is pervasive. An occasional snake glides across the road that runs down the canyon. The tules and wild rose bushes grow abundantly, the little stream that gathers near the springs flows swiftly towards the valley, and the poplar trees stand as sentinels along the road. Unmarked on the hills are the graves of Peters, Kelly, Cunningham, and others. There were idyllic days like this when the Gallys lived there, but oftentimes the fierce wind howled down the canyon to re-enforce the lonliness in the human heart.

1. *Los Angeles Times,* March 10, 1969, Part 1, PP–3, 26–27.

2. Genealogical Notes, in Gally Family Paper (Bancroft Library, University of California). Hereinafter the Gally Family Papers are to be cited as *GFP.*

3. *Reese River Reveille,* May 1 and June 30, 1866; Myron Angel (ed.), *History of Nevada, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Oakland, 1881), pp. 516–17, 519, 523–26.

4. *Reese River Reveille,* September 19, 1866; Mahlon D. Fairchild, "Notes from a Sketchbook of a Prospector—No. 16," *Reese River Reveille,* August 11, 1866; J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor, *Reports upon the Mineral Resources of the United States* (Washington, 1867), covering 1866, p. 133; J. Ross Browne, *Report on the Mineral Resources of the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, 1868), 1st rpt., covering 1867, p. 424.

5. *Report of the Nevada State Mineralogist, 1866* (Carson City, 1867), pp. 62–63.

6. *Reese River Reveille,* September 28, 1866.

7. *Ibid.,* August 11 and 23, 1866, and January 7, 1867, Fairchild, Nos. 16–17, 29.

8. *Report of the Nevada State Mineralogist,* 1866, pp. 56, 63; *Reese River Reveille,* December 8, 1866; *Preliminary Report Explorations and Surveys principally in Nevada and Arizona, 1871* (1st Lieutenant George M. Wheeler, Corps of Engineer in charge, Washington, 1872), p. 42; Rossiter W. Raymond, *Mineral Resources of the States and Territories* (Washington, 1869), 2nd rpt., covering 1866, pp. 108–109. The original discoverers of the Hot Creek mines were Jeremiah Miller, David Baker, Eli Baker, G. B. Montgomery, Dr. Walter, E. G. Brown, Garrett and Joslyn, and Captain A. D. Rock; Angel, *History of Nevada,* pp. 523–24.

9. The *Diary* of Martha Virginia (James) Gally, December 13–25, 1867, in *GFP.* The *Diary* of Martha Virginia (James) Gally is hereinafter cited as *Diary.*

10. James W. Gally, "The Deserted Camp," in *GFP.*

11. *Diary,* July 14, 1867.

12. *Silver Bend Reporter,* July 6, 1867; Letter from County Clerk and Treasurer, Nye County, Tonopah, Nevada, July 29, 1955; Inventory of the County Archives of Nevada, No. 12. Nye County (Tonopah), Historical Records Survey, WPA (Reno, Nevada, September 1940), pp. 109–133.

13. *Diary,* May 7, 1867.

14. James W. Gally, "Out in the Night," *Sacramento Union,* June 28, 1873.

15. *Diary,* December 11, 1867.

16. Report of the Coroners Inquest in the matter of the Death of James Kelly at Hot Creek, Nye County, Nevada, December 21, 1867, J. W. Gally Coroner (County Court, Tonopah, Nye County, Nevada).

17. *Diary,* January 28, 1868.

18. *Silver Bend Reporter,* January 25, February 8 and 29, 1868.

19. *Diary,* February 5, 1868.

20. *Ibid.,* May 18, 1868.

21. *Ibid.,* September 17, 1868.

22. *Ibid.,* September 27 and 29, 1868.

23. *Ibid.,* September 11, 1868.

24. *Ibid.,* September 13 and 24, October 16, 1868.

25. *Ibid.,* December 3, 1868.

26. *Ibid.,* October 5, 20, and 28, 1868.

27. *Ibid.,* October 16, 1868.

28. *Ibid.,* October 28 and December 17, 1868.

29. *Ibid.,* October 11 and December 13, 1868.

30. Rossiter Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, 1874), 6th rpt., covering 1873, p. 232; Great Britain, Board of Trade, *Archives of the Companies Registration Office, 1844–1951,* "Selected Papers of Tybo Consolidated Mining Co. Ltd."

31. Martha James Gally to George Abbott James, from Watsonville, California, January 5, 1876, in *GFP.*

What's Being Written

Silver and Politics in Nevada: 1892–1902 by Mary Ellen Glass (University of Nevada Press, Reno, 1969; $5.50), the subject of this review, is the sixth volume in the Lancehead Series of the University of Nevada Press.

Except for the editor of Virginia City's *Territorial Enterprise,* and perhaps a handful of other knowledgeable people, few Nevadans were concerned with the passage of the Mint Act of 1873. The indifference was understandable for two reasons. In the first place, the state's two U.S. Senators, William M. Stewart and James W. Nye, had raised no objections when the bill was being debated in the Senate. Senator Nye, near the close of his career when the act was passed, never had to answer for his lack of action. Senator Stewart, however, was called upon many times in later years to answer to his constituents for his failure. His claim that John Sherman and others had conspired to pass the act should not blur the fact that both Nevada Senators had been negligent in not keeping a closer watch on a bill dealing with coinage. A second reason for the indifference of the Nevada public was the discovery of the "Big Bonanza," the richest ore-body in the history of the Comstock Lode. The discovery, announced about a month after passage of the Mint Act, sent the Comstock on a six-year prosperity "binge" which effectively drew attention away from the details of the coinage measure. The inevitable decline, definite by 1879, proved to be a permanent one for the Comstock and set the stage for what developed into a twenty-year depression for Nevada. During that period when attempts to revitalize mining failed and efforts to develop the livestock industry did not bring recovery, Nevadans turned to political solutions. Ignoring all other factors, political leaders and others now found the answer to the depression in the Mint Act of 1873 which, meanwhile, had received its more common title, the "Crime of '73." Since the act had caused the depression, the simple solution to the problem was to repeal the act and restore the country to a bimetallic standard.

Fortunately, the miners were not the only ones interested in the remonetization of silver at this time. By the 1890s farmers in the old Northwest and in the South, also suffering from a continuing depression, were pressing for inflation to bring higher prices for farm goods and thus promote prosperity. When the farm movements merged in 1892 into a single political group, the People's party, the platform of the new party contained a plank demanding the remonetization of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Although both of the major national parties paid lip-service to free silver in their platforms, it was quite clear that the People's party offered the

only real hope on the national level for the supporters of free silver. Thus for a few years there existed a strange alliance between the mining fraternity and the farmers, a time when, as Mrs. Glass points out, "Politicians who had never thought about the evils of capitalism became free-swinging populists. . . ."

The strange alliance virtually came to an end in the national campaign of 1896 as the Democratic party adopted a strong silver plank for its platform and the Republicans accepted a "sound money" (gold standard) plank. Meanwhile in Nevada, silver supporters were attempting to fuse the various silver elements within each local party into a single unit. The action of the national Republicans prevented fusion on the local level and insured defeat for Republican candidates in the state contests. On the other hand, the action of the national Democrats made fusion possible between the local Democrats and the Silverites. It also resurrected the state Democratic machine which had appeared on the verge of extinction in the elections of 1892 and 1894. With the exception of the election of 1898, the fusion of Democrats and Silverites operated successfully from the election of 1896 through that of 1906. Just as important was the fact that when the silver issue ceased to be a major state issue, the impetus given to the Nevada Democrats from the decade of "fusion" enabled that party to emerge as the majority party in Nevada.

Mrs. Glass works her way carefully and competently through the rather complex maze of national and state politics during these years. The emphasis is, of course, on the state political developments but the author never ignores the interplay of national and state forces. The documentation is substantial with many hitherto unused sources carefully evaluated. The book is free of typographical errors, but the editors could have found a more useful map of Nevada than the one opposite page 115.

A book covering the silver question in Nevada politics certainly was needed; Mrs. Glass and the University of Nevada Press are to be congratulated for producing a volume which so competently covers the subject.

RUSSELL R. ELLIOTT

What's Going On

The Churchill County Museum

ON JULY 1, 1968, the Churchill County Museum was opened at Fallon. During the early 1960s Mr. Alex Osser of Huntington Park, California, became interested in the Indian artifacts of the Lahontan Valley and in 1966 he purchased a Safeway building and donated it to the county for a museum. The County Commissioners responded by appointing a Museum Committee; by-laws and a constitution were written, and $5,000 was donated by the county to be used for an interior building fund. Extensive donations of Indian artifacts, antiques, china, glass, silver, and other items have resulted in a rapid expansion of the museum's holdings. The display quickly became a major attraction in the Fallon area and in 1969 the American Association of State and Local History awarded the museum the Certificate of Commendation. Mrs. Nancy Warren is the present curator.

Nevada State Archives

THE STATE ARCHIVES was created by the Nevada State Legislature in 1965. The funding of $25,000 made possible the hiring of an archivist, the installation of shelving and equipment, and the general maintenance of quarters in the basement of the Capitol Building Annex. The Archives follows a policy of collecting and maintaining public records, documents, and manuscripts pertinent to state government, county and city governments, and certain state related federal agencies.

Major collections presently include: territorial and state Supreme Court transcripts and opinions, Nevada military records, the original legislature manuscript laws and journals, governor's papers, Utah territorial records, township and range maps, architectural plans, and numerous small collections. Currently there are over 300,000 inventoried items in the Archives.

In June of 1970 the administrative offices, reference section, and study rooms were moved to the first floor of the Annex, and archival records in the basement have been totally protected from fire by the installation of heat and smoke detectors and an automatic carbon-dioxide system. The Archives now offer illustrated lectures on Nevada history and government,

tours, copy equipment, a microfilm reader and printer, and other aids for the researcher or student. Frederick C. Gale is the director of the State Archives.

The Northeastern Nevada Museum

THE NORTHEASTERN NEVADA MUSEUM opened in April, 1968, in a building financed by the Northeastern Nevada Historical Society, the Fleischmann Foundation, and individual contributions. The attractive structure of white brick is located on the eastern outskirts of Elko. It has wall-to-wall carpeting, air conditioning, a complete alarm system, and new mahogany exhibit cases. The exhibits emphasize the history, prehistory, and natural history of the northeastern Nevada area. The first exhibits were put in by Howard Hickson, then the Curator of Exhibits at the Nevada State Museum. Other exhibits were designed by members of the society board, and the last nine exhibits have been installed by Hickson, present director of the museum. There are now forty-two exhibits, and more are in the planning stage. The museum features local and traveling art shows, various types of music programs, colored slide presentations, historical lectures, and a variety of exhibits.

In January, 1970, a series of classes was inaugurated at the museum. The study, which is participated in by Elko Community College, will lead to an associate degree in museology, a degree not offered anywhere else in the nation. The completion of the course will prepare the student to manage any small- to medium-size museum. The Society is also actively involved in the State Parks historical marker program and offers equipment or provides research assistance for local organizations. The museum library now exceeds five hundred volumes. Director Hickson has attended three professional seminars sponsored by the American Association of State and Local History and, along with the two part time assistants and five volunteer workers, is planning a quarterly for Northeastern Nevada.

The museum is supported by Elko County, the City of Elko, and individual contributions and donations. Some revenue is derived from the sale of books, historical note paper, beaded Indian items, old bottles, and various other items of local interest. Membership dues are also a source of funding.

The Nevada State Museum

THE NEVADA STATE MUSEUM enjoys the unique distinction of occupying a historically important building. An act of Congress in 1863 authorized establishment of a United States Mint at Carson City, Nevada's new

capital, and near to the famed Comstock Lode. The mint commenced operations in January, 1870, and closed in 1893 after stamping out $50,000,000 worth of various United States coins. The building's use as a U.S. Assay Office terminated in 1933 and through the efforts of Clark J. Guild, William M. Donovan, Senator Pat McCarran, and others, was purchased in 1939 by the Nevada Legislature for a state museum. Following extensive renovation the building was again opened to the public—this time as a museum, on Nevada's seventy-seventh birthday, October 31, 1941.

From a grand total of 1,774 visitors in its first year, the number of viewers increased to 370,000 by 1969. In addition, many writers, hobbyists, naturalists, and others with special interests use the extensive research collections for more detailed information. The Nevada State Museum collections encompass a wide field of scientific material concerned with archaeology, both prehistory and history, entomology, geology, mammalogy, mineralogy, ornithology, paleontology, and other sciences as they relate to the state and surrounding areas. A continuing series of anthropological papers is published dealing with Great Basin archaeological surveys and excavations carried out by the museum staff. Important contributions by other authors may also be included in the series. Other publications, scientific and popular, are issued at infrequent intervals on birds, mammals, Indians, history, and museum exhibits.

The museum is supported in part by a state appropriation and in part by donated funds. State monies, accounting for 38 percent of the museum budget, are expended for office expenses, maintenance of the building and grounds, and some staff salaries. The 62 percent of the budget derived from private sources is directed toward development of the exhibits, the various research activities, dissemination of information, and programs whereby the schools may use museum objects as teaching aids. Museum membership ranges from $12 annually to $1,000 or more for a Patron or Life membership. Such fees are essential for the museum to maintain its place as an important state and national educational resource. Mr. J. W. Calhoun is the present director of the museum.

The Junior Historian Program in Nevada

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES of the Nevada Historical Society, as part of its continuing program to promote historical interest throughout Nevada, has assumed responsibility for the development of a statewide organization of Junior Historian societies.

The present plan is to encourage interest in history throughout the state by having as cosponsors for each club a teacher (representing the school) and the local historical society or museum (representing the community). Where no local historical society or museum exists, an adult member of the community, who is interested in local history, will be asked to serve as cosponsor. It is hoped that the suggested organization will develop a closer relationship between the school and the community. Other objectives of the Junior Historian program are to promote concern for local Nevada history; to interest students in Nevada literature, economic and social patterns, and the use of primary sources; to offer writers of high-school age an outlet for their writings in a statewide publication; and to publicize the activities of the school.

The Junior Historian movement is now flourishing in a number of states. Where it has been established it has brought rich rewards to students, teachers, parents, community cosponsors, and sponsoring historical societies. Members of the Nevada Historical Society Board of Trustees have already met with teachers and school administrators in Clark and Washoe counties. Additional meetings have been planned with teachers and administrators in other parts of the state.

The first Junior Historian Society in Nevada is presently being organized in the Robert O. Gibson Junior High School in Las Vegas. The chapter, to be called the Trailblazers, was organized and will be sponsored by Mrs. Carrie Townley, a teacher in the Gibson school. The cosponsor is the Southern Nevada Historical Society. It is hoped that at least one or two additional chapters can be organized in Washoe County before the summer vacation in order to have a small nucleus from which to expand the program when the fall term begins.

It will take a great deal of hard work and continuing cooperation to establish a successful Junior Historian program in Nevada, but we feel that the results will be worth the effort made. For further details concerning the Junior Historian program, write to: Professor Russell R. Elliott; Department of History; University of Nevada; Reno, Nevada 89507.

Tenth Annual Conference on the History of Western America

PREPARATIONS FOR THE Western History Association's tenth annual conference to be held in Reno from October 7 to 10, 1970, are being made. Nearly one thousand members of the organization and western history enthusiasts will attend. The two and one half day conference will be held

in Reno's Pioneer Auditorium with side trips to Carson City and Virginia City.

For further information on the October conference, inquiries may be directed to Professor William Rowley of the History Department, Reno Campus, University of Nevada.

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SPO, Carson City, Nevada, 1970