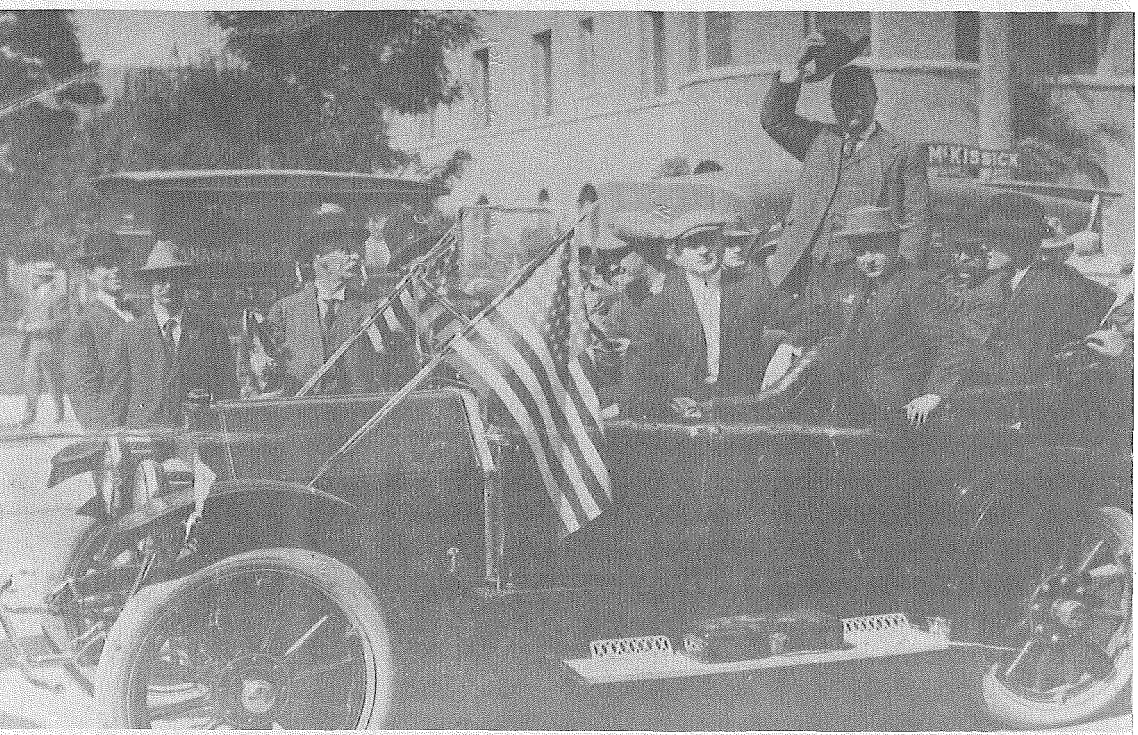
NEVADA Historical Society Quarterly



Fall · 1973

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Contents

THE COVER

Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive presidential nominee, campaigning in Reno

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Colonel Roosevelt addresses crowd in Reno. *Photograph courtesy of Mr. Elliott Cann.*

Nevada's Bull Moose Progressives: The Formation and Function of a State Political Party in 1912

by Eric N. Moody

IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION of 1912 the Progressive party nationally outpolled one of the two major political parties and became, in terms of popular support, the most successful of American third party movements. Its success was, however, ephemeral, for it lacked a unique and lasting foundation upon which any political institution of permanence must be based. Its cause—progressivism—was at least partially shared by both major established political parties. Its vitality, its very survival depended upon the leadership of one man. The Progressive party was very much Theodore Roosevelt's party and when he declined to lead it, it sickened and died, its adherents drifting to one or the other of its rivals.

Necessarily, then, it was of an artificial and contrived nature. Its impetus and its organization extended from the national leadership, to the states, to the local levels. The Progressive party, unlike the major political parties of American history, did not derive its effective strength from, and channel its support through an hierarchical party structure reliant upon genuine "grass roots" organization and backing. Partisan Progressive enthusiasm manifested itself on the state and local levels more as adulation of Roosevelt and his cause than as constructive party work; state Progressive organization almost invariably developed in response, and as an adjunct to national organization. The strength of state and

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local organizations was, however, not necessarily inconsiderable. In those states where progressive indignation rose high against an entrenched Old Guard—as was the case in Ohio, California, and much of the Midwest—Roosevelt's candidacy served as a focus for reformist energies and party organization often was quite real. In other states, where the party's life depended solely upon its charismatic standard bearer, effective organization existed little more than on paper.

Nevada was one of the majority of states where Progressive organization was more form than substance, where Roosevelt was the Progressives' obvious *raison d'etre,* and where the local party owed its existence to, and evolved from, national Progressive activities. An examination of the formation of the party, of its activities during the election campaign of 1912, and of the individuals who rallied to its banner shows why the Nevada Bull Moose Progressive party was, from its inception, insured of both ineffectiveness and rapid dissolution.

1

The nation's progressives were blithely optimistic in the spring of 1912. Theodore Roosevelt had announced that he would accept the Republican presidential nomination if it were offered and his admirers, in Nevada as in the rest of the nation, were confident that the colonel would be the party's standard bearer. Confident, too, that he was the choice of the rank and file of the party membership they began to prepare for participation in the chain of events which would eventuate in the colonel's nomination.

Following Roosevelt's declaration of candidacy, which came on February 25 in a written reply to seven Republican governors who had appealed to him to make the race, factional divisions within the party intensified, the major lines being drawn according to the two most important candidacies. Incumbent state officeholders dependent upon administration patronage, federal appointees, and the more conservative elements of the party generally moved into the Taft ranks, while those out of office but desirous of getting in, state officeholders engaged in struggles with administration men for control of state organizations, and those genuinely imbued with crusading progressive zeal tended toward the Roosevelt camp. In Nevada, Republicans Senator George Nixon and Representative E. E. Roberts supported Taft, but Governor Tasker Oddie declared his preference for Roosevelt. In a public reply to a request from Senator Nixon that he state his position, Oddie said that, although he had earlier pledged his support to President Taft, Roosevelt's candidacy had "absolutely changed the situation:"

> I was elected upon a progressive platform on state matters, and I have been waging the best fight I know how to effect beneficial changes in our state government that will aid our material and moral progress and awakening. With Colonel Roosevelt as the Republican nominee, I am convinced that the policies I am striving to attain here will be better understood by the people of this state, that Nevada will again, as in 1904, be put nationally in the Republican column, and a legislature elected which will support my administration.[1]

During a previous interview with a newspaper reporter, the governor had further declared that Roosevelt was "without doubt the most logical candidate for the Republican nomination," and would "prove a tower of strength to the party should he receive the honor:"

> While I have the utmost regard for President Taft and would have supported him in preference to any other candidate mentioned, still when Colonel Roosevelt announced that he would accept the nomination, I felt that in justice to the people of

> the country and to myself, I should become one of his supporters.[2]

While the split between the state administration and the state's representatives in Washington was developing, a meeting of the Republican state central committee was called for March 2 in Reno. Announced as a routine meeting to select a date and time for the state convention, and to set primary elections for the choosing of delegates to the convention, it was widely expected to be anything but ordinary with the two factions within the party engaging in an initial clash and gauging their strengths.[3]

The Reno committee meeting lasted little more than two hours, but in that short period of time the bitter differences between the party factions broke into the open. Approximately one hundred delegates attended the meeting, at the opening of which Andrew Maute, a Taft supporter, was chosen chairman, and Colonel Charles R. Reeves, chairman of the Progressive League of Nevada, and soon to be appointed commander of the Nevada National Guard, was selected vice chairman of the meeting.[4]

George Springmeyer, one of the leaders of the Nevada Progressive party and its historian, later charged that a plan developed at the meeting "to immediately select and instruct the delegates [to the national convention] without the formality of State Primaries or a State Convention," but there is no evidence of this in contemporary accounts of the session.[5] What was quite evident, however, was that the Taft forces were in control of the meeting and that they intended to maintain their authority over the state organization. The proceedings were regulated by the Taft forces, and "every attempt by a committeeman who was not down on the slate to secure recognition proved futile, and a sort of gag rule was in evidence throughout the session."[6]

The scheduled election of a chairman and secretary of the state central committee was overlooked in order to prevent Roosevelt supporters from gaining the positions, and a motion to create a vice chairmanship, which Reeves, holder of twenty-four proxies presumably would have occupied, was not acted upon. The various county central committees were authorized to call primary elections on April 6 for the purpose of selecting delegates to the state convention. When, immediately following this action, a resolution was introduced to make Fallon the site of the convention on the sixth of May, George Springmeyer promptly gained recognition on the floor. He denounced machine control of state conventions and presented an amendment "providing that at the republican primaries the voters be allowed to express their preference for the presidential candidate." Such a procedure, Springmeyer maintained, "would give every individual voter in the state an opportunity to express his ideas . . . and pledge the delegates to the national convention to cast their votes in favor of the candidate receiving the highest number of votes." Failing to receive a second for the amendment, Springmeyer, "with the aid of a proxy he held, seconded his own motion."[7]

A motion was made to table the amendment, but consternation ensued when it was pointed out that such a move would also table the convention site resolution. Sardis Summerfield, a Roosevelt partisan, introduced a vague substitute resolution which was adopted amidst confusion as to what it was, and what in general was going on. The meeting finally adjourned with Fallon decided upon as the convention site. No attempt was made by either faction to introduce prepared resolutions supporting Taft or Roosevelt, and an expected request by the state administration "asking for endorsement [of Roosevelt] . . . failed to materialize during the brief but stormy session."[8]

The participants in the session then dispersed to their various counties, but the "bitter accusations and recriminations" of the meeting had made it obvious to both Taft and Roosevelt supporters that an internecine struggle was at hand. George Springmeyer recalled later that railroad interests and all federal officeholders became active in behalf of Taft immediately after the central committee meeting; in any case, it was obvious the state's Republican progressives were facing an uphill fight.[9] The Reno gathering had awakened them to the hard facts that those holding power in the state party were not ready to relinquish it, and that the second coming of Roosevelt was not to be uncontested.

2

The progressives believed in the people, so they often said. If the people were given a chance to express themselves in the county primaries, there was hope yet that pro-Roosevelt delegates would represent Nevada at the Republican national convention. The Roosevelt camp, however, was without state organization and leadership, therefore, whatever work was done to further the progressive cause was done by individuals acting independently in the separate counties.[10] In Carson City, George Springmeyer and Sardis Summerfield labored to produce a Roosevelt slate for the primaries; in Reno, Colonel Reeves opened an attack on the activities of federal officials in the state. Charging that numerous federal appointees were diligently engaged in partisan political activities, the colonel announced that he was going to have a resolution introduced in Congress "demanding an investigation of Postmaster Collins, U.S. District Attorney Sam Platt, Assay Office Superintendent Andrew Maute, and Earl Tremont, who works in the land office." Needless to say, Congressman Roberts when approached, declined to file the Reeves resolution, saying that the charges were too indefinite, "not even stating for whom the officials are alleged to be active."[11] "I am also on the trail of Congressman Roberts," Reeves remarked to reporters. "He has been too active, also, in supporting Taft."[12]

Attention soon was diverted, however, from the Reeves accusations. On April 6 Republican primaries were held in Ormsby, Washoe, and Churchill counties and solid Taft delegations were elected to the state convention.[13] Elko also held a primary of sorts, in which Taft delegates were chosen, but it appears only the citizens of the county's chief community participated.[14] In White Pine a "general mass meeting" in Ely selected eight pro-Roosevelt delegates, the choice being unanimous but for two individuals who declared themselves for Senator Robert LaFollette.[15] The remaining counties of the state sent to Fallon delegations selected at central committee meetings. Probably only two counties dispatched solid Roosevelt delegations, these being Douglas and Lander.[16] In most counties delegations solidly for Taft or with only a sprinkling of Roosevelt men were chosen.[17] When the make-up of the forthcoming Republican convention became evident, progressive hopes were further dimmed. Still, they were not given up entirely, for although outnumbered, the progressive delegates might yet be able to insure the sending of an uninstructed state delegation to the national convention. Such a delegation would be able, if circumstances made the action wise, to cast its votes for Roosevelt.

When the state convention opened in Fallon on May 6, the prospect of the progressives in the party exerting any meaningful influence on the

conclave's proceedings did, indeed, seem remote. According to newspaper accounts there were but seventeen Roosevelt men present, "in person and by proxies." Among those listed by the *Reno Evening Gazette* as attending were Reeves, Springmeyer, Patrick L. Flanigan, the state's national committeeman, and Governor Oddie.[18]

After preliminaries, the only significant fight of the convention occurred over the nature of the delegation to be sent to Chicago. The Roosevelt supporters attempted to have an uninstructed set of delegates named, while the Taft men were determined to send a group pledged to the president. By a vote of eighty to seventeen it was determined to send a delegation instructed for Taft.[19]

Another skirmish took place over the final resolution of the convention. The platform and resolutions committee, upon which there were several progressives, reported out majority and minority resolutions. The majority report, supporting Taft and pledging the state's delegation to him, was adopted by a crushing margin over the minority resolution which sought to qualify the convention's rigid pro-Taft pronunciations. The progressive forces had met defeat again, but still all did not seem lost. Roosevelt might yet be nominated even without Nevada's aid and, therefore, the state's incipient insurgents, though certainly less buoyant in their hopes of success, felt constrained to make a show of party unity. The Republican hosts decamped Fallon with Colonel Reeves' noble utterance echoing across the irrigation ditches: "At the Chicago convention if you Taft men are not with us, we will be with you."[20]

3

In the months prior to the Republican national convention set for June 18 in Chicago, progressive optimism grew. Nationally, Roosevelt won virtually every state primary he entered, and it became increasingly apparent that the colonel was favored over Taft by most party members for the Republican nomination. In Nevada Governor Oddie gave no sign of wavering in his support for Roosevelt. The progressives must have been dismayed, though, when the governor appointed George Wingfield, who declined the honor, and then William A. Massey to complete the unexpired term of U.S. Senator Nixon who died early in June. Massey demonstrated himself a dependable regular party man.

Chicago proved a Republican battlefield. In pre-convention credential committee hearings, the Roosevelt forces consistently lost contested delegations to the administration, and when in the convention it became obvious that Taft's supporters had garnered a majority of the seated delegates, the former president led a walkout of his followers. The progressives' bolt and the coincident announcement that a new party was to be formed displaced Taft's predictable renomination on June 22 in the nation's attention. After advising his followers to return to their home states and sound local opinion regarding the formation of a Progressive party, Roosevelt announced that the insurgents should reconvene in August to launch their new enterprise.[21]

In Nevada there was no great rejoicing at Roosevelt's action in his most prominent quarters of support. Neither Governor Oddie, nor any other prominent Republican officeholder who sympathized with the former president publicly declared his probable support for the new political party. The *Carson City News,* heretofore one of the most vocal Roosevelt organs in the state, denounced Taft's theft of the nomination from the people but solemnly declared that the "Republican party is greater, stronger, grander, than any set or clique of men . . . and we will stay with the grand old party. We admire Roosevelt but we cannot follow Roosevelt."[22]

It was not until early in July that Nevada Progressives became publicly active.[23] On July 7 Senator Joseph M. Dixon of Montana, Roosevelt's campaign organizer, issued the formal call for a Progressive party national convention in Chicago August 5. Within a matter of days George Springmeyer was circulating a petition in Carson City for the appointment of delegates to the national convention.[24]

The petition, announced as being in circulation throughout the state, declared that "owing to the short time between this date and the meeting of the Roosevelt convention," it was necessary that Nevada's representation be promptly determined. Addressed to the "Progressive Republicans"

of the state, the document listed as prospective delegates Springmeyer and two former state senators, Henry A. Comins of White Pine County and Sardis Summerfield of Washoe County.[25] The *Carson City Daily Appeal,* in looking over the number and character of signatures Springmeyer's petition had accumulated, remarked that the state's Republican party could ill afford "the defection of this element of stability." The signers were "mainly Republicans, or at least followers of the creed of the party for many years," who represented "a feeling among the Republicans that Teddy was robbed at the convention in Chicago."[26]

On the evening of July 11 it became apparent that the Springmeyer slate of delegates was not the product of consensual agreement among the state's Progressive leadership. From Reno Colonel Reeves, as chairman of the Progressive League of Nevada, issued a call for a state convention in Reno July 23. All "Progressives" of the state regardless of past or present party affiliation were invited to attend.[27] Presumably because Reeves was the recognized Roosevelt representative in Nevada the instigators of the petition movement decided to answer the summons and attend the Reno convention. But it was obvious that there were two elements within the Progressive ranks contending for leadership. "From all appearances," observed the *Carson City Daily Appeal,* "the main fight of the new party . . . will be at Reno between the Reeves faction and the others [i.e. the group led by Springmeyer and Summerfield]."[28]

The first gathering of Nevada's Progressive party opened with representatives present from all but four or five of the sixteen counties.[29] The one hundred or so delegates that assembled for the convention's opening on the afternoon of July 23 immediately found themselves entangled in controversy. Although the convention had a fairly well defined and simple agenda—adopting a statement of principles (the national convention's not having met making the approval of a formal platform impossible), naming presidential electors and delegates to the Chicago convention, and taking care of certain organizational matters—the call issued by Colonel Reeves had failed to specify the apportionment of delegates among the counties. Each county had sent as many representatives as it had seen fit, and as a result the convention began on a rather disharmonious note when objections were made to the number of delegates some counties were allowed.[30]

Colonel Reeves called the meeting to order, spoke briefly, and read a telegram from Roosevelt greeting the assembled delegates and exhorting them to carry on their "fight for genuine popular rule and social and industrial justice obtained through that popular rule." When the applause had died down, L. W. Haworth was chosen chairman of the convention, Frank N. Fletcher secretary, and the "entire convention then resolved itself into a pro tem committee of the whole on credentials." The committee proceeded to the business of officially seating the delegates, which straightaway developed into open warfare between two factions in the

convention, one headed by Reeves and Dr. Charles A. Hascall, and the other by Springmeyer, Summerfield, and Patrick L. Flanigan.[31]

Conflict centered around who should be appointed to represent counties which had not sent representatives, and as to who should have control over the several proxies of certain counties. Apparently, Colonel Reeves did not initially discern the impending contest, for his early actions seemed those of a man confidently in control of the situation. He obtained the consent of the committee to seat E. B. Hill, with twelve votes, as the representative of Humboldt County, and then, according to one report, suggested that George Springmeyer be enrolled as the delegate from Mineral County. This proposal was, likewise, favorably acted upon by the committee.[32] When the question as to the control of proxies arose, however, Reeves quickly found himself being outmaneuvered. The committee allowed him to keep but one of the five proxies he claimed from Clark County, and when a dispute arose between him and Springmeyer over five Mineral County proxies, he was awarded one and Springmeyer four.[33] With the difficulties of proxies and unrepresented counties finally settled, the committee proceeded to seat uncontested delegations, recognizing virtually everyone who had appeared, giving "no particular regard to the comparative voting strength of the counties."[34]

Reeves soon was assailing the "steam-roller" methods being used by the committee, and claiming that "some of the smaller counties were packing the convention and shutting out other counties." A Judge Moore of Lyon County joined in declaring that the basis of representation was unfair, that apportionment should be determined along the lines of those holding for the recent Republican state convention. Springmeyer replied to Moore by saying that the use of Republican votes as a basis for apportionment had been abandoned because the Progressives "felt they were breaking away from the Republican party."[35] Amidst protests against "gag methods" and "steam-roller tactics" a majority of the committee voted approval of the committee's report, "seating every delegate named."[36]

Having constituted itself, the convention sought to regain some semblance of harmony. On the motion for the election of a state party chairman, Dr. Hascall named Colonel Reeves. The colonel, however, refused to serve. Launching into a speech, he denounced the methods of Springmeyer and Summerfield as "dishonorable and not a square deal to the progressives of the state," declared that he was not in accord with the actions of the "packed meeting" and that he was withdrawing his name from participation in the convention.[37]

August Frolich declared that Reeves owed the convention an apology, that his remarks were unjustified. There was no apology from the angry Reeves, and he said that he was leaving. Sardis Summerfield remarked that his withdrawal "would not constitute an irreparable injury to the progressive party." Thereupon Reeves departed, taking with him three

or four delegates and several more proxies.[38] Henry B. Lind then was selected state chairman, Patrick L. Flanigan was named national committeeman, a state central committee was selected, presidential electors chosen, and Flanigan, Summerfield, and Springmeyer were elected delegates to the national convention. A "forward" adopted in place of a platform praised Roosevelt and his virtues, denounced Taft and his lack of them, and condemned the Republican party for its recent despicable activities. Finally, with three cheers for their revered leader, the first Progressive state convention came to a close.[39]

The Progressive party emerged from its Reno experience with a formal organization and an official state leadership. But more had been undone than accomplished, for in the wake of the convention there existed an open split between the two factions contending for dominance of the party. Where before there had been the likelihood of a united state organization behind the candidacies of Roosevelt and the yet to be determined state Progressive office seekers, there was now seemingly irreconcilable warring between camps that had to come together if victory was to be achieved. The Nevada Progressives, gathering in magnificent disarray, entered upon their first campaign commanded jointly by a leader who had influence with the national Progressive organization but none with the state's, and by several others, who controlled the state party machinery but who had no contact with the national party—and were not on speaking terms with its sole local representative.

4

The *Reno Evening Gazette* of July 29 expressed surprise: "Although flattened out by the Progressive steamroller so that he was hardly recognizable, Colonel C. R. Reeves popped up again yesterday as the only simon-pure Roosevelt representative, through receiving the tickets of admission to the Chicago convention." Reeves, no doubt with a sense of satisfaction in showing his rivals that he was still the state's holder of influence with the national organization, mailed the tickets to the delegates chosen at the recent convention.[40]

For a short time political activity in the state quieted. The Republicans met in a perfunctory second convention at which the Chicago platform was endorsed and presidential electors were chosen, and Progressives began the task of constituting county organizations.[41] The Progressive delegates journeyed to Chicago to attend their national convention which opened on August 5 and unanimously nominated Theodore Roosevelt, who declared that he felt as fit as a bull moose.

With Roosevelt officially annointed leader and head of the ticket, Nevada's Progressives set about naming a slate of state candidates. The party's central committee met in Reno August 15 to take care of whatever obstacles remained to the launching of the election campaign. Convening in the law office of Sardis Summerfield and with H. B. Lind officiating, the representatives of the various counties endorsed the action of the recent state conventions, and decided that complete state and county tickets should be put up. Candidates for national and state offices were then named: Sardis Summerfield for U.S. senator, George Springmeyer for congressman, William H. Thomas for state supreme court justice, Henry A. Comins for long term university regent, and L. W. Haworth and Peter Anker for short term university regents.[42]

The remainder of August and September found Nevada's Progressives occupied with local organization, ballot problems, and increasingly bitter factional disputes. The difficulty over the ballot, the most easily overcome of the three difficulties, occurred when Democratic Attorney General Cleveland Baker rendered a decision that Progressive candidates were to be designated Independents in the upcoming election. No one expecting to go on the ballot by petition, contended Baker, had any right to a designation other than Independent. Immediately Bull Moose leaders brought suit against Baker with the result that the state supreme court declared on September 20 that the new party's candidates were entitled to use the Progressive label and that a writ would be issued prohibiting them from using the name Independent.[43]

A more significant problem was the continuing and increasingly bitter fratricidal conflict within the Bull Moose ranks. On September 6 Colonel

Reeves, recently appointed Roosevelt's campaign manager for Nevada, publicly declared that under no circumstances would he support or vote for the party's state candidates. In a letter to the *Reno Evening Gazette* the colonel stated that he was a Progressive and would vote for Roosevelt, but as far as state offices were concerned he would support the Republican ticket. He went on to say considerably more about Progressive candidates Springmeyer and Summerfield, but the *Gazette* declined to relate his remarks, saying they "might not look well in print."[44] Reeves' sudden outburst had apparently occurred as the result of an audacious request on the part of the Washoe County Progressive leadership that he consent to run for district attorney. Indignantly rejecting the offer, the colonel said that he intended to vote for the Republican nominee for that office.[45]

The response to Reeves' statements was the announcement, a week later, that the party intended to bring a criminal suit against him for misappropriation of Progressive funds. The *Reno Evening Gazette* on September 16 released the text of a letter from national committeeman Flanigan to Reeves accusing him of various wrongdoings. Calling Reeves (who was shortly to be divorced by his wife) "a most dispicable and disreputable libertine," and declaring that the colonel had at all times been "merely a clerk" acting for him, Flanigan charged him with misappropriation, hinted at "other charges," threatened to bring disbarment proceedings against him, and demanded that he appear at party headquarters to give an accounting of the party's funds in his keeping—reputedly about $1,200.[46]

When questioned by a *Gazette* reporter about Flanigan's charges, Reeves replied that he had "never received one cent from Flanigan" and didn't "intend to make any accounting of the funds to him." He acknowledged spending considerable amounts for printing, postage, and bringing in a speaker, but declared that, in any case, he did not recognize Flanigan as the proper person to whom an accounting should be made—since he had not been appointed national committeeman until after the national organization had alloted the funds to the state. Reeves concluded the interview by announcing his own campaign agenda. "You can say that I intend to show up the men who are running the progressive party in this state before the campaign is over. I am going to campaign the state using my own money and I will tell the people about Mr. Flanigan and Mr. Summerfield and Mr. Springmeyer. I will tell the people the truth about the bull moosers who are running the organization. . . ."[47] So virulent was the colonel's counterattack that the stenographer at the Progressive party headquarters, who had worked for Reeves when he was handling the party's funds, requested police protection on her way home from the office.[48]

Incensed at the disclosure of Flanigan's letter, the Progressive state chairman H. B. Lind the next day charged that the *Gazette* was "in

league with Col. Reeves" and that it was evident there was afoot a "conspiracy to show up the progressive leaders." Progressive acrimony toward the *Gazette* reached such a height that when Dr. Hascall, the party's campaign organizer, returned to the headquarters a few days later and began to answer a newsman's questions about his recent tour of the state, Lind terminated the session, informing Hascall that it had "been voted not to give the *Gazette* any more news."[49]

The difficulties with the *Gazette* were only a part of those concerned with the press which insinuated themselves into the Progressives' intra-party conflicts. During the funds furor, Sardis Summerfield announced that the party had a campaign chest of $60,000 and that some of the money would be used to start a daily paper.[50] The need for an official newspaper had arisen when the *Nevada Bugle* ceased publication early in September—an occurrence for which Reeves was in some measure responsible and which no doubt had added to the list of grievances the party leaders held against him.

The *Bugle* had begun publication in July and had quickly declared itself to be "the organ of the Progressive party in this state."[51] The paper's managing editor soon thereafter had claimed that Reeves had "promised to finance the venture," but that the pledged funds had failed to appear. The editor then had gone to Flanigan and other state leaders, but they were unable to help him as Reeves held the party's money. The paper soon folded (amid reports in some quarters that its editor hurriedly left the state with several hundred dollars which had been raised in a voting contest the journal was running).[52]

The exchange of charges and countercharges between Reeves and his enemies soon subsided, though of a certainty, ill feeling did not. Reeves was not criminally prosecuted, nor were disbarment proceedings begun against him; and the colonel on his part undertook no statewide tour to denounce the party's candidates.

The third problem confronting the Progressives was that of establishing local organizations throughout the state. Perceiving that the party had no hope of success or permanency without county organization, the leadership exerted efforts to effect that goal. Dr. Charles Hascall was given the responsibility for overseeing this effort and he travelled extensively helping to create county committees, starting Bull Moose clubs, and encouraging the putting-up of candidates for county offices.

Starting in mid-August, after the central committee meeting in Reno, Hascall embarked upon a statewide organizational tour intended to insure the creation of county central committees and the fielding of county candidates. During the final two weeks of August and early September local organization was effected in several communities, upon suggestion in some areas, with Hascall's direct help in the more backward benighted regions.[53] In most instances the local party members encountered difficulty in securing candidates willing to run on their

tickets, and the fielding of complete slates was rare.[54] Dr. Hascall's endeavors left Progressive activity in their wake, but there was some question as to its productivity.

While organization proceeded with Hascall's advance, the Progressives were cheered by two events of some significance. On September 13 Dr. Hascall announced along his way that the various petitions circulated among the counties had obtained the signatures of more than 10 percent of the 27,000 voters who participated in the last general election, and that the legal existence of the Progressive party was thus assured.[55] This gratifying news was followed by the arrival, September 14, of Theodore Roosevelt in Reno for a well-publicized speaking engagement. At a rally apparently well attended by Roosevelt admirers and the curious in general, the Progressive nominee delivered a rather lackluster speech restating major themes of the Progressive campaign: legislation for conservation, female suffrage, tariff reduction, regulation of the trusts, attacks on "bossism," and the demand for more direct participation by the public in governmental affairs. Having represented himself as the candidate of the people and their leader in the fight against entrenched special interests, the former president completed his talk and departed the platform. With only a wave of his hat to his official state representative, Reeves, Roosevelt promptly made his way to the campaign train and took leave of Reno.[56] If Roosevelt's appearance did not inspire the state's Progressives to a crusading fervor, it did at least reassure them that they had not been entirely forgotten by the national party leaders.

Hascall-spawned Progressive cells continued their efforts to firmly establish themselves.[57] The diligent organizer meantime moved eastward and northward across Nevada to Lovelock, Winnemucca, Austin, Ely, and then points south.[58] By October he had apparently completed his schedule of organizational meetings and the grand tour came to an end. Party organization on the state and county level had been reasonably effected—at least committees, candidates, and Bull Moose clubs abounded in the state. Full or partial slates of candidates had been created in about half the counties.[59] Whether or not established Nevada progressivism was effective was a question that had yet to be answered.

5

Nevada's Progressives seem to have conducted a limited campaign of political "education," rather than attempting to field all their candidates for major offices in extensive speaking programs. A regular newspaper column of "Progressive Party News" which frequently contained encouraging letters from national party officials was produced, and cards for state and local Progressive office seekers appeared in several newspapers, but the burden of active campaigning was borne by Sardis Summerfield, the party's senatorial candidate, and William R. Thomas, the nominee for state supreme court justice. Having announced an ambitious speaking schedule on September 28, Summerfield toured the more important communities of the state with Thomas, spreading the Progressive gospel and denouncing Taft and the Republicans.[60] The assemblies were generally reported to have been well attended, although enthusiasm for the new party was not always in evidence.[61] Considerable amounts of money were spent by the Progressives on circulars, directed mainly at Senator Massey, and at least one newspaper observed that the "mud-slinging" handbills were undoubtedly hurting Roosevelt's chances of carrying Nevada.[62]

State chairman Lind periodically sent out encouraging bulletins to the party's county officers, reporting national Republican setbacks and Progressive gains, but Progressive optimism was tempered by the continuing reluctance of leading state Republican progressives to join their movement. August Frolich, former speaker of the state assembly, and who had attended the Progressive state convention, returned to the Republican ranks to run in that party's September primary against Representative Roberts. N. H. Chapin of White Pine County, mentioned by Springmeyer as being active in the Progressive party, by October was conducting a successful campaign for the state senate as a Republican. Governor Oddie, after being urged by Lind to ally himself with the Progressives, and by Wingfield to stay away from them, declared in October, that he was still with his party, and that he was doing all he could "to secure the election of Senator Massey."[63] Despite whatever they were saying publicly, by election day there could have been little doubt in the minds of Progressive leaders that defeat awaited the party.

On November 5, Roosevelt outpolled Taft by more than two thousand votes, but lost the state to Wilson by about the same margin. Sardis Summerfield finished fourth (behind the Socialist candidate) in the U.S. Senate race, and George Springmeyer similarly trailed behind in the fourway contest for Robert's House seat. The Progressive candidates for the offices of supreme court justice and university regents were also badly beaten. At the same time, however, that the Progressive party was being sent down to defeat, the state's voters were approving several progressive

amendments to the state constitution, among them a recall provision and a clarifying statement on the recently adopted referendum and initiative procedures.[64]

After the devastating defeat, the state party, like the national one, never recovered. The party organization in the state, to be sure, remained intact, but it atrophied and lost whatever effectiveness it once had. In a few years, without the leadership of Roosevelt, the Progressive party nationwide was practically dead. Many of its supporters in 1912 had returned to the Republican party—from whence practically all of the party's strength had initially been drawn. In Nevada in 1914 Progressive candidates (Springmeyer for attorney general, F. R. Trimmer for superintendent of state printing, Lind and Fletcher for university regents) were again soundly defeated—although Springmeyer beat out his Republican opponent. By the time of the 1916 general election there were no Progressive candidates on the Nevada ballot.

Hastily formed in response to the candidacy of one man, the Nevada Progressive party dissolved almost as rapidly as it had been created, and it proved as stable and permanent as any political organization based upon the weak foundation of one individual's personal leadership. There simply was not reason enough, in the end, for the endurance of the party. The causes which the party championed were championed by other parties and the men who created the party did not care enough about the organization to sustain it, especially when whatever opportunities it had offered for the attainment of political power ceased to exist. Just as the party ceased to be a vehicle for gaining power, it also proved—for whatever impatient progressives who might have joined it—an ineffective means of achieving desired reforms. Most sincere Nevada reformers did not abandon the progressive-influenced state Republican party for the Progressive ranks. In any case, progressive reform became an issue of secondary importance to most Americans as World War I enveloped the United States as well as the nations of Europe.[65]

6

Nearly two decades after the event, Amos Pinchot recalled of the Progressive party national convention of 1912 that, while many of the delegates were earnest public spirited citizens, sincerely interested in political and social reform, and that they "furnished the moral fibers of the new party . . . outnumbering them was a distinct majority made up of people bent chiefly on riding to power on Roosevelt's broad back."[66]

Pinchot could just as accurately have been speaking of the Nevada Progressive party leadership. A generally hostile state press most often referred to the Progressive leaders in such terms as "discarded politicians" and "defeated candidates of all parties," and this was a superficially correct description of at least some of them. It was, however, inaccurate and misleading in its incompleteness.

It seems apparent that the Progressive leaders, as a group, were neither discards nor hopeful nonentities as their political enemies constantly implied. This does not, however, mean that many were not primarily opportunists. Some were impatient young men, all were ambitious individuals. They were seeking a party vehicle more receptive to their desires and aspirations than the established ones (most often the Republican), which either frustrated their hopes by denying them the immediate opportunity to seek, or re-seek, public office, or excluded them from leadership positions because of youth, relative newness to party affairs, or because of personal differences with party policies or leaders.

The Progressive leaders had diverse political backgrounds and were at various stages of their political careers. Of seventeen of the most prominent of their number, six had at one time held elective state office (two were currently in office) and one an appointive position. At least five, and probably twice that number, had been defeated in contests for election or re-election. These men were not, generally speaking, obscure citizens, nor were they at the time or had they been in the recent past, considered nonentities by the Republican party. George Springmeyer had been the party's candidate for attorney general in 1906 and 1910, Patrick L. Flanigan had been the national committeeman for sixteen years and had run against Francis Newlands for the U.S. Senate in 1908, Charles Reeves was a former White Pine County district attorney and the commander of the Nevada National Guard, Charles Hascall was a prominent citizen of Fallon (since 1909) and active in that area's reclamation work, William R. Thomas was a former South Dakota state senator and had been district attorney of Clark County, Joseph G. McCarthy was a former superintendent of state printing, L. W. Haworth was the editor of Austin's *Reese River Reveille,* Peter Anker was the

vice-president of a Lovelock bank, H. B. Lind was an attorney and mining stock broker in Goldfield, Maurice Mack was a Douglas County state senator, and Joseph Poujade was a former lieutenant governor of Nevada. Sardis Summerfield, Henry Comins, and Charles Norcross were former state senators or assemblymen—as were Flanigan, Poujade, and Anker. W. T. Moran and John Chartz were elected to county offices in 1912, Moran to that of Storey County supervisor, Chartz to the first of several terms as Ormsby County district attorney. Norcross was soon to be appointed commissioner of Industry, Agriculture and Irrigation by Governor Oddie, and Frank N. Fletcher was named to the state Tax Commission in 1913.

At least seven of the seventeen individuals were attorneys, one was a medical doctor, one a newspaper editor, two (including attorney Lind) were prominent businessmen, and three were well-to-do ranchers. Only one of the number could properly be called an incorrigible office seeker—or aspiring professional politician—and that would be Springmeyer, who ran again for attorney general as a Progressive in 1914. This is not to imply, however, that a primary reason for those joining the new party was not the lure of new opportunity for office or political power—for certainly the Progressive leadership was composed of practical politicians, most of them out of office.

The seventeen Progressives surveyed ranged in age from twenty-three (Chartz) to seventy-six (Comins), the ages of three being undetermined. Of the seven most active Progressive leaders, Springmeyer was thirty-one, Summerfield and Flanigan fifty-four, Reeves forty-one, Thomas fifty-seven, Hascall sixty-one, and Lind was in his early forties. The average age of these seven was, thus, about forty-nine.

Most of the Progressives returned to the Republican fold (Chartz became a Democrat), but they were not, with few exceptions, thereafter elected to state or legislative office on that party's ticket—although the reason for this does not appear to have been their Progressive party flirtation. August Frolich, who had rejoined the Republicans after the Progressive state convention, and was later a Republican assemblyman and the mayor of Reno, was one whose subsequent career differed from this general pattern. George Springmeyer, finally abandoning hope of elective office, was appointed U.S. attorney for Nevada in the 1920s. Patrick Flanigan was named a Republican presidential elector in 1916.

It appears obvious that the leaders of Nevada's Progressive party did not represent, as their opponents contended, the scrapings of the political barrels of the state—"cranks" and frustrated politicians. On the whole, they were well-to-do, respected members of their communities, men of acknowledged abilities, and while their ranks included numerous individuals with political experience, some of it unhappy, it would not be proper to apply the term "has been" to them, or declare that a compulsive desire for public office was the dominating force of their lives. It

even seems warranted to surmise that if personal ambition was a motivating factor behind many Progressive leaders, so too was some genuine concern for progressive principles and Rooseveltian progressive leadership.

Still, it was not principles, but ambition overriding them that chiefly characterized the leaders of the Progressive party of Nevada. The individuals who came together to form the party in 1912 gathered to support the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt and to benefit from that candidacy; they grouped and followed but did not amalgamate. When the party disintegrated, the members of the leaderless herd going their separate ways, it was difficult to find any convincingly logical answer to how or why it had ever existed and functioned at all.

Notes

1. *Carson City News,* March 2. All newspaper references, unless otherwise indicated, are to Nevada newspapers of 1912.
2. *Ibid.,* March 1.
3. *Ibid.; Reno Evening Gazette,* March 1.
4. *Nevada State Journal,* March 3; *Reno Evening Gazette,* March 2. "Colonel" Reeves was a member of the governor's auxiliary, as guard commander he held the rank of captain.
5. George Springmeyer, "History of the Progressive Party in Nevada," in Sam P. Davis, ed., *The History of Nevada,* Vol. I (Reno: The Elms Publishing Co., Inc., 1913), p. 454. Such lack of evidence does not, of course, disprove Springmeyer's charge.
6. *Nevada State Journal,* March 3.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. Springmeyer, "History of the Progressive Party," p. 454.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Reno Evening Gazette,* April 6; *Eureka Sentinel,* April 13.
12. *Reno Evening Gazette,* April 6.
13. *Carson City Daily Appeal,* April 8. In Ormsby the Progressives had to field their own slate when the county central committee placed only the names of Taft men on the ballot. *Eureka Sentinel,* April 13. The victorious Washoe County Taft ticket included the name of Patrick L. Flanigan, who was also on the Roosevelt ticket, and who subsequently became one of the Progressive party leaders. *Nevada State Journal,* April 7. The Taft slate put forward by the Churchill County central committee was uncontested. *Churchill County Eagle,* April 13.
14. *Elko Daily Free Press,* April 8; *Nevada State Herald,* April 12.
15. *White Pine News,* April 7.
16. *Gardnerville Record-Courier,* April 12; *Reese River Reveille,* April 6.
17. *Silver State,* April 6; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza,* April 8; *Goldfield Daily Tribune,* April 7; *Territorial Enterprise,* April 7, 10; *Yerington Times,* May 4 (dated April 27); *Clark County Review,* April 13. In Mineral County delegates were chosen by the central committee, but it was not reported whom they favored.

Walker Lake Bulletin, April 9. Neither the manner of selection nor the make-up of the Lincoln and Eureka County delegations was reported in the principal newspapers of the counties, though it is evident primary elections were held in neither place.

18. *Churchill County Eagle,* May 11. The *Reno Evening Gazette* of May 6 reported that the "Roosevelt forces number 29 in person and by proxy," but judging from ensuing reports by other newspapers its accounting seems to have been in error.

19. *Carson City News,* May 7.

20. *Reno Evening Gazette,* May 6; *Churchill County Eagle,* May 11.

21. George H. Mayer, *The Republican Party, 1854–1966* (2nd ed.; New York; Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 327–329.

22. *Carson City News,* June 23.

23. Behind-the-scenes Progressive activity had been carried on before this time. E.g. *Carson City News,* July 20.

24. *Carson City Daily Appeal,* July 10.

25. *Ibid.; Territorial Enterprise,* July 12.

26. *Carson City Daily Appeal,* July 10, 11.

27. *Ibid.,* July 12.

28. *Ibid.,* July 20.

29. *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 23; *Carson City News,* July 24. The delegates to the convention were variously chosen. In several counties public meetings were held at which delegates were selected. *Reese River Reveille,* July 20, 27; *Goldfield Daily Tribune,* July 21; *Carson City News,* July 20; *Territorial Enterprise,* July 21; *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 20; *Yerington Times,* July 27; *Churchill County Eagle,* July 27. In other counties surprise was expressed by the local papers over the fact that representatives had appeared at all, there having been no county meetings called to choose them. *Clark County Review,* Aug. 3; *Silver State,* July 25. Mineral County, being without representation, had delegates named at the start of the convention. *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 23; *White Pine News,* July 28. Lincoln, Nye, Eureka, and Elko counties were not represented. *Carson City News,* July 24. The procedures by which delegates from the remaining counties were selected are not evident.

30. *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 23, 24.

31. *Ibid.,* July 23; *Carson City News,* July 24.

32. *White Pine News,* July 28; *Silver State,* July 25; *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 23.

33. *White Pine News,* July 28; *Carson City News,* July 24.

34. *White Pine News,* July 28.

35. *Ibid; Carson City News,* July 24; *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 24.

36. *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 24.

37. *Ibid.; White Pine News,* July 28.

38. *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 24; *Silver State,* July 25. August Frolich, running as a progressive Republican, was the unsuccessful opponent of Congressman Roberts in the Sept. 3 Republican state primary.

39. *White Pine News,* July 28; *Reese River Reveille,* July 27; *Carson City News,* July 24; *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 24. The exact chronology of events is difficult to ascertain from newspaper reports. Apparently even the reporters covering the meeting were rather confused by the somewhat chaotic proceedings.

40. *Reno Evening Gazette,* July 29.

41. *Ibid.*, July 29; e.g. *Carson City News,* Aug. 6.

42. *Reno Evening Gazette,* Aug. 14; *Carson City News,* Aug. 15; *Clark County Review,* Aug. 17. There was some question as to the propriety of naming Springmeyer to the ticket, as he was currently contesting before the state supreme court his 1910 loss by sixty-five votes of the attorney general's office. Springmeyer eventually abandoned his demand for a recount in mid-September. *Reno Evening Gazette,* Aug. 15, Sept. 19.

43. *Carson City News,* Sept. 19, 21; *Reno Evening Gazette,* Sept. 18.

44. *Carson City News,* Sept. 7; *Churchill County Eagle,* Sept. 14; *Reno Evening Gazette,* Sept. 6.

45. *Reno Evening Gazette,* Sept. 6.

46. *Ibid.*, Sept. 16.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Carson City News,* Sept. 19; *Reno Evening Gazette,* Sept. 17.

49. *Reno Evening Gazette,* Sept. 17, 25.

50. *Ibid.*, Sept. 24. Lind declined to comment when asked about the truth of rumors that the national party, upon hearing of the splendid condition of the state organization's finances, had asked for a contribution. The rumors seem to have been the creation of uncompassionate local wits.

51. *Nevada Bugle,* Aug. 10.

52. *Reno Evening Gazette,* Sept. 24; *Churchill County Standard,* Sept. 18.

53. *Carson City News,* Aug. 17, 24; *Reno Evening Gazette,* Aug. 28; *Reese River Reveille,* Aug. 31.

54. *Carson City News,* Sept. 7; *Carson City Daily Appeal,* Sept. 7; *Nevada State Journal,* Sept. 9; *Reno Evening Gazette,* Sept. 6, 10; *Goldfield Daily Tribune,* Sept. 15; *Reese River Reveille,* Sept. 7.

55. *Reno Evening Gazette,* Sept. 13.

56. *Ibid.*, Sept. 14; *Silver State,* Sept. 17.

57. *Gardnerville Record-Courier,* Sept. 6, 20. There was a fusion ticket of Democrats and Progressives in Douglas County. *Territorial Enterprise,* Sept. 15, 17, 18; *Clark County Review,* Sept. 21; *Pioche Record,* Oct. 19.

58. *Churchill County Standard,* Sept. 18; *Seven Troughs and Lovelock Review-Miner,* Sept. 20; *Silver State,* Sept. 19; *Reese River Reveille,* Sept. 21; *White Pine News,* Sept. 29; *Gardnerville Record-Courier,* Oct. 5.

59. According to lists of candidates and election returns in newspapers there seem to have been no Progressive candidates for local offices in at least six counties: Nye, Elko, Humboldt, Mineral, Lyon, and Eureka.

60. *Reno Evening Gazette,* Sept. 28.

61. E.g. *Clark County Review,* Oct. 5; *Tonopah Times Bonanza,* Oct. 21; *Pioche Record,* Oct. 5; *Elko Weekly Independent,* Oct. 11; *Eureka Sentinel,* Oct. 12; *Reese River Reveille,* Oct. 19; *Goldfield Daily Tribune,* Oct. 20; *Carson City Daily Appeal,* Oct. 30; *Gardnerville Record-Courier,* Nov. 1.

62. *Yerington Times,* Oct. 12.

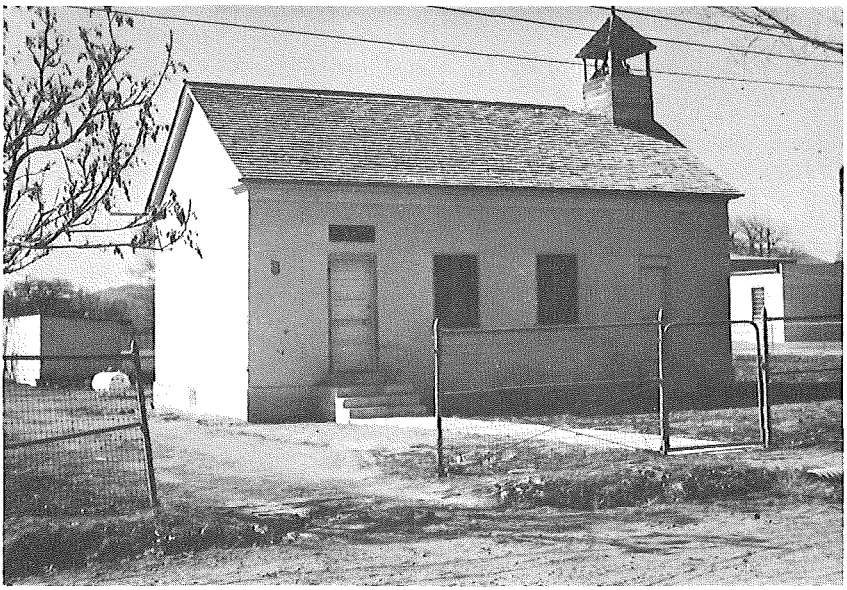
63. *Ibid.*, Oct. 26; *Eureka Sentinel,* Oct. 5; George Springmeyer, "History of the Progressive Party in Nevada," p. 457; Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 250.

64. The source for election returns is John Koontz, *Political History of Nevada* (5th ed.; Carson City: State Printing Office, 1965). Summerfield's 1,428 votes undoubtedly accounted for Democratic senatorial candidate Key Pittman's victory by 89 votes.

65. Although diminished on the local level, the cause of progressive reform survived healthily in the U.S. Senate during the 1920s. Arthur S. Link, *American Epoch: A History of the United States Since the 1890's* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), pp. 255–260.

66. Amos Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party, 1912–1916* (New York: New York University Press, 1958), pp. 170–171.

"Old" Wadsworth Hotel in Panaca, Nevada.



L.D.S. Chapel in Panaca, Nevada.

How Come Nevada?

by Nevada W. Driggs

OUR GRANDCHILDREN frequently ask me how I got my name, Nevada, and why my sister LuNita and I were born in Nevada while all the rest of mother's children were born in Parowan, Utah. Through the help of my eldest sister, Ora, and two elderly gentlemen, Henry Lee of Panaca, Nevada, and Charles Mathews of Santa Clara, Utah who remember our family, I have been able to assemble the facts concerning our mother's sojourn in the state of Nevada. Also, I made a visit to Panaca and contacted several people, including Mrs. Blanche Dotson, who provided me with official pictures of buildings and places about which mother talked: The little LDS chapel dedicated in 1869, where the family attended church, the old Wadsworth Hotel, the Court Rock, and Cathedral Gorge where public celebrations were held.

Our mother, Emily Crane, was a schoolteacher from London, England. She was teaching school in Fillmore, Utah when Lorenzo Dow Watson, a Civil War veteran from Maine, brought his first wife, Melissa Clark, to Fillmore to visit her relatives, the Callisters. From that visit mother's marriage into polygamy resulted. She lost her eldest son Lorenzo, six, from croup, and her eldest daughter Talula, four, from appendicitis. She had three younger children: Ora, Ralph, and Iva. At this point the persecution of polygamists became very intense. Mother had been married in the St. George Temple before polygamy was outlawed. Now all polygamists were being apprehended and Aunt Melissa's brother-in-law, Ed Dalton, had been shot without warning by a U.S. marshal. Federal

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Nevada W. Driggs gives her age as "past eighty." A schoolteacher, she married a professional instructor of the deaf and spent the following forty-two years teaching the deaf and blind in California, Idaho, and North Dakota. Presently she lives in Seattle, Washington.

marshals would walk into our home without knocking. One slept outside in the rain all night hoping to apprehend our father.

Mama and Mrs. Ed Dalton were taken to Beaver in the back of a buckboard, each nursing babies, to appear in court to identify their husbands, which they refused to do. All these harassments were most traumatic and when mother became pregnant again she begged to be taken to some sanctuary out of state.

There is a letter in the church archives dated September 24, 1890 from papa to the church authorities stating that he was moving mother out of the state because of the hounding of the marshals.

Father's eldest daughter, Vivien, had obtained a teaching position in Bunkerville, just across the Utah border in Nevada south of St. George. So, papa decided to take her there and to take mother on into Nevada where the Mormons had established the town of Panaca. This would be a journey of more than two hundred miles over pioneer trails and desert. Papa took two outfits, a covered wagon with mother's household goods pulled by his work team Doc and Creole, and a buckboard, a one-seat open rig something like a pickup. This was for mother and the children and was drawn by the fast team, Maine, a mare named for papa's home state, and Kilrain a high spirited gelding named for a pugilist. Ora (eight), Ralph (six), and Iva (four), sat on the bedding in the back of the buckboard while Vivien rode in the wagon with papa, as papa feared riding with mama enroute to Nevada as the marshals were everywhere.

There were small Mormon settlements throughout Utah, so the family camped near one of these each night, building a camp fire, and putting the children to bed on pieced quilts under the stars. Vivien slept in the wagon. When they reached Bunkerville papa secured a boarding place for Vivien. The next day he asked Ora to ride with him. She remembers keenly how concerned he was about leaving his eighteen year old daughter in Bunkerville. Ora loved riding in the wagon and best of all is her memory of a sack of cookies which mother had baked and which hung from the middle bow of the wagon. It would swing back and forth as they traveled and at night papa would untie the sack and bring it to the campfire so each could have some, and then back it would go to the wagon bow.

Leaving Bunkerville papa headed north and west toward the Meadow Valley Wash. This was the dry bed of the Little Muddy River which in spring filled with a red flood from the Mormon Range and Mormon Peak, then it would dry up and the dry river bed cutting through sand, went almost straight to Panaca. This was their road, and mother never having seen desert or mountains until she came to Utah, found it terribly desolate. After several days they came to "The Pockets." Here again Ora's memory is keen because papa asked her to go with him to take the teams to water. She says "The Pockets" were pools of water in deep

rock basins which dripped from small springs above. This place is located at the present town of Carp, about sixty-five miles south of Panaca.

When they were within a days drive of Panaca papa decided to have mama drive on ahead so that she would arrive in Panaca before dark. He realized that he might be late so he hired an Indian, who knew the way, to ride along with mother. Ora remembers that the Indian was eager to help but after a few miles there appeared a small figure behind them in the dust. The Indian asked mother to stop and soon a wailing woman overtook them, she was the Indian's squaw. She learned of his leaving and thought he was deserting her. No amount of persuasion could dissuade her from this idea. The Indian talked to her in their native language and mother wept, and in her cultivated English tried to show her how alone she would be with three small children. The squaw kept pulling out an old rag and wiping the copious tears running down her bronzed cheeks. Ora was amazed that the tears didn't turn the rag brown not just wet. No amount of argument could change the woman's mind. Mama offered to let her go on to Panaca, but she pointed and said, "papooses in wickiup." So they both got out. Mother often told me about the terror of that day. Because of the delay with the squaw she made poor time and toward dusk they came to what appeared to be wet sand. Mother wrapped the reins about her wrists and telling the children to lie down in back, she urged Maine and Killrain through the hazardous sand, but the little colt went to the side and dropped through the quicksand and never reappeared. So it was a heartbroken family that finally arrived in the desert town of Panaca.

Mother drove up to the one building she could see to seek information about making a camp. This happened to be the hotel run by Mr. and Mrs. James Wadsworth. When Mrs. Wadsworth came to the door she found a nervous British woman with three small children and a team and buckboard. She told mother that they must stay in the hotel overnight and sent her husband to take care of the horses. Mother considered this one of the greatest kindnesses ever shown her, and again Ora remembers sleeping with one of the Wadsworth girls, and how comforting the feather bed was.

By morning papa had arrived and contacted Bishop Milton Layfette Lee to inquire about renting a house for mother. The bishop said there was a vacant house owned by the Rice family just in front of the Court Rock. This rock is a white monolith sitting in the center of town. From information I received from present day residents it is called the Court Rock because youthful couples have climbed its heights to do their courting. My mother had a different version: she said that when Panaca was first settled and there were no public buildings, all legal and civic proceedings were held on the Rock, and being shaped like a courthouse was called "the Court House Rock." Also the caves in the base of the rock

served as a jail. It is possible that following generations have changed its use and its meanings and that both versions are right.

After making mother comfortable and installing her stove and beds in the Rice house, papa took his fast team and light rig and returned to Parowan visiting Vivien enroute. Mother enjoyed her life in Panaca, people were kind to polygamous wives, and there were no marshals peering in the windows at night or making uncouth noises to tempt a husband outside where they could grab him. The family attended church in the tiny chapel, now used for welfare purposes, and long since supplanted by an attractive modern church. Ora remembers Sunday school classes and children's parties, one especially where George Lee slipped her a homemade valentine which she still cherishes.

There was no doctor in the town, so when I was born April 28, 1891, a midwife by the name of Mariah Berdilla Rich, whose maiden name was Atchison, was called in. As mother went into labor it was discovered that I was presented face up. I was a large baby and mother was a tiny woman. Papa had returned to Panaca as mother's time approached and now the midwife called him to say that she could not deliver the baby. Papa asked her if she had forceps, and she secured some from her satchel. They probably were not sterilized, but time was of the essence as mama was unconscious. Mother never had any type of medication to ease the pains of birth. Papa finally succeeded in attaching the forceps to my head, twisted, and I was delivered. There was a cut on my head from mother's pelvic bone. Papa asked Mrs. Rich to take care of mother and he bound up the baby's head and stopped the bleeding. Mother had so-called "child-bed fever" following my birth, with fever and delirium for several weeks. She was so weak after the fever left that papa returned to Parowan and got my half sister Alma, who was then sixteen, to help mother with the children. Alma remembers having the baby placed in her arms with the still dark wound on its head. Papa also brought another half sister, Lizzie, with him. Ora remembers that she and Lizzie were invited to a birthday party, but Lizzie had left home with only a calico dress, so papa went to the store, bought party dress material, and cut out and made Lizzie a dress for the party. I cite this incident to show how tender papa was of his children and how anxious he was to have them all appear attractive and equal to the best.

In just eighteen months my sister LuNita was born, and mother said that this was her happiest childbed because she was free from worry of intruding marshals, and she now realized that her childbed fever was from infection and so she had everything which she might need sterilized, and everything properly organized. LuNita was a beautiful baby with such dark heavy hair mother always called her, "My Muddy Papoose." Later the hair turned to beautiful blonde, the loveliest in the family.

It was hard on papa keeping up two homes so far apart, so after two years he moved mother back to Parowan. Ralph had happy memories of

playing "robber" with other small boys on the Court Rock. Having lost his older brother, Ralph was very shy and this boy relationship was good for him. In fact the whole family had happy memories of Panaca. The people there are still kindly and eager to help with information. We drove out to Cathedral Gorge where Mormons hold their July 4 and 24 celebrations, it is now a state park. I could but wonder how mother had guarded her five little ones in this maze of pinnacles and spires, much like Bryce Canyon, in miniature. But that was her life, to protect us from hazards and to offer her life for us as she did when I was born. The Rice house, where LuNita and I first saw the light of day was only recently torn down and the lot is now part of the Lincoln County High School playing field.

So, that is how my sister LuNita and I came to be born in Nevada and how fondly mother regarded the state that gave her sanctuary—so fondly that I received the name Nevada and have always been proud to bear it.

Notes and Documents

A Letter from Oreana, 1867

DURING THE SUMMER of 1867 young Theodore A. Hale, soon to become deputy state controller of Nevada, was employed as a bookkeeper by the Trinity and Sacramento Silver Mining Company at their smelter at Oreana, Humboldt County.

While he was at Oreana, Hale, a prolific letter writer, produced several informative and interesting descriptions of the Humboldt region. The letter printed here contains the recent Gold Hill emigrant's humorous depiction of some features of life at his outpost "in the wilderness," and gives a description of operations at the Oreana smelter, then one of the busiest and most productive in the state.

The letter is part of the Hale correspondence on deposit at the Nevada Historical Society. It has been slightly edited for publication, through the addition of some clarifying punctuation marks and the enclosure in brackets of words which are unclear in the original text.

ERIC N. MOODY

Works Trinity and Sacto
S M Co.
Oreana Nevada July 21

My dear friend,

James W. Wright

I have been promising myself the pleasure of writing you for some time back and this being the Lord's day thought it would be an appropriate day for such a duty. Well Jim how do you get along? I sincerely trust that you are well. I like my situation very much, but it is the devil's own country to live in. Still I have a good appetite and punish my regular ration with the same neatness and dispatch as when Mr. [Blumvelt] presided with such easy grace and dignity at the Boar's rest festive board.

(rather tall language is'nt it). The thermometer has ranged all the way from 100 to 120 during the past two weeks. the Gnats are so thick here as to occasionally cloud the Sun, and the Mosquitoes here are rare and wonderful curiosities—Mr. Todd, agent at Hunter's[1], sent up here to have me send one down in a cage. At night the wolves and coyotes make Rome howl and the miserable cusses are so tame that they will come about the buildings after dark. Speaking of this hot weather reminds me of a story said to be true. "a very wicked man died here last summer and went straight to He-l. he came back after being absent a few hours and on being asked why he returned, said he *came back for his blankets.*"

Perhaps a few words about the works here might be interesting. they are situated on the River[2] about 2½ or 3 miles from the mine.[3] consist of Smelting Furnaces, [Calcining] Rooms, Refining and Cupelling Rooms—Engine and Assay Rooms. the furnaces when in operation turn out about 8 tons of pure metal each per drain—The ore yields about 60 per cent pure metal. the metal is worth from 200$ to 300$ per ton. there is thousands of tons of this ore in sight—it is quarried rather than mined. Four men at the mine keep the furnaces going (working 16 hrs)—about 30 men are employed at the [smelter] works and probably 60 to 100 in getting out Charcoal—the Engine (for the blast)[4] is run by Sage Brush. 2 men furnish the Sage Brush in bales by the contract for 16.00 per day. Charcoal is used for smelting and about ten thousand bushels per month is consumed. the company have contracts for about 150,000 bushels and have about 50,000 bushels on hand—I have sent in to Dr. Beals a specimen of ore and also a bar of the metal—he will take pleasure in showing them to you—I am stage agent for Hill Beachy R R Stage Line—the stages change here for Humboldt, Unionville, Dun Glen, Star City, etc.—I also act as WF&Co[5] Agent here. plenty to do and no time for homesickness. I heard good reports from *our* Clan Alpine mine. I will write Wm[6] the particulars. [Hunt] Donnelly has not written me..what the matter is the Devil only knows.—Give my love to "Kate," tell her she is a brick and remember me to the boys.

Your true friend,

Theo. A. Hale

please write

Notes

1. Hunter's Station, a few miles west of Reno (which was not yet in existence in 1867).
2. Humboldt River.
3. Montezuma Mine.
4. Blast furnace.

5. Wells, Fargo and Company.

6. Probably William E. Hale, Theodore's brother, a Wells, Fargo agent in Carson City.

Relics of Nevada's volunteer firefighters on display at the Historical Society.

From Our Museum Collection

The Volunteer Fireman

AMONG the most enduring and endeared characters in America's past is the volunteer fireman—that stalwart, intrepid young man who left his forge, shop or home at a moment's notice to sally forth against nature's most feared and destructive phenomenon. Membership in a volunteer fire company was usually by invitation only and was a highly-prized civic post. Not only did membership give a man a legitimate excuse to be away from home periodically, but the stationhouse functioned as a hangout much like the backroom of the local tavern or the livery stable. A man could play cards, pass the time of day, conclude business deals or simply relax in compatible company. Except that firemen are better equipped and trained, all this remains true of the volunteer companies that still provide protection in many small American communities.

Then as now, the volunteer fireman was a national institution with heavy social overtones. Firemen fixed toys for underprivileged tots at Christmas, marched in parades, aided civic causes, put on water fights and ladder-climbing contests, and did just about everything well except fight fires. They also dabbled in politics and, in larger cities, the captain was likely to be the precinct leader and the members' ward heeler who turned out on election day to shepherd the faithful to the polls, stuff ballot boxes, and exert cryptic or overt pressures to keep the other side's voters away.

Ethnic origins also became mixed with firefighting in many cities. Irish firefighters tended to recruit from men of the green and the Germans, Italians, and Ulstermen were just as likely to take in only those of their own nationality. Rivalries between the companies were lively and heated—which reached the scene of a fire first, whose pumper had which location, whose hose went on which hydrant. It hardly needed the Irish

jeering at the Germans to set off a pitched battle with stones and fists, and the threatened warehouse or hotel might well burn to the ground before its erstwhile rescuers had trounced the other outfit and returned to the business at hand.

All things considered, volunteer firefighting was a civic duty more exciting and personally rewarding than effective. Lines of men passing leather buckets were the first volunteers, but prior to the Civil War primitive hand pumpers were imported from England. Although superior to bucket brigades, the best of them could throw a stream less than thirty feet. Steam pumpers drawn by great gray or white horses succeeded hand pumpers, and hydrants followed around the turn of the century with the spread of municipal water systems.

The quality and effectiveness of a company depended largely upon its captain who, more often than not, was elected on the basis of his personality and his popularity with his fellow firefighters. Americans are an adaptive and innovative people, however, and many a volunteer company probably functioned as well or better than the professional companies which succeeded them.

Among the memorabilia of the era of the volunteer which have found a place in the Society's museum are several fire helmets, leather belts, and a speaking trumpet used by a captain to direct the work of the men under him. Nevada volunteers were informal bucket-brigaders in the beginning, but as their towns grew they came to man hand and steam pumpers. Smoke-belching scarlet engines gleaming with brass and chrome came later, as did professional companies when municipal water systems came into existence around the turn of the century.

Even though the era of the volunteer has passed into history, the excitement and mystique of the fireman still holds sway, fascinating and bedazzling small boys of whatever age.

PHILLIP I. EARL

What's Being Written

Letters from Nevada Territory, 1861–1862, by Andrew J. Marsh, edited by William C. Miller, Russell W. McDonald, and Ann Rollins (Legislative Counsel Bureau, State of Nevada, 1972; xix, 743 pages).

Reports of the 1863 Constitutional Convention of the Territory of Nevada, by Andrew J. Marsh, Samuel L. Clemens, and Amos Bowman, edited by William C. Miller and Eleanore Bushnell (Legislative Counsel Bureau, State of Nevada, 1972; xiv, 504 pages).

THESE TWO LARGE, handsomely printed volumes represent in large measure the work of Andrew J. Marsh who recorded, unofficially, the 1861 and 1862 sessions of the Nevada Territorial Legislature and served, officially, as a reporter for the 1863 and 1864 Constitutional Conventions. The state published Marsh's 1864 report, but his earlier efforts could be found previously only in Nevada and California newspapers. Files of the Sacramento *Daily Union,* which employed Marsh to cover the two legislative sessions, have been readily available, but the only known copies of newspapers containing the record of the 1863 convention are in Orion Clemens's scrapbooks at the University of California, Berkeley. William C. Miller and Eleanore Bushnell claim that Professor Miller "discovered" the Clemens's scrapbooks, and that they are making the record of the convention available to scholars for the first time (*Reports of the 1863 . . .,* pp. vi-x). Can a researcher discover—in the sense of being the first to find them—a body of papers resting in a public repository? Perhaps he can, but work based in part on the Clemens's clippings has been published. Although neither volume brings new material to the attention of scholars, the books do have the potential value of bringing Marsh's accounts to a larger audience. There is a nagging doubt, however, that such seemingly dreary and dusty material will not reach many more readers than the files of the *Daily Union* or the Clemens's scrapbooks. If this suspicion proves true, then perhaps the Nevada Legislative Counsel

Bureau might have found more useful projects for its funds. But whether the reading audience be large or small, those who make the effort will be pleasantly surprised and richly rewarded.

The two volumes chronicle a slice of the political, social, and economic history of a struggling new territory. Although expressing solid support for the Union and the war effort, there was increasing dissatisfaction with the degree of power exercised over the territory by the national government, and they struggled, often unsuccessfully, to balance their conviction that state sovereignty as practiced by the South was a dangerous and treasonous doctrine, while popular sovereignty as practiced by the territory of Nevada was not only desirable but necessary. Exhibiting prevailing sentiments of that era, the representatives and delegates were, with notable exceptions, anti-Negro, anti-Mormon, anti-Oriental, and anti-Indian. Despite universal denunciation of the South, Nevada allowed only white males over twenty-one to vote, and the legislature summarily rejected Governor Nye's plea to allow non-white testimony before juries. Some members of the convention argued for the education of Negroes in Nevada public schools, but the same members also suggested that no Negroes be allowed in the state. Legislation that encouraged marriage and family institutions was strongly supported, and bachelor legislators suffered many jibes when they expounded on the benefits of connubial bliss. Women were neither allowed to vote nor to own businesses, but were granted the right to a university education on an equal basis with males. Legislators denounced violence, desecration of the Sabbath, and the prevalence of drinking and gambling, but any proposition to curb these vices did not receive a favorable reception. Marsh predicted that a bill calling for better observance of the Lord's day stood "about as good a chance as a cat without claws would in the clutches of a good smart grizzly" (*Letters from Nevada Territory . . .*, pp. 66–67). A bill to prohibit the carrying and wearing of dangerous weapons was quickly killed, and one member appeared to speak for the majority when he opposed any law "that would compel a brave, honest man to leave his weapons at home, and expose himself to be shot down by cowardly villains such as this country is full of" (*Letters from Nevada Territory . . .*, p. 280).

The looming presence of California was reflected in several issues, for one, the dispute over the joint boundary. The legislature debated, without much hope, the possibility of forcing her neighbor to agree to a survey which would establish the boundary at the crest of the mountains. Even more emotion was aroused by the corporation act, debated at length in the first legislature and passed in the second, which required corporations conducting most of their operations in Nevada to incorporate and move their main office to that territory. This suspicion of California interests was also felt by Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Collis P. Huntington who descended on the 1861 legislature to ask for an exclusive railroad charter and right-of-way across the territory. After an initial

rejection, the legislators swallowed their objections and granted the charter. A similar issue was hotly debated in the Constitutional Convention, but again California triumphed, as the delegates allowed the state to issue bonds for a cross-state railroad, but for no other corporation.

Andrew Marsh was a lively, perceptive chronicler of all these proceedings. An accurate and reliable reporter, he clearly had the confidence of the legislators and members of the convention. But Marsh was not adverse to expressing his own opinion or poking fun at the more obvious gaucheries and maneuvers. For example, Marsh characterized the proposed railroad franchise for the California interests as "very liberal," and later he observed wryly that the bill which all thought dead was suddenly resurrected as a consequence of a "very creditable display of mental gymnastics on the part of some of the 'honorable sirs'" (*Letters from Nevada Territory . . .*, p. 193). He noticed members who came in late to avoid the prayers, observed those who were hungover from the previous night's party, and chided some members for making speeches intended solely for "Mr. and Mrs. Buncombe."

Marsh's report of the Constitutional Convention contains less editorial comment, and, as the official record, provides more verbatim reproduction of speeches. But none of Marsh's reports pretend to be complete. In the legislature, he often had to choose between the Council and House, and once complained he had "a constitutional objection to being in two places at the same time" (*Letters from Nevada Territory . . .*, p. 193). This was no problem at the convention, but Marsh's newly developed "phonographical shorthand" technique did not allow him to reproduce all of the debate, and he frequently summarized or deleted as he saw fit. But although he is selective, there appears to be no reason to question Marsh's fidelity to the task of providing as accurate a report as human frailty would allow.

Professor Miller and his various co-editors provide thorough notes and an index. A reader wishing drama, excitement, and entertainment could do worse than read either or both volumes.

KENT RICHARDS
Central Washington State College, Ellensburg

Sagebrush Doctors, by Edna B. Patterson (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing Company, 1972; 196 pages; photographs, maps, bibliography, index; $10.00).

TO THE PEOPLE who populate a remote area, their physician is, when his services are required, the most important person around. This attitude has been shared by the settlers, soldiers, today's people and the first settlers, and the Indians.

This history begins with the Indian medicine man who treated ailments with offerings, prayers, songs, and various kinds of vegetation. Although successful healing was not always the norm, the people still had a fanatic faith in his curing powers. That same faith prevails today.

The pioneer families and the military brought their doctors with them, along with some brand new ailments the Indians found fatal. Military surgeons at Forts Halleck and Ruby worked with rudimentary skills not too far removed from the medicine men, but they must be given credit for their long hours and dedication to healing. Their lack of knowledge made a rough job even tougher in remote northeast Nevada. Through the years, the population expanded and so did the number of physicians. Their knowledge has grown by leaps and bounds and the author traces this growth in the three sections of the book.

Mrs. Patterson has compiled an excellent account of early medicine in the area. Good local history is a valuable contribution to the whole historical picture for, without it, the major histories might never be written.

An outstanding example of local history appears in this book. The author, who possesses the most complete file of northeastern Nevada material, has combined her desire to see history accurately recorded with this material, and has written a book that covers not the earth-shaking events of history but those men and women who shaped history bit by bit.

Both the historian and the layman will find the book interesting. The author has taken the time to portray not just an occupation but has added sections on medicinal plants, personalities, and area histories.

Mrs. Patterson's works have been valuable contributions to the history of the area. This is her third publication. The first, now out of print, was *Who Named It?*, a compilation of place names in Elko County. Her second endeavor was as a co-author of the massive, now also out of print, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier*. Her fourth manuscript, of Lamoille Valley, her home grounds, has been completed and negotiations have begun with the publisher.

Sagebrush Doctors has been published in a limited edition of 500 copies. A majority of those have already made the trip to bookshelves and libraries . . . so another Edna Patterson book will soon be out of print.

HOWARD HICKSON
Northeastern Nevada Museum, Elko

Pioneers of the Ponderosa: How Washoe Valley Rescued the Comstock, by Myra Sauer Ratay (Sparks, Nevada: Western Printing and Publishing Company, 1973; xiii, 470 pages; index, illustrations, appendix, endpaper maps; $15.00).

Pioneers of the Ponderosa is a difficult work to categorize. The book is reminiscence, local history, antiquarianism, and biography put together from materials that include traditional historical records, local legends, anecdotes, and interviews. It is a combination that will drive some historians to distraction, but many readers will find an often fascinating tale of the rise and fall of one valley located on the fringe of the Comstock Lode. Myra Sauer Ratay grew up in the Washoe Valley, although she, like most residents, eventually moved away and now lives in Denver. Her book is the result of years of patient and obviously loving effort to capture and preserve at least part of the record of nineteenth century boom days before the collective memory and physical traces of that period vanish completely. Mrs. Ratay was blessed with a father and grandfather who possessed excellent memories, which she used to good advantage, but, unlike many other amateur historians, she also sought out records in various state and federal repositories to confirm, supplement or correct oral history.

Each of the twenty-nine chapters sketches a valley personality, a company, or a town or relates valley legend and myth. For example, the three valley communities, Franktown, Washoe City, and Ophir, now cities no longer, are followed through their periods of boom and subsequent decline. The book's organization is episodic, although the chronology covers primarily the period from the first settlements in the 1850s to the early years of the twentieth century. Mrs. Ratay is at her best in chapters that focus on particular personalities. John Dall, the dour and successful mill operator, Andrew Sauer, the author's grandfather, Theodore "Thee" Winters, combative land baron and breeder of thoroughbred horses, Eilley Bowers, and numerous others are vividly portrayed, usually "warts and all." The best known figure is Eilley Bowers, wife of the first millionaire to come out of the Comstock. Mrs. Ratay is critical, but sympathetic to the ignorant Irish washerwoman who found herself "Queen of the Comstock," but then suddenly saw her husband and adopted daughter die and the fortune melt away. Eilley became increasingly suspicious and paranoid, particularly after losing the Bowers' mansion, and turned to fortune telling which led to a reputation as the "Washoe Seeress." Destitute and deaf, Eilley died in 1903 after a sorry dispute between California and Nevada in which neither state would accept the responsibility for her welfare. A related story is that of the Bowers' mansion and its varied history as a playground for the rich, a picnic park for weekend excursionists, and a deserted relic that "Thee" Winters acquired and later gave away to an attorney who had managed his unsuccessful campaign for governor. After 1898 the mansion was sold three different times for $1,000 or less (it had cost Sandy and Eilley more than $400,000 to build it in the 1860s), and in 1917 it again became a resort with dancing and swimming for young revelers. The house was bought after World War II by a local civic

group which, with the help of Washoe County, eventually restored the home and turned it into a museum.

The author's background, interests, and style lend themselves to the stories and vignettes described, but are less suited to a discussion of major themes and issues. Her contention that the Washoe Valley saved the Comstock because it provided water, lumber, and foodstuffs for the mining area is dubious at best. Rather it seems clear that the valley existed as a satellite of the Comstock with which it rose and declined. The Washoe Valley was the tail wagged by the dog and not the reverse. Other themes that appear important are the necessity of water and transportation for economic growth and vitality in the valley. Water disputes often appear in the book, and Mrs. Ratay contends that at present "ill-feeling is as explosive as at any time in the past and there is no end in sight for long dry water suits" (p. 36). But she leaves it to others to tackle the water problem and place it in proper perspective. The major means of nineteenth century transportation was the Virginia and Truckee Railroad, a line with which the settlers had a love-hate relationship. Although she characterizes the railway as "a shoddy, selfish, crooked little company," Mrs. Ratay again leaves it to others to explore the implications of this charge (p. 173).

Pioneers of the Ponderosa will be enjoyed by those who like a good tale, and by those who live or have lived in the Washoe Valley. It will also be useful as a source for future historians with a concern for political or economic problems of the valley and surrounding region.

KENT RICHARDS
Central Washington State College, Ellensburg

A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition Under Colonel Doniphan, by Jacob S. Robinson (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972; Reprint of the Princeton, N. J. 1932 edition. 96 pages; $7.50).

THIS BOOK is the journal of Private Jacob S. Robinson of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, describing the famous Doniphan expedition of 1846–1847. This expedition, originally under the command of Colonel Stephen Kearney, started from Fort Leavenworth, June 26, 1846, capturing Santa Fe from the Mexicans without battle two months later. Kearney then headed west with 300 men, but Colonel Alexander Doniphan took a thousand troops and marched south. This latter group captured El Paso in December, after a quick skirmish with the enemy, and then marched against Chihuahua, which fell to the Americans after fierce fighting in March, 1847. "Doniphan's Thousand", after marching further

south into Mexico and encountering no resistence, were finally discharged in New Orleans, June 16, 1847. The expedition had traversed 3,500 miles in almost exactly a year, an important feat in that it helped establish American claims over New Mexico and west Texas, which were subsequently obtained by treaty with Mexico in 1848.

The most consistent note of the journal appears to be boredom, and lack of opposition from the enemy. Robinson's entry for August 19, 1846 stated for example, "Our men, hungry, and ill–natured in the camp, seemed disposed to fight among themselves, as there was nobody else to fight" (p. 26). In December, the author lamented, "Six months we have been in the service and no fighting yet" (p. 64). The supply problem complicated matters. "This is certainly a badly managed campaign. No medicines and no wagons are provided for the sick. . . . Those who are well have to live on half rations" (pp. 37–38).

Not until Christmas Day, 1846, was there any fighting, much to Robinson's relief. It was, in his words, "a merry Christmas frolic. But five men on our side were wounded, and not killed. Of the Mexicans 41 were killed" (p. 67). Two months later, Doniphan's group defeated the Mexicans again before Chihuahua. After that more boredom.

Robinson is a competent, precise narrator, although the journal is unduly short. It gives a vivid picture of what crossing the prairie must have been like before the coming of settlements, with its unpredictable weather, its buffalo, and above all its monotony. He has short, but well drawn descriptions of the customs of the Mexicans and Indians he saw. There is an excellent account of a bullfight (p. 79) and a moving, artistically depicted story of the bravery of a Mexican executed by Texas Rangers (p. 88). Robinson does not generalize about his experiences, nor does he describe Doniphan's overall military strategy. But since he is an honest observer, this is a valuable primary source for historians, and those general readers interested in the Mexican War and Western history.

The editorial notes are adequate and unobtrusive. Unfortunately the one map is worthless for tracing Doniphan's route. And like all reprints, this Da Capo volume is grossly overpriced at $7.50 for 91 pages of text.

JEROME E. EDWARDS
University of Nevada, Reno

The Oregon Trail Revisited, by Gregory M. Franzwa (St. Louis, Missouri: Patrice Press, 1972; xviii, 417 pages; photographs, index).

AS ITS NAME IMPLIES, this book is first and foremost a trail guidebook for the trail buff who loves to explore the old trails. The more serious historian, however, can use this book to visit specific trail landmarks

and points of interest along the Oregon Trail and enjoy reading the concommitant historical vignettes, many of which are excerpts from the original pioneer journals.

Mr. Franzwa made extensive field trips over the period 1968 to 1972 to locate the trail and record his findings on a tape recorder. This field work was then combined with seemingly very extensive research and help from the state historical societies and libraries located in each state traversed by the trail. Also, valuable help was received from the National Park Service and others.

This guide to the Oregon Trail covers its complete length from Independence, Missouri to Oregon City, Oregon. Directions to find the trail point by point are detailed and explicit, more so probably than any other guidebook previously written on this trail. Frequently compass azimuth bearings are given to locate the trail itself or points of interest along it for clarity and accuracy.

Numerous illustrations and photographs create interest and help to alleviate the sometimes tiresome directions for trail location. However, the casual reader can skip these detailed directions and read the more interesting historical portions.

The arrangement of interspersed commentary and trail directions is sometimes confusing to the reader. Perhaps some improvement in arrangement would be helpful.

Although this book will not supplant the very interesting classic *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner* by Irene D. Paden, it is, however, a valuable contribution to trail guide literature and will be welcomed by all trail explorers particularly. It is factual, precise, detailed, and seemingly accurate.

E. W. HARRIS
Professor Emeritus,
University of Nevada,
Reno

The Search For The Well-Dressed Soldier 1865–1890, by Gordon Chappell, museum monograph no. 5 (Tucson, Arizona: Arizona Historical Society, 1972; 51 pages; photographs).

Metal Uniform Insignia Of The Frontier U.S. Army 1846–1902, by Sidney B. Brinckerhoff, museum monograph no. 3 (Tucson, Arizona: Arizona Historical Society, 1972; 39 pages; photographs).

THE PAST THIRTY YEARS have seen not only a revival and expansion of general interest in the history of the American West, but three decades of significant production by historians in various aspects of that history. Many of these scholars have come to the realization that a great deal of new research must be done in order to lay the groundwork for any

meaningful grand scale reappraisal of major themes and their relationships in that history.

Some of the most significant works that have passed for reappraisal have in reality only opened new doors to the recent generations of researchers. These doors have revealed vast areas of detail about the western experience about which only the most general framework has been appreciated in the past. The material culture of the frontier is one of those areas. Two of the outstanding scholars who have perceived the relevance of the material culture of the region are Sidney B. Brinckerhoff, director of the Arizona Historical Society, and Gordon S. Chappell, now a researcher on special assignment for the Colorado Historical Society.

Brinckerhoff is perhaps best known for his contributions to the history of Spanish military operations on the northernmost frontiers of the Spanish colonies. Chappell is best known for his works on southwestern railroad history. Both of these men are patient and skilled researchers who also possess the breadth and depth of knowledge and research experience that takes their work far beyond the "serious collector" class when they apply it to areas of material culture. They have done just this in their respective monographs under review here.

In *Search for the Well-Dressed Soldier,* Chappell first explores the procurement and supply context of military clothing in the closing years of the War for Southern Independence and its aftermath. He brings to light the widespread dissatisfaction with the issue items of the period, and reveals the ponderous machinery of military supply, of plan, design, and review that moved toward modification of item after item of clothing and equipment during the Indian Wars period.

Chappell's paper is filled with excellent data on the field performance of, and troop reactions to some of the more notable successes and failures of equipment at doing the job of protecting the soldier from the elements in a climatic environment that ranged from sea level to above the timberline, from rain forest to hot and cold deserts, and over a temperature range of more than 170 degrees.

The publication illustrates some of the key uniform items with excellent photographs of surviving specimens, and with well-reproduced copies of period photos and drawings.

The popular entertainment media have consistently portrayed Indian Wars uniforms and accoutrements in gross error. Only publications such as Chappell's can help to set the record straight. Chappell's book belongs on the shelf of every director and prop man in the visual media. It will find a welcome reception and frequent use by all museum exhibits planners, all collectors, and it belongs on the shelf of every really serious reader of western military history.

Brinckerhoff's *Metal Uniform Insignia of the Frontier U.S. Army, 1846–1902* delves into a still more specialized and little known field than

Chappell's paper. He has identified and described the variations and changes in insignia that range from small buttons to helmet plates and belt plates. He carefully documents each change in regulation, production, and issue of these items.

The individual specimens are shown in superb close-up photos that far surpass in quality those of most artifact reference works. Still more important, the items are for the most part also shown in equally fine photographs of them in use, or in proper place on surviving specimens of headgear, clothing and equipment, and accoutrements.

In addition to being a "must" for museums, collectors, prop men, and the like, this booklet is an absolutely essential tool for the historic sites archaeologist working with the sites of the frontier, for it can be used to identify and date specimens with precision.

To both authors, we must say "well done" and hope that they will continue the good work, and that their publisher will continue to expand the monograph series with their work and that of other scholars of equal skill and dedication.

ROBERT A. MURRAY
Sheridan, Wyoming

What's Going On

Nevada History Slide Project

The first five slide-sound programs within the contemplated twenty-five topics have been completed. Funded by the Nevada Humanities Committee and the Nevada State Council on the Arts, these programs are available for public use at no charge. Organizations wishing to view the programs may write or contact the Society for copies sent via the mails. Titles are: *The Big Bonanza,* a history of Virginia City; *Great Basin Empire,* a short history of Nevada; *Add People and Stir,* a study of immigration in the state; *The $300 Cure,* the influence of divorce on Nevada society and law; and *Bucking the Tiger,* the development of gaming as a legal enterprise.

Moody Joins Staff

Eric N. Moody, a doctoral student in history at the University of Nevada, Reno, has been retained under the recent National Endowment for the Arts grant to process the manuscript collections of the Society. Eric is well known to *Quarterly* readers as a student of Nevada politics. The NEA grant will enable the Society to catalogue the various manuscript materials, and thereby increase their value to researchers.

Lake Tahoe Research Grant

The U.S. Forest Service has contracted with the Society to compile an historical analysis of the Camp Richardson area on the south shore of

Lake Tahoe. The $3,500 grant will fund a study of that portion of federal property and its relationship to general development of the Tahoe Basin. Members with Tahoe-related materials or documents are urged to make them available to the staff.

The Cole Collection

Gordon O. Cole, Jr., of Laguna Miguel, California has recently donated some very valuable documents to the Society. Included were the original deeds of transfer to the Ophir Diggings between Patrick O'Reilly and a group of California investors. Letters from Isaac L. Requa, stock certificates, and miscellaneous newspapers are included.

A Recent Las Vegas History Project

The social studies students of teams 1c, 1d, 4c, and 4d, at Jo Mackey Sixth Grade Center, Las Vegas, have compiled an elaborate and detailed history of their community since 1920. Written under the direction of Evelyn J. O'Gwin, the self-styled "Mini History" is an excellent example of the type of class project that involves the public school student with his society. Congratulations to Mrs. O'Gwin and the participating students for completing a difficult, but valuable, project.

Nevada Historic Preservation Program

The Nevada State Historic Preservation Review Committee is assembling a collection of photographs to record "sites" throughout Nevada. Donn Blake, chairman of the committee, asks that persons who will loan or donate photos for this purpose contact him at 400 East Stewart Avenue, Las Vegas, Nevada.

More Early Nevada Photographs

For the past several years, Robert Geyer of Piedmont, California has been donating rare and valuable photographs of Nevada to the Society.

Since the recent re-cataloguing of the photo collection, the Society has received several dozen more unique scenes from many localities. The Society is indebted to Mr. Geyer for his faithful interest in his native state. All users of the photo collection will benefit from his generosity.

Historical Society Organizing in Humboldt County

A group of Humboldt County residents are currently working to create an historical society for the north-central region of the state. Ably led by Cal Sunderland, editor-publisher of the *Humboldt Sun,* the group has asked all residents of the area to participate and has distributed forms to the community that indicate what activities are planned for the new Humboldt Historical Society. Participation in this long-needed historical preservation effort would benefit any resident of northern Nevada.

New Resource Materials

University of Nevada Library, Las Vegas

ALTHOUGH THE STAFF of UNLV's Special Collections Department has been actively collecting manuscript material for over six years, the collection is still in what might be called the fledgling stage. One hundred five separate collections have been accessioned, rough sorted, listed and boxed, awaiting the day when they can be fully and properly catalogued. In the meantime, the material is available for use by students and researchers. The donations range from one photograph—Fremont Street, 1905—to fourteen "Paige" boxes from the Economic Opportunity Board in Las Vegas.

Charles Pemberton "Pop" Squires

PERHAPS the most significant collection, in terms of local history, is the material from the Squires family, which came to the Dickinson Library through the depository arrangement with the Southern Nevada Historical Society.

Charles Pemberton "Pop" Squires came to Las Vegas in the winter of 1905, where he immediately erected and operated a tent hotel. Within a few months he was involved in the lumber business, banking, and a telephone and electric company. In 1906 he purchased the town newspaper, the *Las Vegas Age,* which he continued to publish until his retirement in 1948. During the fifty-three years Mr. Squires lived in Las Vegas he participated actively in local, state, and national affairs. More importantly, he carefully saved correspondence, documents, photographs, newspaper clippings, and brochures of the many hundreds of events he was involved in.

The more important items in the collection are the records of the

League of the Southwest and its successor, the Colorado River Commission, of which Mr. Squires was a member for over thirty-five years. This file starts in 1920 when Squires attended a meeting of the League of the Southwest in Los Angeles, and continues into the late 1950s. It contains over one hundred letters to and from (Squires almost always made carbons) statesmen, conservationists, businessmen, and many others who had an interest in the Boulder Canyon Project. Many photographs of people and events of this era were also saved by the Squires family.

As a member of the Nevada Republican Central Committee, Mr. Squires had an intimate acquaintance with national political figures, including Herbert Hoover, who became a close friend as the years went by. The Hoover correspondence ranges from the affairs of the Colorado River Commission to national politics to a letter of condolence to Mrs. Squires after her husband's death.

The entire "Squires Collection" consists of 543 items dating from 1893 to 1958. In addition there are almost 500 photographs, both loose and in albums, and a two-volume manuscript written by Charles P. and Delphine Squires entitled *Las Vegas, Nevada: Its Romance and History.* These letters and documents not only reveal the day to day life of an active businessman and his family, but chronicle the growth of a community from a desert tent town to a sophisticated gambling resort in less than fifty years.

Paiute Indians of Southern Nevada

LIBRARIANS in the southern part of the state are continually getting requests for information about the Paiute Indians. The Special Collections Department at UNLV has compiled a list of books and periodical articles that deal with the Southern Paiutes from their beginnings through modern times. References to books cite the pages dealing with this tribe. A xerox copy of the bibliography is available from the Special Collections Department for $1.

Nevada State Library, Carson City

THE NEVADA STATE LIBRARY maintains a collection of materials about the history and people of Nevada. While the collection is basically reference, the State Library will loan materials that have duplicate copies. Where only one copy is extant, the information needed will be xeroxed.

The collection consists of historical material on Nevada, mining, railroads, and anything else that pertains to the history of the state. Also in

the collection are fiction titles with a Nevada setting and works by Nevada authors.

The State Library maintains a file of directories, back phone books, and University of Nevada yearbooks. Also available are cemetery records, both on microfilm and in print, and early census information on microfilm. In cooperation with the University of Nevada and the Nevada Historical Society, the State Library has a file of early Nevada newspapers on microfilm. These can be borrowed, a few reels at a time. The library has reader-printers for easy access to printouts, and for use of patrons in the library. In addition to book materials, the State Library houses Nevada documents, an extensive pamphlet file of Nevada ephemera and newspaper clippings, indexes to *Nevada Highways & Parks,* and an information file on hard to locate facts about the state. The library is open to anyone who wishes to make use of its collections. Hours are 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday, telephone 882-7096 for reference and 882-7090 for documents. Mrs. Martha Gould is the reference librarian and Mrs. Joan Kerschner is the documents librarian.

Nevada State Museum, Carson City

THROUGH THE GENEROSITY of Mrs. L. B. Hammack of Carson City, the Nevada State Museum recently acquired a large, linen-backed wall map entitled "Post Route Map of the States of California and Nevada; Showing Post Offices With the Intermediate Distances on Mail Routes in Operation on the 1st of March, 1902." Although there are numerous water stains as well as several minor worn areas, this multi-colored document is in fine condition with both upper and lower support rods in place.

Noted are geographical high and low points and many streams and lakes; however, it is not a relief map. Also indicated are railroads and major electrical lines.

Of the greatest interest is the frequency of postal deliveries to various cities and towns denoted by various colored lines, e.g., delivery made six times a week, solid black line; delivery made three times a week, solid blue line; special supply, broken black line; etc. Both the beginning and the end of each delivery route are indicated.

Several examples of service are as follows. Special supply was made from Sodaville to Butler (later Tonopah) and on to Klondike. Mail reached Belmont from Sodaville only once a week, but deliveries from Austin to Belmont were made three times a week.

In both the western and the northeastern portions of Nevada, greater population obviously demanded deliveries from three to six times each

seven days, and naturally all those other areas traversed by railroads received fine postal service.

In keeping with the policies of the Nevada State Museum, this map and all other materials within the museum are available for use upon the premises during weekly working hours.

Nevada Historical Society, Reno

IN RECENT ISSUES of the *Quarterly* our readers have been given some rather singular glimpses into Nevada's past through interesting letters and documents that were taken from our manuscript files. The exposition of these materials has, in part, been the result of their discovery while cataloguing our extensive manuscript collections. While still in an embryonic stage, the cataloguing and indexing of these collections has brought to light many records and correspondence files which are significant to those people interested in obtaining a more complete study of given areas of research endeavor.

Beginning with this issue, we will bring the reader's attention to important collections which may be found in the files of the NHS, including the size and scope of each group of manuscripts.

Thornton, Harry Innes Jr., 1834–1895 (3 folders, 98 pieces). Harry I. Thornton, Jr., a native of Alabama and a graduate of the University of Virginia, came west to California by wagon train in 1852 where he joined his parents. Soon after his arrival, he established a law practice in Nevada City, California and established close ties with William Morris Stewart (with whom he later formed a law firm). The Thornton letters are principally by and between H. I. Thornton, Jr. and his mother, but also include correspondence by many other members of the J. J. Crittenden and H. I. Thornton families. They are colorfully descriptive of many important features of the early settlement days of Nevada and California; including vigilantes, the Pyramid Lake Indian War (in which he played a minor role), the Civil War (Thornton was an officer in the Confederate Army until he surrendered to his former client, General William T. Sherman), the Central Pacific Railroad, many important legal and political figures in both states, and the morals and mores of the time.

Maxwell, William J. Sr. and William J. Jr. (5 folders, 139 pieces). William J. Maxwell, Sr. served as superintendent of the Belcher Mine of Comstock Lode fame, and was recognized internationally for his ability as a mining administrator. The letters and other documents in this collection begin in 1864 and run through his death in January 1893. During

this period, Maxwell developed private mining interests in eastern Nevada through a partnership with Dr. George H. Thoma (later administrator of the Nevada State Hospital), much of which is reflected in considerable detail throughout their active correspondence.

William J. Maxwell, Jr. was appointed Warden of the Nevada State Prison by Governor James G. Scrugham, succeeding Denver S. Dickerson. While there is little in the Maxwell papers to reflect his activities in this position, there is much dealing with the Maxwell family, particularly Ed Maxwell, who served with the Nevada Volunteers in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War.

Mack, Dr. Effie Mona (43 folders, 1,274 pieces). Dr. Effie Mona Mack became one of Nevada's most noted historians, authors, teachers, and collectors during her long career. Her papers include personal correspondence, extensive research notes on a wide variety of topics, and, more importantly, a large collection of correspondence of the state's first governor, Henry Goode Blasdel. Included in the Blasdel papers are military and Indian affairs for 1864 through 1867, petitions for political and military appointments, and related matters. Also to be found are a number of documents from Utah and Nevada territorial periods which have received preliminary cataloguing.

SPO, Carson City, Nevada, 1973