

NEVADA Historical Society Quarterly



Winter • 1971

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NEVADA
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EDITOR

WILBUR S. SHEPPERSON

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Coin-operated gambling
devices invented by
Charles Fey. See page 45.

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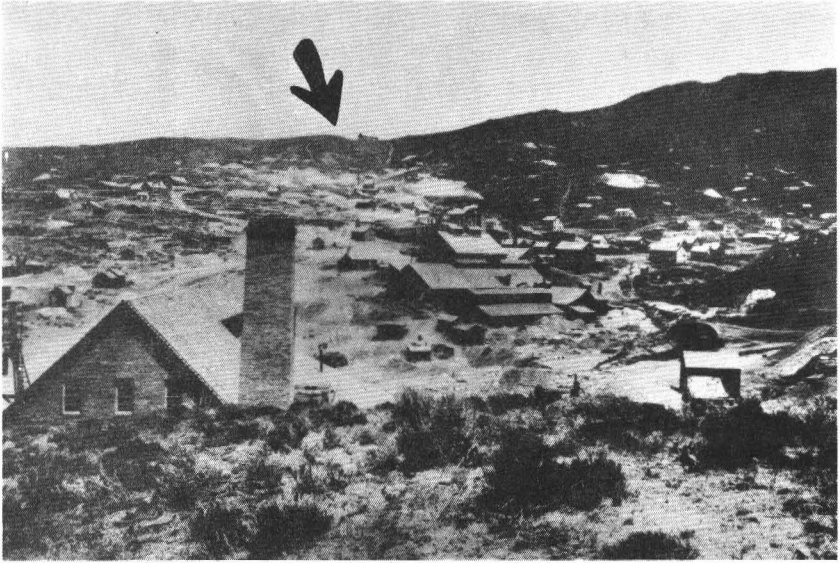


Fig. 1: 1868 view of Lander Hill, Austin, Nevada. Note the barren skyline. (Photo by T. H. O'Sullivan, courtesy of U.S.G.S. Photographic Library.)

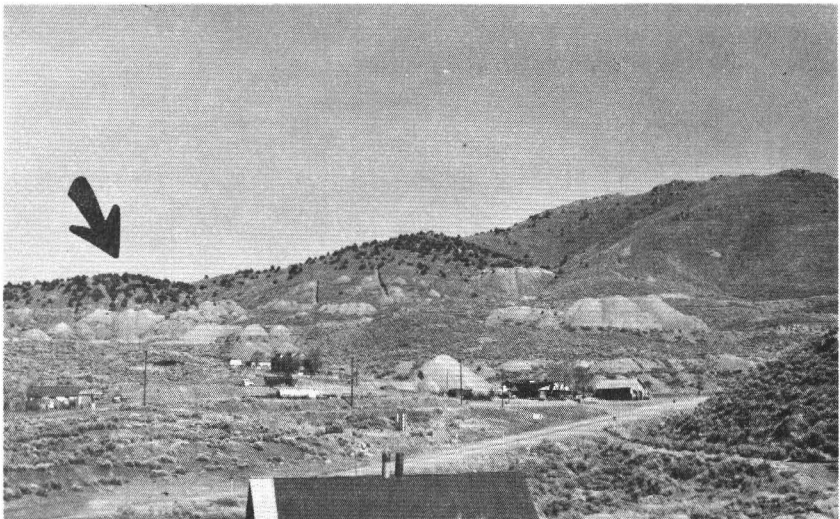


Fig. 2: 1970 view of Lander Hill. Arrows point to same spot in each picture. The trees now form a relatively dense stand. (Photo by E. W. Darrah.)

Historic and Prehistoric Land-Use Patterns in the Reese River Valley¹

by David H. Thomas

THE REESE RIVER VALLEY of central Nevada, approximately thirty miles south of Austin, in Lander County, is a region which has recently been the object of intensive archaeological investigation.² In 1969, the University of Nevada conducted a field course in archaeological methods at Reese River, with twenty-three students. This past summer, the University of California (Davis) returned to the same area with thirty-five students. The primary research objective was to test the viability of Julian H. Steward's classic ethnographic model of Great Basin exploitative patterns in the prehistoric period,³ and the present paper is an off-shoot of the original focus.

I wish to present results and speculations rather than a methodological description of the Reese River Ecological Project. This paper covers three points. First, I describe prehistoric settlement patterns in the Reese River Valley; this is abstracted from the archaeological evidence. Then I shall briefly outline the well-known mining era of the 1860s which profoundly altered the ecology of the Austin area. Finally, I shall discuss the effect of this ecological shift upon the local Shoshoni Indians.

The Reese River Valley trends north-south between the Toiyabe Mountains and the Shoshone Range. There are four basic lifezones: a riverine association, the sagebrush-covered flats, the piñon-juniper belt

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on the lower flanks of the mountains, and the upper montane sagebrush community. The archaeological resources of the Reese River Valley date back in time at least 4,000 years and there are obvious fluctuations through time. But for present purposes, let us ignore these local changes and paint a unified picture for the prehistoric period. There were basically two foci for aboriginal settlement: the piñon-juniper winter village and the summer gathering camp.

The piñon winter villages were located on the ecotone between the sagebrush flats and the piñon-juniper belt. The camps themselves were located on low, flat ridges. Water was generally within a quarter mile, but these villages were rarely situated directly on streams or springs. There are several possible reasons for this, the most obvious being a reluctance to scare the local game animals from water. Additionally, snow was on the ground during these winter months, obviating the necessity for running water. Cold air drainage down mountain canyons also made the ridge tops more attractive. Bark or grass-covered domed huts probably served for shelter. The nature of these sites is not such as to build deep stratified midden localities. Apparently the occupants returned to the same ridge year after year, but not to the precise camp site. The result is a more or less continuous linear scatter of camp debris rather than the more traditional California-type kitchen midden. In the winter village, the primary subsistence item was the family store of piñon nuts, supplemented by game—probably antelope and mountain sheep.

Sometime during the spring, the piñon caches were generally exhausted, forcing the Indians to the valley floor in search of grass shoots, early ripening tubers, and other riverine crops. The focus was the area where the snow first melted. This was the lean time of year; life was a struggle until the more reliable summer staples appeared. The summer encampments were generally along the courses of the Reese River. Brush wind-breaks were probably erected and women pursued their gathering tasks. Artifact inventory is primarily a large, crude, tool kit. Low-grade chert was quarried nearby and coarse, chopper-type tools were manufactured on the spot. Little exotic stone is present in these sites. Families remained in these riverine gathering stations until the fall piñon harvest drew them back to their ridge-top winter camps.

Such was roughly the state of affairs when Captain J. H. Simpson led his party across the Reese River Valley in May, 1859. He described the bunch grass of Simpson's pass as "very abundant and of the finest character."⁴ The Reese River supported 2½ pound trout and Simpson described the grass along the Reese River as "luxuriant . . . it is best and very abundant further up stream, and extends as far as the eye can see."⁵ Contrast this scene with the modern situation along the Reese River, where most native grasses are no longer seen.

The subsequent establishment of the Pony Express in 1860 and discovery of the silver ledges of Austin is well known. More important to this

discussion are the ancillary activities which supported the rich mining districts of Austin and Reese River. Specifically, I refer to the lumbering and livestock activities in the hinterland.

Incipient Austin had great need for lumber, which was necessary for building homes and mills, shoring up mines, fenceposts, and fuel for the stamp mills. So great was the demand for lumber that local supplies had to be vastly supplemented by frequent wagon-loads from the Sierras. These shipments were duly recorded by the news-hungry editor of the *Reese River Reveille*, but lest his readers be misled, he added chauvinistically:

If anybody does not believe that the Reese River country can produce trees larger than sagebrush, he can be convinced otherwise by just taking a look at the huge piles of all sorts of lumber required for building purposes at the new yard of the Reese River Mill and Mining Company.⁶

A considerable quantity of lumber comes to the market from the saw mill upon Silver Creek [about 15 miles north of Austin]. This is quite good quality and manufactured from the pinyon, or digger pine, as it is sometimes called.⁷

There was also heavy cutting of stands of piñon, juniper, and mahogany in the Toiyabe and Shoshone Mountains, for firewood.

A second economic demand was for fresh meat. The livestock industry commenced early in Austin's brief history. Lewis R. Bradley, later to be Nevada's second governor, imported a herd of five hundred Texas long-horn cattle into the upper Reese River Valley in 1862. The Reese River herds grew quickly until the cattle numbered in the thousands. The period from the 1880s to the early 1900s also saw myriad sheep imported into the valley. The rich native grasses provided more than ample fodder for the herds. Contemporary accounts in the *Reveille* describe the verdant native vegetation in the following terms:

In the Valley of Reese River there is a long, green meadow having the appearance of a vast field of barley or wheat . . . only a few weeks elapse before haying commences.⁸

It's a joy to bovines and horseflesh to see the long, wavy grass which abounds in such profusion on the slope and main ridges of the Reese River Mountains [Toiyabe Mountains] from Austin to Toiyabe Peak and the devil only knows how much further south. Immense tracts may be seen literally covered knee deep in tender grass, looking for the world like young fields of grain.⁹

[In Grass Valley] grass is more than knee-high at this time, consisting of blue joint, clover and red top. Haying will commence generally about the first of July. At least 700 tons of hay will be put up during the season by different ranches.¹⁰

But these virgin conditions were soon to change. The Soil Conservation Service has said the early sheep outfits "took all and gave very little in return," resulting in "destructive overuse."¹¹ The absence of native grasses is apparent even to the most casual traveler today in the Reese River and nearby central Nevada valleys.

The effect upon local timber stands was no less pronounced. Figures 1 and 2 document a century of floristic change on Lander Hill, overlooking Austin, Nevada. The 1868 photograph, by T. H. O'Sullivan (Figure 1) pictures Lander Hill as barren and treeless. The right-hand portion of the photo is underexposed, but the silhouette against the skyline unmistakably indicates the absence of trees of any sort. No photographs exist from the pre-1862 period, but it is certain that piñon and juniper trees formerly stood on Lander and other low hills surrounding Austin. The lumber market first exploited nearby timber stands, and gradually cut further and further up Reese River Valley as more immediate stands were depleted. Other photographs taken over the years document the gradual recovery of the piñon-juniper biotic community, and Figure 2 depicts the modern (1970) situation, with a rather abundant piñon-juniper lifezone. Similar sequences can be produced for Belmont, Cortez, and other local mining camps. Changes such as this in the natural vegetation can be taken as typical of the ecological effects of the mining boom in central Nevada.

If the period from 1862 to 1900 brought change to the intricate natural balances, it revolutionized the lifeway of the Shoshoni. Individuals and families often attached themselves to ranches and mines in a pattern reminiscent of the antebellum Southern Negro. Winter villages were often abandoned in favor of slums near mining towns such as Austin. The importance of wage labor increased as the staples in the native diet were ruined. Perhaps the situation was best described by the Shoshoni Captain Sam, in about 1870, to Indian Agent Gheen:

. . . the game was all gone; the trees that bore pine-nuts were cut down and burned in the quartz-mills and other places; the grass-seeds, heretofore used by them [the Shoshoni] for food, was no more; the grass-land all claimed by and cultivated by the white people; and that . . . Indians would soon be compelled to work for the ranchers for two bits a day or starve.¹²

I wish to emphasize the "feedback" nature of this environmental and cultural interlude. As Figure 3 indicates, a few Indians initially hired out as wage laborers. Their duties were varied, but many were engaged in either ranching or lumbering industries. That is, during the period under discussion, Indians were generally paid to plow fields and to lumber the hillsides. As stated above, the native economy relied heavily upon two natural crops: piñon nuts and native grass seeds. As farming and lumbering progressed, the aboriginal economic systems faltered. As traditional methods became less productive, more Indians were shunted into wage

labor, where they were paid to further destroy their former livelihood. In the parlance of systems theory, this is a "positive feedback cycle"—a vicious circle. If unchecked, such a loop results in self-destruction.¹³

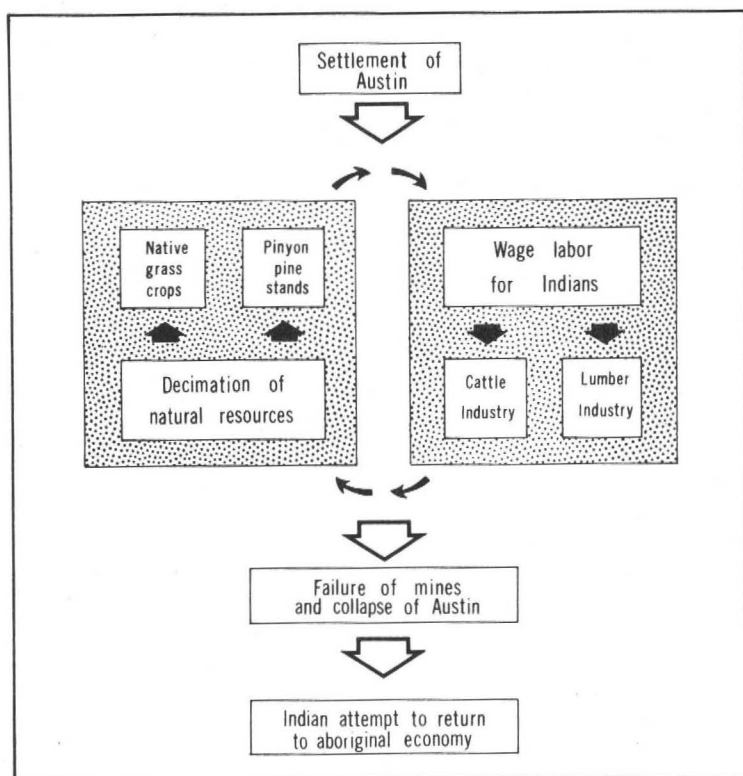


Fig. 3: Feedback mechanism operative in historic Shoshoni adaptive system.

When the mines failed during the 1890 period, wage labor practically disappeared and the semi-aculturated Shoshoni were forced to "learn to be Indians again." Three decades had dulled the hunting-gathering instincts so necessary for survival in such a harsh environment. To make matters worse, the old piñon groves had been reduced to eroding hills. The lush valley vegetation recorded by Simpson and others was now simply sage-dominated flats.

To me, this picture is a depressing one. An economic tradition with a local antiquity of at least 4,000 years was severely crippled in less than three decades of acculturation to Anglo influences. The environment, probably relatively constant for some 5,000 years, was radically altered

by intensive silver mining operations and its supportive activities. Even today, the effects are noteworthy. Piñon forests have returned, but the dominant sagebrush is most reluctant to release its grasp, even in current re-seeding projects. In fact, there is some evidence that a tension zone once existed between grasses and piñon.¹⁴ Given the stresses of last century, the grasses were eliminated, thus permitting the piñon to expand into the non-competitive sage communities. If this is the case, the modern piñon zone may be larger than in pre-contact days. The environmental change would thus be irreversible.

It should be obvious that, allowed to run its full course, the positive feedback occurring during Shoshoni acculturation would have disrupted the entire system. With all piñon gone there would have been no lumbering jobs available. As ranching and farming expanded, the traditional foraging-grounds would have become useless for Indians. Agricultural jobs would persist, but these would probably be insufficient to support the entire aboriginal population. The unemployed would be in dire straits indeed, with traditional staple crops no longer available. The progression, as we know, was not allowed to run its course, because the mines failed and wage labor essentially disappeared. This feedback model is presented as one possible adaptation to the post-1862 situation. There were quite likely alternative pathways, perhaps more fruitful ones.

A final comment can be made about the maladaptive nature of the Shoshoni economic system during this time. This case, and that of the Chumash in southern California, should serve as ample warning against the facile assumption that cultures always adapt for their own survival or that cultures tend to maximize their environment (the so-called mini-max strategy). A restricted parallel can be noted between cultural adaptations and biological evolution: Mutations occur in both cases; false starts and dead ends must occur in any living system, as well as adaptive, successful mutations. Maladaptive cycles can, and do, exist in both the past and the present.

Notes

1. Contribution No. 2 of the Reese River Ecological Project.
2. For further details on the Reese River Ecological Project, see David H. Thomas, "Regional Sampling in Archaeology: a Pilot Great Basin Research Design," *University of California Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1968-1969* (Los Angeles), pp. 87-100.
3. Julian H. Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 120* (Washington, D.C., 1938), p. 78.
4. J. H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon-Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley, in 1859* (Washington, D.C., 1876), p. 78.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Reese River Reveille*, May 3, 1864.

7. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1964.
8. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1863.
9. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1863.
10. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1863.
11. "Reese River Sub-Basin," Soil Conservation Service Report No. 8, Humboldt River Basin Series, p. 29.
12. Levi A. Gheen, [Communication in] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1876.
13. Gary Stickel and Adrienne E. Cooper, "The Chumash Revolt of 1824: A Case for an Archaeological Application of Feedback Theory," *University of California Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1968-1969* (Los Angeles), pp. 5-22.
14. Fred Emerson, "The Tension Zone between the Gramma Grass and Piñon-Juniper Associations in Northeastern New Mexico," *Ecology*, Vol. 13, pp. 347-358.



Lewis Rice Bradley, second Governor of Nevada, 1871-1878.

Lewis Rice Bradley:

Pioneer Nevada Cattleman and Nevada's First Cowboy Governor

by Victor Goodwin

Foreword

THE ANNALS of the livestock industry in the state of Nevada are replete with the largely untold, but withal gripping and colorful life stories of the rugged individuals who helped to develop it.

The personal histories of such early Nevada cattle kings as Dan Murphy, A. C. Cleveland, Morgan Hill, the French Basque Garat family, and the Spanish Basque Altube brothers, Bernardo and Pedro, and their mighty Spanish Ranch would tax the efforts or the most imaginative Hollywood Western script writers to match or exceed. This is to say nothing of such cattlemen as Joe Dean, William Dunphy and the TS Ranch, the story of John Sparks and his partners, Frank Tinnin and A. J. (Barley) Harrell, Nathan Hockett Allen (Hock) Mason, Peter French, Henry Miller, and Thomas B. Rickey, among a host of others. The same statement would also apply, of course, to such big-time Nevada sheepmen as Dan Wheeler, John G. Taylor, Patrick Flanigan, W. T. Jenkins, and many more.

It is obvious, however, that a discussion of the careers of even a few

Victor Goodwin is a graduate of Colorado State University and a veteran of thirty-five years with the U.S. Forest Service. His various travels and experiences with the Forest Service led him into an active second career of historical research and writing. Mr. Goodwin has authored numerous articles for newspapers, magazines, and academic journals, and his several local and regional histories have surveyed areas in Idaho, Nevada, and California.

of the aforementioned individuals would of necessity quickly assume awesome scope and dimensions, and is far beyond the modest purlieu of this paper. Accordingly, the writer will content himself in these pages with a discussion of one of the earliest and most colorful of the breed, Lewis Rice Bradley, Nevada's second governor (1870-1878) and the first of a long line of so-called cowboy governors. Even so the story must be confined to the development of the Bradley cattle kingdom during the senior Bradley's lifetime, only. Its further proliferation under the aegis of John Reuben Bradley and George Russell and later of Mason and Bradley, as well as developments under the guiding hand of Jefferson Henderson, the old cattle king's son-in-law, cannot be dwelt upon here, fascinating as the story is.

Mr. Bradley, commonly and affectionately known to Nevada's citizenry during his two gubernatorial terms as "Old Broadhorns," or "His Excellency," had other distinctions. To begin, he and John Reuben were the first to embark upon large-scale livestock operations in Nevada, which operations dated back into the state's territorial period. Secondly, Old Broadhorns and his son were the first operators to bring large numbers of Texas Longhorns to Nevada, late in 1862; hence the Old Broadhorns sobriquet.¹

In the realm of political history, through the more than 107 years of its existence as a state, Nevada has been served by a long line of governors and lesser state officials whose primary occupation and concern was the raising of livestock. With very few exceptions, their record of public service has been an outstanding one. Most of them had been educated almost exclusively in the school of hard knocks, and accordingly they had a level-headed, practical approach to any problem encountered, whether it involved their own or the people's business. Dale Morgan has characterized them as "hard-handed, straight-thinking fighters, far more independent than the miners."²

Our state need never be ashamed to have inscribed on the pages of its political history such names as John Sparks, Richard Kirman, and the subject of this piece. All these men occupied the governor's chair at various periods between 1870 and 1945. In addition, another livestock man, Reinhold Sadler, also served a term in the governor's chair. However, his time of occupancy in the state's top job was too fraught with controversy to warrant ranking him with the others.

A large number of livestock producers, both sheep and cattle, have served in the Nevada Legislature over the years. In fact, for sessions without number their representation in both legislative divisions was so large, and the effect of their conservative, practical viewpoint with regard to the state's fiscal condition, the conduct of its business, and the making of its laws was so marked that they became known as "The Bull Block."

The title was first bestowed more or less derisively by the Comstock mining interests and other hostile groups during Mr. Bradley's tenure as

governor. The nickname was so apt a description of this permanent grouping of livestock men in the Legislature, most of whom were large cattle operators on both sides of the political aisle, that it became as permanent as the band of legislators to whom it alluded.

The Bull Block's outlook on the legislative facts of life is probably nowhere so well and succinctly put as in the late Jean McElrath's story about that Elko County cattle baron, Colonel E. P. Hardesty, who was a staunch member of the Bull Block in the Nevada Senate during the 1887 and 1889 legislative sessions. When queried by a rancher friend while on his first campaign trip across Elko County's vast reaches as to just what he knew about lawmaking, the hard-bitten old Colonel replied: "Not a damn thing! But if I git down there to Carson, maybe I can keep 'em from passin' a few of them laws."³

That Old Broadhorns had more than a little to do with the formation of the Bull Block in both the Senate and Assembly, with which group he shared common objectives and viewpoints, and upon whom he could generally depend to carry out his wishes, goes without saying.

Early Life

Lewis Rice Bradley was, according to probably the most credible and accurate sources, born in Madison County, Virginia, February 18, 1805.⁴ However, other sources (at least one of which is flawed historically, possessing at best a doubtful authenticity, particularly regarding many facets of LRB's later life) gives his place of birth as Orange County, Virginia.^{5, 6} Whichever county was the true birthplace is of small import, as they lie side by side in the Virginia Piedmont between Culpepper and Charlottesville, Virginia, north and west of Richmond.

Old Broadhorns' ancestral roots, although embedded in English soil, were not aristocratic in origin; he could never have passed for a Tidewater Virginia planter. His forebears, of sturdy English yeoman stock, emigrated to the Colony of Virginia in the early 1700s and raised tobacco in the Tidewater country for many years.⁷ His father and mother, Reuben and Sally Hancock Bradley, evidently moved upcountry to the Piedmont in the latter years of the eighteenth century, where they raised a sizeable family, of which our subject was the oldest.

Mr. Bradley's father died when he was only thirteen years of age.⁸ This all-to-common family tragedy terminated young Lewis's scanty period of schooling, as he had to assume responsibility as the principal family breadwinner. Probably his own lack of formal education caused his subsequent keen interest in developing a good school system in Nevada. During his first term as governor he was particularly active in working toward the establishment of the University of Nevada. The efforts of the governor and others finally culminated with the opening of the University's first academic session at Elko on October 12, 1874.⁹

According to a biographical sketch of the governor contained in Bancroft, young Bradley's first job was managing an absentee-landlord farm near his home, for which he was paid the princely sum of \$80 per year.¹⁰ He did so well at this that he was promoted to a position as purchaser and trader of horses and mules by the farm's owner. Sometime during this latter period, he was evidently headquartered at Richmond, as he married Virginia Hode Willis of that city. John Reuben Bradley was born of this marriage at Richmond in 1835, as was the eldest daughter, Sarah Watts Bradley, a few years later.¹¹

As this was the period of our country's rapid expansion from the Atlantic seaboard westward across the Appalachian wall into the great untamed wilderness of the Mississippi basin, Lewis and his immediate family, together with a group of relatives, joined the westward-surging throng in 1843, migrating to and settling in Kentucky that year.¹²

Evidently Kentucky didn't suit Lewis too well, because early in 1845 he moved westward again, this time to north-central Missouri. There he settled on a large farm in Howard County, near Fayette, the county seat.¹³ His second daughter, Virginia Hode Bradley, was born there. A fourth childbirth resulted in the deaths of both mother and infant.¹⁴

Removal to California

The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in California's Mother Lode country in 1848, followed by the stampede of the "Golden Army," as it was termed, to the new diggings in 1849, stirred the entire country. The subject of this paper was no exception. Still relatively young, he was energetic and ambitious, and restless and unsettled after his wife's death. The stories of the fortunes to be made in California, both in the goldfields and in supplying them with the necessities of living, whetted his desire to be up and doing. Accordingly, in the early 1850s LRB sold off his holdings at Fayette, and converted most of the cash realized from the property sale into a large herd of Texas Longhorns. He left his two daughters with an aunt at Fayette, and in the spring of 1852 started west over the Oregon and California Emigrant Trails for the Mother Lode, accompanied by his son John Reuben and driving his herd of beefsteaks-on-the-hoof ahead of him.¹⁵

LRB and his son John Reuben found, long before they reached California, that taking a large herd of fractious, more than half-wild Longhorns on such a long, difficult trek was far from being a Sunday school picnic. At this point, let Old Broadhorns' grandson Bradley Brown tell the story:

The drive was immeasurably more difficult than anticipated. Some 40 percent of the cattle perished from hunger or thirst, or were driven off by Indians. However, the remaining cattle, after they reached the Stockton area in California, by way of the Humboldt River across Nevada and the Carson branch of the

California Emigrant Trail over Carson Pass, brought such a high price that the result was highly profitable.¹⁶

Shelton Short states that LRB returned to Missouri in 1853, the following year, to bring out another herd of cattle to the goldfields.¹⁷ However, Bradley Brown, who has intensively researched the California phase of his grandfather's life, says that such was not the case. According to Brown, LRB had intended returning to Missouri to bring out another herd in 1853. Because of the fact that most of the sales of his 1852 herd had been made on credit, however, for notes bearing high rates of interest, he found it more profitable to remain in Stockton during 1853 and attend to the collection of his notes.¹⁸

In the spring of 1854, as soon as the snow had thinned out on Carson Pass over the Sierra Nevada, LRB went east to Missouri to pick up another herd of wild Texas cattle and make his second cattle drive from Missouri to California. He appears to have left his son John Reuben behind in California on this 1854 drive, because when he was ready to return to Stockton from Fayette, LRB had as his second-in-command young Jefferson Henderson, an adventurous twenty-one-year-old pharmacist, who had signed on with the drive principally "to administer such medicines as might be required," as Bradley Brown has phrased it.¹⁹

On this return trip occurred an incident which reads like a page out of a hammy Grade B Hollywood Western, but which historians of both the Bradley and Henderson families insist actually happened. The event and its consequences are also related with a great flourish by Roger Butterfield in his *Life* article on Elko County.²⁰ If the story had originated only with Butterfield, this author would have been inclined to ignore it. However, as this story appears in so many other sources which are otherwise impeccable, it has to be considered as possessing at least a modicum of truth.

It seems that somewhere in the vicinity of the Humboldt Lakes and the Forty-Mile Desert in Nevada, LRB came down with mountain fever, that illness so common among western wagon-train emigrants. At one point he despaired of surviving; accordingly, he entrusted all his papers and personal effects to the safekeeping of Jefferson Henderson, to be deposited with John Reuben Bradley upon the party's arrival in California.

Among these effects young Henderson found a daguerreotype of a clean-shaven LRB, posed with his two daughters, teen-aged Sarah and young Virginia. This picture, probably made of the family group in 1852 at Fayette before the first cattle drive to California, immediately intrigued Henderson—particularly the likeness of Sarah. (It appears that Jefferson Henderson had never met the female members of LRB's family, although both Henderson and the Bradleys lived in or near Fayette. To this writer, at least, here is one of the more implausible, hard-to-swallow parts of the charming little story.)

At any rate, our rugged, hard-to-down Virginian recovered from his bout with fever, and the cattle drive proceeded to a satisfactory conclusion

in the San Joaquin Valley. Jefferson Henderson returned to Fayette, where he planned to set up a pharmacy. Before he left Stockton, however, he asked for and obtained LRB's permission to court Sarah, who, along with Virginia, was still living with her aunt and going to school in Fayette. The usual course of events in such matters developed, and young Henderson married Sarah at Fayette in 1857. He was successful in establishing his own pharmacy there, and prospered greatly. In the late 1860s, however, Henderson, always rather frail, began to suffer from failing health. Upon the advice of his physician to retire to a more healthful climate, Henderson proceeded over a period of time to sell his home and business interests in Missouri. In 1870, he and Sarah, their household possessions packed in a covered wagon, proceeded west to California, over the self-same trail Henderson had followed with his father-in-law so many years before.

Why the Hendersons chose to go west in a wagon over the hard, toilsome old California Trail, rather than in the comparative comfort of a railway coach rolling over the new Union Pacific–Central Pacific rails, is another hard-to-fathom part of the Bradley-Henderson saga, at least this far removed in time. The question becomes even harder to answer when the fact is considered that Jefferson Henderson was, after the sale of his holdings in Missouri, a rich man by the standards of those days. According to Bradley Brown, Henderson had in his possession approximately \$100,000 in cash or negotiable assets on this removal to California.²¹

After their arrival in California, the Hendersons settled at the new settlement of San Jose, in the Santa Clara Valley a few miles west of old Mission San Jose.²² Here they remained until 1877, until circumstances, as we shall see, forced Jefferson Henderson once again to take an active role in his father-in-law's life.²³

To return to Old Broadhorns and his son, John Reuben: Upon the successful conclusion of his 1854 cattle drive, LRB and his son stocked with their Longhorns a large ranch stretching along the San Joaquin River bottomlands in the vicinity of Stockton. Father and son soon became prosperous and successful cattle ranchers, as there was a great and continuing demand for beef, even the stringy, tough Longhorn variety, from not only the bustling Mother Lode mining camps, but also the rapidly developing Central Valley itself.

This period of success and prosperity lasted from 1854 to 1862; during that time LRB and his son became highly liked and respected citizens of the Stockton area. LRB was elected to the Assembly of the California Legislature, where he served several terms.²⁴

Life in Nevada

Then in December, 1861–January, 1862, there occurred a calamity which completely changed this picture. Disastrous winter wet-mantle floods,

which raised havoc all along the western slope of the Sierra Nevada and throughout California's Central Valley, submerged the Bradley lands, and drowned large numbers of their cattle.²⁵ (This flood also damaged the burgeoning Truckee River village of Lake's Crossing, later Reno, in Nevada Territory. The small ranches in the Truckee Meadows were heavily inundated, and suffered severe livestock losses.²⁶)

After this watery debacle, the Bradleys, remembering well the wide, verdant and empty valleys of Nevada's Humboldt country, covered with thick meadows of waving ryegrass, as well as the benches and slopes clothed with bluebunch wheatgrass, Idaho fescue, and big sagebrush, decided to pull up stakes in California and move their operations to Nevada Territory.²⁷

Accordingly, in the early summer of 1862 the Bradleys collected what cattle and possessions they had left to them after the flood, and moved eastward across the Sierra Nevada to the upper Reese River country, in central Nevada. Here the big Reese River silver rush was on, following the discovery of the Pony Ledge by William Talcott in Pony Canyon on May 2, 1862. Austin and the surrounding diaspora of mining camps had sprung up, and were developing rapidly by the time the Bradleys arrived on Reese River in the summer or early fall of 1862. The Bradleys no doubt calculated that all these camps would furnish a ready market for their beef.²⁸

Here, then, LRB and his son, together with a new partner, James Rooker of Austin, stocked the lush upper Reese River meadows with the remnants of their California Longhorns. To this original number they soon added many more, and thus was begun Nevada's first large-scale venture in livestock production.²⁹

The new partnership's Reese River operations were headquartered at the Rooker Ranch, which was situated near the present Walsh Ranch buildings about ten miles south of Austin, according to former County Recorder and Austin native Bert Acree, premier historian of the Austin and Reese River scene.³⁰ (At this time, as Velma Truett discovered after considerable research, George Russell had not yet joined the Bradleys. According to her, the long Bradley-Russell association and partnership of later years did not begin until the Bradleys started operations with him at Mineral Hill in 1869.)

The Bradley-Rooker partnership on Reese River, besides running cattle in Reese River Valley itself, also ran in Italian Canyon, north of Austin in the Toiyabes, and on Birch Creek, south of Austin, headquartered at what was later known as the Arena Ranch.³¹ To process their beef, the Bradleys and Rooker erected a slaughterhouse in upper Austin, near the big Manhattan Mill. As retail outlets they ran one or possibly two butcher shops in downtown Austin, according to both Bert Acree and Bradley Brown.³² Mr. Acree states that the Bradleys in 1862-1863 also built and operated the toll freight and stage road down Reese River Valley from

Austin to what was then known as Reese River Station on the road along the Humboldt main stem. In 1870 this location became present Battle Mountain, after the brief blossoming and fading of Argenta, a few miles eastward on the Central Pacific Railroad as the entrepot station for the Reese River mines in 1868–1869.³³

In 1864 LRB began his expansion into northeast Nevada. Using a device which he and the other men who built up vast range enclaves in eastern and central Nevada were to employ often, LRB had one of his employees, William Lund, file on a homestead in Pine Valley. Lund's filing embraced a large sagebrush-bunchgrass and ryegrass meadow area at the confluence of Hot Creek and Pine Creek, and the ranch headquarters were located near where the Slagowsky ranch buildings are now situated.³⁴ Subsequently, after the homestead had been proved up, title was transferred to the Bradleys.

This Bradley operation in Pine Valley, records of which appear in no other historical discussion of the Bradleys, was discovered by this writer while compiling material on Pine Valley. The *Elko Independent*, in an article on Pine Valley which appeared in one of its February, 1870, issues, stated that the Bradleys had run from 1,500 to 2,000 cattle there for the past six years. The article described Pine Valley as a long, beautiful, well-grassed valley, with a clear mountain stream (Pine Creek) flowing down its center. This description is a far cry from Pine Valley's present erosion-scarred appearance, with muddy, wildly fluctuating Pine Creek, and extensive flats of worthless rubber rabbitbrush and greasewood where once-heavy stands of wild rye had waved in the breeze.

Maps of the Pine Valley area during the early 1870s show the Bradley ranch headquarters just referred to, and identify the present Hot Creek–Pine Creek bottomland and bench as Bradley Flat. It is still so known to a few old Pine Valley residents.³⁵

It is not known whether the Bradleys pulled out of their Reese River operations at this time (1864), or waited until their Mound Valley–Smith Creek–Huntington Creek ranch operations were started in 1866, two years later. Bert Acree is positive, however, that LRB and John Reuben did pull up stakes at Austin at about this time or shortly thereafter.

LRB moved eastward from Pine Valley, and on Smith Creek in Mound Valley established what was to become his home ranch. At this time, of course, the area was still a part of Lander County; Elko County was not carved from northeast Lander County and set up as a separate entity until March, 1869.³⁶ (This fact alone is enough to negate statements in Short and other sources that LRB was, prior to becoming governor in 1870, county treasurer of Elko County, and also served as a county commissioner of that county. In the short space between 1869 and 1870, it will be seen that it was not possible for LRB to have functioned in these positions. Furthermore, Elko County records show no such service for him.)

As he had done in Pine Valley, LRB used his men to file homestead claims, which were subsequently transferred to him after they had been proved up and patented. In Mound Valley he used three men: Thomas Kilpatrick was the first to file in 1866, transferring title to LRB in June, 1869.³⁷ According to Mrs. John Patterson, the writer's good friend and long-time researcher and chronicler of olden days in Elko County, Kilpatrick was soon followed by Cornelius Wood, who sold to the Bradleys in March, 1870, and by John Dall, who deeded his homestead to LRB and his son in 1874.³⁸

Old Elko County maps show the location of the Bradley home ranch headquarters as having been on Smith Creek, one-half mile east of present Jiggs. It was on this ranch that LRB started using the famous old 25 iron, which is still active. The buildings were located immediately west of the westernmost of the large mounds for which the valley was named.³⁹ There is little vestige of the structures left; even the foundation rocks have been hauled away for use elsewhere. The ranch itself later became a portion of another large Nevada spread, the J. J. Hylton Ranch. It is now incorporated in the E. L. Cord Ranch in Mound Valley.

Old Broadhorns kept expanding his holdings, until his cattle ranged all the way from Smith and Huntington Creeks through Dixie Flats and west to Pine Valley. In 1870, when he was elected Nevada's second governor, he and his son John Reuben were numbered among the state's largest cattle operators.⁴⁰ By this time, the Bradleys had acquired extensive holdings on Mary's River, extending northward into Idaho's Marsh Creek Valley, south of the Snake River's Thousand Springs Valley.⁴¹ In fact, as noted by Mrs. Patterson, one of the principal Bradley fall gathering (rodeo) grounds was on the banks of the Snake River where the city of Twin Falls now stands.⁴²

As every Nevada schoolchild knows, the senior Bradley was elected to his first term as governor in 1870, after an acrimonious campaign against him noted for its vilification, falsehood, and slander, even when judged by the easy standards of those free-swinging days. In spite of this, he was elected by a wide margin, and repeated with an easy win for a second term in 1874.⁴³

LRB turned in an outstanding performance as governor, even by today's more exacting standards, sedulously seeing to it that all groups and elements in the state got as fair a shake as possible. By the same token, however, he was determined that all business and industrial segments of the state's economy should carry their fair share of the tax load. This led to the long-drawn fight with the rich and influential Comstock mining interests during his second term which resulted in his narrow defeat for a third term, principally through the unscrupulous machinations of the Comstock satraps.⁴⁴

As a result of his total involvement in the governor's job, LRB was unable to give his livestock empire in northeast Nevada and southern

Idaho the attention it needed. However, he did start to improve his breeding herd in December, 1874, by purchasing a purebred Durham (Short-horn) bull from Dillingham & Park, Durham breeders at Kansas City, Missouri.⁴⁵

In spite of these belated breed-improvement efforts, the governor's livestock enterprises and overall financial condition began to suffer from inattention and to deteriorate early in his gubernatorial tenure. In addition, as a result of the great financial panic of 1873, he was forced to make good on several notes he had underwritten for friends, which further complicated his personal finances. In 1874 he borrowed \$100,000 from his son-in-law Jefferson Henderson, to shore up his shaky financial structure.⁴⁶

Even earlier than this, in 1871, LRB's son John Reuben and George Russell, continuing an association begun at Mineral Hill in 1869 to build the Pine Valley silver camp's first large hotel, formed the firm of Russell & Bradley, with headquarters at Deeth. The new firm looked after the senior Bradley's operations on Mary's River and in southern Idaho.⁴⁷

By 1877, plagued by failing health and continuing financial problems, Old Broadhorns had transferred his cattle operations in Mound Valley—and probably Pine Valley also, although this has not been substantiated—to his son-in-law, to protect Henderson's 1874 loan to him.⁴⁸

Jefferson Henderson, more or less unwillingly enmeshed in a business in which he wasn't particularly interested, or qualified to operate, moved his family to Elko in 1877 from San Jose, and set about improving Governor Bradley's financial picture, as well as protecting his own investment. Mr. Henderson was so markedly successful that by 1880 he had gotten his lately deceased (1879) father-in-law's livestock operations in Mound Valley and Pine Valley back to their original healthy and flourishing condition. Accordingly, he sold out his portion of the Bradley operations that year and opened the Henderson Bank at Elko, which was to become the economic mainstay of Elko County and its huge cattle baronies for many years.⁴⁹

Notes

1. Based upon research by the late Velma Stevens Truett, premier historian of the cattle industry in Nevada, and corroborated by this writer's own investigations.
2. Dale L. Morgan, *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West* (New York: Reinhart & Co.), p. 311.
3. Jean McElrath, *Aged in Sage* (Recorder Press, 1964), p. 39.
4. *Elko Independent*, March 21, 1879, p. 1; also engraved on the governor's tombstone in the Elko cemetery.
5. Shelton Short, "Old Broadhorns," in the *Carson Nevada Appeal*, Sept. 15, 1967, p. 9. A native Virginian himself, Mr. Short generally fares very well in his feature article when discussing the Virginia portions of LRB's life, but falls down in his narrative where dealing with the governor's life in California and Nevada.

6. The Bradley family tree, kindly furnished the author by his grandson Bradley Brown, Berkeley, California, also lists Orange County as LRB's birthplace.
7. Short, *op. cit.*, supported by corroborating information from Bradley Brown.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Victor Goodwin, *The Humboldt: Nevada's Desert River and Thoroughfare of the American West* (Carson City, 1966), p. 17.
10. *Bancroft's Works*, Vol. XXV: Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, p. 194.
11. Bradley family tree, and information from Bradley Brown.
12. Bradley Brown notes; also Bancroft, *op. cit.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. Short, *op. cit.*
15. Bradley Brown, *op. cit.*; also Bancroft *et al.*
16. Bradley Brown, *Ibid.*
17. Shelton Short, *op. cit.*
18. Bradley Brown, *op. cit.*
19. Bradley Brown, *Ibid.*
20. Roger Butterfield, "Elko County" (*Life*, April 18, 1949), pp. 99-114.
21. Bradley Brown, *op. cit.*
22. Henderson obituary, *Elko Independent*, July 15, 1902.
23. Most sources credit Henderson's cattle-driving trip with LRB as having occurred on the first drive in 1852, rather than the 1854 drive. However, this writer inclines toward the 1854 trip rather than the 1852 event. It hardly seems likely that LRB would have entrusted his papers and personal effects to a callow, inexperienced youth, rather than his own sturdy, reliable son, John Reuben, who was along on the 1852 drive. As near as may be determined, the latter was not on the 1854 drive; hence it would seem to be much more realistic to assign the date 1854 to Henderson's first trip west.
24. Bradley Brown, *op. cit.*
25. Brown, *Ibid.*
26. *Special Report: Chronology of Flood Years and High Water Years, 1861-1962*, Humboldt River Basin Survey, p. 1.
27. Victor Goodwin, *op. cit.* Shelton Short credits the Bradley removal from California to Nevada to "a severe drought in 1862, which caused him [LRB] to seek a better range for his stock."
28. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
29. *Ibid.*; also Velma S. Truett notes.
30. Goodwin, *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21, 28.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 27; also notes of verbal recollections from Roger Bruffey, pioneer Pine Valley rancher.
35. Roger Bruffey notes.
36. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
37. Book of Deeds, Recorder's Office, Elko County; also *Elko Independent*, June 22, 1870.
38. *Ibid.*; also Patterson notes.

39. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. Patterson notes.
43. Goodwin, *op. cit.*
44. Gilman Ostrander, *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough* (Knopf, 1966), pp. 70-72.
45. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
46. Bradley Brown, *op. cit.*
47. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
48. Bradley Brown, *op. cit.*
49. Bradley Brown, *op. cit.*

Sarah Winnemucca

by Patricia Stewart

THE TRAGEDY of Sarah Winnemucca is not that her brilliance was flawed by human weakness, but that history demands stereotypes in its heroines.

We have not sufficiently recovered from the Romanticists' vision of the noble savage to grant our native Americans freedom to stray from a nineteenth-century notion of perfection. The nineteenth-century version of an Indian heroine is exemplified by Sacajawea, Indian guide for Lewis and Clark, who comes down in history books as a saint. In the case of Sarah Winnemucca, however, the twentieth century was already crowding her era; it is still possible to talk to people whose parents had some connection with her as a flesh and blood person. No kindly Sacajawea-type or Pocahontas-type legends protect her. Sarah Winnemucca lived her life at a full gallop. This the white men might have been able to tolerate had she not also beaten them with their own weapon—words. She called a spade a spade as she publicized the plunder of her homeland. It is the smallest respect we can pay her to speak as honestly of Sarah Winnemucca as a person.

Who was Sarah Winnemucca?

Frederick W. Hodge in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* proclaims her a woman of the Shoshonean tribe of the Paviotsos who had been dubbed Pah-Utes or Paiutes by the settlers.¹ ("Please," says Nellie Harnar, Paiute and history graduate from the University of

Patricia Stewart holds degrees from the University of Oregon and Columbia University. She has devoted most of her life to newspaper work in Oregon and Nevada. Along with her husband, she published a book of vignettes on Baker County, Oregon, and has written numerous articles for journals and magazines. One of her chief interests is the life of Sarah Winnemucca.

Nevada, "Please don't call us Paviotso. This is Snake. We want no connection with the Snakes.")

According to Sarah's book-length account of her life she was born somewhere around 1844 in the pine-nut season, near Humboldt Sink.² Her grandfather, a tribal chief, joined the Stevens-Murphy-Townsend party as a guide in October, 1844, and later he joined the Frémont expeditions.³ Sarah says it was Frémont who gave her grandfather the name of Captain Truckee and adds that Truckee is an Indian word meaning "all right" or "very well."⁴

When Captain Truckee went back to California with a group of settlers, Sarah's father, known both as Poito and Old Winnemucca, took charge as chief, a distinction he carried for the rest of his life. Frontier writer Dan DeQuille said that Winnemucca had three or four wives, one of whom was the daughter of Truckee and the mother of Sarah.⁵ Sarah's own Indian name is variously reported as Sonometa, Somit-tone, and Thocmetony.⁶ How she came to be known as Sarah has never been explained.

In Sarah's writing she told how she, with her mother, brothers, and sisters, was taken to Stockton to spend the winter in a white community while she was quite young. Captain Truckee apparently wanted his family to learn the white man's ways but when the whole group grew homesick he led them back to the Carson River. At different times Sarah gave divergent accounts of her earliest years, but at one point she said that in 1858 she and a sister went to live with the family of Major Ormsby at Genoa for awhile. In 1860 or 1861 Sarah and her sister were taken to San Jose, California, to enter the "Sisters School."⁷ In an 1873 interview in the *Nevada State Journal*, Sarah told a reporter that she went to the Convent School of Notre Dame in San Jose for three years.⁸ Then she came back to Nevada, living at Austin and at Virginia City.

Dan DeQuille (William Wright) in *The History of the Big Bonanza* wrote of her first marriage to a white man, somewhere around 1866. He said she was married to a man named Snyder but the bridegroom soon decamped, returning to his home in Germany. The *Reese River Reveille* later described her as "a gay young thing . . . known by everybody on the Comstock" and said that she supported herself there by doing laundry for the whites.⁹

Sarah's lifelong crusade against the Indian agents began with the officials at the Pyramid Lake Reservation, where the Paiutes had been ordered to go after the 1860 war. Never hesitating to take her stories of injustices to the highest authorities she could locate, Sarah went over to the Presidio in the late 1860s to tell Gen. Irwin McDowell that the Indians were being unfairly treated by the agents. In 1870 she called on Gen. Schofield with a similar story.¹⁰

After 1867 several hundred Paiutes went to live near the military establishment at Camp McDermitt, where they were fed and received

better treatment than they had been accorded on the reservation. Sarah was employed as an interpreter at McDermitt where eventually, according to Sarah's estimate, some nine hundred Paiutes gathered.¹¹

In April, 1870, Sarah wrote about the condition of her people in a long letter, described as being "in a clear and beautiful hand," to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ely Samuel Parker, in Washington, D.C. This is what she said:

Sir: I learn from the commanding officer of this place that you desire full information in regard to the Indians around this place with a view if possible of bettering their condition by sending them on the Truckee River Reservation. All the Indians from here to Carson City belong to the Pah Ute tribe. My father whose name is Winnemucca is head chief of the whole tribe, but he is now getting too old and has not energy enough to command, nor to impress on their minds the necessity of their being sent on the reservation; in fact I think he is entirely opposed to it. He, myself, and most of the Humboldt and Queen's River Indians were on the Truckee Reservation at one time but if we had stayed there it would have been only to starve. I think that if they had received what they were entitled to from the agents they would never have left there. So far as their knowledge of agriculture extends they are quite ignorant as they never had an opportunity of learning but I think if proper pains were taken that they would willingly make the effort to maintain themselves by their own labor if they could be made to believe that the products were to be their own and for their own use and comfort. It is needless for me to enter into details as to how we were treated on the reservation while there. It is enough to say that we were confined to the reserve and had to live on what fish we could catch in the river. If this is the kind of civilization awaiting us on the reserve, God grant that we may never be compelled to go on one as it is more preferable to live in the mountains and drag out an existence in our native manner.

So far as living is concerned the Indians at all the military posts get enough to eat and considerable cast-off clothing; but how long is this to continue? What is the object of the Government in regard to the Indians? Is it enough that we are at peace? Remove all the Indians from the military posts and place them on reservations such as the Truckee and Walker River (as they were considered) and it will require a greater military force stationed round to keep them in the limits than it now does to keep them in subjection.

On the other hand if the Indians have my guarantee that they can secure a permanent home on their own native soil and that our white neighbors can be kept from encroaching on our rights, after having a reasonable share of ground allotted to us as our own and giving us the required advantage of learning etc., I warrant that the savage as he is called today will be a

law-abiding member of the community fifteen or twenty years hence.

Yours respectfully, Sarah Winnemucca¹²

This position, voiced at different times from different places, was to be Sarah's life-long crusade, leading not to justice for her people but to confusion, frustration, and, at last, despair for Sarah.

In 1871 Sarah took a white man's name. On January 29, 1871, in Salt Lake City, she was married to Lt. Edward Bartlett of Co. C, 1st U.S. Cavalry.¹³ Two years later she told a news writer that she and the lieutenant ran away from the town of Winnemucca for the ceremony but that she was followed by one of her brothers who demanded that she return to Nevada. She said her family was angry about the marriage and that after she left Bartlett she never saw him again. "They all knew the character of the man—he was nothing but a drunkard," she said.¹⁴

For a period of time after this, however, Sarah used the name Bartlett. When in July, 1873, the *Carson Appeal* printed a story declaring that Sarah was not the daughter of the old war chief of the Paiutes but the offspring of Digger parents from Sacramento Valley, Sarah took up her pen to deny this as a slander and signed herself "Sarah W. Bartlett."

She wrote, "My people are very angry because I have been called by the *Carson Appeal* a Digger or a descendant of Diggers. They will not give me any rest till I refute the slander. The truth is, I am full Pah-ute blood, descending from the Truckee and Winnemucca families and was born at Humboldt Sink. What little schooling I have I got at San Jose Convent. Sarah W. Bartlett."¹⁵

Sarah always had a special appeal to newspaper reporters. The man from the *Nevada State Journal* who interviewed her said "One is most agreeably surprised in the personnel of Miss W. She is a woman perhaps 24 or 25 years of age, of about medium height, rather stout but not too much so, and graceful in all her movements. Her jet black hair hangs in heavy curls and her sparkling black eyes forbid anything tending to too much familiarity. She dresses very tastefully but not extravagantly a la Americaine, upon this occasion a tight-fitting suit of black alpaca, very prettily trimmed with green fringe—in all making a very attractive appearance. Miss W. has been fortunate in receiving an excellent education, possesses excellent conversational powers and an hour spent in her company cannot fail to be attended with pleasing remembrance."¹⁶

A few years later a writer for the *San Francisco Chronicle* went to great lengths to describe Sarah's attire during a Bay Area visit. "Her long, straight black hair was worn loosely tied and hanging down her back. Upon her head she wore a straw hat of fine white braid, with upturned side, faced with brown silk and decorated with red roses and clusters of wild berries; a plain dress of dark mixed pattern of serviceable material was almost covered by the long black beaver cloak trimmed with bands

of satin. Around her neck was a silk kerchief with a center of changeable red, blue and bright border. Her only ornaments were three gold rings on the left hand, one set with bloodstone, another with crystal and a silver ornament at her throat."¹⁷

About this time Sarah apparently was married to an Indian, but there is scanty reference to the venture. In 1879 "a morning paper" in San Francisco published an article stating that at that point Sarah had entered on the stormy matrimonial path from three to seven times. Sarah went to the *Morning Call* to refute the tale. Their story said, "Her statement is that she was married to Lt. Bartlett USA in 1871 but obtained a divorce from him on account of his outrageously convivial habits, that afterward she married an Indian who grossly mistreated her until she could no longer live with him."¹⁸

In 1875 Sarah went to Camp Harney to visit her father and while she was there her brother Lee brought her a letter from Sam Parrish, Indian agent at the Malheur Reservation in Oregon inviting her to come to work for him as interpreter. She went to this reservation, taking her father with her. The Paiutes were happy at the Malheur Agency as long as Parrish and his brother and sister-in-law were in charge, but when the Parrishes were transferred and a new agent, Rinehart, was appointed there was nothing but trouble. The Indians finally refused to stay on the reservation, charging mistreatment by the agent, and in 1877 Sarah commenced a long correspondence with the Bureau of Indian Affairs complaining about Rinehart. The agent, for his part, wrote to Washington of Sarah as a "low, unprincipled Indian woman of questionable virtue and veracity."¹⁹ Meanwhile there wasn't a native within miles of Malheur, but supplies kept piling up at the Agency while the Indians waited around for handouts of food at Camp McDermit in Nevada.²⁰

Sarah wrote that she spent the winter of 1878 living with a Mrs. Courly at the head of the John Day River in Oregon. Twice she was visited by Indians who told her of bad treatment at the Malheur Agency and about troubles in Bannock territory. On June 1, she reported, two gentlemen from Canyon City called on her and asked if she would take them and the daughter of one of them to Malheur City in her wagon. Sarah took them to the agent's house and drove a few miles further to where the interpreter, her cousin Jerry Long, lived. Here she talked with Egan and Oytes, Paiutes, and Bannock Jack, who wanted her to write to the Great White Father in Washington and tell him how badly the Indians had been treated by the white men. Finally, she said, the Indians took up a collection and raised \$29.25 to help send her to Washington to make the appeal in person. This was June 7 and Sarah planned to leave at once, to drive to Elko, sell her wagon, and go on to Washington. Instead, Mr. Morton, one of the passengers in her wagon from Canyon City, asked if she would take him and his daughter Rosey to Silver City, Idaho, and she agreed.²¹

"So we started on the morning of the 8th of June," she wrote. "We journeyed for three days and heard nothing about an Indian war, but we saw houses standing all along the road without anybody living in them. We talked about it and did not know what it meant. On the twelfth we met a man on the summit, just before getting to a place called Fort Lyon, who told us there was the greatest Indian war that ever was known. He said the Bannock Indians were just killing everything that came in their way, and he told us to hurry on to a place called Stone House. That was the first I heard that the Bannocks were on the warpath."²²

An Indian named Piute Joe came into the camp and claimed that he had killed Buffalo Horn, the Bannock leader. Fearing that the war would spread to include the Paiutes as well as the Bannocks, Capt. Reuben Bernard asked Sarah to go to her father and tell him not to join the hostiles. She performed this hazardous mission successfully in a dramatic horseback dash across enemy territory. She learned as well that Oytes, the Paiute "dreamer," had become a war leader for the Bannocks and that the warriors had captured Egan and his band.

"This was the hardest work I ever did for the Government in all my life. The round trip took from 10 o'clock June 13 until 5:30 p.m. June 15; I was in the saddle night and day and covered a distance of about 223 miles. Yes, I went for the Government when the officers could not get an Indian man or a white man to go for love or money. I, only an Indian woman, went and saved my father and his people."²³

So began Sarah's exciting experiences during the three-month Bannock war in the summer of 1878. There is no doubt that this last big uprising was caused by the Indians' resentment of continuing encroachment on their tribal lands by white ranchers. Incidents that led to the war began in Camas Prairie, now in the state of Idaho, where settlers let their cattle graze on the camas roots, which were prized as food by the Indians. However, at the same time, the "dreamers" of several tribes had been urging the Indians toward warfare as a means of ridding themselves of the white menace once and for all.²⁴ Sarah at this time did not concern herself with the issues but devoted her efforts wholeheartedly to helping the American military forces.

Many years later Gen. O. O. Howard wrote about the Bannock War and the part that Sarah played in it. If anything, he was less precise than Sarah in recounting the minutest details of the fighting. Her memory of each activity of the cavalry companies was phenomenal. Even though her friend Egan became the war chief for the Bannocks, superseding Oytes, for whom she never had a good word to say, Sarah remained loyal to the military and helped track Egan through the rugged Blue Mountains of eastern Oregon. Egan was too quick for the cavalry which was forced to drag big guns and heavy equipment while the Indians raced from peak to peak.

One of the main encounters was at Birch Creek. Of this Sarah wrote,

"Sometimes I laugh when I think of this battle. It was very exciting in one way, and the soldiers made a splendid chase and deserved credit for it—but where was the killing? I sometimes think it was more play than anything else. If a white settler showed himself he was sure to get a hit from an Indian; but I don't believe they ever tried to hit a soldier—they liked them too well—and it certainly was remarkable that with all these splendid firearms and the Gatling gun and General Howard working at it, and the air full of bullets, and the ground strewn with cartridges, not an Indian fell that day."²⁵

General Howard wrote of the same day, "I felt that night tired and chagrined. This experience reminded me of a hunter chasing an antelope all day with several beautiful chances in his favor, but the animal's quick ears and native fleetness divined the hunter's approach and enabled it to elude all his shots. Unlike the hunter, my object in pursuing these Indians was not to kill, but—like my dear father chasing bees—to hive."²⁶

In the end it was a Umatilla Indian, supposedly a friend, who killed Egan for a reward which had been offered by the whites. This Indian, Umapine, was described by Gen. Howard as being six feet in height, having a closely-knit frame, thick chest, and broad shoulders. "When not on the warpath he had a friendly eye and not an unpleasant smile yet the impression he left upon you was that he possessed a fierce animal nature. When he ate he consumed twice as much as any other strong man; when he fasted he could go a long time without food. In war he displayed profound treachery and positive enjoyment of murder. Even his mates shuddered at his brutality. After committing atrociously wicked acts he would strut with pride and boast of his brutal prowess. The Pi-Utes and Bannocks had leaned upon him as a friend. After . . . Umapine, with a few followers overtook Chief Egan and his fleeing warriors . . . he brought back to the agency ghastly signs of his terrible work. He had murdered Egan and some of his companions."²⁷

Egan had been beheaded, and various histories report that the head either was preserved or the flesh boiled from the skull and the grisly trophy made an exhibit at the Army Museum in Washington.²⁸

It was after the Bannock War, in which most of them had not participated, that the Nevada Paiutes came upon their hardest times. They were ordered first to the Malheur Agency and from there were sent to the Yakima Reservation in Washington Territory. Upon hearing the news of their fate Sarah said she told her sister-in-law Mattie, "I wish this was my last day in this cruel world."²⁹

Sarah visited the Paiutes at Yakima and found them ill clad and hungry. The Indian agent there, James H. Wilbur, had failed to issue adequate supplies for the Nevada contingent, Sarah said. She went to Vancouver, Washington, to tell Gen. Howard of the sad state of affairs and then proceeded to San Francisco, where she embarked on a series of lectures about the plight of her people and the rascality of the Indian agents. Her

goal was to raise enough money to go to Washington, D.C., and talk to those in power. Her activities aroused so much interest in the press that late in 1879 the secretary of the Interior sent a man named Hayworth to Nevada to bring Sarah, Chief Winnemucca, Natches, and their cousin Jim to Washington to confer with him and to meet President Hayes.³⁰

The Nevada Indians met with Secretary Carl Schurz, who seemed to be in sympathy with their cause and who gave Sarah an executive order guaranteeing the Indians land allotments and the right to leave the Yakima Reservation, among other things. Next day the Indians were taken to the White House to meet President Hayes, an encounter which Sarah Winnemucca apparently did not find exciting.³¹

"We were shown all over the place before we saw him," she wrote. "A great many ladies were there to see us. At last he walked in and shook hands with us, then he said, 'Did you get all you want for your people?'"

"I said, 'Yes, sir, as far as I know.'"

"'That is well,' he said, and went out again. That is all we saw of him. That was President Hayes."

Early in January, 1880, Agent Rinehart of the Malheur Agency, who had heard that Sarah was going to Washington, sent a number of scurrilous affidavits about her to E. A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Rinehart must have felt that the fearless Indian would be accusing him before the Great White Father as she had in her public lectures. He wrote, "I send enclosed affidavits to establish the true character of Sarah Winnemucca, former interpreter at this agency, in order to meet charges made by her recently in public lectures at San Francisco and extensively noted in the public press. Notorious is her ill fame." His affidavits were collected from discharged soldiers and from a group of Canyon City stock raisers.³²

Rinehart wrote, "The earlier history of her connections with this Agency may be learned in part by referring to my report dated Dec. 23, 1876. It was publicly known then as now that her last occupation before coming to this Agency as Interpreter for Agent Parrish was in a public house of ill fame in Winnemucca, Nevada. Among the other 'sufficient causes' alluded to in my report to Gen. Howard's headquarters for which she was discharged from the position of Interpreter was that one of my white employes saw her in bed with an Indian man in the mess house."³³

Ironically, whether Rinehart liked her, wanted her, or approved of her, or just the opposite, Sarah regained an appointment as Interpreter at Malheur Agency in 1880. This was an easy job as there were no Indians at the place.

Sarah went up to Yakima to tell the Indians they could leave that reservation but Agent Wilbur refused to let the Paiutes go on the grounds that Washington had not informed him of any proposed move for the band. Thwarted, Sarah went back to Fort Vancouver where her friend, Gen. Howard gave her a job teaching a group of Sheepeater Indian children.³⁴

While at Vancouver Sarah had one more occasion to meet with President Hayes, who with his wife, came there to visit. The president went to the Indian camp and shook hands with Sarah and her class of Indian children. She spoke of her people to the president in a tender manner so that the ladies of the party were affected to tears, according to a newspaper account of the day. The president said he could make no promise but would remember her petition which was to have her people gathered at some one place where they could live permanently and be cared for and instructed. No more came of this promise than from the "valuable" paper she had received from Secretary Schurz freeing the Paiutes from the Yakima Reservation. Ultimately this group freed itself by slipping away and making the journey back to Nevada.³⁵

Sarah went to her sister who had married a white rancher in Montana. Here Sarah met and married a Mr. Hopkins. While she was able to speak with great detail about battlefields and Indian customs, Sarah wrote so little about Mr. Hopkins that he usually has been identified as "a Lieutenant Hopkins." However, the National Archives and Records Service in Washington reports, "We have found an entry in a register of post traders for a Lambert N. Hopkins Jr. who served as a post trader at Fort Wingate, N.M., from 1877 to 1882. There was no indication that this man had served in any capacity in the U.S. Army prior to that time."³⁶

The Montana Historical Society found information in her death notice that Sarah had married Mr. Hopkins, "a commissary clerk," in Helena. Since Montana's Fort Harrison was not established until 1885, Mr. Hopkins must have been employed elsewhere than Montana.³⁷ At the time of his death Nevada papers referred to him as "L. H. Hopkins," but this could have been a simple mistake if his name really were Lambert N. Hopkins. At any rate, Sarah and Mr. Hopkins apparently were married early in 1882 and remained in Montana until spring, 1883.

Sarah was very bitter about the whites at this time. In an article published in an 1882 issue of *The Californian*, a western monthly magazine from San Francisco, she wrote, "Once the Indians possessed all this beautiful country; now they have none. Then they lived happily, and prayed to the Great Spirit. But the white man came, with his cursed whisky and selfishness and greed, and drove out the poor Indian, because he was more numerous and better armed and knew more knowledge. I see very well that all my race will die out. In a few short years there will be none left—no, not one Indian in the whole of America. I dare say the white man is better in some respects; but he is a bigger rascal, too. He steals and lies more than an Indian does. I hope some other race will come and drive him out, and kill him, like he has done to us. Then I will say the Great Spirit is just, and that it is all right."³⁸

In October, 1882, Old Winnemucca or Poito died and according to the newspapers of the day the Paiutes stoned to death his young wife who, Poito was convinced, had bewitched him.³⁹ Sarah's brother Natches

became the Paiute chief. White men took the appointment with a grain of salt. "People residing in the exposed region bordering on Idaho and Oregon will be glad to learn that Natches, under a suggestion of Gen. Schofield, will exercise a sort of protectorate over the Bannocks occupying that region," the *Reno Evening Gazette* said.⁴⁰

In April, 1883, it was reported in the Reno press that "Natches the Piute Crown Prince has received a letter from one of his sisters who is married to a white man and lives in Montana, says the Silver State, informing him that the Princess Sallie has left that Territory and gone east to lecture. Sallie's Indian name is Sa-mit-tau-nee, which means "White Shell." She married a white man, her third venture with a pale face husband, over a year ago and they lived in Montana all winter."⁴¹

There must have been a reason, perhaps an invitation, that prompted Sarah to go to Boston to lecture. By 1883 her name was well known in the West and known, too, to Easterners interested in the "Indian question." At any rate, once in Boston Sarah became the protégée of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody and her sister, Mary (Mrs. Horace) Mann. Mary Mann either edited or ghost-wrote Sarah's *Life Among the Piutes; Their Wrongs and Claims*. This book included a long appendage of letters attesting to Sarah's good character in answer, no doubt, to the slanderous affidavits sent to Washington by Agent Rinehart. The Indian Princess became an immediate favorite of Eastern audiences.

That Sarah was by no means illiterate has already been attested to by the number of letters and articles she had written before she went to Boston. However, *Life Among the Piutes* does have elements of an "as told to" story. There are, especially for a Western reader, certain attitudes not possible for an Indian, such as the continual harping on whether or not a white person is automatically "a Christian," and a number of contrived references to Negroes (who certainly did not abound on the frontier).

In spring, 1884, the *Reese River Reveille* at Austin reported that "Princess Winnemucca of the Piute tribe of Indians was again before a subcommittee on Indian affairs last week pleading for the setting apart of a reservation for her tribe. She was accompanied by a delegation of ladies and gentlemen from Baltimore. The Indian woman spoke in good English emphasizing her remarks with graceful gestures. As she depicted the griefs of her people she was frequently moved to tears. She said her tribe was scattered; that they had been driven from place to place. 'Two winters ago,' she continued, 'while driven from one point, old men and children were frozen to death.' She also said Indian agents had deprived the tribe of stores provided for them by the government. The Piutes are located in Nevada. The princess asked that Camp McDermit be set apart for them."⁴²

Sometime during 1884 Sen. Leland Stanford of California is reported to have given Sarah and her brother Natches a 160-acre farm tract near Lovelock.⁴³

In September, 1884, the *Reveille* wrote about Sarah's return to Nevada: "During the recent visit of Princess Sarah Winnemucca to Carson City she was always followed about the streets by a squad of Washoe squaws who, however, kept at a respectful distance gazing at her with unmixed admiration. On the evening of her lecture a large number gathered about her hotel waiting to get a last lingering look at her. Just as the Princess emerged through the main entrance of the hotel, rigged out in good tog-gery, an exclamation of delight ran along the line of Washoe squaws; but the zenith of their pleasure was arrived at when the Princess spoke a few kind words to each. Their usually expressionless faces were lighted up with joy and no one not present at that street audience can form a real idea of the capacity of a Washoe squaw's mouth."⁴⁴

A few days later the same newspaper wrote, "The Princess Sarah Winnemucca in her lectures, which are ex tempore, is liable to fall into sad and tearful moods. In Carson, speaking of this weakness, she said, 'When I spoke in Boston my angel mother got up on the platform and began to talk and I had a hard time to choke that angel mother off'."⁴⁵

At this time Natches set to work trying to operate the farm at Lovelock and Sarah started a school for Indian children there. The school altogether had a short and spotty existence but drew funds from Miss Peabody in Boston, who raised money in Sarah's behalf by various public appeals.

In 1886, still staunchly defending Sarah Winnemucca, Miss Peabody wrote that a Wisconsin school teacher, who had spent a month visiting Sarah at Lovelock, attested to the character and quality of Sarah's teaching, but found that the Indian princess was in very poor health due to chronic rheumatism and neuralgia. She found that the Indian pupils at the school had no furniture except benches without backs which, when they wrote or drew, they used as tables, sitting or kneeling on the floor. A group of Lovelock visitors to the school also wrote to Miss Peabody with an account of progress being made there.⁴⁶

At about the same time, the *Reese River Reveille*, under a heading, "Princess Sarah Mad," carried this statement: "People without giving any proof here insinuated that Natches Winnemucca of Lovelock has killed beef not his own on his farm or up in the mountains, nowhere in particular. If anyone knows anything about it let him come forward and tell it face to face like a man. If he has seen him kill or can prove anything let him prove it in court. But if there is no proof except that he is an Indian, and it is safe to slander him, then those who value their words will not say what they have no proof of.—Sarah W. Hopkins."⁴⁷

In September the same newspaper reported, "At the opening of the recent fandango sugar dance of the Piute tribe at Lovelock, Sarah Winnemucca addressed her people by telling them that these are days of civilization, that they must be good, sober and industrious and follow the example of their pale faced brethren; get educated, give their children an

education so that they may become farmers, mechanics, and business men, build houses for themselves and earn an honest living."⁴⁸

In November, 1886, the *Reveille* said, "The Peabody Indian school at Lovelock, which was taught by Sarah Winnemucca was closed two or three months ago. Sarah says the reason it was closed was because she had to watch her brother's little girl during her illness and when she died she (Sarah) did not think it right to teach school for a while after her death. She went back to Lovelock Saturday afternoon and will open the school again this Monday."⁴⁹

Miss Peabody also had heard of the closing of the boarding school in August so that Sarah could rest and the children could assist in harvesting the crop.

"I must confess I was rather surprised at her letter's not containing a paean of joy on this impending happy consummation, but only a painfully earnest expression of anxiety that I should now rest from my labors for her and be content if she only went on in the future with the day school," Mrs. Peabody wrote. "But I ascribed her subdued tone to the exhaustion produced by the long strain she had been under of body and mind. It was, however, explained by her next letter, when she enclosed to me a letter she had received from a mistaken friend of mine telling her that Miss Peabody had sent her all the money that had been provided for her own old age, and had been working for her to get the \$100 a month harder than she (Sarah) had ever worked in her life. I need not say that this was accompanied with a passionate entreaty that I would never send her another cent, and suspend all further care for her work. Of course I replied instant that this letter was false in every point; that the provision for my old age was untouched, and that the work I was doing for her was the greatest pleasure I had ever enjoyed in my life. But before she could get my reply (for it takes six days for a letter to go from Boston to Lovelock) another short missive came, saying I must not write to her again till she should send word of her new whereabouts; for "on account of our ill luck," Natches and herself were going away to earn some money, she to get work in some kitchen for at least her board. But not a word of explanation of the 'ill luck,' which I could not divine."

Finally, Miss Peabody recounted, she received a letter explaining that the "ill luck" was in the form of a demand for cash payment for labor by some white neighbors. Sarah said she and Natches had paid the debts but could not afford to open the school and that after the death of her niece Delia she had been discouraged.

"So darling," Miss Peabody quotes Sarah as writing, 'do not talk any more on my behalf, but let my name die out and be forgotten; only, don't you forget me, but write to me sometimes, and I will write to you while I live'."

Miss Peabody, dauntless do-gooder that she was, explained that her

reaction was to order 200 more copies of Sarah's book from the book-binder "which I shall at once begin to sell for her again, offering to send one, postpaid, to whoever sends me \$1.00, and thus make the nest egg of a new fund to enable her to renew her grand enterprise of making a Normal School (for that is what she was doing) of Indian teachers of English."⁵⁰

No more is heard of this enterprise, but in September, 1887, the *Elko Independent* printed an article: "Natches raised 400 sacks of grain on his ranch near Lovelock. A scalawag white man Hopkins, he says, sold the grain and then offered him \$50 as his share of the proceeds, although Natches and his wife had raised the grain. Natches refused to take the \$50 and Hopkins, who is the husband of Sarah Winnemucca, left for San Francisco taking all the money which he received for the grain with him.—Silver State."⁵¹

Less than a month later, the *Silver State* carried this notice: "Died. Hopkins—at Lovelock, Oct. 18, 1887, L. H. Hopkins, a native of Virginia, aged about 40 years."⁵²

In the same edition of the Winnemucca paper, under a heading "Death of a Peculiar Character," it was written, "L. H. Hopkins, known as the husband of Sarah Winnemucca, died at Lovelock last Tuesday. He was a genteel, well educated man and while connected with the Army became acquainted with Sarah Winnemucca, the Piute Princess, and married her."

Sarah buried her husband in the Lone Mountain Cemetery at Lovelock. Quite possibly she buried the last of her own hopes at the same time. What became of Somitone, the little Indian Shell Flower?

"She was degenerate in her later years," reported Miss Jeanne Elizabeth Weir of Reno, director of the Nevada Historical Society, in 1905.⁵³

The *Carson City Morning Appeal* reported on February 29, 1888, "The Indians generally have a passion for gambling and the Princess Sarah is no exception of the rule. A Lovelock correspondent writes the *Silver State* that a few days ago she engaged in a game of casino at two dollars ante in which some pale faces took part. She undertook to rake in a pot which she had not won, and a fight ensued in which the Princess was worsted. She is accused of using language more forcible than polite, hence the fight."

However, in the following month (March, 1888) the *Silver State* said "Maj. Gen. Howard visited Sarah Winnemucca's school at Lovelock last Thursday. Chief Natches says he wants the Indian school at the place kept up. He told Natches the military post at Fort McDermit will be abandoned this summer and he would recommend that the military reservation be given severally to the Piutes."⁵⁴

In the end, Sarah went back to her sister in Montana.

The Paiute Princess died at Henry's Lake, Montana, October 17, 1891. The notices of her death state that she was visiting her sister and, after

eating a hearty meal, was seized with a severe pain and died soon thereafter.⁵⁵ Probably she was buried at Henry's Lake, but it was not to rest in peace and dignity. There were too many unanswered questions about this woman, born of native stock, blessed with an intelligence capable of encompassing two cultures, doomed to flamboyance and failure.

Only a month after her death, in November, 1891, Col. Frank J. Parker, editor of the *Walla Walla Statesman*, was quoted in the *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman* telling how Sarah Winnemucca had saved his life in the Malheur country in the spring of 1878. "Sarah Winnemucca and her whole family were ever true to the whites," he wrote. But the Reno paper got in the last word: "Col. Parker could not have known old Winnemucca very well, for a more treacherous wretch never lived."⁵⁶

Nor, it seems safe to add as a final last word, did ever a more complex heroine ride the sagebrush hills of Nevada and Oregon than this same "wretch's" daughter, Sarah.

Notes

1. Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (New York: Pageant Books, 1960), Part 2, p. 962.
2. *Nevada State Journal*, Feb. 12, 1873.
3. Robert F. Heizer, *Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities*, "Anthropological Papers No. 2 (Carson City: Nevada State Museum, 1960).
4. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes; Their Wrongs and Claims* (edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, printed for the author, 1883).
5. Dan DeQuille (William Wright), *The History of the Big Bonanza* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1876).
6. In her own book, *Life Among the Piutes*, Sarah Winnemucca gives her name as Thocmetony, "Shell Flower." Dan DeQuille said her name was Sonometa. In an article Sarah wrote for *The Californian* magazine in 1882, she said her Indian name was Somitone. The *Reno Evening Gazette* (April 10, 1883) said her name was Sa-mit-tau-nee, "White Shell."
7. Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*.
8. *Nevada State Journal*, Feb. 12, 1873.
9. *Reese River Reveille*, Dec. 12, 1884.
10. Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*.
11. *Ibid.*
12. The original letter was addressed to Maj. H. Douglass, and forwarded by him with his report as Indian Superintendent, Nevada, to Parker. Copy in H. H. Bancroft.
13. *Nevada State Journal*, Feb. 12, 1873; Official Army Register, January, 1871.
14. *Nevada State Journal*, Feb. 12, 1873.
15. *Carson Appeal*, July 22, 1873.
16. *Nevada State Journal*, Feb. 12, 1873.
17. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 23, 1879.
18. *San Francisco Morning Call*, Nov. 22, 1879.

19. U.S. National Archives, Special File 268, *The Case of Sarah Winnemucca*.
20. Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. Oliver Otis Howard (Maj. Gen.), *My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington Co., 1907).
25. Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*.
26. Howard, *My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians*.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*; "After That—Peace," *Oregon Journal Magazine*, April 3, 1932.
29. Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. U.S. National Archives, *The Case of Sarah Winnemucca*.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*; Howard, *My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians*.
35. Katherine C. Turner, *Red Men Calling on the Great White Father* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951).
36. James B. Rhoads, Archivist of the United States, to Senator Alan Bible, June 13, 1968.
37. Mary K. Dempsey, Librarian of the Montana State Historical Society, to Mrs. Patricia Stewart, April 27, 1966.
38. Sarah Winnemucca, "The Pah-Utes," in *The Californian, A Western Monthly Magazine* (July-Dec., 1882, Vol. VI, pp. 252ff).
39. *Reno Evening Gazette*, Oct. 27 and Nov. 16, 1882.
40. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1883.
41. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1883.
42. *Reese River Reveille*, May 12, 1884.
43. Elizabeth P. Peabody, *Sarah Winnemucca's Practical Solution of the Indian Problem; A Letter to Dr. Lyman Abbott of "The Christian Union"* (Cambridge: John Wilson & Son University Press, 1886). Neither Humboldt nor Pershing County records show any land deeded by Stanford either to Sarah or Natches Winnemucca. However, it is well known that the Indians occupied a farm in the Lovelock area.
44. *Reese River Reveille*, Sept. 17, 1884.
45. *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1884.
46. Peabody, *Sarah Winnemucca's Practical Solution to the Indian Problem*.
47. *Reese River Reveille*, Aug. 2, 1886.
48. *Ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1886.
49. *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1886.
50. Peabody, *Sarah Winnemucca's Practical Solution to the Indian Problem*.
51. *Elko Independent*, Sept. 22, 1887.
52. *Silver State*, Oct. 20, 1887.
53. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*.

54. *Elko Daily Independent*, March 26, 1888.
55. Dempsey to Stewart, letter.
56. *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman*, Nov. 26, 1891.

Notes and Documents

Frank Eastman and the Nevada Masons: A Note for Printing Historians

FRANK EASTMAN was a San Francisco printer whose Franklin Printing House had as one of its specialties the printing of constitutions, proceedings, by-laws, and related work for a number of lodges and fraternal organizations.¹ When the Nevada Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was organized in 1865 it chose the Franklin house to print its proceedings. Eastman continued to print for the Nevada Masons until the late 1870s, when the desire to save money for the Grand Lodge by having necessary printing done at home led to contracts with a series of printers in Virginia City, Carson City, and Reno.

The usual practice during the Eastman years was to order 800 copies of the annual proceedings. Five hundred of these were to be issued in paper wrappers for immediate use of the Grand Lodge, with the remainder to be retained by the printer for binding when a volume was completed. In 1872, Volume I having been finished three years before, Grand Secretary J. C. Currie recommended to the Eighth Annual Grand Communication that \$125.00 be used for "Binding 1st Volume Proceedings."² The Finance Committee concurred; the assembled membership followed the recommendations and allocated the money.³

No doubt most members expected to have handsome calf-bound volumes in their hands within a few weeks—something that "felt like a book" instead of the flimsy and easily torn paper-covered copies they were used to. By the time of the 1873 communication, however, the bound volumes were still not available, and Grand Master Wm. A. M. Van Bokkelen was forced to report the following:

Each year, in publishing the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, three hundred copies have been left in the hands of the printer, in San Francisco, unstitched, for future binding. At the last communication an appropriation was made for binding Volume I of our proceedings. On sending an order for the retained copies to be delivered to the binder, those of the Session of October, 1865, could not be found. Diligent search and inquiry has been made in every place, where we thought they might possibly be, without any success. Owing to this fact we have not been able to have Volume I bound as you directed. I have caused estimates of the cost of reprinting the lost proceedings to be obtained for your use in determining what you will do.⁴

This seems rather a placid response to the loss of what represented in terms of the day a sizeable expenditure of the organization's funds. Based on the initial 1865 cost for printing 800 copies of the proceedings, the 300 missing copies had cost the Masons of Nevada approximately \$125.00.⁵ It was to cost them more, however, for the committee that was asked to consider the Grand Master's address proposed, as calmly as it had been asked, that money be appropriated to cover reprinting costs. The assembled representatives of constituent lodges, apparently in the same spirit, agreed.⁶ The bill, when it came in, cost the Grand Lodge another \$174.00,⁷ for a total of nearly \$300.00 to have the necessary copies printed twice.

Or were they printed twice? There is no certain evidence that Eastman printed only 500 copies of the proceedings of the First Annual Communication while charging for 800, although the practice was not unheard of in the nineteenth century. Three hundred copies, in sheets, of a publication of only slightly more than 100 pages takes up a surprisingly small amount of space, and it is entirely possible that they were overlooked when it came time to send them to the bindery, despite the "diligent search and inquiry" mentioned by Van Bokkelen. It is possible, too, that in a general reorganization and housecleaning Eastman or his helpers had simply discarded the insignificant stack of sheets. That Eastman did not suddenly "find" the 300 extra copies and sell them for a second time, however, is certain. The issue that appears in volumes bound for the Grand Lodge was printed from different type than was used in the earlier wrapped issues. Furthermore, the title page of the issue in wrappers contains eleven lines of type before the imprint, while the reprint has twelve. The type and title-page format in the reprint are clearly more akin to Eastman's mid-1870s practice than that of 1865. In any case, it seems less than judicious of him to charge an additional \$174.00 to provide replacements for the missing copies that had already been paid for in 1865, when the loss, if there was one, was rather obviously his responsibility.

It can be established, then, that those Masonic lodges, libraries, and individuals with paper covered copies of the October, 1865, *Proceedings* have the real thing. But those who own contemporary calf-bound copies of Volume I have a late 1873 or early 1874 reprint, regardless of the 1865 imprint date that appears on the title page.

Notes

1. Robert Greenwood, ed., *California Imprints, 1833-1862: A Bibliography* (Los Gatos: Talisman Press, 1961), 524 pp. Of the 77 imprints attributed by Greenwood to Eastman or his firm between 1851 and 1862, 46 belong to this category. By far the largest number of Eastman imprints are for California Masonic organizations or the Odd Fellows.
2. *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Nevada*. . . (1872), p. 367.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 499.
4. *Ibid.*, (1873), p. 19.
5. *Ibid.*, (1866), p. 126.
6. *Ibid.*, (1873), p. 207.
7. *Ibid.*, (1874), p. 264.

ROBERT D. ARMSTRONG

A Note on Politics and Religion in Twentieth-Century Nevada

A RESEARCHER conducting a study in the realm of Nevada political history of the 1930s and 1940s will, most likely, consult the usual sources. He will read available secondary material, he will pore over newspaper files, he will examine government records. Extending his investigation, he will search through manuscript collections, and he will search out individuals about whom he is writing and attempt to obtain information from them by letter or through interview. He will find much of what he expected to discover, but he will find more. In his latter and deeper investigations the diligent researcher will find, here and there, implicitly, tangentially, evidence of a factor influencing state political affairs about which he has read nothing in school texts, Sunday-supplement histories, election statistics, or official government records. What he will find is evidence of a potent religious influence upon Nevada's political life.

Of course, the fact that religion has played a role in Nevada history is not a newly discovered one. That there has been mutual resentment and friction between Mormon and non-Mormon Nevadans will come as no surprise to anyone relatively conversant with the state's past. Nor will the statement that the Roman Catholic church has been a significant factor in politics (especially in elections) raise many eyebrows. And deference in certain matters and at certain times to important voting groups has been common in Nevada as well as elsewhere. What is surprising is the extent to which the factor entered into politics—not just as an element in election-campaign wooing of voting groups, but as a force influencing stances and actions of the state's politicians in official duties and in their relations with one another.

This "religious factor" was manifested in two ways. It existed as antipathy between Roman Catholics, whose strength was mainly in northern Nevada, and Mormons, whose stronghold was in the south, and, apparently to a somewhat lesser extent, as Protestant-Catholic and Protestant-Mormon friction. It was seen also in the occurrence of political alliances

and mutual assistance among individuals or groups of a particular religious persuasion—an occurrence perhaps to be expected in a state where the numbers and bonds of fraternal organizations had traditionally been strong.

Religion-based prejudice, whether in the form of partiality or animus, was not just a shadowy, nearly subconscious reflex. It was a viable, persistent influence upon the political figures who legislated for and governed Nevada. This can be perceived in the words of those individuals and of contemporary observers: a former state official speaks uncomplimentarily of the political control exerted by a Catholic senator and a Reno bishop; a former congressman remarks upon the clannishness of Catholic politicians; a state senator relates the allied power of a senator, governor, and Highway Department official—"all Catholics"; a future governor disparages a senator as a "Mormon bishop" who operates a gas station; a political insider declares that two office holders "got along, as they were both Catholics"; a veteran newspaperman criticizes an executive appointment as cheap, done merely to placate the Mormons. Such remarks are not merely isolated examples of pique, they recur, again and again, consistently in the private and semi-private statements of political figures of the period.

The religious factor as a significant political influence appears to have waned with the introduction of major federal industrial projects and the growth of the gaming industry, the resultant influx of people from other states, and the development of a population-based north-south, urban-rural sectionalism. To say that it has entirely disappeared would be crediting human nature with unlikely mutability, but apparently more pressing concerns have assumed the position of preoccupation religious interests once held.

Religious prejudice as it affects politics has not been a particularly timely subject since the presidential election of 1960, but it still exists, and certainly did to a much greater extent in the past—not only in Nevada, but in most other areas of the nation. In Nevada, religious frictions and fraternalism appear to have been important, although not predominating elements affecting political relationships and affairs in the 1940s, 1930s, and earlier decades of the century.

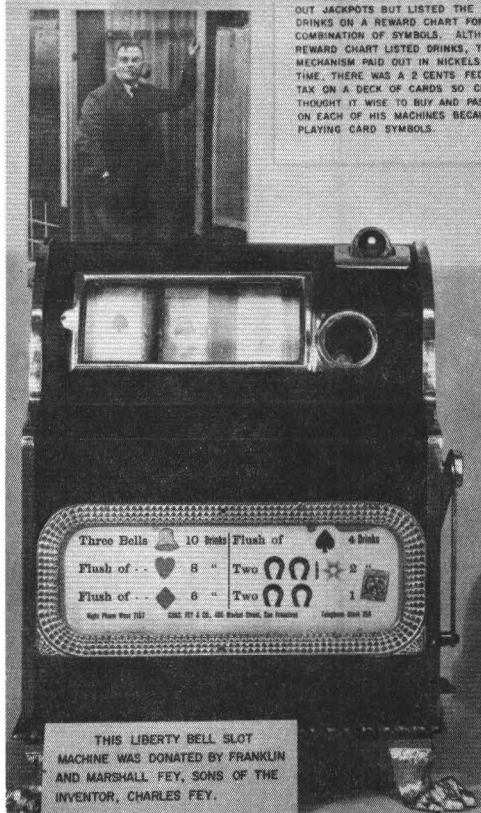
The religious factor in Nevada politics may be an unsettling or uncomfortable subject for some, but it has been, nonetheless, a significant one. It is a necessary component in the construction of any complete political history of Nevada, and as such it deserves examination by historians.

ERIC N. MOODY

THE FIRST SLOT MACHINE

SLOT MACHINES

THE SLOT MACHINE, AN AMERICAN INVENTION, WAS FIRST MADE IN SAN FRANCISCO IN 1895 BY A 29-YEAR-OLD MECHANIC, CHARLES FEY. THIS MACHINE WAS BUILT TO TAKE NICKELS AND UNLIKE TODAY'S MACHINES, DID NOT PAY OUT JACKPOTS BUT LISTED THE NUMBER OF DRINKS ON A REWARD CHART FOR A WINNING COMBINATION OF SYMBOLS. ALTHOUGH THE REWARD CHART LISTED DRINKS, THE MACHINE'S MECHANISM PAID OUT IN NICKELS. AT THAT TIME, THERE WAS A 2-CENTS FEDERAL REVE: TAX ON A DECK OF CARDS SO CHARLES FEY THOUGHT IT WISE TO BUY AND PASTE A STAMP ON EACH OF HIS MACHINES BECAUSE HE USED PLAYING CARD SYMBOLS.



Liberty Bell slot machine, the first one invented, on exhibit in the Society's newest display. This 1895 invention was made available to the Museum by the inventor's grandsons.

From Our Museum Collection

The First Slot Machine

AS NEVADA is perhaps most famous throughout the world as the American gambling mecca, it was very fitting when this Society recently put an example of the first slot machine on display in our museum. Called the "Liberty Bell," this small device was invented by Charles Fey, a 29-year-old mechanic, in 1895. From his small shop in San Francisco, Fey produced the "Bells" by hand and distributed them in local gambling establishments on a 50-percent lease basis, thus becoming not only the inventor of the slot machine but the first operator as well.

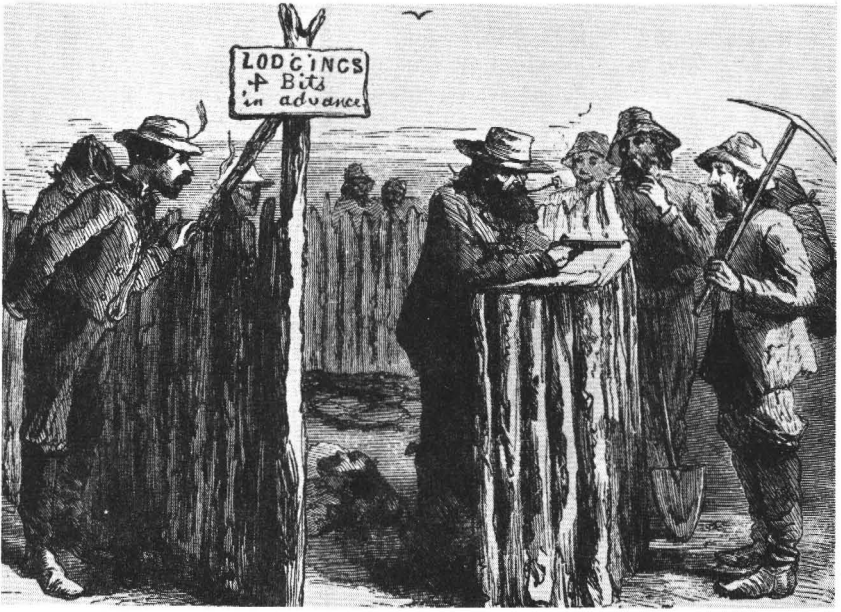
The design and mechanism of slot machines has changed little between 1895 and now, but one major variation between the "Liberty Bell" and modern slots is the payoff. Listed on the front of the original machine are the payoffs for winning combinations—all in drinks. For example, three bells on the line would win the player a grand total of ten drinks, as well as the four nickels which drop out on any winning combination.

Another interesting feature of this machine is the 2¢ revenue stamp pasted on the front of the payoff card. At the time of manufacture of this slot there was a 2¢ tax on playing cards and since Fey had used hearts, spades, and diamonds on the machine wheels, he deemed it wise to add a revenue stamp to each machine.

For ten years Fey remained the sole maker of slot machines in the United States, refusing all offers to sell the manufacturing or distributing rights even though he could never meet the enormous demand for his machines. Finally, in 1907, Herbert Mills of Chicago obtained the mechanism of a "Liberty Bell" and began producing his own machine under the name "Operators Bell." With more modern production techniques, Mills turned out thousands upon thousands of his slots until by 1910 they could be found in every city in the United States. Undaunted by this, Fey went on to invent the "Silver Dollar" slot, the first one designed to take a coin as large as a dollar, as well as numerous other coin-operated machines and gambling devices.

Today Charles Fey's grandsons, Franklin and Marshall Fey, carry on the family tradition with their enormous collection of early-day slot machines in their Liberty Belle Saloon and Restaurant in Reno. Because of their courtesy, the Historical Society was allowed to display one of the two remaining "Liberty Bell" machines in our museum as a tribute to their grandfather's invention and to the beginning of modern Nevada's gambling mainstay—the slot machine.

DOUGLAS McDONALD



From Washoe Revisited, by J. Ross Browne, 1868.

Sheep-Corral Lodgings.

What's Being Written

Lincoln County, Nevada: 1864-1909, History of a Mining Region, "Nevada Studies in History and Political Science No. 10" (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1971; 82 pages; bibliography, index, \$3).

HERE IS local history of the sort upon which the broader areas of history—of state and region—must rest and against which the generalizations of historians of the broader scene must be checked. While the history of this isolated mining region in the southeastern part of the state is decidedly less well known than the history of Virginia City, for example, it was not without its spectacular aspects. Hulse protects the integrity of the unique experience of remote Lincoln County by leaving the comparisons with other regions to the reader, and the result is a fascinating, compact narrative of the sudden rise and depressing decline of this mining area.

The story of Lincoln County is neatly limited in time and in subject matter. Hulse begins with the arrival of the first white population. He closes in 1909 when the southern half of the county was lopped off to form Clark County. He excludes detailed treatment of the rigidly isolated Mormons of the valleys except as they interact with the mining development. The ranch economy is left aside to make good his subtitle, *History of a Mining Region*. Yet his subject is not mining alone, but the social, economic, and political change keyed to the drastic ups and downs of mining.

Professor Hulse's documentation shows the difficulties he had to overcome in writing this factual and interesting narrative. Such letters and diaries and other personal records as may have existed have been, for the most part, scattered and lost by a highly mobile population. It has been necessary to supplement the surviving newspapers of Lincoln County with the echoes of events as reflected in the journals of other Nevada areas. Skillful use of official records, diligent search of the trade journals of mining, and a canvassing of the records of the social institutions of the region have provided assurance that available facts are included.

Why a scholarly history of Lincoln County when so many highly dramatized accounts of its most exciting moments exist? One, to keep the record straight. Two, to provide a proper balance between the excitements of mining rushes and the soul-trying erosion of the lean after-years. Three, to emphasize that each unique mix of man and environment produces a correspondingly unique pattern of change. This is what Hulse achieves. Only when such histories have been produced for the major regions of the state can the definitive history of the whole state emerge.

The smallish paperback of the Nevada Studies in History and Political Science series is immaculately edited and attractively if simply packaged. The reader who is not familiar with the region would have been helped by a more detailed map.

JOHN S. WRIGHT

The Nevada Desert, by Sessions S. Wheeler (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1971; 168 pages, illustrations, \$2.95).

THOSE who have enjoyed Sessions "Buck" Wheeler's books on Pyramid Lake and its Indians will not be disappointed—although they may be slightly surprised—by his latest volume. He has branched out considerably. He has offered us a mosaic of the Nevada deserts and of some of the people who have grappled with them.

Wheeler, of course, knows his subject as well as any person now writing. There are no more dedicated conservationists in the state, and he is a careful researcher. What he offers here is a collection of his own insights in combination with a number of long selections from older primary and secondary sources. There are chapters on the Forty-Mile Desert, the Black Rock Desert, the Mohave Desert, the prospectors, and on one of the stockmen who developed Great Basin resources. There is a lot between the covers of this small volume, and although some might find it eclectic, it offers engaging glimpses of little-known areas of Nevada, and it makes available more anecdotal material on desert life.

The chapter on the Forty-Mile Desert is primarily an extended quotation from the recollections of Mrs. Sarah Royce, who crossed the desolate barrier in 1849 and whose account was published by Yale nearly four decades ago. The section on the Black Rock analyzes some of the troubles between Indians and settlers in the northwest corner of Nevada in the mid-1860s, with a new look at some contemporary accounts. The section on the Mohave recounts some of the information on the Tule Springs excavations and quotes some of the more colorful sections of Frémont's account of his confrontation with southern Indians in 1844. He has reported the narratives of two prospectors—Claude Lund and Roy A. Hardy—to represent the gold-seekers who used to frequent the desert. His chapter on "Desert Grass and the Big Spread" is entirely devoted to John G. Taylor, the builder of a ranching empire that included hundreds of thousands of acres in Elko, Humboldt, and Pershing counties in the early years of this century.

The book concludes with a description of the recreational possibilities afforded by the desert, including some warnings about wandering off the well-travelled roads. The photographs—there is approximately one for each page of text—are likely to make this volume attractive to the casual

reader and collector: some of them are excellent. On the whole, it is a bargain for amateur desert rats.

JAMES W. HULSE

Voices of Black Nevada, by Bureau of Governmental Research (Reno: Bureau of Governmental Research, The University of Nevada, 1971; 120 pages, \$1).

IN THE INTRODUCTION Dr. Elmer Rusco, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, states that the purpose of this publication is "to bring to the attention of White Nevadans the views on racial questions of a number of Black Nevadans." Fair enough. This modest and unpretentious compilation has certainly attained that limited goal. At the same time, however, one cannot avoid the feeling that much more effort and scholarly application should have been expended in compiling this report.

The views of eleven people were included in the study. Three of the eleven cannot properly be called respondents, since they did not directly address the questionnaire prepared for the study. Five of the remaining participants are women, and all eight respondents are from northern Nevada. None of the "voices" come from Black youth, despite the fact that some of the most stimulating and challenging words on racial questions today are being uttered by the young. To be sure, Professor Rusco acknowledges most of these "gaps" in his introduction. He views this study as merely a beginning towards the articulation of Black opinion in Nevada.

There are some interesting conclusions to be drawn from the interviews. How significant these determinations are is of course highly debatable, given the distorted nature of the report. Professor Rusco declined to make any such conclusions, perhaps most wisely. Nevertheless, one may venture a few generalizations for the sake of interest.

For example, most of the respondents contend that the first priority for Blacks in Nevada is the acquisition of jobs, especially jobs that are sufficiently remunerative. They consider the other most important need as that of education, quality education. The respondents seem to have a general distrust of the Nevada state government, one person going so far as to excoriate state officials as being bigoted and racist; but on the other hand, they exhibit some faith in the good intentions of the federal government on racial issues (this being as of 1968). Viewing the White power structure, some enunciate a respect and even a reverence for the Kennedy family. Others view the "law and order" issue as a mere stalking-horse for repression of the Black community, indicating that simple justice would resolve the issue.

The female respondents voice much more optimism and greater satisfaction with conditions in Nevada, than do the three male respondents.

One woman saw "wonderful strides" being made in race relations, especially when she recalled the blatant racism of Reno in the past, a time when a sign could be displayed in the window of a restaurant warning, "No Indians, dogs or Negroes allowed." The female respondents also show a greater readiness to accept the "law and order" dictums at face value and a greater reluctance to embrace ideas of Black power and Black separatism. They are much more inclined to speak in the visionary terms many white Americans prefer to hear (unfortunately, the White interviewer interjected her value judgments to such responses with such statements as "That's very good" and "Yes, that's very good" and "It seems as though there should be more of that").

One of the more interesting respondents was a woman whose decision to remain anonymous paralleled her many innocuous answers. Her most frequent response was, "I don't know." She apparently feared being controversial and offensive. As she said so revealingly: "But, it's my personality to—well, to be real frank—to act dumb and just go on and do what I'm doing, you know, and not make a big thing about it. And, whereas other people go to the NAACP and such as that; well, I'm not concerned in that. I fight my own battles. And, although I say fight and battles I don't mean anything in that sense, I mean I work it out."

Howard Gloyd and William Hunt make the most avant-garde and articulate statements on race relations. Both prefer to be called "Black" and in a seeming paradox support Black separation as a necessary first step towards a type of integration. In discussing his earlier, more moderate stands, Mr. Gloyd accentuates his greater militancy in 1968 by prefacing his remarks with the words: "When I was a Negro . . ." In any case, he is not convinced of the desirability of integration if it means assimilation and "self-inflicted suicide" for the Black man (Gloyd's position is reminiscent of Eldridge Cleaver's contention in *Soul on Ice* that many Blacks desire integration because of ethnic self-hatred and a resultant racial death-wish). William Hunt is concerned with the meanings and connotations of the term *Black* in the minds of White racists (Hunt's concern is shared by professional historians, one of these being Winthrop D. Jordan, who in 1968 published *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812*, a book that should be read by every White American). Hunt believes in effect that moral and value judgments on race must be discarded not only from our terminology but most importantly from the innermost psyche of America. What he calls for is nothing less than an attitudinal revolution in America.

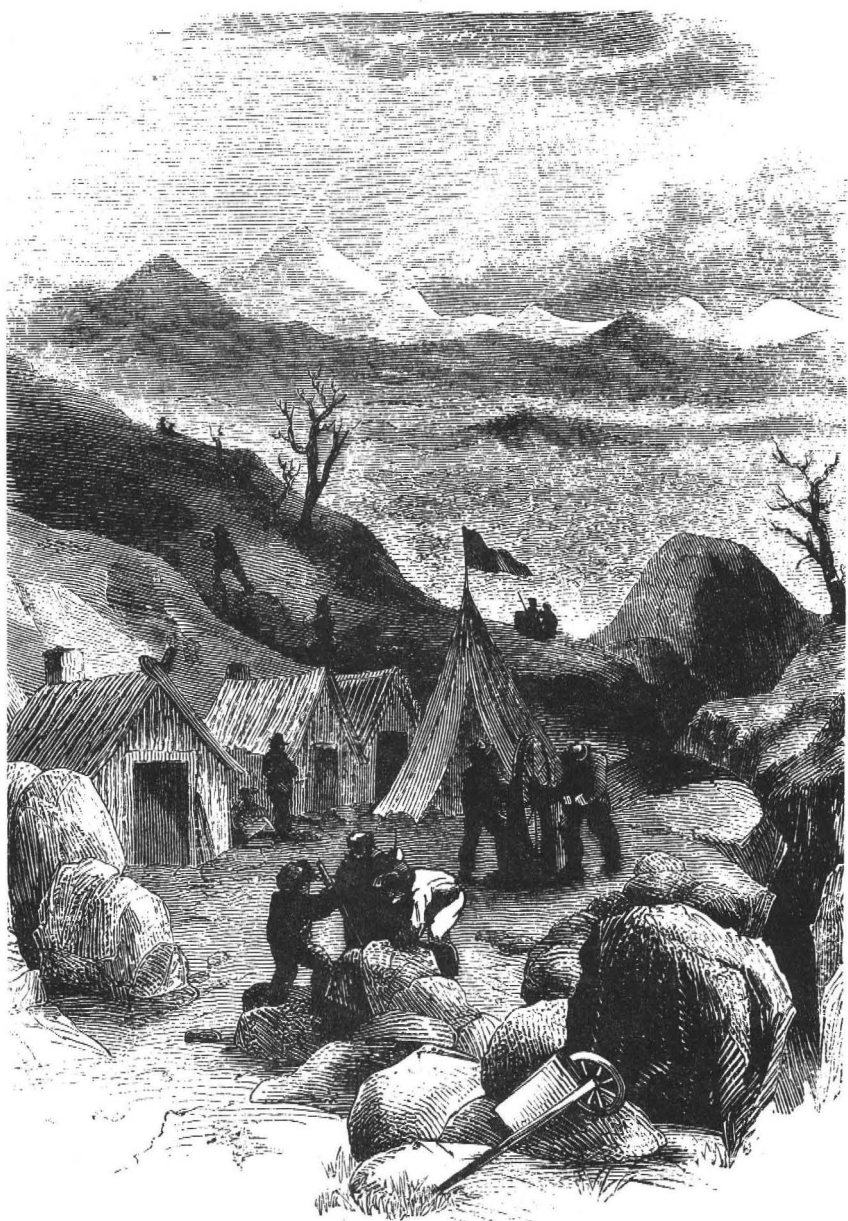
To repeat, *Voices of Black Nevada* is an interesting but not an undoubtedly significant study. For one thing, the interviews were ostensibly made in late 1968, yet the published work did not appear until 1971, a time when some kind of follow-up report should have been forthcoming. The Bureau of Governmental Research also had some excellent sources from which to draw inspiration and examples for a truly significant Nevada

report. William Brink and Louis Harris have done several superb studies on racial attitudes during the 1960s in the United States. To be sure, they had far greater financial and professional resources at their disposal, but their task was much more extensive and complicated than a similar study of Nevada would be. A Nevada survey modeled to a greater or lesser extent on the work of Brink and Harris (including both Black and White questionnaires) should be relatively simple and inexpensive considering the demographic patterns of the state. Perhaps three or four university faculty members, hopefully including a sociologist and a historian, could initiate a series of periodic studies to be published by one or another state agency. Such reports would include the necessary statistical data, measuring opinion more accurately and determining the changes occurring over the years. Such work, of course, should include the contributions of Mary Ellen Glass, who today is providing some of the most important primary sources for the history of Nevada.

Finally and essentially, historians should no longer make generalizations about entire ethnic groups or classes on the basis of researching the infinitesimal minority at the top. History "from the bottom up" must be emphasized in this age of developing democracy. For as Margaret Badie, one of the respondents, said in a different context but nevertheless in another sense applicable to the social sciences:

One thing that a friend of mine and I talk about each time she comes up is that we think that the people who need the jobs the worst or who need the education the worst have no communication with the people that have the power to help them. Now, we call them the man on the street. . . . Or, it's just the little guy . . . who doesn't belong to NAACP, who doesn't belong to any organized kind of a group, there's just not anybody going down there on the streets trying to corral these people and get them involved. . . . And, I guess even the White community leaders who come into the Negro area to work, they do the same thing. They approach the same Negroes over and over again. I think they ought to try to reach out and get a different segment of people each time they try to do something.

JOSEPH V. METZGAR



From A Peep at Washoe, by J. Ross Browne, 1864.

The Flowery Diggings.

What's Going On

The Nevada Landmarks Society

THE NEVADA LANDMARKS SOCIETY was organized in Carson City, February 11, 1969, in reaction to plans to raze the old Thurman Roberts house in that city. The group's purpose is to serve as a watchdog against the demolition of further Nevada landmarks, to acquire, restore, or preserve such landmarks, and to focus attention on Nevada architectural tradition. The Society successfully prevented the demolition of the Roberts home and is now active in setting up a small park around the house.

Although at present the Nevada Landmarks Society has only the chapter in Carson City, it eventually hopes to organize elsewhere. Members currently come from Fallon, Yerington, Lovelock, and Reno as well as Carson City. The organization has perhaps been most successful in its attempts to arouse interest in preserving Nevada's heritage. To publicize the problem, the group has sponsored lectures, and on September 19, 1971, set up a tour of mansions and historical buildings in the Carson City, Gold Hill, and Virginia City areas. In addition, placards have been placed, with the cooperation of other organizations, to delineate the main features of the historic district of Carson City.

Further information may be obtained by writing Secretary Bea Herrera, Nevada Landmarks Society, P.O. Box 969, Carson City, Nevada 89701.

Junior Historian News

CHAPTERS of the Junior Historian Program are advised the Society will be planning spring projects for chapter members, including such functions as short tours of historic areas and writing and research projects. By the first of the year chapter advisors will be contacted to implement these projects, and any suggestions from any other individuals or organizations will be appreciated.

As it is difficult to contact outlying schools throughout Nevada, any instructor wishing information on starting a Junior Historian Chapter is requested to write this Society. With the advent this year of new projects and activities, a greater number of members is needed to continue to

enlarge and expand this program and to ensure adequate interest and support for actual historical work. The results of these projects will continue to be announced in the *Quarterly*.

Mrs. Welliver Announces Retirement

MRS. ANDY WELLIVER, Director of the Nevada Historical Society for more than four years, announced on September 10 that she will leave her post on January 1, 1972. For thirteen successive years she has acted in the capacities of Assistant Director, Acting Director, and Director of this state agency.

Mrs. Welliver has made many valuable contributions to the Society. For more than ten years she has edited the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, during which time the publication has grown in circulation and greatly expanded in content. She also supervised the moving of the Historical Society from various storage areas into the new facilities located on the University of Nevada campus. Her tireless efforts were manifested in the impressive coordination and display of the many museum artifacts in our recently completed quarters.

Mrs. Welliver has also done much to establish the reputation of the Society as a "working" organization by sponsoring a lecture series at the Washoe County Library in Reno as well as personally representing the Society as guest speaker at many group meetings. She has also devoted a great deal of time and work to the growth and refinement of the Nevada collections held by the Society in its library and museum. She was responsible for the acquisition of valuable donations from the late Dr. Effie Mona Mack, Mrs. Helen Marye Thomas, George Wingfield, Jr., Norman Biltz, Charles Clegg, the Native Daughters of America, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and many other groups, organizations, and individuals.

Upon her retirement, the staff of this Society recognize and commend Mrs. Welliver for her long years of public service and her extensive knowledge of places, events, and individuals associated with the history of Nevada. Her wide acquaintance with the past of this state, and especially with the people who have made this history, cannot be duplicated. Her many efforts and achievements in behalf of the Nevada Historical Society will long be remembered and deeply appreciated by all who are associated with this agency.

