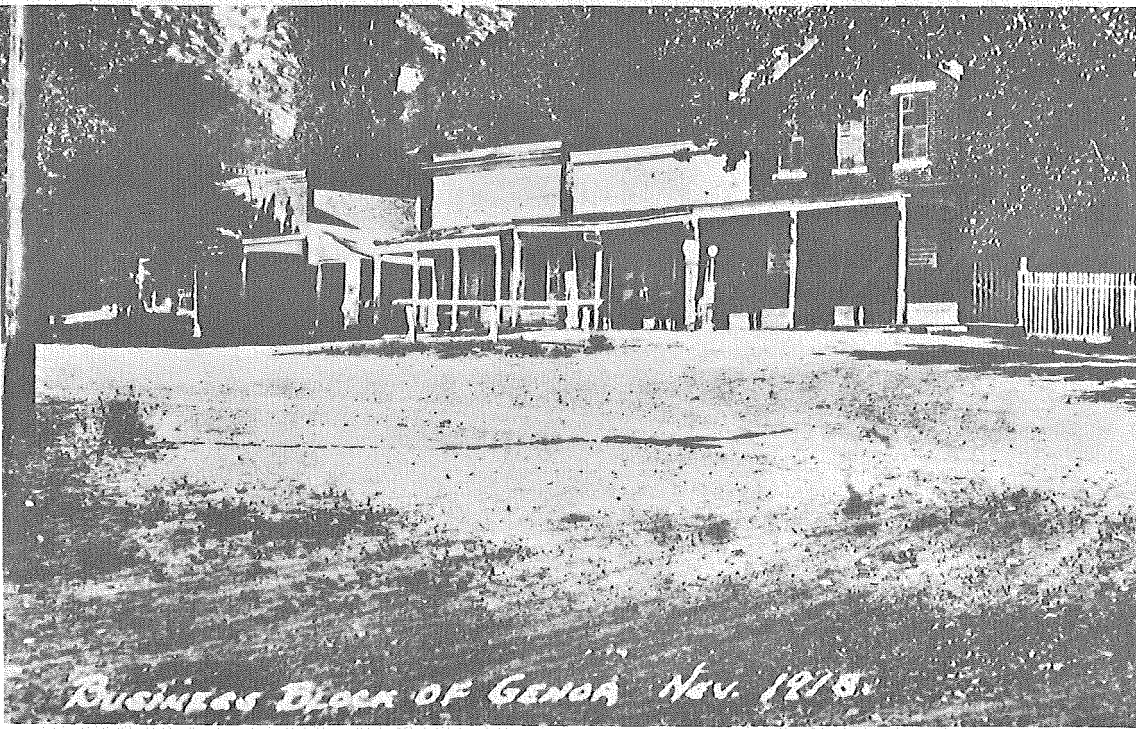


NEVADA
Historical
Society
Quarterly



Spring • 1973

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JOHN M. TOWNLEY

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Genoa, Nevada,
early street scene.

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Adam Uber, The Murderer

Lynched By A

Nevada Mob



The Lynching of Adam Uber

by Phillip I. Earl

THE LYNCHING OF ADAM UBER on December 7, 1897 was quite the most memorable event in the history of the serene hamlet of Genoa, Nevada. Although memories of the event have faded over the years, it kept the town in a state of turmoil and anguish for several months afterwards, laying a curse upon those who took part in the affair that still continues to haunt their descendents to this day, if one gives any credence to local folklore.

An outsider and a drifter, Uber had shot and killed one Hans Anderson, a popular Danish teamster, in a Millersville saloon on November 25. Those present on that drunken morning claimed the dispute arose over twenty-five cents that one had either loaned to or borrowed from the other, but later reports indicated that there had been bad blood between the two for some time, Anderson having threatened Uber's life on several occasions in the past.¹

As Anderson lay critically wounded in the backroom of the saloon, Uber was taken in hand and transported to Genoa, the county seat of Douglas County, and lodged in the local jail. A reporter from the *Genoa Courier* who visited him in his cell next morning found him still in a highly intoxicated state, and unaware that his victim had died an hour and a half after the shooting. When visited by a newsman a week later, Uber was full of remorse and his eyes filled with tears when he spoke of his deed. He claimed that he had always regarded Anderson as a friend and said that the quarrel with him was over before he realized what he had done.²

Phillip I. Earl received his undergraduate degree in history from the University of Nevada, Reno, and has done graduate work at the University of Nevada, Reno, and the University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Earl has taught American history and American government at Reno High School and in California. He has also done considerable freelance writing on topics dealing with Nevada's history. Mr. Earl has recently joined the Society as Curator of Exhibits.

At a preliminary hearing held on December 2, Uber was bound over to the Douglas County Grand Jury and held without bail on a first-degree murder charge. He was never to face the tribunal, however, because five days later he was rudely taken from his cell and summarily lynched. According to Sheriff Brockliss and Constable Gray, who were sleeping at the jail that night, Uber's executioners got in through a ruse, one member of the mob calling through the locked door and identifying himself as the Gardnerville constable with a prisoner to jail. Believing that nothing was out of order in such a 2:00 A.M. call, the sheriff opened the door only to find himself covered by a dozen rifles and pistols in the hands of a number of masked men. Just at that moment, a door leading into the hall from a nearby office was smashed in and several more shadowy figures entered behind him, took his revolver, and the keys to the cells.³

Stripped of the two nightshirts he was wearing to shield himself from the cold, Uber was dragged kicking and screaming into the icy night, kicked and wrestled some one hundred yards up the road, and unceremoniously strung up on a tree on Boyd's Lane. Those who took part said he was given a chance to say his prayers, but was abruptly jerked into the air as he knelt in communion. Uber died a hard death, writhing and struggling like a wild animal as the life slowly passed out of him. As the body swayed in the icy breeze blowing off the nearby mountains, several members of the party opened fire and placed eight or nine rounds into it before melting into the blackness of the night. Brockliss and Gray, who had been forced by their captors to witness the execution, then returned to their beds, perhaps thinking, or hoping, that it had all been a bad dream and that there would be no body dangling from the tree come morning.⁴

Although the lawmen gave no alarm, a passing teamster on an early morning run came upon Uber's remains and spread the word. A substantial crowd had gathered about the nude, bullet-ridden corpse by the time the coroner arrived to cut it down and return it to the courthouse for a hastily arranged inquest. Those who had the stomach to stay around, showed more interest in the state of the body than in the legal proceedings being held to determine the manner in which it came to its current state. Many grisly stories circulated up and down the street. One arm was said to be broken in two places and the other laid open from shoulder to elbow by a knife. Bruises and raw scrapes covered the body, apparently from the manner in which Uber was dragged over the frozen ground, and some reports had it that the eyes had been gouged out. Numerous bullet wounds were also much in evidence, some of them showing powder burns indicating that they had been fired at close range.⁵

The coroner's jury returned the only verdict possible under the circumstances, "death at the hands of unknown parties," there being no witnesses to identify any of those who had perpetrated the deed. This was not to be the end of the matter, however, as the editors of the state's newspapers landed with a cacophonous roar upon the little town. "The most dastardly piece of work in Nevada's history . . ." wrote the editor of the *Silver State* of Winnemucca; ". . . as cold blooded an affair as one ever reads of . . ."

commented the *Lyon County Times* of Dayton. In a more sober vein, the editor of the *Nevada State Journal* of Reno observed that the lynching was something more than a local matter inasmuch as it reflected upon the whole state, and every law-abiding citizen within its boundaries.⁶

The editor of the *Genoa Courier*, George M. Smith, also took a strong editorial position and openly accused the Valley's German and Danish ranchers, and Anderson's Gardnerville friends of planning and carrying out the execution. "Peaceful Genoa has been disgraced by its neighbors," he declared. "While the poor victim . . . is perhaps better off dead than alive, there is no possible excuse for the horrible work of the lynchers. The treatment of Uber was brutal and fiendish to a terrible degree and the whole affair is a hideous disgrace to the county and the state."⁷

Alf Chartz, a prominent Carson City attorney retained by Uber for his preliminary hearing, expressed similar sentiments. "The lynchers have hurt themselves and their neighbors to an incalculable degree," he wrote in the columns of the *Courier*. "The progress of the county has been rolled backward." Governor Reinhold Sadler commented in a similar vein from Carson City and announced that he was prepared to offer a reward for the apprehension of the lynchers should the citizens of Douglas County request it.⁸

Sheriff Brockliss was meanwhile coming in for much criticism, several Genoans claiming that he knew of the impending lynching a day in advance. There were also stories in circulation to the effect that he had actually lit a candle and conducted the mob to Uber's cell. Those familiar with the construction of the courthouse contended that he and Gray could have kept a large crowd at bay until the town was roused, had they been brave enough to make such an effort.⁹

District Attorney E. C. Nagle displayed a particular insensitivity toward the victim of the mob. When asked by a newsman for his feelings, he commented only that he felt the lynch party should not have taken the man's clothes off, a remark that did not set well with enraged Genoaites and critical editors looking for more abuse to heap upon Douglas County. Although he contended that every effort was being made to identify the lynchers, few took him seriously and stories circulated that he had taken several bullets from Uber's body as souvenirs and was showing them around in Gardnerville. One of the rounds, it was reported, was of a particular make and those who knew about such things claimed that it would be an easy matter to trace the rifle from which it was fired.¹⁰

Prior to his untimely demise, Uber was apparently making plans for an escape, a letter to a confederate on the outside having been found in his cell which detailed his plans. A *Courier* reporter compared the handwriting with notes taken by the deceased at his preliminary hearing and declared the document to be authentic, a revelation that probably heartened those who either supported the lynching or took part in it.¹¹

Carson's *Morning Appeal* of December 9 carried a story about a vaguely sinister "Committee of Thirteen" which had supposedly been formed in Gardnerville some weeks before the lynching, and related to its readers an unfounded rumor that a number of leading citizens were not at home at the

hour the lynching took place. Angered spokesmen for the maligned residents of Genoa's sister city countered with the explanation that the so-called "Committee" was nothing more than a group of Odd Fellows who often drank together. As for the "leading citizens" supposedly out at the time of the lynching, they were at a card party until 3:00 A.M. The spokesmen further contended that Anderson had few friends in Gardnerville, and that the lynchers probably came from Millersville or from the sawmill in nearby Alpine County, California where Anderson was employed.¹²

The editor of the *Appeal*, Sam Davis, also claimed that attorney Chartz had a complete list of the identities of the lynchers in his possession, a rumor that Uber's erstwhile counsel scotched forthwith. "I am enjoying excellent health," he wrote in a December 10 rebutting letter, "am in the prime of life and carry small life insurance, all of which prompt me to deny that I have any list of said ringleaders." He claimed that he was in possession only of Uber's statement and a list of his relatives, "But," he added, "I desire to add that I do not feel quite as proud of being a Nevadan as I did a few days ago."¹³

A scarf found at the lynch site was reported to have been identified as belonging to a well-known Valley resident, and several men were said to have knowledge of a rifle used in the mutilation of the body. District Attorney Nagle did not follow up on these leads, however, and thus left himself open to charges that he had no intention of pursuing the matter further.¹⁴

Many residents of Genoa were still intent upon seeing the lynchers apprehended and appealed to their county commissioners to offer a reward to that end. Nagle, apparently to appease them, endorsed the recommendation, but the commissioners themselves were adamant in their refusal to go along, Commissioner Rhodenbaugh openly charging that Adam Uber was a desperate character who got just what he deserved.¹⁵

The action of the commissioners occasioned much untoward comment in the columns of the state's press, the editor of the *Lyon County Times* being perhaps the most vocal. "What is the matter," he asked editorially. "Are they afraid to uphold the laws of the State, or are they friends and sympathizers of the members of the mob?" Their faintheartedness also served to intensify the efforts of many Genoans to see justice done. On December 14, the day after the meeting of the commissioners, former State Senator J. W. Haines began the circulation of a petition calling upon the governor to carry through with his offer of a reward. Nagle refused to affix his signature to the document, as did Sheriff Brockliss and Commissioner Fetic, who had been in favor of a small reward at the commissioner's meeting. The appeal was heavily subscribed to in Genoa and Carson City, but did considerably less well in Gardnerville where those circulating it were met with vague threats and derisive remarks.¹⁶

Those citizens who felt that justice had been served through the lynching of Uber soon had two counter-petitions going, one a plea to the chief executive that he not offer a reward, and another urging that the *Genoa Courier* be boycotted for its editor's strong stand against the lynchers. "Justice has been

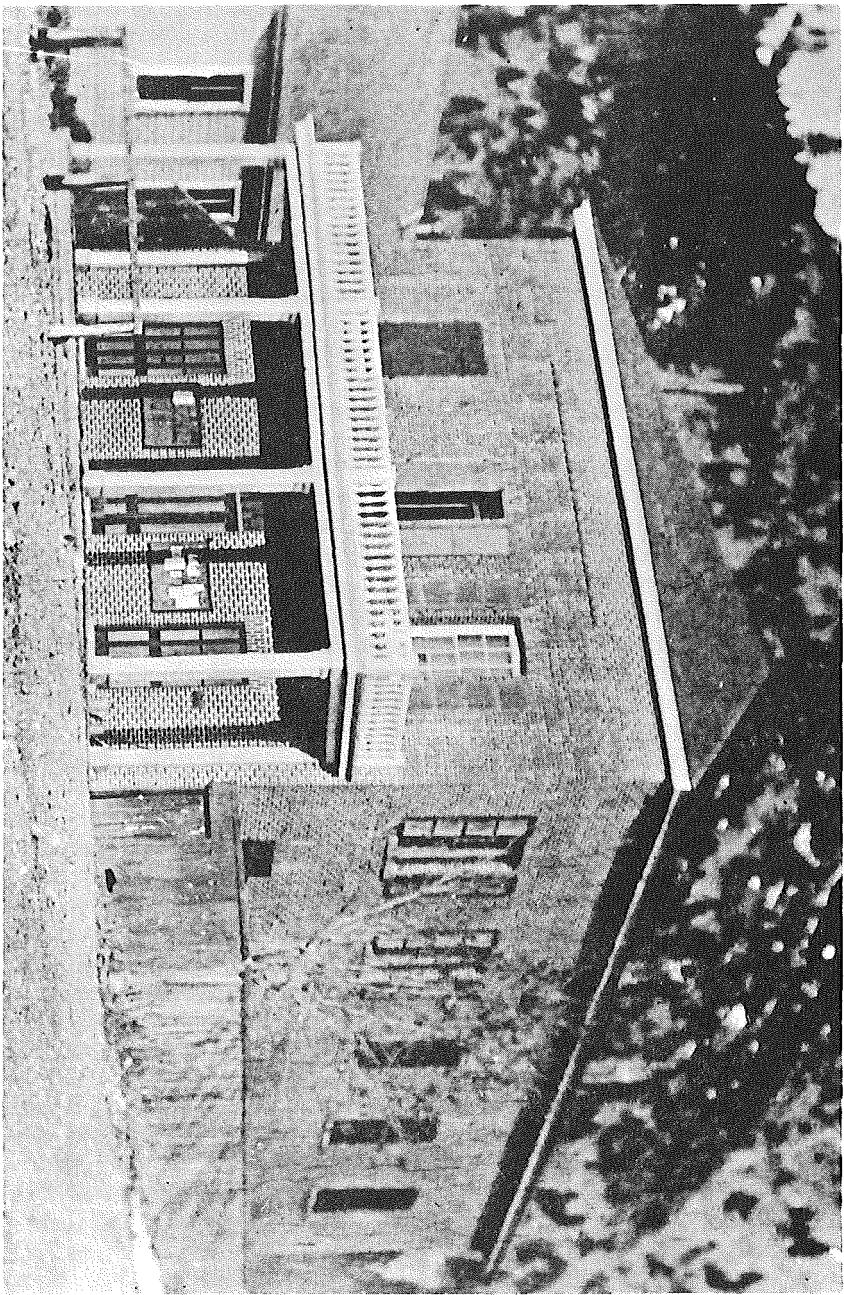
meted out to a murderer for the first time in Douglas County," the document read, "and if the *Courier* will look up the record . . . it surely cannot help but sustain us in our position." Smith's editorials, it was claimed, served only to encourage murderers to come to the Valley.¹⁷

In rebuttal, Smith maintained that he had printed nothing but the truth. "Law and order are the vital elements of the well-being of the Republic," he wrote, "and if the laws cannot be enforced, it speaks bad for our Country and if private individuals are allowed to take the law into their own hands, we may say that we have no law." As to the boycott petition aimed at his paper, he advised the lynchers and their supporters to try to cultivate the support of public officials and newsmen, ". . . for they need it now if they ever did in their lives. . . ." He added that he bore no bitterness toward the petitioners, however, and declared that he had not signed Haines' petition to the governor.¹⁸

The proposed action against the *Courier* piqued many an editor who saw the petition as a threat to freedom of the press, but some were rather tongue-in-cheek about the whole matter. Expressing considerable doubt that the *Courier* would suffer much, the editor of the *Silver State* contended that ". . . it is ten to one that none of the lynchers can read anyhow, and if they could, they would steal the paper." The editor of the *Lyon County Times* was not so flip, however, and displayed a biting anti-foreign bias in his reaction. "Things have come to a pretty pass in Carson Valley," he wrote, "and steps should be taken immediately to teach this element of foreigners that they cannot run the county of Douglas, much less the state of Nevada." The boycott petition also circulated in nearby Smith and Mason Valleys, eliciting the recommendation from the editor of the *Yerington Rustler* that the "Olesons, Hansons, Jensons, Petersons etc." and all the other "Sons" who signed it be themselves lynched and the world at large shown ". . . that Justice has been meted out for the second time in Douglas County."¹⁹

The Valley's pro-lynching element did not stop at petitions, however, and on December 17 the editor of the *Courier* received word of an impending attack upon the journal's offices by a mob from the Gardnerville area. A Mr. Lemon, the Carson City correspondent for the *San Francisco Examiner*, who was said to have a list of the lynchers, also received a threatening letter for his coverage of the informal execution, as did several citizens who were active in seeking to have the perpetrators of the deed brought to justice. Many of the signers of the anti-reward petition told a *Courier* reporter that they had put their signatures to it under duress, but at least some citizens of the East Fork were able to keep their wits about them, as evidenced by a voluntarily-circulated pro-reward petition sent in by seventy-five voters to the journal's editor. The threatened attack on the newspaper never materialized, several dozen enraged Genoans turning out at dusk with shotguns to protect the building, nor was any action taken against the recipients of the letters.²⁰

In the December 18 issue of the *Morning Appeal*, Uber's erstwhile attorney



Photograph courtesy of Carson Valley Historical Society.

Genoa courthouse, scene of Uber's abduction and the grand jury hearings that followed the lynching.

attempted to introduce a measure of sanity into the debate over the lynching. The deceased, Chartz claimed, was not guilty of first-degree murder as was generally believed, but rather had fired the fatal shot in the belief that Anderson was going to kill him. Citing testimony to this effect from the record of the preliminary hearing, he claimed the mob acted upon the lies of those who were present in the barroom that morning. "I do not believe," he concluded, "that if the truth had been known that a sufficient number of men could have been gotten together to do what was done."²¹

Uber's relatives in the East, amongst whom was said to be a wealthy uncle, had, by this time, apparently decided not to prosecute Douglas County over his death. Chartz, however, was annoyed for weeks by an endless stream of letters from a sister who piously insisted that she forgave the lynchers in the name of the Lord, and included stacks of Bible tracts in each communication for his edification. So frequent were the missives that it was said around Carson that he had taken to carrying a Bible to the post office to decipher the contents.²²

On December 21, Governor Sadler announced that the state of Nevada would offer a reward of \$500 for the apprehension and conviction of the lynchers, an act warmly commended by many citizens and a number of editors who had been following the case. News of the announcement spread quickly throughout the Valley and within hours a half-dozen men had notified the authorities that they would be willing to turn state's evidence in exchange for immunity from prosecution. Others were reported to be in Carson preparing to engage counsel should they be indicted by the grand jury which was scheduled to meet shortly after Christmas. Several men were also reported to be making preparations to leave the state on rather short notice.²³

When informed of the chief executive's proclamation, District Attorney Nagle stated that he was prepared to "... probe the matter to the bottom regardless of who it would hit ..." and declared that anyone who had any information would be called before the grand jury. Some editors predicted that the reward would "stiffen a good many weak knees," but others had their doubts. "The lynching was brutal beyond description," commented the editor of the *Territorial Enterprise*, "and it now remains to be seen whether the officers of Douglas County have the backbone to carry out the work already begun."²⁴

Although the situation of the lynchers and Douglas officials was serious in the extreme, at least some citizens found cause for levity and humor in their circumstances. Both Brockliss and Gray received toy pistols for Christmas, and a practical joker "played ghost" on a Gardnerville man one night at the lynch site. The butt of the joke was considerably shaken by the experience and required several stiff bracers in a nearby saloon before he was able to regain his composure.²⁵

The meeting of the grand jury was scheduled for December 28, but rumor had it that four members of the panel had signed the anti-reward petition and had otherwise been very vocal in their support of the action taken by the mob. When Judge Mack of the district court convened the jury, his first move was a probe of the story. H. C. Jepsen stated that he had signed

the document under the misapprehension that its purpose was to contradict the contention that the lynchers came from Gardnerville, but a Mr. Dressler was more candid. "I signed the paper and knew what I was signing," he told the judge. "I am not qualified to serve on the Grand Jury . . . as I feel that I could not do justice by the state." Peter Jacobsen replied that he had also willfully signed the petition, but A. P. Squires claimed to have affixed his name after the document was read to him in a rather hasty manner. "When I learned of its contents," he pleaded, "I regretted signing it as I am not in sympathy with the contents of the paper as I believe in law and order."²⁶

Judge Mack then dismissed the jurors and called for the drawing of a new panel. Nagle was not in court that morning as he had come down with typhoid fever and was hospitalized in Carson. The magistrate named attorney W. T. Virgin to act in his place, and charged him with seeing the lynchers brought to justice and inquiring into the conduct of Sheriff Brockliss ". . . to see if he is a fit man to any longer hold office." The judge also charged the county commissioners with being derelict in their duties in refusing to offer a reward and said that District Attorney Nagle had not "acted right" with regards to the lynching.²⁷

The frankness with which Judge Mack denounced Douglas County officials was commended by Sam Davis of the *Appeal* who charged that they were as guilty as the lynchers. He also expressed confidence in the members of the new grand jury. "When Justice is meted out to some of the ringleaders," he wrote, "they will be taught . . . that there is law in America as well as Europe and that American law recognizes the right of every man to be tried by a jury before he is executed."²⁸

Former State Senator J. W. Haines had meanwhile received another threatening letter, as had one William Jones, an employee of John McCue, a member of the new grand jury. Haines' actions in initiating the reward petition were well-known, but Jones' only transgression was a casual remark in a saloon that had he been present at the lynching, Uber would not be the only dead man. The ranchhand's letter was signed "Law Promoters," a sigil which induced the editor of the *Territorial Enterprise* to speculate that no sarcasm was intended. "It is more probable that the ignorant alien who wrote this letter didn't know any better," he commented. "He should join the 'Committee of Thirteen' in Gardnerville to which he should prove a welcome addition."²⁹

The story of Uber's lynching had been picked up by the Associated Press shortly after its occurrence and given national coverage. A Michigan newspaper prefaced its account with the headline "Lynched Him Naked. Deed of Savagry Done in the State Represented by Senator Stewart." Calling the banner ". . . a fair sample of the style of criticism indulged in by Eastern papers at the expense of Nevada," Sam Davis expressed the opinion that "The only wonder is that the paper did not charge Stewart with having a hand in the lynching." The editor of the *Territorial Enterprise* also took umbrage at the coupling of Stewart's name to the act, and commented that the national press never did such a thing to Mississippi's senators when a

defenseless black was lynched in their state.³⁰

The stream of editorial invective being directed at Douglas County officials annoyed many Valley citizens who knew them as good men, their conduct in the Uber case to the contrary. Editor Smith of the *Courier* also harbored such sentiments and on January 7, 1898, five days before the first meeting of the new grand jury, he made use of his editorial prerogative to come to the defense of Brockliss, Nagle, and the members of the county commission. "The worst that can be said of them," he wrote, "is that they lacked the ability and decision of character to properly perform the duties of their respective offices . . . when the emergency arose, but they are not heartless, conniving tricksters . . . ,but honest, conscientious, upright men, some of them lacking in courage perhaps, but not all of them."³¹

The same issue of the *Courier* also ran a long anonymous letter to the editor defending the lynching of Uber. The writer contended that the sheriff had had no warning of the impending lynching and that Uber had suffered no more than ten or fifteen minutes, whereas Anderson had convulsed through an hour and a half of mortal agony before death came to relieve his sufferings. The missive also set forth some of the more unsavory details of Uber's career since coming to the Valley in the spring of 1896. Nothing was done about the man however, the writer contended, because of the expense that would have been involved in a trial. In conclusion, the writer took note of the many past murders and serious crimes that had gone unpunished in the county and contended that, upon the eve of the lynching, the people of Gardnerville ". . . were wrought up to the pitch of taking the sluggish law into their own hands."³²

The *Courier's* new tack brought charges from some editors that Smith had been "bought up." The editor of the *Carson News* called it "a surprise and a disappointment" and ". . . an apology for neglect of duty . . . and quiet justification of the acts of the lynching party." Other editors expressed like sentiments, but the editor of Virginia City's *Daily Evening Report* vented his full editorial spleen upon Smith. Calling Brockliss "nothing but a lily-livered poltroon," he commented that Smith's panegyric read more like ". . . a recommendation for a wet nurse rather than a eulogium upon the Sheriff of a rough county in a frontier state." Noting that Smith expressed a wish that there were more men like the sheriff, the editor concluded that he wished there were fewer men like the editor of the *Courier*.³³

Smith, in rebuttal, again defended the officials, but refused to carry on an editorial joust with the *Report*, recommending instead that the editor take a teaspoon of Syrup of Figs at bedtime and leave his back door unlocked before retiring for the night. The offended Virginia City editor called Smith's recipe ". . . painfully short on logic and disgustingly long on vulgarity" and commented that he would, in the future, avoid any prescriptions such as had deprived Smith of his backbone, ". . . dishonored his manhood and made of him a journalistic harlot."³⁴

In the midst of these pen and ink salvos, the grand jury met to delve into the lynching. Judge Mack, taking note on the "natural indignations and resentments" aroused by the case, warned the members of the panel against

being influenced by their feelings and by considerations of the social and financial standing of those who perpetrated the deed. "You should be animated by a fearless determination that those who voluntarily placed the brand of Cain upon themselves shall atone to the offended law," he said. In summing up, the judge advised the jurors that they would also be called upon to examine the actions of Brockliss and the county commissioners.³⁵

Uppermost in the minds of Douglas County taxpayers, however, was the prospect of footing the bill for twenty-five to thirty trials, questions of guilt, innocence or morality paling to insignificance by comparison. Attorney Chartz, having apparently changed his tune, reflected these sentiments in a "Quelquefois" letter published by the *Courier*. The taxpayers were innocent, he contended, and felt that whatever satisfaction was to be derived from prosecution of the lynchers would be more than offset by the increased tax levy necessary to keep the county solvent. Those who were "prating" for justice, he continued, ". . . know that they will never be called upon to foot a dollar of the bills . . . They are not running mortgaged farms . . . nor keeping up schools and educating children and building up the county."³⁶

As the grand jury's inquiry began, rumors circulated that the panel would get the whole story from several of the participants in exchange for immunity from prosecution, but Judge Mack and Prosecutor Virgin conducted the inquest in a very thorough, methodical manner. Newsmen were not allowed into the courthouse and the members of the jury adopted a rule of silence, thus much of what was reported out consisted of rumors and speculations.

Sheriff Brockliss and Constable Gray led off the hearing and it was rumored about that the latter had recognized two of the lynchers, and had given their names to the investigating body. A Mrs. Harris then testified that she heard Mrs. Charley Brown of Gardnerville tell of a man asking her son to join the mob, an assertion that Mrs. Brown confirmed on the stand. One Dick Helwinkle was then called upon to explain why he had hidden behind a haystack when the sheriff arrived at his ranch the previous day, a query that the young man handled adroitly enough by pleading that he thought he was being sought for jury duty.³⁷

One Henry Johnson of Gardnerville led off the second day of testimony by admitting to having been asked to join the mob. When queried as to the source of the invitation, he gave the man's name to the jury. Alex Miller also testified to having been approached by two men and stated that he was roundly cursed for declining to take part. A Mr. Blackwell, a ranch foreman, told a similar story involving the same two individuals, and S. P. Swartz identified a scarf pin and a cuff button picked up at the site of the lynching. A Gardnerville blacksmith, Mason Krummish, refused to testify when called, although it had been rumored that he was one of several men who had desired to turn state's evidence. Following Krummish's appearance, Judge Mack issued a subpoena for Mrs. Peter Anderson, the sister-in-law of Uber's victim, and two other persons said to be the most important witnesses called thus far.³⁸

A reporter for the *Morning Appeal* noted in a dispatch that twelve out of the seventeen members of the jury would have to vote in favor of the

indictments in order to bring the lynchers to trial, and claimed that much pressure was being brought to bear to influence the voting of at least six. He reported that as of January 14, only one member was sympathetic to the lynchers. The newsman also related that the jury was then in possession of the names of nearly every participant in the lynching and that further testimony was considered a mere formality by many observers.³⁹

When the jury reconvened on Monday, January 17, it heard from a Miss Hilderbrandt, an employee of the Anderson family, who was questioned about the making of the black masks worn by the lynchers. She denied knowing anything about them, but was told by Judge Mack to hold herself available for further questioning at a later date. A Miss Ott and a Mrs. Frey then testified about the men they saw returning to Gardnerville on the night of the lynching as they were coming home from a party at Wally's Hot Springs. Will Seaman and Charles Lewis were also called to the stand, but the substance of their testimony was not reported.⁴⁰

On the fifth day of the investigation, one Christopher Jeperson related a conversation with two of Miss Hilderbrandt's brothers in which they claimed to have taken part in the lynching while wearing masks made by their sister. The testimony of several other witnesses was taken, but much of it was little more than hearsay. A Mrs. Whittaker, for example, related a conversation with a Dr. Franklin in which the physician offered to wager that Adam Uber would be lynched within three days.⁴¹

Chris Dangberg, a prominent rancher, appeared on January 19 and denied certain incriminating statements he had made while intoxicated in a saloon several days before. He also gainsaid a charge that he had uttered dire imprecations upon the judge, ex-Senator Haines, and Governor Sadler. Two women followed the rancher on the stand and testified to having seen a Carson City man on his way to the lynching. One Dick Roberts was brought face to face with a man named Glock in the afternoon session, with each accusing the other of having admitted to being a member of the lynch mob. An alert bailiff ejected them both after they exchanged a few choice observations upon each other's ancestry and almost came to blows.⁴²

The January 20 session began with testimony from Charles Hyronomous and Abe Rice who claimed to have seen the whole thing from an upstairs window in a nearby hotel, but neither was able to identify by name any of the participants. Coroner G. W. Selby was then called, as was Chris Jensen, named by several witnesses as being one of the organizers of the mob. The latter, however, had proof that he was in Carson City at the hour in question. Testimony from Henry Mack, Fritz Deerman, and Will Murphy was then taken and the ubiquitous Mrs. Whittaker finished the day with another spate of unsubstantiated rumors, hearsay accounts, and mindless gossip about who said what to whom and so on.⁴³

John Musser, a half-breed Indian who was said to have loaned his revolver to a participant in the lynching, was scheduled for January 21, but was nowhere to be found when called. Several hangers-on outside the courthouse said he had been "spirited away" by those who knew of the possible damaging import of his testimony. Judge Mack then called a recess, and late in the

afternoon word came from his chambers that a "star witness" had been found and would give testimony before the panel on Monday. Jury Foreman Cook then appeared on the porch of the courthouse and startled those present with the statement that prospects for the indictment of the guilty parties were not bright, although he said there were many witnesses left to question.⁴⁴

On Monday the jury heard from Daniel Taylor of the Diamond Valley sawmill in nearby Alpine County. He told of having transported several of Anderson's friends to Gardnerville and Genoa the day preceding the lynching, but denied any knowledge of their subsequent activities. Following his testimony, Judge Mack conferred with Prosecutor Virgin and declared the proceedings at an end, the members of the jury being instructed to take up the matter of indictments at 10:30 the next morning. A number of those who feared that their names would appear on the indictment list had already secured counsel, but their friends were reported to be organizing an indignation meeting to offset the action of the jury. There was also a story in circulation that the people of Gardnerville had raised \$600 to start a second newspaper in the county, many of them presumably feeling that the problems and sentiments of their town were not being given a proper airing in the *Courier*.⁴⁵

The jury met at the appointed hour on Tuesday, January 25, and began their balloting about 1:30 in the afternoon. Seven votes were subsequently taken, the result being the same in each instance, nine to eight in favor of indicting the ring leaders, three votes less than the necessary number. When called back in about 3:00 P.M., Foreman Cook rose and stated that it was impossible to secure an indictment. He later told a reporter that the panel had all the names, but eight members felt that Virgin had simply not made his case. When asked about outside influences on the jury, Cook denied that any such pressure was brought to bear.⁴⁶

Virgin thought the evidence sufficient, however, and indicated that he might ask for another jury at some later date. Judge Mack declined to comment on the case, thinking perhaps, that he might once again have it before him sometime in the future. The people of Genoa were more candid in expressing their feelings, however. "It took lots of this to save those scoundrels," said one man rubbing his thumb and forefinger together suggestively. "They had their paid workers over here all the time." A story also circulated that certain members of the jury had expressed themselves in favor of the lynching before their names were drawn, and that the County Clerk had laid aside the names of certain men known to be either against the lynchers or open-minded on the matter.⁴⁷

Editors throughout the state were as one in condemning the action of the grand jury, some suggesting that the institution itself was "un-American" because personal interest so often outweighed duty in the minds of those who were chosen to serve. One journalist suggested that juries in other parts of the state hear the case until an indictment could be brought. Another advocated the passage of a law compelling any county in the state where a lynching took place to pay into the State Treasury a certain amount of money if within six months it had failed to prosecute the guilty parties.⁴⁸

Early in February reports circulated that a move was underway to "blot

out" Douglas County by sending a bill through the legislature consolidating it with Ormsby County, the rationale being that the citizens of the county had shown themselves to be incapable of governing in a sane, civilized manner. The editor of the *Territorial Enterprise*, who first took note of the proposal, predicted that the members of the legislature would surely approve it, feeling that Douglas County ". . . is a name that might quite appropriately be left out of the future history of this state."⁴⁹

Sam Davis of the *Appeal* commented favorably upon the suggestion, but Smith of the *Courier* was adamantly opposed. If such a fusion were actually to come about, he reasoned, Carson City would have the votes to elect all public officials and fix the taxation rates, a situation which would operate to the disadvantage of Valley farmers who would be paying most of the taxes and receiving few benefits. Smith further suggested that Douglas County was being unduly maligned by the press and noted that the death of Louis Ortiz at the hands of a Reno mob in 1891 had not led to suggestions that Washoe County be consolidated with its neighbors.⁵⁰

At the conclusion of the grand jury proceedings, Judge Mack ordered the panel to reconvene and consider charges against Brockliss and the county commissioners. Following the judge's instructions, they met in early February and returned a charge of "wilfull misconduct in office" against the lawman, but returned no bill against the commissioners. The sheriff's attorney, William Woodburn, later requested that the indictment be quashed upon the grounds that it did not state facts constituting a public offense under the statutes of Nevada, but the judge ruled the indictment sufficient in every respect and set March 30 as the date for the trial.⁵¹

On the first day of the proceedings, Woodburn and Virgin made opening statements and Constable Gray was called to the stand where he openly stated that Brockliss had put up no resistance whatever when confronted by the mob. Another witness, apparently a member of the lynch mob, swore to a similar account of the sheriff's faint-heartedness. The account of the proceedings of the second day indicates almost nothing of the substance of the testimony, but, the facts of the matter, such as they were, went to the jury at 5:00 P.M. Some three hours later a verdict of not guilty was returned, the members of the panel apparently sharing the prevailing popular opinion that Brockliss should not be made the scapegoat for the entire disgraceful affair. The later discovery that three members of the jury were the sheriff's bondsmen changed no minds, and when queried on the matter, acting District Attorney Virgin stated that it was of no significance as a man once tried and acquitted could not again be brought before the court on the same charge.⁵²

Accounts of the sheriff's final travails were buried in the back pages of those newspapers that gave any coverage at all to the trial, and his acquittal elicited nary an editorial response. The editor of the *Courier*, once so vocal in the cause of justice, was likewise editorially silent, his only response being an accountant-like itemization of the costs of the lynching to the taxpayers of Douglas County.⁵³

Those who took Adam Uber's life in such a summary fashion did not

go unpunished, however. In later years each member of the mob suffered a personal tragedy of some sort and the legend began to grow that by their participation in the murder, they had in some way cursed themselves. Stories also began to circulate that Uber himself, at the moment of his death, laid a curse upon his executioners which was to follow them unto the seventh generation, a belief still held by older residents of Carson Valley who maintain that troubles of all sorts still plague the men's descendents.⁵⁴

One of the leaders of the mob later had his leg torn off in a runaway beneath the tree from which Uber was dispatched to the hereafter.⁵⁵ Another member of the party lost two of his children in accidents within a year, one scalded to death in a tub of boiling water while helping to prepare some meat, and another crushed to death by a runaway hay wagon.⁵⁶ One man later moved to a ranch in Lovelock, only to find that he had not escaped the curse. His youngest daughter became enmeshed in the gears of a horse-drawn water pump and was ground to death before his eyes.⁵⁷

Two men who worked at the Diamond Valley sawmill simply went berserk, shouting and crying about the horrors they had witnessed, and were put in a mental institution where they died some years later. Others were said to have committed suicide, and those who lived were everafter periodically seized by an insomniac madness that kept them pacing the floor day and night for weeks on end.⁵⁸

In a recent conversation with an elderly Carson Valley resident, this writer was assured that the lynchers "paid dearly" for their deed. She related that there were two Hilderbrandt girls, one a sister of two members of the mob and the other a cousin, who made masks, and for their small part were also cursed. One committed suicide, she recalled, and the other died in a mental institution. She also related that one old German died many years later of natural causes, but an hour after being pronounced dead, rose to a sitting position and said "Oh God, Oh God, Why did we do it?" and then expired a final time. Another member of the party committed suicide in San Jose, she remembered, and still another was murdered in Goldfield. One man's son was shot and killed near Austin some years later, his father ranting and raving for days afterward that it was the curse that had taken his son. She also said that Sheriff Brockliss was in on the whole scheme and that the matter was quickly hushed up by the Valley's Germans.⁵⁹

This writer recently tried to find the original grand jury records in the Douglas County Courthouse at Minden, but turned up nary a scrap of evidence that the lynching ever took place, although such records for the years prior to the lynching and afterwards were found in reasonably good order. The decision of the county commissioners not to offer a reward for the apprehension and conviction of the lynchers was apparently made off-the-record because no such entry is to be found in their proceedings for December 13, 1897.

Since curses, ghosts and the like are beyond the realm of historical inquiry, this writer must rely upon the interpretation placed upon these misfortunes by those residents of Carson Valley who know of them and believe that they stem from Uber's curse. Accidents, murders, and suicides are the lot

of man wherever one finds him, as are mental aberrations, guilt feelings, insanity, and delusions of all sorts, and most writers see them as merely fortuitous occurrences. In the case of Adam Uber's executioners and their descendents, however, it seems to this writer that they have had more than their share, but again, the etiology of the whole phenomenon cannot be assigned with any degree of certainty.

Notes

1. *Genoa Courier*, November 26, 1897, 6:3; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), November 27, 1897, 3:2; December 17, 1897, 3:3; *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 17, 1897, 1:3; Although Anderson was referred to by the newspapers as a Dane, he was actually of German birth according to an account of his funeral published in the *Genoa Courier* of December 3, 1897 and had been in Carson Valley about ten years. Since Anderson is not a German name, it is likely that he was born in Schleswig-Holstein, the former Danish provinces taken over by Prussia in 1864; cf. Mary Ellen Glass, "The Deutschen of Douglas: The German Foundations of Douglas County, Nevada, 1856-1930," (M.A. thesis, University of Nevada, Reno, 1965), pp. 79-81 for an account of the closeness of the Germans and the Danes of Douglas County.
2. *Genoa Courier*, November 26, 1897, 6:3; December 3, 1897, 6:2; December 8, 1897, 2:1; December 10, 1897, 1:2; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 3, 1897, 3:1.
3. *Genoa Courier*, December 10, 1897, 6:2-3; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 8, 1897, 3:2-3; *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 8, 1897, 3:2.
4. *Genoa Courier*, December 10, 1897, 6:2-3; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 8, 1897, 3:2-3; December 17, 1897, 3:2; *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 17, 1897, 1:3.
5. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 8, 1897, 3:2-3; December 9, 1897, 3:2-3; December 11, 1897, 3:2; *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 9, 1897, 3:3; *Elko Independent*, December 9, 1897, 3:3.
6. *Genoa Courier*, December 8, 1897, 3:2-3; December 10, 1897, 6:4; *The Silver State* (Winnemucca), December 8, 1897, 2:2, 3:2; *Lyon County Times* (Dayton), December 11, 1897, 2:1; *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 9, 1897, 3:3; *Nevada State Journal*, December 9, 1897, 3:2; *Reno Weekly Gazette & Stockman*, December 23, 1897, 4:3.
7. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 8, 1897, 3:2-3; *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 8, 1897, 3:3; *Genoa Courier*, December 10, 1897, 6:3.
8. *Genoa Courier*, December 10, 1897, 1:2; This letter and those which follow were written under the pen name "Quelquefois" and were a regular *Courier* feature; cf. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 9, 1897, 3:2-3.
9. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 9, 1897, 3:2-3.
10. *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, December 11, 1897, 1:1; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 9, 1897, 3:2-3; December 12, 1897, 3:2.
11. *Genoa Courier*, December 10, 1897, 6:3.
12. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 9, 1897, 3:2-3; December 12, 1897, 3:2.
13. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1897, 3:3; December 10, 1897, 3:2.
14. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1897, 3:2-3.
15. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1897, 3:2-3; *Genoa Courier*, December 17, 1897, 1:2.
16. *Lyon County Times* (Dayton), December 18, 1897, 2:1; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 15, 1897, 3:2; December 16, 1897, 3:2; December 17, 1897, 3:3; December 18, 1897, 3:3; *Genoa Courier*, December 17, 1897, 6:2-3.
17. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 17, 1897, 3:3; December 18, 1897, 3:3; *Genoa Courier*, December 17, 1897, 6:2-3.
18. *Genoa Courier*, December 17, 1897, 6:2.
19. *The Silver State* (Winnemucca), December 18, 1897, 2:2; *Lyon County Times*, December 18, 1897, 2:1; *Yerington Rustler*, December 16, 1897, 1:2; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 17, 1897, 3:2; *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 17, 1897, 1:3.

20. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 16, 1897, 3:2; December 17, 1897, 3:2; December 18, 1897, 1:2; December 21, 1897, 3:2; *Genoa Courier*, December 24, 1897, 6:2.
 21. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 18, 1897, 3:2-3.
 22. *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 17, 1897, 1:3; *Genoa Courier*, December 3, 1897, 6:2; December 31, 1897, 4:5; January 21, 1898, 1:3; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 9, 1897, 3:3; January 15, 1898, 3:2; January 16, 1898, 3:3.
 23. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 22, 1897, 1:3; December 23, 1897, 3:3; December 24, 1897, 2:2; *Carson News*, December 27, 1897, 1:1-2; *Elko Independent*, December 23, 1897, 2:1; December 24, 1897, 2:1.
 24. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 23, 1897, 2:1, 3:3; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, December 22, 1897, 2:1.
 25. *Genoa Courier*, December 31, 1897, 4:5; *Carson News*, December 27, 1897, 1:1-2.
 26. *Genoa Courier*, December 31, 1897, 4:2-3; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 29, 1897, 3:2-3; *Carson News*, January 6, 1898, 3:2.
 27. *Genoa Courier*, December 31, 1897, 4:2-3; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 29, 1897, 3:2-3; The following men were chosen to serve on the grand jury. The reader will note that there are twenty-four names, whereas only seventeen served on the actual jury.
- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Hugh Park | Theo. Tillman | James C. Bull | Chris Johnson |
| William James | John McCue | Walter Berry | Adam Lautz |
| George Fulstone | Warren Mott | Richard Cook | J. H. Martin |
| Henry Fulstone | George Winter | Bert Drake | J. Q. Adams |
| William McCormick | John Raycroft | Robert Wilkerson | H. S. Rice |
| Chris Rabe Sr. | James Van Sickle | E. O. James | Richard Wendhold |
28. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 30, 1897, 2:1.
 29. *Carson News*, December 31, 1897, 3:2; *Genoa Courier*, December 31, 1897, 4:4; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, December 30, 1897, 1:1.
 30. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), December 30, 1897, 3:2; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, December 29, 1897, 2:1.
 31. *Genoa Courier*, January 7, 1898, 1:1-3, 6:2-4.
 32. *Ibid.*, 2-4.
 33. *Carson News*, January 8, 1898, 1:1; January 11, 1898, 1:1; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), January 11, 1898, 3:2; *Tuscarora Times-Review*, January 13, 1898, 2:1; *Daily Evening Report* (Virginia City), January 11, 1898, 2:1-3.
 34. *Genoa Courier*, January 14, 1898, 6:5; *Carson News*, January 11, 1898, 1:1; *Daily Evening Report* (Virginia City), January 17, 1898, 2:1-2.
 35. *Genoa Courier*, January 14, 1898, 6:2-3.
 36. *Ibid.*, 1:1-2, 6:3-4.
 37. *Ibid.*, 6:3; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), January 14, 1898, 3:2; *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 15, 1898, 3:2.
 38. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), January 15, 1898, 3:2.
 39. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1898, 3:2.
 40. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1898, 3:2.
 41. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1898, 3:2.
 42. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1898, 3:2; January 20, 1898, 3:1.
 43. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1898, 3:2.
 44. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1898, 3:2.
 45. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1898, 3:3; *Genoa Courier*, January 21, 1898, 6:2.
 46. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), January 26, 1898, 3:2.
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1898, 2:1; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 2, 1898, 2:1; cf. *Daily Evening Report* (Virginia City), January 26, 1898, 2:2 for what was perhaps the most vitriolic

reaction to the decision; cf. *Daily Argonaut* (Elko), January 25, 1898, 2:1; January 28, 1898, 2:1 for another biting editorial reaction.

49. *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, February 1, 1898, 2:1.

50. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), February 2, 1898, 2:1; 3:2; *Genoa Courier*, January 28, 1898, 6:3; February 4, 1898, 6:3; *Carson News*, January 26, 1898, 3:4; cf., Phillip I. Earl, "Lynch Law Prevailed in Reno 80 Years Ago," *Nevada State Journal*, October 3, 1971, pp. 30-31 and "Lynch Law, Reno Style," *The Nevadan*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (January 30, 1972), p. 3.

51. *Genoa Courier*, January 28, 1898, 6:3; February 11, 1898, 6:2, 3; February 25, 1898, 3:2; March 11, 1898, 3:2; April 1, 1898, 3:2; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), March 31, 1898, 3:1; cf., *Tuscarora Times-Review*, February 8, 1898, 3:1; *Daily Evening Bulletin* (Virginia City), February 11, 1898, 3:3.

52. *Genoa Courier*, April 1, 1898, 3:2; April 8, 1898, 3:2; *Morning Appeal* (Carson City), April 1, 1898, 1:2; April 3, 1898, 3:1.

53. *Genoa Courier*, April 8, 1898, 3:3-4.

Repairing courthouse doors	22.00
Coroner's fees	43.85
Subpoenaing witnesses and expenses of witnesses before the grand jury	39.25
Fees, sheriff of Lyon County	24.20
Sheriff's Fees attending jury	294.98
Grand jury, fees and mileage	811.20
Bill of William Seaman for getting information for grand jury	40.50
Constable fees	6.50
Clerks' fees	115.00
Brockliss trial jury	447.30
Feeding trial jury	6.00
Shorthand reporter	30.00
Fees, William T. Virgin	121.00
Jurors' certificates	65.00

\$2,064.78

54. Mary Ellen Glass, "A Curse Upon Lynchers," *Western Folklore*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (July, 1969), pp. 207-210; Henry Hawkins, "Douglas Alpine History," Typed transcript of an oral history interview by Mary Ellen Glass for the Oral History Project of the Center for Western North American Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 1966, p. 115; James E. Hickey, "A Pioneer Justice of the Peace of Carson Valley," *Ibid.*, p. 30.

55. George Springmeyer, "Douglas County," in Sam P. Davis, ed., *The History of Nevada*, (Reno: The Elms Publishing Co., 1913), II, pp. 808-09; cf., Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

56. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

57. Hickey, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

58. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

59. This gracious lady prefers to remain anonymous and this writer respects her request.

Notes and Documents

The Cultural Clash

In the last couple of decades, the United States has experienced many vociferous, and often violent, demonstrations by various minority groups claiming that American Society has officially sanctioned the destruction of their cultural identity. Efforts on the part of Blacks, Indians, and other ethnic minorities, to establish a separate cultural identity have often been manifested in the adoption of unique modes of dress and hair styling. For the most part, it is quite safe to say, the majority in society has not given such innovation a warm acceptance. Even the offspring of society's white majority, who have been quick to adopt the new styles, can testify to having met their share of opposition when departing from the norm in hair and dress styles.

The Nevada Historical Society does not wish to editorialize on the controversy of modes of dress as manifestations of the ethnic minority search for cultural identity. The Historical Society does, however, reproduce the following letter in the hope that it will contribute to an understanding of the historical setting which preceded this unrest. The letter, reproduced here with corrections in spelling to improve its readability, gives just one example of the kind of myopic official thinking that creates such frustrations.

LYNN E. WILLIAMSON

Department of the Interior,

Office of Indian Affairs,

Washington, January 13, 1902.

The Superintendent,
Greenville School,
California.

Sir:

This Office desires to call your attention to a few customs among the Indians which, it is believed, should be modified or discontinued.

The wearing of long hair by the male population of your agency is not

in keeping with the advancement they are making, or will soon be expected to make, in civilization. The wearing of short hair by the males will be a great step in advance and will certainly hasten their progress towards civilization. The returned male student far too frequently goes back to the reservation and falls into the old custom of letting his hair grow long. He also paints profusely and adopts all the old habits and customs which his education in our industrial schools has tried to eradicate. The fault does not lie so much with the schools as with the conditions found on the reservations. These conditions are very often due to the policy of the Government toward the Indian and are often perpetuated by the superintendent's not caring to take the initiative in fastening any new policy on his administration of the affairs of the agency.

On many of the reservations the Indians of both sexes paint, claiming that it keeps the skin warm in winter and cool in summer; but instead, this paint melts when the Indian perspires and runs down into the eyes. The use of this paint leads to many diseases of the eyes among those Indians who paint. Persons who have given considerable thought and investigation to the subject are satisfied that this custom causes the majority of the cases of blindness among the Indians of the United States.

You are therefore directed to induce your male Indians to cut their hair, and both sexes to stop painting. With some of the Indians this will be an easy matter; with others it will require considerable tact and perseverance on the part of yourself and your employees to successfully carry out these instructions. With your Indian employees and those Indians who draw rations and supplies it should be an easy matter as a non-compliance with this order may be made a reason for discharge or for withholding rations and supplies. Many may be induced to comply with the order voluntarily, especially the returned student. The returned students who do not comply voluntarily should be dealt with summarily. Employment, supplies, etc., should be withdrawn until they do comply and if they become obstreperous about the matter a short confinement in the guard-house at hard labor, with shorn locks, should furnish a cure. Certainly all the younger men should wear short hair, and it is believed that by tact, perseverance, firmness, and withdrawal of supplies the superintendent can induce *all* to comply with this order.

The wearing of citizen's clothing, instead of the Indian costume and blanket, should be encouraged.

Indian dances and so-called Indian feasts should be prohibited. In many cases these dances and feasts are simply subterfuges to cover degrading acts and to disguise immoral purposes. You are directed to use your best efforts in the suppression of these evils.

Very respectfully,

W. L. JONES
Commissioner.

WL (W)



Is this "Old Virginny?"

From Our Library Collection

Mystery Photo

This issue of the *Quarterly* offers its readers a mystery to be solved. Is the man in the photograph opposite, James Fennimore, or as he was better known, "Old Virginny?"

The Historical Society received the photograph in the library of Bradley B. Brown which was donated by his widow, Mildred Brown of Berkeley, California. A notation on the back of the photograph reads "'Old Virginia' as a young man. Discoverer of the Comstock Lode." Mrs. Brown, however, indicates that the notation is not in Mr. Brown's handwriting and was evidently on the picture when he obtained it. To date the Society has not been able to verify the notation.

James Fennimore has remained a rather elusive figure in Nevada history despite the familiarity of the name "Old Virginny." Historians have never seemed able to agree on the worth of the man, even though they recognize his significance in the discovery of the Comstock. Eliot Lord in *Comstock Mining and Miners* called him "a western Rip Van Winkle" and thought him of little worth. Lord indicated that, "Unfortunately Finney was fit for little else than a divining rod, as he only remained sober when he was too poor to buy whisky and would never work longer than was necessary to obtain the means of filling his bottle."

Dan De Quille, on the other hand, in his *The Big Bonanza* stated that "Although fond of the bottle, Old Virginia was by no means a loafer. He had his sprees, but these were generally followed by seasons of great activity."

Actually there seems to be little known about James Fennimore, known better as James Finney, and called "Old Virginny" by those familiar with him. It is generally accepted that he was a native of the state of Virginia, and that he had been in California before coming to the Gold Canyon area in 1851. There is a widespread legend that he killed a man in California, and changed his name from James Fennimore to James Finney upon coming to Nevada.

"Old Virginny" located the first quartz claim on the Comstock on February 22, 1858. The claim was worthless and he made no attempt to develop it. His greatest fame stems from his part in the location of placers on Little Gold Hill January 28, 1859; this was the discovery of the Comstock Lode. He reportedly was killed when thrown from a horse in the town of Dayton, in July 1861. His name, however, remains familiar as Virginia City was named by him.

Is the man in the photograph the James Finney of Comstock fame? The Nevada Historical Society solicits your aid in answering the above question. If you have any information that will confirm that the photograph is indeed of "Old Virginny" or, on the other hand, any evidence to prove that it is someone else, please contact the Society.

LYNN E. WILLIAMSON



Lewis Rice Bradley, second governor of Nevada,
and his daughters, Virginia and Sarah.

Lewis Rice Bradley and Daughters

One of the photographs included in the Bradley B. Brown library is the one opposite, of Lewis R. ("Old Broadhorns") Bradley and his two daughters. Pictured to Bradley's left is Sarah Watts Bradley; to his right, the younger Virginia Hode Bradley.

It is not necessary to relate here the story of Lewis R. Bradley's life. Everyone is aware that Bradley was elected governor of Nevada in 1870; the second man to fill that office in the state's history. For anyone wishing more biographical information about Nevada's second governor, consult Victor Goodwin, "Lewis Rice Bradley: Pioneer Nevada Cattleman and Nevada's First Cowboy Governor," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* XIV, No. 4 (Winter 1971).

The interesting story related to this photograph, and one that is related in Mr. Goodwin's article, together with the author's expressed doubts as to its veracity, took place in 1854. In that year, Bradley who was engaged in the cattle business in California, decided to return to his former home in Fayette, Missouri and drive a herd of cattle from Missouri to California. Accompanying Bradley on his return to California was a young pharmacist named Jefferson Henderson.

The story is that somewhere on Nevada's Forty-Mile Desert, Bradley caught mountain fever and became desperately ill. Thinking that he was going to die, Bradley entrusted his personal effects to young Henderson to be returned to the family in California. Included in those effects was the photograph of Lewis Bradley and his two daughters.

At this point the tale takes its romantic turn, Jefferson Henderson was supposedly so smitten with the image of Sarah Bradley that he obtained Bradley's permission to court her. (Bradley had recovered from his bout with mountain fever and returned to Stockton, California with the cattle.) Sarah was still living with an aunt in Fayette, Missouri at this time, and Henderson was planning on starting a pharmacy in that community.

Sarah Bradley and young Mr. Henderson were married in 1857 while living in Fayette. Henderson's pharmacy prospered. However, Henderson's health was not good and in 1870, after selling his business in Fayette, he and Sarah moved to California. Sarah and her husband eventually followed Lewis Bradley to Nevada, and settled in Elko County. Here he eventually opened the Henderson Bank at Elko.

Thus ends the story of the photograph. Romance or history?

LYNN E. WILLIAMSON

What's Being Written

Pleistocene Man at Calico, a Report on the International Conference on the Calico Mountains Excavations, San Bernardino County, California, by L. S. B. Leakey, R. D. Simpson, T. Clements, R. Berger, J. Witthoft, and participants of the Calico Conference. W. C. Schuiling, editor. (San Bernardino County Museum Association, 1972; 82 pages; \$2.50).

Pleistocene Man at Calico is a report of papers and discussions during a four-day conference in 1970 on the Calico Mountains Excavations and is not essentially a technical publication. The work on the project has been long and arduous as is apparent in the descriptions of the site, the difficulties of excavation, and other problems mentioned. Despite all these difficulties numerous questions are considered unanswered by many of the participants of the Conference.

The preliminary section is an introduction to the Conference by Dr. Schuiling, President of the San Bernardino County Museum Association. This is followed by Dr. Leakey's opening comments welcoming the Conference; these include his opinions on Pleistocene Man in America and personal reminiscences.

After these preliminary statements, Clements described the geology of the Yermo Fan. At the conclusion of Clements' presentation on the geology of the fan, the session was opened for questions and discussion from the audience. Of the questions selected for inclusion in this book, many were concerned with the geologic age of the fan. Those present apparently disagreed with Clements and felt that further research would indicate a much greater geologic age. This is well summarized by Butzer in his statement that interpretation of the geology of the fan cannot be based on "matters of opinion," but will necessitate analytical data on sediments and soils, detailed mapping of the fan, and comparative geological research on similar fans elsewhere in the Mojave Desert. Clements agreed that these and other suggestions were cogent and that these approaches had not yet been followed.

The next several sections are concerned with the archaeological interpretations of the project; how excavation was planned, the process of determining which specimens were selected for Leakey's examination, methods of excavation, and a detailed description of the proposed technology utilized in manufacturing the specimens. These papers are followed by another open question session entitled "The Artifacts — Real or Simulated?" Isaac, during the question session, introduces the problem of the paucity of cores among the specimens, but the many cores visibly present in what he calls the "dump heaps." He suggests that a quantitative analysis of *all* specimens recovered might clarify this discrepancy. He also proposes that the major difficulty is the "presence of an agency which not only may have produced the flakes, it must have produced flakes. So we have to recognize, methodologically, that we face the problem of distinguishing between those flakes which were produced by natural action and those flakes that were not" (p. 60). Cooke also is concerned with the possibility of a natural agency and the effect of

a mudflow on the "remarkably brittle" chalcedony found in the Calico location. In addition, Oakley feels that more attention should be paid to thermal fracturing, and wonders with regard to the flaking "how much can be counted as human, how much due to pressure, how much due to concussion, how much due to thermal agency, and so on" (p. 62). It would appear from the comments that further analysis, quantification and even experimentation of various effects of the chalcedony are felt necessary before conclusions should be drawn.

Even the discussion of the isotopic and magnetic study of the stone from Calico by Berger has qualifications. This is the first study of this kind and only one stone has so far been tested. In essence this aspect of the research has only begun.

Although six years of research, and a great deal of work on the part of those involved, have gone into this project, this present publication reflects the reactions of the visiting specialists that nothing as yet can be certain. Dr. Leakey, himself, in his concluding remarks states that the task has just begun. The questions from the open discussion sessions indicate the need for quantification of the data, comparative approaches to the geology, in depth studies of the soils and sedimentation, and intensive analyses of the effects of mudflows upon indigenous rocks, especially when they are "remarkably brittle" chalcedony. To determine the fact that man may have lived at Calico and created the specimens which are presented as artifacts is going to have to rise beyond "matters of opinion," as Butzer stated, to the level of analytical approaches and substantive evidence. When a conference involving learned men and women of international reputation has been gathered for the purpose of viewing evidence, their advice must be regarded. They have seen the location, the specimens, the geological terrain, and the stock-piles, and they recommend further research.

The members and staff of the Calico excavation and the San Bernardino County Museum are to be commended on the openness of this presentation of their work and the Conference results. They published these questions and the problems they pose. Now it is hoped some of the answers can be supplied in the future as Dr. Leakey proposed in his conclusion.

SHEILAGH T. BROOKS
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Mormon Battalion Trail Guide, by Charles S. Peterson, John F. Yurtinus, David E. Atkinson, and A. Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1972; 74 pages; maps;).

THE PATHFINDER and trail breaker have always played an important part in the history of the American West. Members of the Mormon Battalion are no exception. Recruited originally from Mormon refugees in western Iowa and eastern Nebraska to march to California by the southern route,

the Battalion blazed a trail which later immigrants and the Butterfield stage were to follow.

Financed by a grant to the Utah State Historical Society from the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, this study is the first attempt to trace in detail the full Mormon Battalion Trail from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego. Owing to limited funds, the eastern leg of the trail from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe was not covered as thoroughly as the western portion. It was assumed, and investigation showed the assumption to be correct, that the eastern leg followed quite closely the older Santa Fe Trail.

The authors were able to do a much more complete job on the western section. In addition to a thorough study of diaries and reminiscences, Mr. Peterson and his colleagues covered the trail from Santa Fe to San Diego twice, once by four-wheeled-drive vehicle, and once by airplane. Thus, the resulting monograph represents the product of scholarly research and empirical investigation. The authors themselves would be the first to admit that it is not a perfect job, but it presents the best evidence we have to date of the route these trailblazers took.

The book is divided into seventeen sections tracing the route of the trail between key landmarks. Each section consists of a description of the trail and a USGS map on which has been drawn the route of the battalion as determined by the authors. To these features has been added a statement of the historical and recreational potential of the trail, an appendix comparing the distances on the Santa Fe Trail with Mormon Battalion distances between similar points, and a bibliography.

In spite of the gap filled by this study, there are some problems in the research and presentation. The military records in the National Archives were left unused, and probably for reasons of economy, the book itself is not particularly handsome in appearance. Because it is printed entirely in black and white, the color separation between such features as contour lines and rivers is not present on the maps, and the user is presented with a problem of interpretation.

Also, there are some mistakes in the text. For instance, the maps used to trace the trail (at least those which this reviewer checked) are 1:250,000 not 1:150,000 as indicated on page 7. In fact, the reviewer is reliably informed that the USGS does not issue a regular series of 1:150,000 maps. In addition, the drafting work on the trail route is somewhat unprofessional.

Beyond this, no use was made of geological survey maps from Mexico for an accurate representation of those parts of the trail in present-day Mexico. This failure seems unwarranted since most of the trail covered what was then Mexican territory anyway and contemporaries would not have located the international boundary where it is found today. Withall, this is a good beginning and should serve as a starting place for further work on the Mormon Battalion Trail.

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Leland Stanford: Man of Many Careers by Norman E. Tutorow (Menlo Park, California: Pacific Coast Publishers, 1971; 317 pages; illustrations, bibliography, index; \$9.95).

NORMAN TUTOROW has written a multifaceted biography of Leland Stanford. A new volume on this member of the Big Four is needed since older studies of the man have been unsatisfactory. Tutorow thoroughly explores the less reported side of Stanford's activities. Historians have studied Stanford as a railroad magnate and to some extent as a politician, while overlooking his activities as president of the Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company, his thoroughbred race horse raising, his California wine making, or his role as an experimental motion picture maker.

The skeletal facts of Stanford's life are all recounted here. The author has painstakingly gleaned the surviving Stanford letters and records for information. Astonishingly large amounts of secondary material have been digested. Unfortunately the result is a portrait of Stanford as idealized as the pictures of reigning monarchs on their country's postage stamps. The unseemly side of Stanford's life is simply ignored, while every one of Stanford and his wife's charities or philanthropies is fully plumbed. This propensity of the author is regrettable as he has amassed the raw material out of which he might well have written a definitive biography of his subject.

Perhaps the book's shortcomings can best be epitomized by a quotation of Nevada's Senator William M. Stewart concerning Stanford's public career which Tutorow quotes approvingly, "Every suggestion he [Stanford] made, every speech he delivered, and every bill he introduced had for its object the good of all the people." This was not the man contemporaries could honestly recall. It is not the portrait an objective historian would delineate or the discerning reader would accept.

RALPH J. ROSKE
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The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer, edited by John H. Krenkel (Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers & Publishers, Inc., 1970; 543 pages; index, illustrations;).

TWO OF AN EDITOR'S functions are: first, present the manuscript which he is editing to his readership, and secondly present enrichment material which relates to the manuscript substance and adds depth and breadth to reader understanding of the textual subject. In the case of John Krenkel's editorial presentation of *The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer*, a service of very large proportion has been given students of western history.

Joseph Fish was present in the beginning days of several important events, and recorded details that help readers appreciate some finer points concerning conditions during the period in which he lived. One is attracted immediately

to his discussion of the trek from Nauvoo to Great Salt Lake, and the difficulties his father endured in bringing his family west.

Mr. Fish seems particularly adept at recording names which tie persons with events. His coincidental exploration of the mountains to the east of Parowan apparently kept Joseph Fish from participating in the Mountain Meadow Massacre, but his detached references to it help us understand the impact of that tragedy on the Mormon community. Also his comments on the growing local anti-Mormon problem in the Beaver County area portend the coming troubles between the government and the Mormons.

The record of Joseph Fish and his community involvement takes on the flavor of pathos because it is the altruistic service, which he continually volunteered, coupled with the periodic moves that kept the Fish family poor and defenseless. The move to Arizona in 1879, and the flight to Mexico in 1885 are particularly interesting. Fish's realization of his weaknesses make his plight even more pathetic since public service was required of a good citizen, not only by his country, but by his community and church as well. The moves were inevitably attempts to improve his financial situation so that he could be thought of as a successful person, both by himself and by his associates.

Mr. Fish's insight into family relations is most revealing and explores the problems of polygamists' marital relations, divorce, separation, and sadness at the premature death of their children.

The discussion of Joseph Fish's finest hour begins on page 390 when he is in the Gila Valley. He served in the Arizona legislature and was the epitome of the dedicated public servant. Ironically, his success was the prelude to his most desperate trial, the breakup of his business connection with I. E. D. Zundel, and his divorce from Adelaide Smith. Through all this difficulty, Fish maintained his attitude of hope and anxiousness to serve the community and be a useful, productive member of the society he found himself in.

Mr. Krenkel has indeed given us a treasure in the presentation of this man's life. Though the contributions of the enrichment material do not match the magnitude of substance of the journal, *The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer*, will endure as a guidepost for scholars.

JAY M. HAYMOND

Utah State Historical Society,
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The Search for an American Indian Identity, Modern Pan-Indian Movements, by Hazel W. Hertzberg (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971; 362 pages; bibliographic essay, index, illustrations; \$12.00).

THIS IS A STUDY of Indian-led and Indian-oriented social movements in the United States from 1911 to 1935. Indian movements of the previous century are briefly mentioned (including the Ghost Dance which originated

in Nevada in 1870 and 1890); most of the earlier movements were confined to a few tribes or one region. The earliest movement that can be called Pan-Indian (and the focus of this study) was the Society of American Indians (SAI) which was organized October 12 (Columbus Day), 1911. Many of the SAI leaders and members had attended Carlisle Indian School (founded in 1879). This experience, as well as knowledge of English which served as a *lingua franca*, made possible the organization of, and participation in, groups like the SAI. The SAI was patterned after non-Indian reform and academic organizations of the time and its leadership, annual conventions, journals, and other publications are described in considerable detail. Many of the leaders were Indians prominent in the United States: Charles Eastman and Carlos Montezuma, both MD's (Montezuma served briefly at the Western Shoshone Agency in Nevada and was appalled by reservation life as he saw it there and elsewhere); Thomas Sloan, a lawyer; Henry Roe Cloud; and three men prominent for their work as anthropologists, Arthur Parker, H. N. B. Hewitt, and Francis La Flesche. Many leaders and members were less than "full-blood," and within the SAI the Loyal Order of Tecumseh was formed for those SAI members less than 1/16 "Indian blood." Whites were allowed to join the SAI as associate members.

The issues discussed by the SAI reflect the then current concern with minorities and immigrants. (Blacks also were organizing in this era.) The leadership expressed the ambivalence of educated and less than "full blood" Indians toward tribal life and reservations. Membership was for individuals, not tribal groups. The group stressed the preservation of Indian cultures, education of the American public about Indians through books and a national American Indian Day (an idea still proposed from time to time by Indians), and the teaching of Indian culture in Indian schools. The SAI never did reach agreement on its position toward the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the use of peyote, or the value of Indian separatism vs. assimilation in American life. The organization died in 1935, by which time some of the society's goals had been met by the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

Other Indian movements are mentioned: The American Indian Defense Association which later became the Association on American Indian Affairs, the National Council of American Indians which ended in 1934, the 1944 National Congress of American Indians (a major reform group today), the National Indian Youth Council which was founded in 1961, and groups like the Improved Order of Red Men and the Teepee Order of America which were modelled on Indian culture but excluded Indians from their membership. The Native American Church, first officially organized in 1918 under a state charter in Oklahoma, is based on the use of peyote in religious ceremonies.

Movements which started before 1935 are classified into three general types: 1) reform movements such as the SAI which were supported by the more educated, urban Indians; 2) fraternal movements which attracted the less educated, urban Indians; and 3) religious movements (the Native American Church) which are supported by the least educated, rural, and reservation Indians. The book is summarized by the author's statement in the final chapter:

In the formative period Pan-Indianism was a movement of accommodation. It was not just a reaction to cultural deprivation; nor was it only a shield against white domination or simply a rejection of the old Indian ways or solely an expression of marginality, though it contained all of these aspects. It was also an endeavor by men and women who through their own experience had found much of value in both Indian and white worlds, to create an identity which drew from both. As people in transition they defined themselves in the terms currently available to them [pp. 323-4.]

The book is interesting for its information on an aspect of American Indian life that is little known. The unifying forces of education and the English language, have been significant aids in establishing Indian identity. The work of anthropologists, and to some extent that of historians, has also aided this process of identity seeking. The classification of Indian movements as reform, fraternal, and religious is an important contribution. However, there is too much detail (less on Arthur Parker would make a better study); the study is not clearly organized, nor well focussed, until the final chapter; and the work does not tie into existing theories and studies of social movements. (A social movement "is a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote a change or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part," as defined by Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian, editors, in *Collective Behavior*, p. 308. Revitalization movements are one type of social movement: Anthony Wallace in "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, volume 58, pp. 264-281, defines these movements as a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture.")

The book title suggests an ambitious scope, one far greater than that actually considered. The book is not concerned with modern movements since it stops in the mid-thirties. It is not Pan-Indian in a real sense since it is largely about people of the east coast, many of whom are only nominally Indians physically or culturally. The people concerned are little involved with reservation life, at a time when most Indians still live on reservations. Nonetheless, the study is interesting and raises areas of interest which warrant more study. Indian participation in Masonry and other white organizations, and the use of Indian cultures as models for various associations, are part of the larger question of the influences of Indians on American culture. The contrast between Indian organizations today and that of Hertzberg's study would provide much material for analysis. For example, the 1911 meeting of the SAI was held on Columbus Day, while a recent Indian panel on television thanked the moderator for not having them talk about Indians on Columbus Day. After all, many Indians today consider Columbus the first of numerous non-Indians to misunderstand the situation in their dealings with Indians, as is illustrated by the fact that Columbus named them for the subcontinent of India.

RUTH HOUGHTON
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Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II, by Roger Daniels (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971; 188 pages; map, illustrations, tables, notes, note on sources, index; \$3.50).

MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS have passed since the time of Pearl Harbor. Perhaps because of the increasing remoteness of 1941, there has been a great deal of recent academic and popular interest in the events of that era. In this paperback book, Roger Daniels describes and interprets the forced wartime evacuation and relocation of the Japanese Americans from the Pacific Coast to various camps in interior locations of the country.

His basic thesis is that the evacuation and detention were not innocent errors in judgment, but instead the logical results of America's long heritage of white racism. To support his contention, the author devotes the book's first chapter to the Japanese American experience from 1890 to 1940, and also presents a brief background summary of the harsh treatment accorded the Chinese, the Asian ethnic group that preceded the Japanese as laborers and settlers in the American West. Unfortunately, Daniels ignores much of the recent scholarship pertaining to the Chinese (e.g., Ping Chiu's *Chinese Labor in California, 1850-1880*, Stuart Creighton Miller's *The Unwelcome Immigrant*, and Alexander Saxton's *The Indispensable Enemy*), hence his conclusions about the economic motivation behind the anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese movements appear inconsistent.

The rest of the book, however, is well-researched. Daniels attributes the relocation of the Japanese Americans to the political opportunism and inherent racism of local pressure groups, local and state politicians, military leaders, Congress, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the federal judiciary. A blow by blow account of the decision for evacuation is presented.

Life in the so-called relocation centers (or concentration camps, as Roosevelt came to call them) is dealt with in a balanced manner. The dehumanizing and degrading aspects of mass detention and forced communal living are vividly described, but these few positive features of camp life are also mentioned: the "emancipation" of Issei (first generation) women from many of the chores of household drudgery, the increase in leisure for older people, and the opportunity for Japanese Americans to play many social roles previously denied them by white society.

Not all of the Japanese Americans, however, were meek in their submission to the evacuation. Despite the Japanese American Citizens League's admonition advising total cooperation with the War Relocation Authority officials, individuals brought suit against the United States government for unconstitutional abridgment of civil liberties, and organizations like the Fair Play Committee at the Heart Mountain, Wyoming relocation camp were formed. According to Daniels, the stereotype of the passive, resigned, superpatriotic Japanese American is inaccurate, since it only describes but a single segment of the Japanese Americans who were interned behind barbed wire and under armed guard.

The author concludes the book by concurring with the late Morton Grodzins that the evacuation of the Japanese Americans was an example of democracy

at its worst, when the tyranny of the majority disregarded the rights and freedoms of a racial minority group.

Daniels says quite a lot in a book of less than 200 pages, and he handles his subject well. In the area of style, however, the book is not without its shortcomings. A reader must consult the index if he does not know the first names of Rudyard Kipling, Heihachiro Togo, and Husband E. Kimmel, since their first names are not mentioned in the text. Instead of following the examples of California historians John W. Caughey and Walton Bean in spelling Denis Kearney's first name with a single "n," Daniels spells it with the less orthodox double "n." The author chooses to capitalize the word "jingo" (page 29) for no good reason. Typographical errors also appear, for instance, "Tsushima" is spelled "Tushima" (page 29), and a footnote referring to Leonard J. Arrington's *Beet Sugar in the West* cites page 643 instead of page 143 (page 102). In several instances, Daniels plunges into the first person, and even resorts to using such vernacular expressions as "copped out." (Page 141)

In sum, then, *Concentration Camps USA* is not without its imperfections. Its assets, however, far outweigh its liabilities. Of particular interest to Nevadans are the author's reference to anti-Japanese sentiment in Nevada in March of 1942, and his trenchant but fair interpretations of Part II of the McCarran-Wood Act of 1950 (also known as the Emergency Detention Act) and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. The book is a significant addition to the growing body of literature about the history of the Japanese Americans.

LOREN B. CHAN

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Carleton's Pah-Ute Campaign, by Dennis Casebier (Norco, California: Published by the author, 1972; 58 pages; \$3.50).

THE OLD GOVERNMENT ROAD with its little military guard posts lasted only about a decade, leaving few visible remains to mar the landscape between Daggett, California, and Fort Mohave on the Colorado River. Tales of Army-Indian hostilities at Camp Cady, Fort Soda, Marl Springs, and Fort Paiute have, in the elapsed century, often been magnified into battles, but there was little documentary evidence to show what really happened or why these isolated posts were ever built.

Dennis Casebier has spent many years studying this part of San Bernardino County, and has unearthed a veritable gold mine of information in the National Archives. He is now sharing his discovery in a series of booklets based on that material. Casebier is a mathematician by trade, which probably accounts for his precision and accuracy as a historian. It was while doing research for his first book, *Camp El Dorado, Arizona Territory*, that he found the military records of Major Carleton on which the present series is based.

Carleton's Pah-Ute Campaign covers a very short period of time — just four months — from April through July of 1860. In order to set the scene, however, Casebier gives a brief resume of the three important wagon roads connecting Los Angeles with the outside world.

The most important trade routes were the Butterfield Overland Mail road running south to Yuma, and the Salt Lake Trail (also known as the Old Spanish Trail and the Mormon Trail) going east through southern Nevada to Salt Lake. The third avenue of commerce was the road to Fort Mohave on the Colorado River.

It is perhaps only incidental to the story, but Casebier does clarify the various spellings of the words "Pah-Ute," and "Mojave" in his notes.

The Government Road was first surveyed by Lt. A. W. Whipple as a possible transcontinental railroad route from Arkansas to the Pacific Coast. It was later marked as a wagon road by Edward F. Beale and his famous camel caravan, when the government sought a safer route for emigrants from the eastern states to California. This route branched off the Salt Lake Trail at Camp Cady, near the present towns of Barstow and Daggett.

Although the Indians of the Mojave Desert were not generally of a warlike character, their nomadic plundering was of considerable nuisance to travellers. It was not until 1860, when three murders occurred on the Salt Lake Trail near Bitter Springs, that the army considered it prudent to fortify posts to protect the wagon trains.

California newspapers printed glaring headlines about the murders, blaming them on "savage Pah-Utes," although there was never any proof of who had actually committed the ugly deeds.

As a result of the stories, Major Carleton with two companies of soldiers was ordered to march to the Mojave country to punish the Pah-Utes. Casebier reveals his sentiments about the affair in a brief interpretation of Carleton's orders. "These instructions given to Carleton are interesting. It will be noticed that he is ordered to proceed to the vicinity of Bitter Springs on the Salt Lake Trail and there to punish any Indians he might find. He is not instructed to attempt to locate the *guilty* Indians, but simply to chastise *any* Indians he might discover in that vicinity."

Carleton and his men carried out their orders with vengeance, and within a week had killed several Indians. Two bodies were hung on a gallows, and later three decapitated heads were "hung upon a gibbit" as a warning to other Indians about the intention of the military. In telling this grisly story Casebier is neither glib nor profound. He lets the actual reports and letters speak for themselves.

One wishes for a bit more biographical information about the actors on the scene, especially about Major Carleton. Casebier evidently made a decision to emphasize the traditional subject matter of history, and fails to reconstruct any notion of how life was lived by either the soldiers or their unfortunate victims. The raw material is here, leaving reflections and conclusions to the reader.

The conclusion is actually an old, old story of Army-Indian relationships. Carleton, in his final report, stated that "three Pah-Ute chiefs showed them-

selves on top of a mountain near camp . . . They stated they had come to make peace." The chiefs insisted their people were not guilty of the murders of the three white men, but that the deeds had been committed by Indians from Utah.

During the conference, which lasted for several days, a great many promises were made by both soldiers and Indians, but very few of them were kept. The military men did not return later with the gifts they had promised, and during the ensuing years the Indians continued to harass travellers through the Mojave desert.

Casebier ends this well-documented, illustrated story by the dry comment: "Very little of lasting value was accomplished by Carleton's Pah-Ute Campaign."

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Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1827-28 and 1828-29, edited by Glyndwr Williams (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971; 201 pages; index, maps;).

THE BOOKS in this series centering on the history of the Hudson's Bay Co. have offered several contributions by Peter Skene Ogden. This latest one covers critical years in exploration and fur trade in the Snake Country. One of the last parts of the West to be explored and trapped, this region was also the ground where boundary lines between Canada and the United States would be established. In 1818, a treaty between the two countries permitted use and exploration of the land by companies of both countries. While there was an aggressive attitude on the part of traders from America and Canada, there was little open conflict. Each kept a watchful eye on the other. Ogden's journals, written for company consumption, stress his constant effort to explore more land and trap more beaver.

While the journeys to the Snake Country (from Three Tetons to the Sierras) were for exploration, the annual trips had to show a profit in skins. The Americans made this difficult to accomplish because they paid higher prices for skins, usually around five dollars, and their hunters and trappers drew higher pay. Ogden complained of the unfair position this put representatives of the Hudson's Bay Co. in. The 1825 season brought considerable trouble with the Americans, who persuaded numbers of Canadians to join the American trapping groups. Several left without paying their debts to the company. In later years, several Americans switched to Hudson's Bay Co., so Ogden had some revenge.

While the present volume covers the journals for 1827-1829, to understand his reports the reader should know something of the man who was certainly one of the Western greats. Ogden's family was English; they had settled

in New Jersey in the seventeenth century. His mother was a New York Livingston, wealthy and highly respected. His father, Isaac, graduated from King's College and was a well known lawyer. When the War of the Revolution came, the family remained loyal to the mother country. Isaac was living in Quebec when Peter was born in 1794. While Peter was still a babe, his father was appointed to a judgeship which took the family to Montreal, where Peter grew to adolescence. Peter loved the wilds, and his parents did nothing to discourage this interest. He was tutored by the best legal minds on the assumption that he would practice law.

Peter refused to become a lawyer, and when he was sixteen the family gave its consent to his becoming a clerk with the John Jacob Astor Fur Co. . From there he entered the employ of the Northwest (or North West) Fur Co. and stayed with them until the company merged with Hudson's Bay Co. in 1822. Ogden suddenly found himself without a job at the very point when his ability was becoming recognized. In the meantime, his family had gone to England. In 1822 he went to England to visit his family and to seek a job from the new owners of the company. He was given a good position, returned to Fort Vancouver in 1823, and spent the remainder of his life in the employment of Hudson's Bay Co.

In 1825 and 1826, Ogden journeyed to the Snake Country, but his journals for those years have been printed earlier. In the fall of 1827 he headed an expedition to the little known Snake Country where he would have to watch the Americans and the Indians. The latter were chiefly Snakes, whom he hated, and Black Feet.

For all his watchfulness when in Indian country, Ogden actually got along with most Indians very well. He was touched by their miserable condition. In the north their basic food seemed to be dried salmon and water. In the Snake Country, they ate when there was food. Buffalo were less plentiful than they had been and lacked fat so essential to Indian health. The savages would rob traps, steal horses, and take any food they could get.

The journals are gloomy affairs at best. For people living in the Snake Country, or in the Humboldt Valley today, they are a priceless collection of experiences set in the early nineteenth century when the West was being opened for settlement. Each dreadful day was described at its shivering or baking worst. Ogden was describing a land where farming means prosperity today, but to him it was a barren, rocky waste hard on dispirited horses' feet. There seems to have been little or no grass, and what there was was well covered with ice or snow. Traps were stolen by beavers, Indians, and Americans. The quality of the beaver skins was not of the best, and the beaver were disappearing rapidly. In a few years the beaver would be gone forever.

Reports make Ogden out a "delight of all gay fellows," the fattest man ever seen, and the "terror of all Indians." He was the life of any gathering, but his daily report to the company foretold the death of their enterprise.

The capable editors of the journals have given us a picture of a driven man facing great odds. In 1829 Ogden went south, and on his return his notes and journals of that expedition were swept away in a whirlpool. This

leaves a gap in the story of his life with the company. What we do have is an exciting adventure for any reader. For those who have followed the career of this great man, unedited journals would have been more satisfactory. For Nevadans, the story of Ogden's two trips to the Humboldt (Unknown) create a new awareness of the days when the search for the Buenaventura was reason enough for a trapping and exploration expedition. This alone makes the book worth reading. It is a book for every library in the state.

BYRD SAWYER

Golden Fleece in Nevada, by Clel Georgetta (Reno, Nevada: Venture Publishing Co., LTD., 1972; 562 pages; index; \$14.95).

IN HIS *Golden Fleece in Nevada*, Clel Georgetta takes us back and forth across the deserts and valleys of the state in the wake of grazing bands of sheep. He begins his account with the drive of Dick Wootton, in 1852, and carries it down to the present. During these hundred and twenty years many adventurers have sought the golden fleece and, in many cases, found it.

Part I of this handsome volume is entitled "Public Domain." In it we are reminded that 87 per cent of the area of Nevada falls in this category. These 60,000,000 acres were surrendered by the people of Nevada Territory to the federal government in 1864 as a condition for the grant of statehood in that year. The author argues that the federal government was guilty of a breach of trust in exacting this grant. However that may be, it is certainly a fact of the utmost significance for the people of the state that their government has jurisdiction over less than 10,000,000 acres of the territory within its boundaries, and the benefit of tax revenue from only this relatively small area.

Since the early years of Nevada's settlement, livestock men and particularly sheepmen have grazed a large portion of the public domain. This use was free. In the early years of this century, however, the Forest Service began withdrawals of land in Nevada; these withdrawals now total some 5,000,000 acres. Since 1934, under authority granted by the Taylor Grazing Act, the Department of the Interior has withdrawn over 51,000,000 acres which are now under the administration of the Bureau of Land Management. Grazing fees are levied on the users of these 56-odd million acres, and the use of them is supervised. The account of what happened on the public domain, and in Congress both before and after these withdrawals, is told from the point of view of the author who is both a lawyer and, at one time, a sheepman. The story is documented and enlivened with personal experiences and anecdotes, lending drama and excitement to legal arguments and to debates in Congress. Livestock operators will want to read it and they will find much in common with their own experience. It is the author's opinion that bureaucratic control of the public domain has all but destroyed the sheep industry.

There was an alternative to federal control. This was control at the state level to which the author devotes a chapter, concluding with an account of

the part he played as assemblyman from White Pine County, in legislation enacted in 1931. Whether or not state control would have solved the problems arising from use of the public domain is now a moot question. Clel Georgetta makes a good case for control under laws enacted by the state. He would probably agree, however, that federal control provided a faster solution to the problem posed by the tramp sheepmen than could have been brought about at the state level. This is suggested by his statement that the "Forest Reserve situation has greatly improved for the stockmen over the past twenty years" (p. 185) and that, "In all fairness . . . the Taylor Grazing Act has worked better than most livestock men believed it would" (p. 237). These statements soften his polemic against federal control. They also indicate that experience gained by the livestock men during the years of state control aided them in defending and preserving their customary practices in the years in which federal bureaucratic controls were being imposed upon them.

Part II of the *Golden Fleece* is entitled "Sheep Empires." In it are told the life histories of a number of prominent sheepmen who have operated in Nevada in the past one hundred years, each one of which could, the author says, form the basis for a full length novel. These are followed by the story of the crash of the Wingfield Banks, written with great gusto and enthusiasm for the central figure in this drama. One wishes that the relation of the banks to the sheep industry had been documented. Not all will agree that Wingfield was, "always a friend to the livestock men" (p. 403).

Each of the remaining chapters of the book is an interesting essay on various phases of the operation of a sheep outfit. A chapter on county records is a useful guide to a fruitful source of local history. Others written by a man who knows the deserts and valleys of central and eastern Nevada (one misses a map of these areas), and above all the habits of sheep, bring the reader so close to sheep that he can all but smell and hear them.

Though he is a man of this century, Clel Georgetta shares with the pioneers of the last half of the 1800s the rugged experiences of these first men in Nevada. This fact is particularly evident in the pages from his diary which have whetted the appetite of at least one reader of the *Golden Fleece* for more of the same fare. This is not as the author says, "a purely objective book." It is largely autobiographical, unconventional in organization, and conversational in style.

The *Golden Fleece* confronts the reader and the future writer with the fact that 87 per cent of Nevada's area is public domain. This reality staggers the imagination and challenges the student. It accounts for the plethora of government agency reports which plague the pages of Nevada histories written since 1881; it accounts for them but does not excuse the use of them. Clel Georgetta has moved behind these reports to the lives and struggles of some of the men who, in the last hundred years, have put these millions of acres to productive use. He has told their story from the perspective of his personal experience, and in so doing has provided a document on the phenomenon of change.

GRACE DANGBERG

The Black West, by William Loren Katz (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971; xiii + 336 pages; illustrations, appendix, bibliography, and index; \$12.95).

BLACKS PARTICIPATED in many phases of western history, ranging from the first Spanish explorations of the borderlands to the close of the American frontier in the cowboy west of the early 20th century. Professor Katz, the author of a previous work on black history entitled *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History* (1967) attacks his task with the determined hand of a moralist desiring to set the record straight on the place of the Negro in settling the West. He contends black people played an important but largely ignored role in the history of western America, and historians, like the script writers for movies and television, must bear the responsibility for deleting this aspect of Western American history.

A look at the American West will find blacks in all phases of its development as explorers, adventurers, missionaries, trappers, miners, cowboys, homesteaders, and soldiers. The histories of the American West, written in the tradition of Frederick Jackson Turner, view it in terms of Anglo-American expansion across the continent with the movement into free lands preserving democracy and equality in American society. Such an hypothesis, according to the author, denies the existence of black people and other races in the process, and makes western expansion exclusively a white, Anglo-Saxon American enterprise.

This is a theme the author repeats in every chapter, and at times strains his style to put his point of view across to the reader. He charges that Ray Allen Billinton's massive work on the frontier, *Westward Expansion* (1967), mentions no blacks who achieved anything or helped develop the frontier. As a rule, Western historians have not extended to Negroes, Indians, or Mexicans crucial roles. The author contends this is a deliberate reflection of the racism ingrained in American society and institutions. Quite aside from the attacks on older schools of western history, the book reveals new frontiers of western development for the historian of the West to explore. These new frontiers are opening largely through the work of Professor Katz and others in volumes now appearing. The most recent of these are Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones, *The Negro Cowboys* (1965); William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers* (1967); and Elinor Wilson, *Jim Beckwourth: Black Mountain Man and War Chief of the Crows* (1972). Of course a pioneering effort in this field appeared in 1929 with Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *The Negro on the American Frontier*, now reprinted by Arno Press 1971.

Beyond noting the blind spots of most frontier historians to the black experience, the author explodes many of the frontier myths regarding blacks that have already been discredited and modified in reference to the white experience in western history. Central to the mythology of western history is the myth of free land. The land of the west offered all people an escape from the stratified society of the East. In the West every man's worth would be judged by his works, not his ancestry, sex, color, or wealth. Another view of the West assumed that social and geographical mobility were to be found

on the frontier. But black people, as many whites, found little social, economic, or geographical mobility and black men did not find acceptance or exhilarating freedom from restrictive customs and laws. "If the frontier proved a safety valve for discontented white, as historian Frederick Jackson Turner insisted," contends the author, "it rarely proved so for blacks. It provided only a temporary respite for white America and sometimes not even that."

Many of the points made in this study are highly sophisticated. Still the book aims at a popular reading audience and would be appealing to the high school and junior college level. Along with many illustrations, it contains a large bibliography for those who wish to pursue questions more thoroughly. The account is fast reading and with a point of view that conveys the message: "No longer can the black man be ignored in the history of the settlement of western America."

WILLIAM D. ROWLEY
University of Nevada,
Reno

What's Going On

Symposium on Far Western Agricultural History, 1974

"AGRICULTURE in the Development of the Far West" is the theme for a symposium to be held on the Davis Campus of the University of California in June 1974. The university, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Agricultural History Society, and other institutions are sponsoring a three-day meeting and a program of papers which will be printed in a special issue of *Agricultural History*. The intention is to present a program that is scholarly and interdisciplinary, that strikes a balance between antiquarianism and presentism, and includes papers that will have lasting worth for showing how agriculture has been involved in western development (land, water, technology, labor, marketing, policies, resources for historical study, etc.). Arrangements are being handled by the Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis, 95616, which invites general and specific suggestions for the program on both broadly interpretive and restricted subjects.

Tranter Papers Given to Historical Society

MRS OLGA REIFSCHNEIDER has been instrumental in obtaining the papers of Dr. Charles L. Tranter from the Tranter family. Dr. Tranter was an early student of the uses made of peyote and other hallucinogenic drugs in Native American religious ceremonies. Notice of the acquisition has been placed in various historical and Indian publications. It is expected that current students of the drug subculture phenomenon, as well as historians and anthropologists, will find valuable source material in the correspondence of Indian members of peyote groups and the laboratory tests performed on hallucinatory materials.

Historical Society Given Bain Archives

THE PERSONAL RECORDS of H. Foster Bain, former head of the U.S. Bureau of Mines, have been donated to the Society. Bain was a leading mining engineer, and involved in the natural resources scandals of the Harding administration. Editor of both the *Mining and Scientific Press* and the *Mining Magazine*, Bain spent the last decades of his career as a consultant to various governments in the Far East. During the 1930s he purchased a ranch in Truckee Meadows, where the family still resides.

Brown Library Donated to Historical Society

THE LIBRARY of Bradley B. Brown has been donated to the Society by his widow, Mildred Brown of Berkeley, California. A great-grandson of L. R. "Broadhorns" Bradley, second governor of Nevada, Mr. Brown retired as vice-president of the Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco. The family home was in Carson City, and the Bradleys returned often to visit and study their home state.

Humanities Grant

A GRANT from the Nevada Humanities Committee has been given to the Society for preparation of slide-sound shows on divorce, gaming, and the foreign-born. Texts for the presentations will be prepared by Dr. Russell R. Elliott and Dr. Wilbur S. Shepperson of the Department of History, University of Nevada, Reno. A new exhibit case will be installed in the museum for showing the slide presentations to the public.

Earl Joins Staff

PHILLIP I. EARL is rejoining the staff of the Historical Society as Curator of Exhibits. Phil is well-known by many of the Society's members through his frequent articles in the *Quarterly* and in numerous magazines and state newspapers. He is a graduate of the University of Nevada, Reno, and brings a wealth of research experience to his new responsibilities.

Nevada Historic Preservation Plan

A SECOND CONTRACT has been signed by the Society to assist the Nevada State Park System in preparing the Nevada Historic Preservation Plan. Ms. Coryn Crosby, a recent graduate of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, will research and draft sections of the Plan pertaining to a Historic Sites Inventory and the background of historic preservation in the state.

Byrd Wall Sawyer Honored

BYRD WALL SAWYER was honored by the Historical Society at its annual meeting, October 21, 1972 in Carson City. Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Russell R. Elliott, presented Mrs. Sawyer with a plaque in appreciation of her "distinguished contributions" to Nevada history. Mrs.

Sawyer's interest in Nevada history is of long standing, and she is well-known for her books, *Our State Nevada* and *Here is Nevada*. Her latest work, *Nevada Nomads*, offers a comprehensive study of the sheep industry in Nevada.

Nevada Bi-Centennial Celebration

A STUDY of the Garces expedition of 1776 is being undertaken by the Society staff as a part of the Nevada Bi-Centennial Celebration. The Summer, 1976 issue of the *Quarterly* will include an article on Garces and Nevada.

Society Launches Slide Series

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY has placed in circulation the first in a series of programs produced by its audio-visual Nevada History Project. The project, funded in part by the Nevada State Council on the Arts, is designed to produce slide-sound shows covering many aspects of Nevada history.

The first slide program is "The Big Bonanza" a thirty minute presentation depicting the discovery, development, and decline of the Comstock Lode and Virginia City. This fascinating subject is illustrated by 76 slides taken from the Society's extensive historic photograph collection, and accompanied by a taped text.

A second slide show on Nevada history is in preparation by Lynn E. Williamson. The twenty minute program will consist of a brief summary of the state's development. These self-contained slide-sound programs are available via the mails to any interested group; there is no charge for their exhibition.

Quarterly Indexed

READERS will be pleased to note that this issue of the *Quarterly* includes an index to the four 1972 issues. This indexing procedure will be continued in the future; each year the first issue of the *Quarterly* will contain an index to the issues of the preceding year. It is hoped that this index will prove beneficial to students and scholars of Nevada history. The index was compiled by Miss Lee Mortenson and L. James Higgins, Jr., both staff members of the Society.

Society Receives Gift from Walter S. Baring

FORMER CONGRESSMAN Walter S. Baring has donated a large collection of materials to the Nevada Historical Society. The collection includes campaign film strips, over 700 news releases with an index, copies of bills introduced by the Congressman, numerous awards received, a charcoal portrait of Baring, and the ten election certificates which represent Congressman Baring's twenty years in Congress.

Junior History News

WORKING under the direction of Jim Christman, seventh grade Nevada history teacher, students at Gerlach have organized a chapter of the Junior History Society of Nevada. Members of the club have elected to call themselves the Black Rock Trailblazers. Officers elected by the membership were: Donald Lawver, president; Louis Houlet, vice-president; Gloria Sharp, historian. Christman, and his wife Charlene, are sponsors of the group.

The Black Rock Trailblazers are an ambitious group, and seem well on their way to becoming one of the most active clubs in the state. The club has designed its own stationery with unique letterhead, purchased a tape-recorder and learned how to conduct interviews, and has started the compilation of a file on the Gerlach area. Probably the most ambitious project of the Black Rock Trailblazers is their plan to begin their own museum.

THIRD GRADERS at Stead Elementary School have formed the first elementary school chapter of the Junior History Society in the state. Members of the new club have chosen to call themselves the Coyotes. Officers of the new chapter are: Frank Young, president; Kirsty Coffill, Keith Satowski and Randy Miller, vice-presidents; Bradford Tipton, treasurer; and Daniel Greenwell, secretary.

The Coyotes earned the money for their first field trip by winning a PTA membership contest. The third graders toured Virginia City, viewed some mines, then went to Carson City where they were received by the governor.

Mrs. Christina Bell, Mrs. Ingeborg Stone, Mrs. Doris Nachtsheim, and Mrs. Elizabeth Squires, Stead third grade teachers, organized the club and are serving as its joint sponsors.

A NEW CHAPTER of the Junior History Society of Nevada has also been formed at Archie Clayton Junior High School in Reno. The new club has selected the name, Washoe Canaries. Mrs. Rachel Struve and Mr. Jim Puryear are sponsors of the Washoe Canaries.

THE SAGEBRUSH JUNIOR HISTORY CLUB, located at J. D. Smith Junior High School in Las Vegas, has been quite active since the start of the school year. Sponsored by Mrs. Della Lee Richards, the Sagebrush membership has been engaged in researching Nevada history for participation in essay contests. The club is also continuing its program of saving old Nevada news-

papers, historical textbooks, and publications of the Society. These materials, together with a growing Vertical File on Nevada, are used as reference sources in the school library.

THE TOMMYKNOCKERS JUNIOR HISTORY CLUB at Swope Junior High School in Reno, announced the following results of its election of new officers: Jean Dendary, president; Laura Brown, vice-president; Jonrie Etchemendy, secretary-treasurer; and Heidi Heidrich, reporter.

ON OCTOBER 28TH 1972, more than 100 members of the Junior History Society of Nevada took part in a field trip sponsored by the Nevada Historical Society. Chapters of the Junior History Society in the Reno-Sparks area, and from as far distant as Gerlach participated in the event.

The Pyramid Lake Indian War of 1860, and events related to that historical incident, was the theme of the field trip. Lynn E. Williamson, acting assistant director of the Historical Society, led the caravan of automobiles. Members of the tour visited Dayton, the ruins of Desert Station, Fort Churchill, and traveled segments of the old emigrant road. The field trip terminated in the Nixon area after visiting the areas between Wadsworth and Nixon that constituted the battleground of the war.

The visit to Fort Churchill inspired one members of the Tommyknockers Junior History Club of Swope Junior High School to write a poem. That poem, as written by Karla Koll, is as follows:

Old Adobe walls,
What grandeur did you see,
When union soldiers marched,
Within these walls of thee.

Within your hollow walls,
Echoes of footsteps sound,
Where troops at attention stood,
Sagebrush now abounds.

Though I stand inside a room,
I look up and see the sky,
From the plain where you rise,
There you will return by and by.

DR. RUSSELL R. ELLIOTT of the Department of History, University of Nevada, Reno has volunteered to make an annual \$100 award for the best article submitted to the Historical Society by a Junior History Club member. The award will be presented at the annual banquet and meeting of the Society. The article will be published in the *Quarterly*.

Cumulative Index

As the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* has not previously carried consecutive numbering of pages throughout an entire volume, a method had to be devised to distinguish issues in the index. For clarity, the entire volume number is given, with the number of the issue and page cited, i.e., "XV/2: 52" means volume XV, number 2, and page 52. However, whenever the volume and page numbers appear without the issue number, this indicates that the entry is reflected throughout the entire volume, and in the same location in every issue.

Beginning with this issue of the *Quarterly*, pages will be numbered consecutively throughout the entire volume. This it is believed will facilitate usage of the annual index to the preceding volume.

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