NEVADA Historical Society Quarterly

Fall · 1975

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NEVADA
Historical Society Quarterly

FALL • 1975

VOLUME XVIII
NUMBER 3

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John T. Reid in his first Lovelock office

The *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* is published by the Nevada Historical Society, 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, Nevada 89503. It is distributed without charge to members of the Society; single issues, when available, may be purchased for $2.00. Orders for changes of address should be addressed to the Society.

Second class postage paid at Reno, Nevada.

Key Pittman

The Irreconcilable Conflict: Key Pittman and Japan During the Interwar Years

by Justin H. Libby

Note: The author acknowledges the financial assistance of Indiana University in the preparation of this article.

IN THE AUTUMN, 1970, one session of the Western History Association meeting in Reno, Nevada, focused on a portion of the career of former Democratic Senator Key Pittman who served his adopted state in the upper house for twenty-seven years. Concentrating on New Deal and silver legislation that involved Pittman the presentations by Professors John Brennan, Fred Israel, and Gilman Ostrander were later printed in the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*.[1] In reviewing the articles, Dr. Jerome E. Edwards left an important charge to other researchers concerning the senator when he wrote, "The three articles evaluate an enormously fascinating man, and come to widely divergent conclusions. In this writer's viewpoint, Pittman is worthy of some further assessment by historians."[2] In response to that statement this article proposes to discuss and explain an aspect of Pittman's career that has heretofore been largely ignored yet was vital to American domestic and foreign relations during the interwar years. By examining his attitude towards foreign affairs in general and American-Japanese relations in particular following the conclusion of World War I, a clearer portrait of this transplanted Mississippian's viewpoints toward external problems arising in the twenties and thirties can be achieved.

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In the first years of his senatorial career after being sworn in to fill the unexpired term of George S. Nixon on January 29, 1913, Pittman seldom spoke out on foreign policy issues.[3] Until 1920, he voted as a loyal Democrat, supporting Wilson's use of armed forces in Mexico and the note to Germany following the sinking of the *Lusitania.* In reward for his loyalty, he gained appointment to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 20, 1916.[4] The senator liked to think of himself as an "insider" to the president's circle of advisors, claiming to have ". . . broken the shell that has been thrown around the President."[5]

Though deluded in his importance and closeness to Wilson, Pittman's speeches, during the months leading up to American involvement in World War I, supported all of Wilson's plans and policies and called for an end to Prussianism even if it necessitated American blood and treasure to save the free world.[6] In the controversy concerning the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles, Pittman preferred no compromise on Wilson's Peace Plan, but on March 19, 1920, realizing reservations were going to be attached, the Nevadan voted for the treaty in that form against the wishes of the president. He joined twenty Democratic colleagues who ". . . felt that the interests of the country, the world, and the life and happiness of the President requires that we vote for the ratification of the treaty with reservations."[7]

With the Democrats out of the White House and nearly out of power in Congress during the 1920s, Pittman focused most of his attention on domestic benefits for Nevada, a theme never lost sight of by a man who believed a shift of only one hundred votes could deny his "re-employment" on Capitol Hill.[8] More critical on domestic and foreign policy since these were Republican measures, he found opportunity to confront the administration with partisan opposition.

When a decision had to be made in foreign policy, Pittman's position on an issue indicated his adherence to the Wilsonian views of American participation in world events. Throughout the twenties, Pittman governed his actions on these principles, voting for such collective security measures as the Five Power and Nine Power Pacts emerging from the Washington Conference and later in the decade the Kellogg-Briand Pact, while rejecting the Soviet Union's bid for recognition.[9] On only one issue, American-Japanese relations, did Pittman vary from this pattern. Disliking Japan, the senator dismissed collective security concerns to vote against the Four Power Treaty that also emerged from the Washington Conference. He did so, as he later remarked, out of fear Japan might gain hegemony in the Pacific if the treaty was ratified.[10] Always the politician, Pittman objected to the proposed treaty with Great Britain, France and Japan for the same reasons Lodge had used in his attack on the League of Nations, that it could interfere in domestic affairs of the nation.[11]

Roosevelt's landslide in 1932 catapulted Pittman into national prominence as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Ironically, during this next decade, when the Democrats were back in power with a pro-Wilsonian president residing in the White House, Pittman retreated from collective security and became more timid in foreign relations. Prone to frequent outbursts of temper that were abetted by a rising use of alcohol, he began slowly to evade the

responsibilities of his new Senate position. Earlier in his career, cognizant of his incessant craving for alcohol, Pittman recognized that in his surrender to a gnawing desire to escape from responsibility and himself, he had been a drunkard for years.[12] He lived in a twisted world and as Fred L. Israel has stated, "About twice a month Pittman would go out on a binge and get himself plastered."[13] During committee meetings in the thirties he would sip whiskey, consuming about a pint of alcohol per day.[14] In this condition he issued statements which embarrassed the administration and the country.[15] The result of his deterioration into an incessant drinker brought failure to comprehend the intricacies of foreign relations, and he could not lend statesmanlike direction to the administration's foreign policies. Reinforcing this lack of leadership was a certain provincialism on the part of the senator. Israel has suggested:

> Pittman's statesmanship ended at Nevada's frontier and he defended his state against all adversaries, even the general welfare of the United States.[16]

While serving his tenure as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he sought consensus and compromise of the volatile issues, reluctant to anger or firmly oppose powerful non-interventionists on his committee. Among the members to nearly intimidate Pittman were Hirman Johnson (R. California), Arthur Vandenberg (R. Michigan), Arthur Capper (R. Kansas), William E. Borah (R. Idaho), and Henrik Shipstead (Farm-Labor. Minnesota). In dealing with these men, Pittman invariably emphasized his own weak position and overestimated the power of his opponents. Eventually this tendency became so pronounced that Pittman's leadership was reduced to ineffectiveness, leaving his committee adrift in never ending controversy.[17]

As the issues of the 1930s came before the Foreign Relations Committee, Pittman was either too ineffective or too intoxicated to be of assistance. In 1933, while considering whether the president should have authority to impose embargoes against an aggressive nation, Pittman failed to get Roosevelt the discretionary powers the administration desired.[18] In 1935, he remained mute on the floor of the Senate during the World Court battle yet voted for the proposal.[19] During the same year he was too intoxicated on one occasion to give any leadership during crucial consideration of mandatory versus discretionary neutrality legislation.[20] Each failure reinforced his inadequacy as chairman, result ing in increased consumption of alcohol. The vicious cycle continued until his death in 1940.

But on one issue in the 1930s Pittman did not remain mute; his dislike of Japan intensified as the decade progressed. His suspicions of the Japanese that had originated following World War I were evident in 1930 during negotiations culminating in the London Naval Treaty when Pittman opposed ratification suggesting it would give her preponderance in the Pacific.[21] Five years later, his hostility had matured considerably when he remarked Japan ultimately wanted to force the United States into a defense war in Asia.[22] On February 11, 1936, Pittman's wrath towards the island empire reached near hysteria. In a bitter attack on her government and people, he condemned that nation's aggressions in Manchuria resulting in a loss of Chinese sovereignty as well as violating the

agreements made with the United States contained in the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact.[23] The Japanese Foreign Office and press called the outburst incredible and the *New York Times* severely criticized Pittman in an editorial the following day. Labeling Pittman ". . . a man without knowledge of his responsibilities as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," the editorial characterized him as angry at his own policies and confused by shallow sentimentality over China.[24]

The senator's sympathy for China took an ingenious turn when it induced him to promote the Silver Purchase Act of 1934 that was designed to boost the price of silver and thereby restore the purchasing power of silver currency countries like China. This policy to raise the dollar price of silver failed to produce the hoped for effects and instead resulted in the collapse of prices, banks and finally the abandonment of that currency altogether in China. Ultimately these events led to a contraction of Chinese silver purchases from Nevada. So narrow was the lens through which Pittman viewed international relations, and so intense had his dislike of the Japanese become, the senator could only blame their incursions in China for the debacle in the silver market rather than recognizing the inherent weaknesses of his currency proposals.[25] This feeble attempt to keep the door open to China and at the same time promote the silver interests in Nevada revealed two of the fundamental motives behind Pittman's actions in foreign policy during the 1930s and explained why he could not achieve a balanced view of American-Japanese relations.[26] Despite his emergence as an early opponent of Japan, long before her invasion of North China at the Marco Polo Bridge on July 7, 1937, Pittman ended up espousing the right cause but for the wrong reasons.

Following the outbreak of hostilities, Pittman was at first more concerned with defending the administration's refusal to apply the Neutrality Act of 1937, than he was with making hostile statements against Japan.[27] But by October, 1937, Pittman's attitude had become distinctly belligerent and he began denouncing Japan's expansion. Concurring with Roosevelt's call for a quarantine of aggressors, in a speech made by the president in Chicago on October 5, Pittman stated that such a policy resulting in economic embargoes would end the conflict in China within thirty days.[28] According to Pittman, the president and the nation had previously been too patient with the Japanese, making it necessary now to force abandonment of her "unlawful, immoral, and brutal," conduct in China. By force, Pittman meant that first the United States should implement an economic quarantine and then diplomatically ostracize the Japanese. These ideas proved to be too vague for serious consideration however, because Pittman carefully qualified his advice by making it clear he was neither advocating, at that time, a severance of diplomatic relations nor an implementation of a total embargo.[29]

If Pittman had been vague and imprecise in the autumn of 1937, the sinking of the American gunboat *Panay*, on December 12, convinced him that a harsh policy to end this aggression was needed.[30] Even though the Japanese government offered to assume the entire responsibility and promised to pay full compensation for personnel and property losses, such a settlement was unsatis-

factory to Pittman because in the intervening months, his attitude towards Japan had grown more hostile. Now abhoring what the Nevadan referred to as Japan's "illegal and inhuman acts" and no longer content to express vague generalities about how to cope with Japanese aggression, by December, 1937, he had come to believe Japan was guilty of crimes against humanity and deserving of having a complete American trade embargo enacted against her.[31]

While the Congress, the president and the nation allowed the incident to fade from memory due to Japan's rendering of apologies and reparations, Pittman refused to allow the potential threat of Japanese aggression to fade into the background of his colleague's consciousness, and throughout the year 1938, he continued to engage in active speech making against Japan. In February, in answer to queries from constituents, he wrote that he opposed any extension of credits to Japan.[32] By the beginning of the summer, Pittman had begun to specifically condemn Japan as a treaty violator and an international criminal. On May 23, he was asked for his opinion by the *New York Tribune* about an interview made with the Japanese Foreign Minister, Koki Hirota, the day before, concerning his proposal that the United States and Japan sign a non-aggression pact. Opposed to such a suggestion, Pittman insisted Japan must first remedy the wrong done by her treaty violations in China before America could seriously consider such an overture.[33] Continuing, Pittman commented that the American government ". . . holds that Japan has violated and is now violating a treaty of non-aggression with the United States—namely the Nine Power Treaty."[34] Although Pittman insisted he was speaking personally and not for the administration, the indication was clear. There would be no settlement of the outstanding differences between the two nations as long as Japanese forces occupied Chinese territory, thereby violating a solemn and sacrosanct treaty with the United States. As if his anti-Japanese sentiments needed further clarification, Pittman ended the interview with the *Tribune* by stating, "If Chiang Kai-shek was driven back to a cave in the mountains 3,000 miles from the coast and the Government consisted only of Chiang Kai-shek," he would continue to recognize him as the only legitimate government in all China.[35]

Following this outburst to the press, Pittman seldom deviated from the theme of the treaty violation in pressing his case for an embargo of trade to Japan. Previously, his speeches had not defined the proper American response to Japanese aggression, but by May, 1938, Pittman was demanding that Japan live up to her treaty obligations or face economic retaliation by the United States.[36]

In a ratio address a month before the Munich Conference, Pittman once more presented his case against trading with Japan, basing it on the following syllogism:

> The United States has no sympathy with Japan.
> We have every sympathy with China.
> We have no cause that would justify us in
> aiding Japan.[37]

Emphasizing as usual Japanese violations, Pittman further urged the United States to aid China out of sentiment and national interest ". . . in her heroic

defense of her independence, of her territory, and the lives of her citizens."[38]

Pittman received encouragement and endorsement of his views from Raymond Leslie Buell, president of the Foreign Policy Association and author of a monograph in 1922, *The Washington Conference,* strongly criticizing Japan's intention in Eastern Asia. In December, 1922, Buell also published an equally severe article on Japan in the *Political Science Quarterly.*[39] Sixteen years later, with his critical attitude concerning Japan unaltered, he lamented to Pittman that America was supplying raw materials to Japan, enabling her to pursue conquests in China while at the same time preventing the United States from wielding her maximum influence to end the fighting. Buell preferred that the United States consult with other powers interested in ending the Asian conflict, hoping they might agree to an economic boycott against Japan. Discounting and criticizing the opponents of a boycott, he told Pittman that it was inconceivable that Japan could immediately institute naval reprisals against the Philippines, Hong Kong, or the international settlement at Shanghai. Furthermore, Buell considered it extremely unlikely that Japan could challenge the boycott except by an act of war, a suicidal step for the Asian nation. Agreeing with Buell's analysis of the situation, Pittman also promised to challenge Japan by initiating whatever legislation was necessary to help China and curtail the imperialistic ventures of Japan.[40]

While the partition of Czechoslovakia captured most Americans' attention throughout the summer and autumn of 1938, Pittman's concern remained focused on Congress's tendency towards appeasement. Congressional timidity regarding Japan especially worried Pittman who indicated, in a letter to State Department Counselor, R. Walton Moore, his irritation because ". . . the extreme and foolish pacifist sentiment in the United States was based on fear and could dominate the 76th Congress due to convene in January, 1939."[41] This fear later proved to be unwarranted. Nevertheless, Pittman's belligerent attitude over matters related to Japan caused him to view with anxiety any possible aid the United States might give that nation.[42] As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Pittman lost no opportunity to press for an embargo of trade and to call for an end to the Commercial Treaty of 1911.[43]

Unfortunately, his efforts frequently met with frustration. On one occasion Pittman wrote to Harry B. Price, executive secretary of the American Committee For Non-Participation In Japanese Aggression ,telling him of his lack of success obtaining a majority in his committee to report out a proposal for economic embargoes against Japan.[44] Pittman also revealed an inconsistency and lack of support and sincerity concerning China. On March 20, 1939, he introduced Senate Joint Resolution 97 which would put on a cash and carry basis articles that heretofore had been embargoed in times of war. Arms, ammunition, and implements of war would now be available to any nation who could come to American ports and pay for the goods. The provisions of Pittman's bill provided for no distinction between lethal weapons and other commodities.[45] Former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson wrote Pittman pointing out that the so-called "Peace Act of 1939" would not work to America's advantage in the Pacific. Designed to aid France and Great Britain, the

"Peace Act" jeopardized China's interests by giving Japan, with its merchant fleet and purchasing power, undue advantage in replenishing her arsenals. Stimson called upon Pittman to introduce legislation that would halt all war trade with Japan.[46] Criticism also came from Harry Price who was astounded by Pittman's proposal given the senator's previous statements of aiding China by embargoing Japan.[47]

In addition to Stimson and Price's criticisms, R. Walton Moore wrote the president strongly condemning Pittman's bill. Stating that for Europe the proposal was ample, Moore remarked that in Asia it worked against American interests. Implying that the president should pressure Pittman to drop the bill or modify it, Moore seemed even more anxious to avoid Chinese criticism of the State Department and to protect Hull from being denounced by congressmen with definite pro-Chinese leanings.[48]

Pittman, faced with opposition to his proposal, proceded to introduce Senate Joint Resolution 123 on April 27, 1939, which would place an embargo on the export of arms, ammunition and implements of war to any nation violating the Nine Power Treaty. The president would have the discretion to determine when the treaty had been violated and by which nation. This new proposal met the objections of those who originally opposed his "Peace Act" yet desired some retribution against Japan without crippling China's ability to get the sinews of war.[49] Forced to overcome the State Department's timidity, the administration's lack of resolve and Pittman's ineffectual leadership in the Foreign Relations Committee in order to survive, the proposal suffered defeat in the spring and summer of 1939.[50]

Yet as the situation in Europe rapidly deteriorated into war, Pittman pushed for a strong policy in Asia out of a conviction the Far East held greater potential for American involvement in war. Critical of any moderate proposals, saying they smacked of appeasement, he remarked:

> If the United States appeared afraid of Japan, then the chances of war in Asia increased. The only way to thwart Japan was to end all shipments of war supplies lest Japan makes itself the master of all China.[51]

Once Japan signed the Tripartite Pact, Pittman called for a complete embargo on all exports and imports so that, "their airplanes will cease to fly, and their bombs will cease to drop on the unfortunate people of China."[52] Throughout October, in his campaign for reelection to the Senate, Pittman continued to express harsh sentiments toward Japan, directing his wrath in particular, at belligerent, anti-American Foreign Minister, Yosuke Matsuoka. Calling Matsuoka a "bluffing bulldog," Pittman told a crowd in Reno, that the United States should not surrender any rights in Asia regardless of what belligerent words come out of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. In what was to be one of his last anti-Japanese outbursts before he died in November, Pittman cautioned Americans not to be intimidated in the Pacific region by an insignificant soldier of the military clique now ruling Tokyo. Americans must do everything to stay out of war in that region, Pittman added; but Japan, and especially Matsuoka, should not mistake America's pacifism for appeasement.[53]

Pittman's willingness to introduce strong anti-Japanese rhetoric into his campaign indicated that in Nevada a harsh stand against that nation would not displease his constituency; in fact, Pittman was reelected on November 5, only to die five days later. His death removed a leading member of the anti-Japanese coalition from Capitol Hill.

Yet throughout those crucial years prior to his death, Pittman provided ineffectual leadership in attempts to thwart the rise of Japan's new order in Asia. Actually, in the last year and a half of his life, he hindered administration efforts to formulate and implement a decisive foreign policy. Beyond disliking her violations of the Nine Power Treaty and his belief that American interests would be adversely affected by a Japanese dominated Asia, Pittman could never transfer such concerns into a political reality despite his chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Although accused of possessing only a superficial knowledge of Pacific affairs accompanied by vague and incoherent denouncements of Tokyo's quest for empire, Pittman's attitude achieved a consensus within the nation during the final year of peace. As events led to war in the Pacific the country's opinion reached almost total unanimity, brought together by the very issue, Japanese aggression, that had caused the Nevadan so much anguish and indecision during the interwar years.

Notes

1. Consult, John A. Brennan, "The Politics Of Silver In The New Deal: Pittman, Roosevelt, And The Domestic-Silver Subsidy, 1933," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, XIV (Fall, 1971), pp. 5–18; *Ibid.*, Fred Israel, "Key Pittman And New Deal Politics," pp. 19–25; *Ibid.*, Gilman M. Ostrander, "Comments On The Papers Of Mr. Brennan And Mr. Israel," pp. 27–31.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

3. Judson C. Welliver, "The Triumph Of The South," *Munsey's Magazine*, XLIX (Aug. 1913), pp. 731–743; *Biographical Directory Of The American Congress, 1774–1961* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 14,621.

4. Fred L. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), pp. 34–36.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

6. U.S., Congress, Senate 65th Cong., 1st sess., April 4, 1917, *Congressional Record*, LV, 251.

7. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman*, pp. 40–41.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

9. For Pittman's voting pattern, consult: For the Five Power Treaty, U.S. Congress, Senate, 67th Cong., 2nd sess., March 29, 1922, *Congressional Record*, LXII, 4718-4719 and for the Nine Power Treaty see *Ibid.*, March 30, 1922, 4784; Pittman's affirmative vote for the Kellogg-Briand Pact may be found in U.S. Congress, Senate, 70th Cong., 2nd sess., January 15, 1929, *Congressional Record*, LXX, 1731; His view of Russia may be ascertained in Key Pittman, "The United States And Russia—Obstacles To Recognition Of Present Soviet Regime," *The Annals Of The American Academy Of Social And Political Science*, CXXVI (July, 1926), pp. 131–133.

10. Joseph H. Baird, "Key Pittman: Frontier Statesman," *American Mercury*, L (July, 1940), pp. 310–312. Baird concluded that Pittman's dislike of Japan was the result of two circumstances: the senator's long residence on the Pacific Coast and his longer service on the Senate Naval Affairs Committee.

11. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman*, p. 48.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 144; *New York Times*, December 21, 1935, p. 8 and December 22, 1935, p. 24.

16. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman*, p. vii.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 155–173; Wayne S. Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye And American Foreign Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), p. 100; Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism In America, 1935–1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 211.

18. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman*, p. 133; Pittman's view of neutrality legislation can be consulted in Wayne S. Cole, "Senator Key Pittman And American Neutrality Policies, 1933–1940," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (Mar. 1960), pp. 644–662; Also, "Pittman And Neutrality," *Current History*, L (Nov. 1939), p. 6.

19. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman*, p. 136.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

21. *New York Times*, July 12, 1930, p. 1.

22. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1935, p. 8 and December 27, 1935, p. 12.

23. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1936, p. 8; "Eastern Asia," *Time*, XXVII (Feb. 24, 1936), p. 26; U.S. Congress, Senate, 74th Cong., 2nd sess., February 10, 1936, *Congressional Record*, LXXX, (1703–1708) and U.S. Congress, Senate, 75th Cong., 2nd sess., Appendix, *Congressional Record*, LXXXII, 578–81. Consult also an exchange between Senator William E. Borah (R. Idaho) and Pittman on the subject of Japan closing China to the world in "Speeches, Articles, And Remarks," Box 161, *Pittman MSS*. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

24. *New York Times*, February 12, 1936, p. 20.

25. *Ibid.*; For a scholarly appraisal of this silver problem see Dorothy Borg, *The United States And The Far Eastern Crisis Of 1933–1938* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 121–137.

26. For Pittman's promotion of Western silver interests see Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman*, pp. 75–95; Key Pittman, "Should The Price Of Silver Be Regulated By Government Action," *Congressional Digest*, X (Nov. 1931), pp. 270–272. See, also, Footnote # 1, p. 1.

27. U.S. Congress, Senate, 75th Cong., 1st sess., July 30, 1937, *Congressional Record*, LXXXI, 7862; *Ibid.*, July 31, 1937, 7,919–7,920; *New York Times*, July 30, 1937, p. 1.

28. *New York Times*, October 6, 1937, p. 1; *Atlanta Constitution*, October 6, 1937, p. 3; *Washington Post*, October 6, 1937, p. 7.

29. *New York Times*, October 7, 1937, p. 1.

30. *Ibid.*, December 14, 1937, p. 18; *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Papers*, 75A-F9-1, Box 105B, National Archives, Legislative Division, Washington, D.C.; Hereinafter cited as NA. LD.

31. *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Papers*, 75A-F9-1, Box 105, NA. LD.

32. Letter from Pittman to Mrs. Murray Crane, February 14, 1938, *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Papers*, 75A-F9-1, Box 105F, Correspondence A-A, N.A. LD: For the diplomatic correspondence see Ambassador Nelson Johnson to Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, December 12, 1937, *394.115 Panay/350* National Archives, Record Group 59; *Papers Relating To The Foreign Relations Of The United States, Japan: 1931–1941* (2 vols; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), I, p. 534; The report by the commander of the *Panay*, Lt. Commander James J. Hughes to Roosevelt can be found in "Panay" folder, OF-150C, December 24, 1937, *FDR MSS*, Franklin Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. Japan paid the sum of $2,214,007.36 as indemnification for the loss of the *Panay* and injuries to persons and property as a result of the attack. Consult, United States Department Of State, *Peace And War, The United States Foreign Policy, 1931–1941* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 561–563; William C. Johnstone, *The United States And Japan's New Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 209–225.

33. The interview may be found in U.S. Congress, Senate, 75th Cong., 3rd sess., Appendix, *Congressional Record*, LXXXIII, 2120; *New York Times*, May 23, 1938, p. 8.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Papers*, 75A-F9-1, Box 105B, NA. LD. Consult also the letter to H. H. Kung, president of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance-Hankow dated June 13, 1938, condemning Japan and hoping for American protests leading to economic sanctions found in the same file.

37. Draft of a speech to be presented on August 22, 1938, may be found in *Pittman MSS*. Pittman made a similar speech as quoted in the *New York Times*, July 11, 1938, p. 21.

38. *Ibid.*

39. For Buell's earlier views consult, *The Washington Conference* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1922) and "The Development Of Anti-Japanese Agitation In The United States," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXVII (Dec. 1922), pp. 605–638.

40. Buell to Pittman, July 19, 1938, *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Papers*, 75A-F9-1, Box 105G, Correspondence D-I, NA. LD.

41. Pittman to Moore, November 15, 1938 in *Ibid.*, Box 105H; also Moore to Pittman, October 13, 1938, "Neutrality, 1938," folder, Group 55, Box 15, *Moore MSS*, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

42. *New York Times*, July 10, 1939, p. 21 and July 12, 1939, p. 9; consult also "Our Foreign Policy," *Democratic Review*, XVI (Mar. 1939), p. 5 in *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Papers*, 76A-F9, Container 15, Correspondence D folder.

43. *Ibid.*, *China Weekly Review*, XCI (Dec. 2, 1939), p. 8.

44. Pittman to Price, August 14, 1939, "Correspondence Jan.-Sept., 1939," folder, Box 2, *Roger S. Greene MSS*, Houghton Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

45. *New York Times*, March 20, 1939, p. 1.

46. Stimson to Pittman, *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Papers*, 76A-F9-141, April 25, 1939. See also Stimson's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings concerning revision of neutrality legislation. See U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee On Foreign Relations, *American Neutrality, Hearings*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., 1939, Part I, pp. 2–50; Stimson's testimony before the committee was praised by Harry B. Price and he agreed that Pittman's bill was not in America's or China's interests. See Price to Stimson, April 7, 1939, "Henry L. Stimson," file, *American Committee For Non-Participation In Japanese Aggression Papers*, Littauer Center Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Hereinafter cited as *ACNPJA Papers*. See also Price's analysis of conversations with Pittman concerning the neutrality bill in *Ibid.*, Price to Stimson, March 29, 1939. An identical letter was sent on March 28, 1939 for no apparent reason.

47. Price to Pittman, March 28, 1939, "Congressional Correspondence," folder, *ACNPJA Papers*, should be consulted for the committee's official protest against the bill.

48. Moore to Roosevelt, March 18, 1939, State Department File *811.04418/375A* and Moore to Roosevelt, March 18, 1939, "Neutrality 1939," folder #1, Box 15, *Moore MSS*. The letters are similar. For the State Department's view see Carlton Savage to Moore, February 24, 1939, "Neutrality 1939," folder #1, Box 15, *Moore MSS; New York Times*, March 20, 1939, p. 1 and March 26, 1939, p. 29. For China's criticisms of the proposal see Willys R. Peck, Charge d'Affaires, Chunking, to Hull, March 27, 1939, State Department File, *811.04418/362* and Memorandum by Hull in *Ibid.*, March 29, 1939, *811.04418/372*.

49. *New York Times*, March 28, 1939, p. 10; April 2, 1939, p. 36; April 28, 1939, p. 4; Hull to Pittman, July 17, 1939, Box entitled, "Jan-July, 1939," File 118, *Hull MSS*, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. See also U.S. Congress, Senate, 75th Cong., 2nd sess., Appendix, *Congressional Record*, LXXXII, 578–781. The correspondence between the ACNPJA and Pittman is informative and should be consulted for the pressure upon the senator to change his bill. In the *ACNPJA Papers*, consult, Greene to Price, January 31, 1940; Greene to Price, March 14, 1940, in "RSG Folder #3," and Price to Greene, May 15, 1940, "RSG Folder #4," and Price to Pittman, June 18, 1940, "Congressional Correspondence File." In the *Greene MSS*, consult, Greene to Pittman, May 17, 1930 and Greene to his wife, Katherine Greene, April 24, 1940; May 3, 1940; and July 1, 1940 in folder entitled, "RSG To KG," Box 12. The letter to Pittman was not in a folder when the author saw the Greene collection.

50. For a detailed discussion and analysis of this fiasco, consult, Robert A. Divine, *The Illusion Of Neutrality: Franklin D. Roosevelt And The Struggle Over The American Embargo* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) pp. 236–285; Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman*, pp. 160–167.

51. Pittman in *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Papers*, 76A-F9-146, January 8, 1940, NA. LD. Comments may be found in folder marked "Correspondence K."

52. Pittman, as quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 1940, n.p. article is in *Pittman MSS*.

53. *New York Times*, October 18, 1940, p. 3.

Settling the Muddy River Valley

by Pearson Starr Corbett

While we were surveying in the forenoon, word was brought to me that a man was killed in camp. We hastened to the scene of the murder where [we] found the corpse of a man who had been stabbed in the heart and had died instantly. Upon inquiry we learned that the murdered man was a person that did not belong to the Church and had come there with Alexander Ogelvie. After the men had all gone out to work, Ogelvie had a quarrel with him and finally stabbed him with a butcher knife. Then men soon all gathered in from work and three men were appointed to hold an inquest.

I immediately sent a letter to President Smith informing him of the sad event and desired him to come up and take charge of the case. The three men appointed brought in a verdict that the deceased came to his death by a stab of a butcher knife in the hand of Alex Ogelvie. Ogelvie was immediately arrested and it being very hot the man was buried as soon as possible. Ogelvie did not deny stabbing him and appeared to be very sorry.

President Smith came up and the people chose him to act as Justice of the Peace in this case as there were [sic] no civil organization in this country. He accepted the position and a jury was called. I was chosen clerk. After examining the witnesses they found that the testimony was very plain and soon brought a verdict of guilt.

The question then arose, what shall we do with him. We would not send him to any settlement in Arizona the nearest one being Mohave, and a terrible road to travel, and besides that, there were none that could go. It was finally thought best to send him to St. George and they could do what they pleased with him. Three men volunteered to go with him.

Pearson S. Corbett, a native of Utah, received his M.A. degree in the History of Religion from Brigham Young University, Provo. At the present time Mr. Corbett is director of the LDS Seminaries in the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado and director of the LDS Institute of Religion at Adams State College in Alamosa, Colorado.

> Ogelvie had not a very good reputation. He soon made his escape from St. George and no one bothered themselves about him anymore. He came to the Muddy with good teams and considerable stock. His wife soon returned to Warm Creek near Gunnison on the Sevier River from which place they came. We were very glad to get rid of such characters.[1]

This interesting sketch was recorded by Warren Foote who responded in 1865 to the general call of the church leaders for volunteers to go and help establish settlements in the lower valley of the Muddy in southern Nevada.

Foote was one of thousands of men who belonged to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who had accepted calls from the leaders of the church to aid in the establishment of Mormon colonies throughout the Western territories which today include Utah, Nevada, California, Idaho, Arizona, parts of Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming, and even extending themselves to plant Mormon colonies in southern Alberta in Canada, and in Sonora Province in northern Mexico.

Following their forced movement from Nauvoo, Illinois, the Mormon people were determined to establish themselves firmly in a large enough territory in which they could claim original pre-emption rights and thereby assure their permanency and civil freedoms. In establishing their empire, to be known as the "State of Deseret," they felt the need to be self-sufficient and establish industries in which they could produce the commodities needed to sustain life and develop a growing economy.

Mormon scouts and explorers were sent out in all directions from Salt Lake City to locate sites for Mormon settlements which would provide homes for the expected influx of converts from abroad, lay claim to the territory and contribute to the self-sufficiency of the Mormon Empire.

One of the most difficult areas in which to pioneer a settlement was in the semi-arid deserts of southern Nevada. As an extension of settlements in southern Utah in which the production of cotton was the economic contribution, people were sent to the valley of the Muddy, a river which rises from springs in the Pahranagat Valley in southern Nevada and flows southeast to the Virgin River. Along the course of the Muddy (which got its name from the warm, musty taste of the water) is a series of two small valleys near the headwaters and the third valley being the largest one which was first settled. The entire length of the Muddy River from its source to the confluence with the Rio Virgin is thirty miles.

The river itself was a welcome sight for early travelers on the Old Spanish Trail; leading from Santa Fe up through Colorado and across Utah to Los Angeles it became the major link to California. Because of its use year-round, thousands of immigrants, trappers and traders traveled the route. In leaving Utah the road followed almost precisely the route of U.S. Highway 91 from Saint George, over the Beaver Dam Mountains, and into the desert area of southern Nevada. There was no water on the early route from the time they left the mountains until they arrived at the Muddy some sixty-five miles to the southwest. Then continuing from the Muddy to Vegas Springs, a distance of fifty miles, there was no water at all. During the hottest seasons, immigrants or

traders would travel the entire distance from water to water in one push, usually at night.

Thus, the Muddy became a famous camping spot on the route to California and there were many people traveling this route that left written accounts of this oasis. Today Interstate 15 crosses the Muddy at Glendale Junction, the same area of the early crossings.

Because of the isolated location of the Mormon Empire in the Great Basin of the West, transportation of emigrants and goods from the East was difficult and expensive, and alternate routes were being seriously considered. The feasibility of shipping from New York via Panama, (overland) then by ship to the mouth of the Colorado River was considered a worthwhile savings, and plans were made to establish a landing on the Colorado at the highest point of navigation by river boats. This landing was established just twenty miles below the confluence of the Virgin with the Colorado, and forty miles overland to the closest settlement on the Muddy.

In 1864 Anson Call was appointed by the church to establish the landing on the Colorado known as Call's Landing or Callville, and Thomas S. Smith was appointed to lead a group of families to establish a settlement in the lower reaches of the Muddy, as close as possible to Callville, which would secure the land from the Gentiles coming in, and provide a supporting base for the establishment of the river landing and the construction of a road into it.

Construction began on a warehouse at Call's Landing in December of 1864 and the first colonists arrived at the site of the first settlement on the Muddy to be called Saint Thomas on January 8, 1865. This first group consisted of eleven men and three women. In a few days their group numbered forty-five families.

On the evening of April 26, 1865, Erastus Snow, President of the Southern Mission which included the Muddy Valley, arrived at Saint Thomas. The next day President Snow and Thomas S. Smith, in company with others, explored to the north of Saint Thomas a few miles and discovered two large areas of meadowland which had grass growing high enough to be harvested. A year after the original survey of Saint Thomas, there seems to have been some dissatisfaction with it and a new survey was made some two miles to the north, apparently at the large meadow which President Snow and his party investigated. Warren Foote records the following in his journal:

> They, President Snow and others surveyed a townsite the original about three miles up the creek from the Rio Virgin River. The latter part of February 1866, in accordance with President Snow's counsel, another townsite was surveyed by J. J. Fuller of St. Joseph, which was a much better location than the first one. There were now at the old town about 45 families. They built their homes above the town site and at the southwest side and in two parallel lines about ten rods apart running north and south. The north end was kept open so as to add to the length if necessary. About the first of April they all moved into this fort. The town was surveyed into 85 city lots, and adjoining there was surveyed about the same number of two and an half acre lots for vineyards, and outside of these about the same number of 5 acre lots for farming purposes.[2]

Saint Thomas was the largest settlement in the valley at this time and the focal point for most activities. President Thomas S. Smith lived at Saint Thomas, which was named in his honor, where he presided over all the colonizing activities in the Muddy Valley.

Warren Foote came to the Muddy Valley along with many others who were somewhat dissatisfied with their previous locations in the northern part of the territory. He wanted to find a location to settle where the winters were not so severe as they were in the Sanpete Valley and in Round Valley (Scipio), Utah Territory. Foote kept a very detailed journal which gives us much additional information concerning the colonizing efforts of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) in the Valley of the Muddy River in southern Nevada known as the "Muddy Mission." His journal is very well written with a considerable amount of detail, and is the basis for most of our information in this study.

Most of the people who came to the Muddy in the spring of 1865 made their homes at Saint Joseph under the direction of Thomas Sasson Smith, president of the Muddy Mission. President Smith met a large group of them at the crossing of the Muddy where the Old Spanish Trail, known later as the Mormon Trail, made its way from the northern part of the Utah Territory to southern California. The crossing of the Muddy River was a favorite camping spot for travelers because of the dry, hot desert stretches in both directions.

After making exploration of the upper Muddy Valleys, the groups reached the decision that it would be best to establish a settlement closer to Saint Thomas as a precautionary measure against possible Indian attacks. Accordingly, a settlement was established at a point nine miles north of Saint Thomas. At the organizational meeting presided over by Thomas S. Smith, Warren Foote was nominated and sustained as the presiding authority over the new settlement.

Foote gives an excellent description of the place of settlement:

> Below the crossing of the California road the creek runs through a kanion [sic] called the narrows. It is about six miles through this kanion. On emerging the creek formed a large swamp about three miles long and will average one and a quarter wide. Our location is about one mile below the swamp on rising-ground, east side of the creek. I looked around some today and found that there was considerable land suitable for farming, and some fine grass for hay.[3]

During the next few days several groups arrived from the California crossing, and some came up from Saint Thomas where they had been waiting for the new location to be established.

To the Mormon people, a call from the church to perform a particular task, such as helping to colonize new settlements was considered a sacred obligation, and therefore they considered such an undertaking very seriously. The new communities that they were pioneering were looked upon as permanent towns and cities to add to the support and strength of the church throughout the territory. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, artist and topographer of the Powell River Expeditions in 1871 and 1872, makes an interesting contrast between the Mormon method of settlement and the settlements of other groups of people in the West. He had visited Saint Thomas on the Muddy and wrote:

> As pioneers, the Mormons were superior to any class I have ever come in contact with, their idea being home-making and not skimming the cream off the country with six-shooter and a whiskey bottle. . . .
>
> In all Mormon settlements, the domestic animals were incorporated at once and they received special care; butter, milk, and cheese were consequently abundant; but in a "Gentile" frontier town all milk, if procurable at all, was drawn from a sealed tin. The same was true of vegetables. The empty tin was the chief decoration of such advance settlements, and with the entire absence of any attempts at arrangement, at order, or to start fruit or shade trees, or do any other sensible thing the "Gentile" frontier town was a ghastly hodge-podge of shacks in the midst of a sea of refuse.[4]

Since the Mormon method of colonization was orderly and systematic, it was important that they conduct a survey of the proposed townsite before any building activity was to take place. The appointment of individuals to take charge of this preliminary planning for the new settlement of Saint Joseph was conducted the evening of June 1, 1865, at the camp near the proposed site:

> We held a meeting at night and appointed Mr. Murry to level a water ditch to bring the water out on our townsite, and Alma H. Bennett to superintend the digging of it. Jesse J. Fuller was elected our surveyor, and a company appointed to assist him to survey out a town site, namely, Levi H. Galaway, George Tucker, myself and son David. As they had had some surveying done at St. Thomas it was thought best to connect our survey with their lines . . . had an interview with President Smith with regard to the size of our city lots. We found the variation of the compass to be 16 degrees by the St. Thomas survey . . . We continued our surveying and found the valley to run about due Northwest. I consequently have had a great many angles to run . . . Distance from St. Thomas survey on nearly a straight line about 9 miles . . . We named the town St. Joseph.[5]

At the meeting that was held the night after the survey line reached the townsite, the Foote journal states that there were between thirty and forty men present who were heads of families. They surveyed sixty town lots of one acre each and proceeded to survey 2½ and 5 acre lots for vineyards and fields. Several more families arrived after the surveying began, causing some settlers to boast that . . . "we are getting to out number St. Thomas by a great many."[6]

On June 12, the brethren drew lots. This drawing was done by putting slips of paper in a hat with the number of a city lot on each slip. Once the drawing was completed, the settlers could move onto their lots and begin construction of their homes.

During the early part of 1866, the Indians of the territory, particularly the Utes in the northern area of Utah, began committing depredations upon the settlers, eventually causing the Black Hawk War. The people living in small settlements throughout the territory were counseled by Brigham Young to abandon their settlements and move together in larger bodies where they could build fortifications and protect themselves. Instructions came to the people on the Muddy to conform to this advice. A meeting was called to determine where the people should congregate. The residents from each of the settlements on the Muddy felt

that their particular town had the most advantage. By this time, Orrawell Simon had established a grist mill three miles south of Saint Joseph on the Muddy River which was named Mill Point. There had been considerable rivalry and some hard feelings between the residents of Saint Joseph and Mill Point, and so the decisions that were arrived at were difficult for some.

There had been a few adobe buildings constructed at Saint Joseph, but now they were to be abandoned in favor of moving to either Mill Point or Saint Thomas. The population of Saint Joseph at this time is listed as 167, 38 more than the population of Saint Thomas. Most of the people of Saint Joseph moved to Mill Point, but Warren Foote and a few others moved to Saint Thomas. The proposal was to lay out a fort with adobe buildings and wagons, etc. up on a level bluff above the river. Even though the bluff was level, it was above the fertile valley floor and was covered with a very sparse growth of desert creosote bush and drifting sand. The leaders believed, however, that if water could be brought to the sandy area the colonists could stabilize the sand with moisture, but in order to get water to the area it was necessary to extend the water ditch from old Saint Joseph on down to the sandy bluff, a distance of about five miles. Foote and the others who moved to Saint Thomas did not think this would be successful because they feared the ditch would soon fill with blowing and drifting sand. And time proved these fears to have been justified. Sometime in the year 1867, the name of Mill Point was changed to Saint Joseph, however, because of the difficult circumstances of living on the sandy bench, very few people were attracted to the settlement.

In the fall of 1868, a new group of people was called to settle on the Muddy, and President Erastus Snow had them move to Saint Joseph. Under the leadership of Joseph W. Young, they went to work with a will to build a large city. After trying in vain to bring the water down the five mile ditch which ran through three miles of sand, they concluded to move the townsite about 1½ miles up the bench, thus shortening the distance the water would have to run down the ditch to reach the settlement. Warren Foote says in his journal of this attempt:

> They, the colonists had tried in vain to bring the water down to the old fort at the mill; so they concluded to move their town about 1½ miles further up. This located them right into the midst of drifty sand, but they thought that they could keep the water there sufficiently to cause the sand to pack. Consequently they surveyed their lots and went to building on them. They had to haul their adobes from the creek bottom through heavy sand, some places half way to the hubs of their wagons. They dug a new ditch around the upper swamp, taking the water out right at the lower end of the narrows. They had to cut through a ridge about 10 feet deep and several rods long. This required an immence sight [sic] of labor. After working through the spring and summer they learned by experience what some of us had often told them, that they never could keep the water on that sandy bench. They might clean out their ditch, and the first wind storm would fill it level again. Wind storms were very frequent from the southwest. They finally concluded to abandon the bench altogether and about half of the people resolved to move up to the old town site of St. Joseph where we first located, and the other half went over on the west side of the creek about one mile southwest of the mill and surveyed a town site.[7]

So the town of Saint Joseph returned to the original site, and by 1870 it is reported that under the leadership of Daniel Starks, it was becoming a flourishing community. Today, the town of Logandale is located to the west, across the river from the original town of Saint Joseph.

During the last move of the people from the third site of Saint Joseph back to the original site Foote states that about half of the Saint Joseph settlers went ". . . over on the west side of the creek about one mile southwest of the mill and surveyed a town site. This place they called Overton. It was a very good location. They now commenced to build up those places, St. Joseph and Overton and by the spring of 1870 they became quite respectable towns."[8] Overton is the principle community in the Muddy River Valley today.

Instructions from Brigham Young were received in 1868 to establish a settlement at the mouth of the Rio Virgin on the Colorado. In the fall of that year a townsite was surveyed which was named Junction City. It was thought that river boats could ascend to this point on the Colorado. It is not known if river boats did ascend to this place during the existence of Junction City, but years later when Daniel Bonelli moved to the site, it was frequently visited by river boats which hauled salt from a nearby salt deposit down river.

In 1871, when Daniel Bonelli moved to the mouth of the Virgin, he established a ranch and operated a ferry across the Colorado. There were many travelers who came along this route on their way to the Mohave villages to the south or on their way to Prescott, Arizona. Bonelli called his establishment Rio Ville, but it was more often referred to as Bonelli's Ferry.

There were a few acres of land at Junction City, but it is not known just how many. The settlements came under the jurisdiction of James Leithead who had succeeded Thomas S. Smith as the president of the Muddy Mission.

Two families were sent to the site of Junction City, but because of a large band of Indians residing there who presented a threat to their lives and since no other families in the Muddy settlements had the means to go and assist, the project was abandoned.

President Brigham Young in the fall of 1870 made a visit for the first time to the lower Muddy Valley and then proceeded on down to the Colorado at the mouth of the Rio Virgin. He was disappointed in what he saw and felt that the area had been misrepresented to him. According to Warren Foote, who accompanied President Young on the trip to the Colorado, President Young said that ". . . if the gentiles wanted that country they were welcome to it."

Because of the problems which faced the pioneer settlers in the years between 1865 and 1870, this colonization effort of the church is known as one of the most difficult assignments.

The original objectives of establishing settlements in the Muddy Valleys were: (1) To support the proposal to bring goods and immigrants into the Great Basin by navigating the Colorado River up to the location of Call's Landing. This proved feasible and economically superior to the overland route, but the project was abandoned before any good came of it when the transcontinental railroad was completed at Promontory Point in 1869 solving the transportation problems. (2) The second objective was to raise cotton which was used to support the self-sufficiency program of the church. The cotton raised in the

Muddy was of superior quality as noted by an article in a San Francisco newspaper, the *Alta California*. "We were . . . shown a sample of cotton received by R. G. Sneath from his agent at Callville, Arizona. . . . The sample is of the upland, or short staple variety, and . . . is not surpassed in the most favored regions of the Southern States. It was grown by a colony of Mormons who have settled within 25 miles of Callville, and have raised this season a crop of between 70,000 and 80,000 pounds . . ." The cotton project proved to be very successful, and became the prime justification for calling settlers to the region.

The dedication of these Mormon colonists to the efforts of the church became the force which enabled them to overcome the tremendous obstacles they faced. Even though the climate was favorable to the raising of cotton, it became difficult for these northerners to adapt to. The heat of the summer was discouraging to most of the people. From the journal of Abraham A. Kimball we have an interesting account of how he reacted to the heat:

> Moved into a new house—moved in and felt at home again. But when warm weather came we were unable to sleep in the house, and were compelled to resort to the sheds and sleep on top of them to keep from scorpions, trantulas, [sic] rattlesnakes, &, no escaping mosquitoes.
>
> Many a time I have got up in the night and rolled in the ditch to cool off, but soon found it injurious to my health. I have often seen the chickens at daybreak, hold their wings up and lolling for breath, the same as at noon in a decent country. An egg would roast in a short time laying in the sand. I have eaten as fine roasted onion, (sun roasted) as need to be. By watering carrots in the morning they would cook by noon, so the skin would all slip off them by pulling them up.
>
> . . .
>
> I have been very much amused to see the children going home from school at noon. They would take their bonnets, aprons or some green brush (if they had them) in their hands, run as far as they could, throw them down and stand on them until their feet cooled off. Then run again. . . .[9]

Also from the autobiography of Charles Hogge we quote: "I cannot describe the untold suffering that the people went through while there in the summer of '69. The hot sand caused the themometer [sic] to rise from 115 to 125 degrees."[10] But this problem was minor to the benefits of the long growing season, mild winters, and six cuttings of alfalfa hay.

Because of the semi-arid climate and desert conditions, timber was only found a great distance from the Muddy, the nearest being in the Pine Valley Mountains 130 miles to the northeast. Thus the people used adobes and with a single ridge pole for the roof support, they covered their dwellings with willows and tule canes.

The Paiute Indians of the desert area were also a real problem. Their primary activity in life was to survive. The desert provided scant fare, but with the coming of white settlers their prospects for food became brighter. Even though he Mormons treated them kindly and tried to Christianize them, they could not

be trusted and stole cattle and valuable draft animals which caused a great deal of suffering on the part of the colonists. The Indians never presented any serious threat of attacking the settlers, but some very severe methods were used to control their thievery.

Because of the extremely isolated nature of the Muddy settlements, commodities, tools, and foodstuffs were in short supply. To add to the problems of distance, was the extremely difficult terrain over which roads had to be built.

The nearest source of supply was at Saint George ninety miles to the east and a little north. The road followed the stream bed of the Virgin, with quicksand, and many crossings to be made. Heavy wagons mired in frequently. Other routes were established over the desert, but the lack of water caused a serious problem. One man, James Davidson, and his wife and son perished on this route when their light rig broke down on them enroute to Saint George.

Of the road to Call's Landing, from Saint Thomas, George Brimhall writes the following descriptions:

> The weather was very warm, it was the first of May. It was nineteen miles to the next water at the base of the Colorado Mountains, and we must prepare for it. Taking on what water we thought sufficient we started up a dry gulch. The sand and gravel being fellow [sic] deep . . . Once we were compelled to take our wagon to pieces and carry it up the mountain by hand . . . About sunset we arrived at the spring. My guide, Peete, was digging in the sand for water, which he obtained. It tasted bitter; I asked him why he did not tell me the water was poison. He replied, that he had not been here for two years, and did not know it was poison. Just at this time Anson Call came down the mountain with his wife, two men and some horses, from the Colorado River . . . he shouted to me not to drink that water, as it was poisonous. . . . I kept moving and stopping alternately under the shade of the rocks, so as to allow the hoofs of the oxen to cool off, as I could not spare any of them at that time. The gulch was very crooked and narrow in places. . . .[11]

Brimhall, having been called by the First Presidency of the Church to explore the Colorado River south of the Muddy for possible sites for settlements, had his family with him, but following the above experience he turned back to Saint Thomas. Later, he commented on his exploration of the country as follows:

> I asked myself, what can man do here? There was no country above this (Colorado River) for five hundred miles, and for two to three hundred miles broad, to my knowledge, having explored some of it. What could induce any living intelligence to inhabit it for a single week? I have seen no serviceable land since we left the Santa Clara river.

Brimhall gives a graphic description of the road in the riverbed of the Virgin:

> The road extended up the river bed . . . On either side the banks were abrupt and rocky so that we could not get out with out wagons. It was slow pulling against such a stream. The women took my demijohn and their dinners and went ashore, footing it on the side [of] the mountain, over rocks, gulches, precipitous ravines, sometimes out of sight. On arriving at the bank at night, we carried them on our backs to the

> wagons. Sometimes the water would come up nearly into them, and was very muddy. The bottom was continually moving sand and pebbles, which filled our shoes full of rocks, making our feet very tender. As we had to wade and drive our teams, the second night after getting all on board I was very tired, and on taking off my shoes, the sand and gravel had worn the bottom of my feet entirely out, and mixed blood, flesh, sand and gravel together.[12]

But in spite of their success in combating these difficulties, there was one which eventually caused the abandonment of their efforts.

The location of the Muddy Valley in relation to the political boundaries of Utah, Arizona, and Nevada was not exactly known. During these years of the initial colonizing efforts, they belonged according to the claims of the several states to Pah Ute County, Arizona, Rio Virgin County, Utah, and Lincoln County, Nevada. The legislatures of each state created these counties before any survey was run to determine their exact location.

The state of Nevada imposed a heavy tax upon its citizens which was approximately four times as high as Utah's tax during 1870, payment of which was demanded in United States gold and silver coin. This of course was primarily aimed at the mining industry, but since the Mormons were not miners but struggling for survival on an agricultural economy, they did not have the specie demanded by Nevada statutes. Their only hope for relief was that the government survey which was in progress would put them within the boundaries of the state of Utah. As it was, the official survey placed the state line some thirty miles east of the Muddy settlements, thus establishing their location as being in Lincoln County, Nevada. Petitions were sent to both state and federal governments, but without effect, and the Mormons could do nothing but abandon their hard won lands and return to Utah.

About ten years later Mormons began coming back, buying property and re-establishing Overton and Saint Thomas. Saint Joseph was re-established, but they named it Logandale after Robert Logan who purchased considerable land there during the years it was abandoned. Today, these communities are flourishing Mormon towns, except for Saint Thomas, which was inundated by the rising waters of Lake Mead following the construction of Hoover Dam. Since the construction of the dam at Glen Canyon, however, the level of Lake Mead has receded enough to expose the old townsite of Saint Thomas and the many cement foundations and dead cottonwood trees which lined the streets are still standing stark and bleak against the sky. It is a place of revered memories when one realizes the struggles of those who first lived there and labored to make a success of their mission.

Notes

1. Warren Foote Journal, pp. 134–135.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
4. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage*. New Haven, 1962, pp. 174–175.

5. Foote, p. 86.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
9. Abraham A. Kimball Journal, vol. I, pp. 70–71.
10. Arabelle Lee Hafner, *100 Yrs. on the Muddy*, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1961, p. 73.
11. George W. Brimhall, *The Workers of Utah*, Printed by the Inquirer Company, Provo, Utah, 1889, pp. 46–47.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 50–52.

John T. Reid

John T. Reid's Case for the Redheaded Giants

by Dorothy P. Dansie

Foreword

JOHN T. REID, Lovelock, Nevada, mining engineer from before the turn of the century until his death in 1943, and a Paiute-speaking friend of Indians of the area, many of whom had been his boyhood companions, found an early desultory interest in Indian lore quickened to the point of obsession in his later years. A sense of history rarely encountered in those days awakened in him an urge to record legends, myths and anecdotes of a people who were accepting the white man's ways at the expense of their own.

A florescence of archeological activity in the New World, utterly mad at times, also had an impact on Reid, and he perhaps read into physical evidence revealed in the Humboldt and Carson sinks region more than was there. At any rate, the following accounts, from his anthropology and archeology files at the Nevada Historical Society, opened for him the path to the redheaded giants prominent in Indian lore of the area, and his related newspaper articles.

Although not yet catalogued, Reid's papers at the Historical Society are filed according to categories, such as anthropology, archeology, mathematics, mining and science. In the larger categories, some of the papers are filed chronologically. Except where otherwise noted, the data herein presented is identified by Reid's date, when possible.

Titillating Tales

Lovelock Cave, which has been exploited off and on since about 1911 by guano miners, pothunters, and archeological expeditions under the auspices of

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various institutions such as the University of California, Berkeley, in cooperation with the Nevada Historical Society, Reno, and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) of New York City, had been known to Lovelock white residents as Indian Cave before nation-wide publicity gave it the situal name, Lovelock Cave.

When L. L. Loud who had been sent in 1912 to the cave to do preliminary studies under the aegis of the University of California and Mark Harrington financed in 1924 by the Heye Foundation to augment Loud's work, were preparing to write their report on the cave's archeological evidence, Harrington sought any and all information available from local residents. Never miserly with information, Reid compiled for him memoirs of the cave and the indigenous residents of the Lovelock area.

Among Reid's manuscripts on Indian lore are several different accounts of his first visit to the cave, similar, but with significant differences. As a boy, Reid's duties included acting as clerk in his father's store in Lovelock and the exciting task of rounding up horses and cattle belonging to the Reid family. On occasion he was called upon to go after wild horses with Indian friends. On one such excursion, around 1866 as Reid recalled, Natchez, son of Chief Winnemucca, was the leader of the group young Reid accompanied. Coffee Charley, Mustache Charley and Willie Biscuit made up the rest of the party.

The horses led them on such a chase that they had to camp out two nights, which of course didn't upset a fifteen-year old boy who was enjoying the good company of solicitous friends. On the second evening out, they were overtaken by a downpour and made camp on the flat below Indian Cave. In one account, Reid states that he would have welcomed the shelter offered by the cave, but that his companions could not be persuaded to enter it, ". . . as they feared 'evil spirits'. . . ." (June 8, 1931), but in another manuscript, he claimed that this second camp was made just within the entrance of the cave, which was ". . . not in keeping with what is told as to the indians [sic] having a dread of these old caves . . ." (MS August 29, 1924, "Notes for Mr. Harrington").

On this trip, as they rode, Natchez related tales from the Paiute past, and during the evenings, after camp had been made, the young man's prolonged questioning elicited tales of what Reid called "extraordinary interest." At the camp near the cave entrance, before the light faded, Natchez pointed out to Reid the face of the cliff above the cave opening, the arrow scars and broken arrow tips still embedded in crevices, as he related the Paiute history of the place, as here told by Reid:

> A long time ago an indian [sic] tribe came into this country from the southward, this indian tribe was redheaded and they were very tall men, the Piutes fought them on the south and west side of the lake that the intruders crossed over the lake and into the cave, by the use of tule boats they were able to cross the lake easily. The Piutes followed, and when they found that the intruders who Natchez called "Umatilla's" [sic] but other Piutes refer to as the Pitt River or Modoc Indians, had taken refuge in the cave, then the Piutes gathered in council and decided that they would gather all of the sagebrush that they could get hold of that lay to the east of and above the cave and after placing this on

> the bluff above and setting it afire that they would continue to throw over lighted brush into the face of the cave until all within had perished from suffocation all the while having men so posted that any of the people within the cave trying to escape could be killed with well directed arrows. After a siege lasting several days, Natches [sic] relates that all of the intruders were killed, but other stories go on to state that the intruders were driven to the northwestward. I can only reconcile this lack of harmony in the different stories with the probable fact that where the battles took place to the southward of Humboldt Lake, it is more than probable that the intruders had their force divided into two groups, one of which went on the east side of the lake while the other went on the west side of the lake. . . . (MS August 8, 1924, "Notes for Mr. Harrington").

Sarrah Winnemucca Hopkins's book, *Life Among the Piutes, Their Wrongs and Claims*, had been published only three years previously, and in it she relates substantially the same story as her brother Natchez had told the impressionable young man that night at the mouth of Indian Cave (1883, pp. 73–75).

In the morning, after it was agreed among the Indians that young Reid would be taken into the cave, torches were prepared from the tops of sagebrush. Reid observed that he was disappointed upon entering the main room of the cave to note that the only thing to see was piles of guano covering the floor, and in places there were cone-shaped piles about two or three feet apart extending across the center of the cave. He could just straddle the largest of the cones, with his head touching the ceiling (MS June 8, 1931). Elsewhere he recalls that there were four or five cones, about 2½ feet or more above the surrounding guano, and that in one place two cones were so close that they blended together about a foot from their apices (MS August 29, 1931, "Notes for Mr. Harrington").

Thrilling and chilling as such an experience must have been, it apparently was several years before he pursued the tale further. In 1899 he succeeded in arousing enough interest in the archeological possibilities of the cave and the commercial potential of the guano that Mr. Samuel Peacock of the Lanyon Zinc Company of Lanyon, Kansas, and a professor of the University of Pennsylvania made a trip to evaluate the cave. The mining man said it didn't interest him, and the professor said, "I would not spend a cent on it." (MS August 29, 1924, "Notes for Mr. Harrington").

Although among Reid's letters on behalf of Indian friends there are dates as early as 1886, the dates on notes concerning Indian lore don't begin until around 1920. Perhaps the archeological activity, not only in Nevada, but in the New World in general, awakened in him a realization that information furnished by Indian friends could be important and certainly his night at the cave under the spell of the tales Natchez told had taken on increased significance for him. By this time he had become convinced that the Indians' recurring references to the redheaded people bore looking into and he began documenting their statements, often in planned interviews complete with witnesses.

Dick Sampson, who appeared to Reid to be about seventy-five years old July 2, 1924 when he visited Reid's office, elaborated further on the battle at the cave with a tale told him by his great-grandmother who saw lots of bones near the hole in the rock when she was young.

She had told Sampson that those now called "Pitt River Indians" came in from the west and the first big fight occurred to the south, near a river. Then they came northward and the next fight took place at the "Sand Hills" on the southwest border of the Carson Sink. Here many bodies were burned and buried and Sampson said he had seen them when he was a boy. Many Paiutes and intruders were killed, but the Paiutes won and the others made for the cave, most going up along the range, although some went across the lake in tule boats. They were smoked out of the cave and almost all were killed. Those who escaped went across the lake again toward Brown's Station and thence west to Pyramid Lake where they had another big fight. They finally departed westward, back to Pitt River where they had come from.

Sampson told Reid that he had never heard that those people whom the Paiutes killed at the cave above Humboldt Lake were redheaded, as had been stated by Chief Natchez.

In an undated manuscript, Reid tells of other old-timers informing him that assistance for the Humboldt Paiutes in this genocide had come from other tribes from afar who received instruction or orders from the Paiutes. In these accounts, the war did not last just a day or two, but went on for years. First, the *Si-te-cah* (redheaded tule-eaters) were confined to the Humboldt Lake area following fearful battles in the region of Carson Sink and Pyramid Lake, the last being fought at Lovelock Cave. According to some accounts, a few escaped even the conflagration of the cave and in boats made of tules fled across Humboldt Lake to Granite Point, where they were met by more Paiutes. More *Si-te-cah* were killed, but those who escaped this confrontation were driven north towards the Pitt River. That this occurred during the winter time is suggested by some tales that the Paiutes had crawled over the ice on the lake to where the *Si-te-cah*, under constant persecution from the Paiutes, had taken to living in houseboats. These were described as being tule boats with house-like superstructures.

"Virginia" Jim had been told by his ancestors that during the conflict in the tules at the edge of the lake, the *Si-te-cah* had called out to the Paiutes in mournful tones, "*Yah-hah-nah-ho-week-ho-no,*" as well as he could remember it, but that he did not understand its meaning nor did the ancestors who told him of the incident. He thought it was a plea for peace.

L. H. Taylor, Civil Engineer of Reno, Nevada who was in charge of the U.S. Reclamation Project in the Fallon area known as the Newlands Project, and a friend of Reid's for about thirty years in 1927, contributed another story to Reid's growing file on redheaded giants (MS December 6, 1927). Mr. Taylor said that in 1904, at Stillwater, Nevada, a very old Indian related that the Paiute Indians had fought a battle with the people who had been in the area when the Indians came. The battle had been fought, he said, close to the ". . . Old Carson River, among the Sand Hills. . . ." Reid notes that others had told him of a battle which had been fought in the sand hills on the east side of the river. The battle supposedly took place in the old man's grandfather's time. Mr. Taylor was asked to estimate how long ago that might have been and he said he figured it could not have been much more than 150 years, if one allowed 30 to 40 years to a generation, since the old man was 80 or 90 years old at the time.

Taylor added that while he was running contour lines for the project he had seen many skeletons scattered around and one was picked up by a member of his survey crew, M. O. Layton, who took it east with him when he was relocated by the U.S.G.S. Department of Soils, Reclamation Survey, Washington, D.C. This skeleton had an arrow of obsidian or flint still sticking in the temple of the skull.

James Hunter, former assistant to the Constable of Lovelock, had yet another account of the hostilities which he had heard from Bung-Eye-Jim. Apparently, over the years of hostilities, the Paiutes had sustained such losses that they sent out an appeal to many tribes of the intermountain region for each to send at least ten braves to assist in an all-out effort to exterminate the enemy. Cooperation seemed assured because other tribes had exterminated the redheaded people in the surrounding territories and the antipathy toward them would lend impetus to the plan for final genocide.

Avery Winnemucca, grandson of Chief Natchez, was called upon to act as interpreter in a conversation with Abraham Mah-Wee of Nixon, Pyramid Lake Reservation, December 31, 1927. John A. Runner, government surveyor, was the witness who signed his name to the following statement by Mr. Mah-Wee:

> I believe that I am somewhere in the neighborhood of 76 years of age at this time, if anything, I may be older. I have a recollection of two small battles between the Indians and the U.S. soldiers, after which there was a larger battle at Pyramid Lake Reservation (1860) where many white men were slain. I believe that Indian Chief Natchez was about 30 years old when I was a boy about 10 years old. I remember hearing of the treaty that was negotiated between Nah-Mah-Gah-de'r (which means the Hunter or provider) Winnemucca and the U.S. General as to the matter of establishing the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, I was about 8 or 10 years old, or perhaps more, when this peace was concluded. I remember that Natches [sic] died about 20 years ago at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation.

Question by John T. Reid:	Do you remember anything pertaining to a dress that Sarah Winnemucca had that was made of human hair?
Answer:	I do.
Question:	What was the color of the dress?
Answer:	It was red.
Question:	Was it a light or a dark red?
Answer:	It was a brownish red.
Question:	Describe this dress.
Answer:	It was like a shirt dress.

Question: What became of this dress?

Answer: I do not know.

Question: How did Sarah W. Hopkins get this dress?

Answer: From the Sai-te-cah (Tule Eaters)

Question: What was the color of these people's hair?

Answer: It was reddish-brown, or a brownish-red.

Question: Did you ever talk directly to Sarah Winnemucca as to how it was that this came to be handed down to her?

Answer: We were not inquisitive and did not ask many questions as you people do as to what happened in the past, but, I remember the dress very well.

Question: How long was the hair in the dress?

Answer: It was made up of hair of various lengths, from a few inches in length to two or more feet in length.

Question: Where is Sarah Winnemucca buried?

Answer: I heard she was buried in Oregon or Idaho, or some place afar off.
(MS December 31, 1927)

Cubet Rhodes related to Reid a story Dick Sampson had heard from his father. The elder Sampson had pointed out to his son the site of the only *Toy-to-cah* [Paiute] casualty he had witnessed in the battle between the *Si-te-cah* and the *Toy-to-cah*. In this version of the story, the *Si-te-cah* were smoked *out* of the cave and pursued to Pyramid Lake, where they were again smoked out of refuge and driven west and north into California.

Rhodes also repeated his great-grandmother's story of the Humboldt Sink when it was a lake that covered the whole country and the top of Lone Mountain stuck out as an island. She had heard it from her "father's father" who was then a boy and said the *Si-te-cah* were there then.

Rhodes claimed that Charley Holbrook knew of a place where a giant man about nine feet tall was buried in a cave near Pyramid Lake and that there was another buried between Nixon and Wadsworth. This man was trying to escape but some Paiutes attacked him. It took them a long time to fell him. Rhodes claimed that Dick Cowles had seen the remains of his man when he worked on the railroad there (MS October 31, 1930).

About a month later, some visitors from Stillwater volunteered additional information. Sam Dick, son of Old River Sam and brother of John Dick (a.k.a.

Bob Dick), told of a pile of rocks in the form of a pyramid in the next canyon northward from Coyote Canyon on the east side of East Range in Churchill County, near Job's Peak, on the trail to the pinenuts. This monument, he said, was built by the *Si-te-cah*. Reid noted that his father had told him about the "Pyramid Rock" that was on the trail near New York Canyon and several white people described it as being at the head of New York Canyon near the old Indian trail.

Jasper Wright, another of the visitors, said that about 1920 Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins was with Yellow Tail at one of the Wyoming reservations above Riverton, near Casper, and she was wearing one of the coats with red hair. Wright was about forty years old at the time.

Sam Dick said that the *Si-te-cah* dressed in those coats but the Indians did not and he added that the *Si-te-cah* wore some type of feather on the head as headgear (MS November 27, 1930).

Gilbert Natchez of Nixon, grandson of Chief Winnemucca, related to Reid a story which agreed in almost every respect with that Reid had heard on that chilly wet night at the cave. He even elaborated on the story, explaining that *Si-te-cah* is a compound word, *si-e* meaning in the Paiute (or Numah, as the Indians call themselves) language "partakers of" and *te-cah* being translated as "tules." Thus, the name means "Tule Eaters."

The *Si-te-cah* and the Numah had the same God and spoke the same language, (which later Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins also mentions in her book, p. 74). The *Si-te-cah*, a redheaded people, were made by God, then the Numah.

There came a time when the children got to quarreling, the boys with the boys and the girls with the girls, so He separated them, sending the Numah to the Carson Sink and allowing the *Si-te-cah* to remain in the vicinity of the Humboldt Sink. After the Creator had separated His children, He went to a distant mountain somewhere near Walker Lake, which could be located for one by the Walker Lake Indians. Reid, however, inserts the fact that the Stillwater Indians had told him that this sacred spot was in the East Range, somewhere near Job's Peak *(Yah-do-be).* In any case, at this place He rested His head against a rock which to this day has the impression of His forehead and He wept in despair. A spring burst forth from the mountain where His tears had fallen. The story further claims that the footprints showing where He had travelled can still be seen.

Natchez went on to say that after the extermination of the *Si-te-cah* people, it was found that a small boy had been captured and was kept by the Indians until he died. Captain John took charge of the boy and took good care of him, but he died before reaching maturity.

Off the subject, but perhaps related, is another tale told that day by Natchez of some large beasts which had once roamed the Humboldt region. They were dangerous carnivorous animals which devoured unprotected children and he claimed that Indian mothers still threatened their children with, *"Ooh-queetz* will get you, if you are not good." Reid adds that he had heard similar mention of a "cave man" who would get the children if they were unruly. Another term for a terrifying child-eating beast was *Pi-Ee-tsah.*

Bow-E-An, who was known to the white residents of the Lovelock area as Skinny Dave, related yet another anecdote concerning Paiute traditions of their early history. Bow-E-An's father, Captain Dave, was known to his own people as Pas-sa. After white contact he was called Passa Dave, but no reason is given.

Pas-sa Dave was in the fight at Pyramid Lake with the whites (1860) but ran away because he was afraid, so was not injured. Some of the Indians had firearms, but they were few and of poor quality. Then, too, there was little ammunition. Pas-sa had only bow and arrows.

Bow-E-An was born at Poker Brown Springs. His mother was known as Sis (Dave), his grandfather was Natchez, and his great-aunt was Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins.

Captain Dave told Bow-E-An of people who had lived by the Humboldt and Carson Lakes in his great-great-grandfather's time. They had reddish brown hair. He said that some of them were about the height of Paiutes, but others were very tall. These people were called *Si-te-cah* which means "Tule Eaters."

These people lived principally upon the lakes where they had boats made of tules and upon these boats there were built thatched houses made of tules. The boats could be bound together so that the people could step from one boat to the other as on rafts. However, the boats could be detached readily. The *Si-te-cah* seldom left the rafts except to procure necessities such as seeds and the stones for grinding them. The Paiutes, whom they feared, kept them hemmed in for a great many years.

Long ago in Bow-E-An's great-great-grandfather's time, when Humboldt Lake was high at a place on the John G. Taylor Ranch known to the Paiutes as *No-be-ach-annu* (You are my friend), a Paiute stood on the lake shore and hollered to the redheaded people. They answered and came after him with a great number of boats, perhaps several hundred, and took him to some sandy islands not far from shore. Here each took him and held him, head downward for a moment, after which they took him to their houses and kept him for two days. They then took him to the shore and released him. He returned to his people at Poker Brown Springs carrying beads, a moccasin made of badger skin, arrow points made of sea shell, foodstuff, and a small dog which had ears that stood up straight. The Paiutes did not have any dogs. Since the dog warned the Paiutes of anything coming from far off, they thought he was pretty smart. The Indian also brought lots of different things made of mud hen skins, such as neck bands of flowing feathers, and beaver blankets. This place became known to Bow-E-An's people as the "Treaty of Peace Ground."

Bow-E-An was especially impressed by his father's description of the innumerable "columns of smoke" that rose from all over the Humboldt and Carson Lakes at that time. There were a great number of the redheaded people who in the early mornings and evenings made cooking fires, whereas the Indians ate most of their food raw having no regular time for building fires as did the people destined to become their mortal enemies.

Material Manifestations

Surely, if there were any truth to any of these stories, there would be some physical evidence of the redheaded giants.

Reid's attempt to get perhaps the first salvage archeology project in Nevada under way at Lovelock Cave with the University of Pennsylvania on hand to recover artifacts and data uncovered by the Lanyard Zinc Company as the guano was mined, died "aborning."

However, the Green boys, Art, Tot and Ed and the Pugh boys, Sam and Dave, cousins of the Greens, while hunting waterfowl on horseback along the shores of the Humboldt Sink were attracted by the clamor of birds to a small hole in the face of a cliff. Tot described the aperature as being so small that they had to wriggle in, but in they went and saw the undisturbed piles of guano. Deciding that nothing could be lost, they staked claims to the nitrogen deposits, although Tot said he had no intention of getting involved in the actual digging because he didn't want to "throw no shit." James H. Hart eventually came up with the financial backing necessary for the venture and in due course many tons of guano were hauled across Toy Flat to railhead for shipment to market.

Reid procured from Hart a statement about the mining of the cave for A. L. Kroeber, University of California, Berkeley, from which Loud and Harrington excerpted the following when they were preparing their report on the archeological exploration of the cave:

> . . . working from the fall of 1911 to the spring of 1912. We drove a small tunnel into the mouth of the cave, or rather to one side of it, the natural opening being too small to work through. We took out about five carloads of guano which were shipped to the Hawaiian Fertilizer Company of San Francisco. We soon began to discover Indian relics, and notified Dr. J. C. Merriam of the University of California, who took the matter up with the University of Nevada and the Nevada Historical Society. We also wrote to the Smithsonian Institution, but they advised that they had no funds for collecting, receiving only donations. After some of the best specimens had been destroyed, we received word from the State Historical Society that, in conjunction with the University of California, they would send an investigator. This was Mr. Loud. We gave him all possible facilities for collecting. Many objects had been destroyed by the weather and others had been taken away. I recall many boas or ropes of fine feathers. As these lay strewn about in the open end of the cave in the way of the workmen they were irreparably damaged. Some of these boas were found perfectly preserved. All the Indian objects began to appear about four feet below the surface of the guano.
>
> In the south end of the cave, "about twenty feet deep," we unearthed some skeletons. In the north-central part of the cave, about four feet deep, was a striking looking body of a man, "six feet six inches tall." His body was mummified and his hair distinctly red. There was a grass rope about his neck with a knot under the left ear. The rope was about eight feet long. The feet were bound together from the ankle to above the knees with stout rope. The mummifica-

> tion was complete except for a part of the abdomen. The other mummies all had red hair—I think there were either four or five. Those that appeared to be women were small, something like a Japanese woman in height. This was not altogether due to the shrinking of the bodies in mummifying, because the man was "a giant." The women had on moccasins which reached clear to the knees; the buckskin was beaded with shells. Two of them had on a kind of buckskin coat (gown) that came down to the knees. These bodies were from the deep south end of the cave.
>
> There were no bats in the cave when we went there to work.
>
> Besides David Pugh there worked in the cave Samuel Pugh, Hanson, Cummings, and perhaps one or two others. We screened the guano through a three-quarter inch mesh, discarding everything that did not go through the screen. Probably all objects that passed through the mesh were shipped away with the guano.
>
> After we got through working the cave one George Stautts worked on what was left in the cave for a while. He probably shipped out about a carload of guano. (Loud-Harrington, 1929, pp. 168, 169).

Reid, busy with his mining enterprises, took no active part in the guano activities but was avidly interested, increasingly so as the Green family began exhibiting the more spectacular finds in vacant stores in many towns in northern Nevada.

The public exposure of the unusual artifacts from the cave prompted area residents to allow their finds to be shown also and what had started out as the "Green Exhibit" became the "Lovelock Exhibit," incorporating artifacts contributed by many people. This assemblage was stored in a shed belonging to Art Green and had been promised to the Nevada Historical Society. However, fire destroyed the shed and all it contained, except for large stone objects such as deep mortars and long, heavy pestles.

By the time the University of California sent Loud to excavate the archeological deposits in the cave, in 1912, they had been so badly disturbed that it is a wonder that any archeology remained to be studied. Loud was not a professional archeologist and he simply salvaged the artifacts which had become a severe encumbrance to guano miners. In 1929, Reid accompanied by John A. Runner, government surveyor working out of Lovelock, visited the University of California Archeology Building and asked to see the Lovelock Cave display. They were informed that the seventy-six boxes recovered were stored in the basement in the original shipping cases, as there was no space to display them (MS, no date, p. 7).

In 1924 the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York City, sent M. R. Harrington to Lovelock to see if anything remained to be discovered in the cave and especially to attempt to find some untouched areas which could be excavated stratigraphically. He was fortunate and was able to use arbitrary levels to pinpoint artifacts and burials in space and time.

Apparently Kroeber had to do a bit of prodding to get Loud and Harrington to get a report written for publication. In 1928 Reid wrote him a three-page summary of cave legends and mining activities. The report was finally pub-

lished in 1929, seventeen years after Loud's work there began, a rather long delay as Reid states (MS, no date, p. 1, February 11, 1933 appears on same page in text).

A combination of radio-carbon dating and a calculated rate of deposition within the cave gives tentative occupation dates for the cave that range from approximately 2010 B.C. to A.D. 922 (Grosscup, 1957). This throws off Reid's estimate of the time of the battle being only about 250 years B.P. He of course was deceased by the time this information was available.

It is obvious from Reid's papers that the lack of information on the findings from the two excavations sponsored by professional institutions did not deter him in his determination to learn more about the erstwhile inhabitants of the cave and its environs. His inquiries continued.

Skinny Pascal, a well-known tracker, told Reid in 1927 that he spent about two months working with Mr. Harrington ". . . at the Indian Cave south of Lovelock." Reid recorded the interview.

> . . . Mr. Harrington took all baskets and other things that he recovered, but he seemed uninterested in bones, we found some of those in the cave and we burried [sic] a whole skeleton that was found near the entrance in the dirt about 4 feet deep, in the northern end of the cave about midway from the east and west side. It is there yet, I feel sure. There are some other human bones burried there which we had unearthed, which might be recovered, if research were made for them. I have no knowledge of the people who lived here and with whom the Indians fought as Sarah Winnemucca tells about (this is not to be wondered at, for doubtless he being born at Unionville, his parents, Mandy Jack and mother were more related to the Shoshones, for which reason he associated with them in his youth almost entirely) . . . (MS Dec. 19, 1927).

The late "Tot" Green told this writer that at the time of the guano mining there were Indians working at the cave and that they became upset about the cavalier treatment of the bones uncovered. To appease these men, a man named Evans was assigned the task of having the skeletons reburied outside the cave. Green couldn't say where this was. Evans later worked with Mr. Harrington when he excavated the cave, apparently at the time Pascal was there, and went with Harrington to the Lost City excavation in southern Nevada. Evans has since died.

Green didn't seem to take much stock in the Indian lore about the extermination of the redheaded people, although he said the hair was definitely "red." He said, "Must have been a big tribe! No more than seven skeletons were ever taken out of there!" (personal interview, 1968).

The physical evidence which could have lent substance to the tales of the old Indians was gone as surely as if it had never existed.

Early in 1928, Reid asked Bow-E-An about a story he had heard concerning some Indians who long ago had found fossilized human remains. Bow-E-An had a talk with the wife of Humboldt Joe, who told him of her experience and Bow-E-An returned with the following tale:

> When she was a girl, (she is now 80 or thereabouts) she went with several other women from their camp which was in the sand-hills below the Lovelock Indian Cave, on the shores of the old Humboldt Lake, and from that place they went to the nearest hills to search for roots which then formed part of their food, they had been in the higher hills and were returning to their camp when they passed by a small wash, very low down in the foothills and there they had seen the body of a human-being that had been (nude) completely fossilized and turned into rock. It was complete even to the hair which was turned to stone. The body was that of a large woman, very tall, perhaps nearly six feet as she describes it. They paid no special attention to it at the time for it was of no interest to them. At this time this old woman is so blind that she cannot see to go anywhere so she is unable to guide one to the place, but she says that it is below, (to the south of), the old Indian Cave and not so far away from where they had their camps in the sandhills bordering upon the banks of the old lake where the shores of the then existing Humboldt Lake was. She is the only living person but one she [sic] has seen this body, the others of the women who were with her are except one all dead. She recalls that the breasts were abnormally large, also the vagina. . . .

Reid goes on to say that Willie Rock, Frank Rhodes and several other Indian boys had searched for the place in hopes of finding the body because Reid had offered a reward for its recovery. They believed the body had been buried by the drifting sand, but intended to continue their search.

The one living woman, in 1928, who had been with this lady was the wife of "Whiskey Bob," and lived in Stillwater. However, she could offer no information because of her extreme age and failing mind (MS, February 21, 1928).

About a year after this account was recorded by Reid, Charley Ellison of Stillwater added another anecdote:

> It was many years ago, once when I was over at Pelican Island, when I saw two mummified remains bound up together in a netting and between the remains of each there was a lot of fish placed, which perhaps it was intended that the two should eat. As near as I could judge these were the remains of girls and it appeared to me to be so strange that two had been bound up together and burried [sic] in the same netting, with the fish between them. . . . These remains, Mr. Ellison goes on to state, "had been thoroughly dried out and mummified, the skin being preserved and dried out. The hair was that of the red-headed [sic] people, which had grown long and it was at that time very well preserved. I found these remains out in the open and above the top of the ground. They had been burried [sic] in a very shallow grave if they had been burried at all, and they must have been burried, otherwise wild animals would have eaten the remains up. I replaced the same in a shallow grave, at the time, and I think I could go to the very spot at this time, for I well remember where it was that I placed their remains again in the ground, and I am going to this place sometime when I can get around to it to see if the remains are there yet and undistrubed. Someone may have since unearthed these remains and taken them away, but I think not, for they did not know of such

and it is entirely unlikely that anyone would do promiscuous digging in that neighborhood (MS April 20, 1929).

Tantalizing bits and pieces of information, skeletal fragments of an unusual nature, cunningly crafted artifacts which seemed alien in the land of hunters and gatherers, all served to keep Reid on tetherhooks, to keep him anticipating the discovery which would astound the world and draw to Nevada scientists from far and wide for research.

In the fall of 1927, Mickey Cauley brought to him what he called a fossil, which James Mahoney had found at the gravel pit near Perth, an old railroad station near Lovelock. This was an artifact, apparently a butterfly engraved on a seashell, and Reid assumed it had been worn as a pendant. In his note on this, Reid says that it was recovered near where the remains of a woman and child had been found about a month previously (MS September 25, 1927).

An undated note on a skeleton recovered by Reid, which had been examined by Dr. Fransden of the University of Nevada, gives the following information:

Femur 18½
14½
26 vertebra
5 lumbar above sacrum
12 dorsal
5 dorsal
4 servical

I brought these bones home in a sack that is stored away in my room.

About 1925 Emmet Wallace presented Reid with a skull and a femur bone which had been found near Pelican Island in the Carson Sink area. Soon after that an Indian friend, Dick Sampson, brought him a skull from the Pyramid Lake area. In each case, there was a high ridge inside the top of the skull.

Reid was self-taught in almost all the lines of endeavor to which his curiosity led him and he was fully aware of his own shortcomings, always seeking information and advice from authorities. Ales Hrydlica was the obvious anthropologist to help him with the puzzle of the skulls. Reid's research had led him to believe he possessed Neanderthal skulls. Hrydlica did not concur, simply referring Reid to Hrydlica's publications on the subject. However, Reid had read of unusual skulls having been found in Illinois, Indiana and Iowa and also of General H. G. Thomas's exhumation of skulls in Dakota Territory ". . . like those of the great gibbon monkey. . . ."

During the summer of 1928 Reid was visited by S. de la Rue and Mary Sasse whom he claimed were well informed on the subject, having studied in museums in Europe. They took measurements of the skulls and ". . . had no hesitation in pronouncing these Neanderthal. . . ." They returned to Lovelock in 1929 and told Reid that they had submitted the skulls to various authorities before depositing them with the Museum of Natural History in New York and that they were more than ever convinced of their first evaluation.

Dr. Clark Wissler, then Curator in Chief, Division of Anthropology at the Museum of Natural History, in due time informed Reid that the skeletons

appeared to be of a type of early man (MS February 1, 1933).

In October, 1930, Reid wrote Wissler concerning a package which had been shipped containing bones of an "ancient man," and the jaw. He states that the skull had been removed previously by pothunters who had also removed a frog fetish, but missed a clay urn which had laid beneath where the head had been. Some teeth from the grave were included in the package. About one hundred feet north of this grave another skull had been found, which Reid described as being that of a typical roundhead Indian distinctly different from the long-headed, redheaded people represented by the remains in the shipment (Letter, October 30, 1930, to Mr. Clark Wossler, Museum of Natural History, New York City, New York).

In February, 1931, a Lovelock resident informed Reid of the "weathering out" of a large skeleton on the lake bed near Lovelock Cave. This was excavated with great care and all the bones were recovered. Before removing it, Reid measured it *in situ* and it proved to be ". . . 7 feet 7 or 6 inches in height. The difference of one inch . . . is due to the matter of being unable to determine if the toes, lying upward, had been bent or were erect. . . ." It had been buried in a shroud and covered with a dark substance, perhaps charcoal, which had been mixed with "some balsam or oil." Lying supine, the body lay with its head to the west, with the feet pointing North 77 East (MS June 1, 1931).

The *Lovelock Review-Miner*, June 19, 1931, reported that Lloyd De La Montoya of California had discovered the skeleton of a "giant" on the lake bed near Toy. Reid, John Foster and Thomas J. Chapel set out across the dry flat to the site. The car hit a chuckhole and Chapel was thrown out and killed and the others were injured, but not seriously. Nevertheless, the skeleton was recovered. The femur measured 16½ inches, compared to femurs previously found measuring as much as 19½ inches. In any case, it was deduced that this man had been "nine and one half or possibly ten feet" tall. He had been buried fully extended in an excavation just barely large enough and the earth had been smoothed over with hands. Under the back ". . . was a cup-shaped depression five inches in diameter rounded out one and one-half inches deep that had at the time of burial probably contained the small precious belongings of the owner. . . ."

A letter dated June 15, 1931, to Montoya indicates that Reid was rather upset that Montoya had departed Lovelock without alerting Reid, carrying off a "calendar stone" from the grave. Since by this time Reid had developed an exhuastive system of mathematics, all based upon artifacts from the Humboldt and Carson sinks, this was a catastrophe and he offered to pay $10 for it, or if the price were greater, he would finance the purchase somehow. There is no reply in the files.

James J. Kjeldsen reported to Sheriff Chapman of Lovelock that he had discovered the skeletal remains of a human being on the Friedman Ranch, about half a mile directly west of the main ranch buildings. The *Lovelock Review-Miner*, September 29, 1939, reported that Joe Eyraud told Reid of the incident and said that an urn, or bowl, had been found along with a long pestle which Chapman had added to his collection.

Reid was led to the site by Chapman, and Mrs. Vista Kjeldsen gave Reid a stone which had been plowed up near the remains. According to the newspaper account, information on the measurements of the skeleton was at that time incomplete, but the femur bone was 18½ inches. Reid is quoted in the newspaper article as comparing this with the 17½ inch femur of the skeleton in his possession which measured 7 feet 7 inches in total length. Reid said,

> . . . One might search in vain for a more perfect set of teeth . . . since there is not the slightest sign of any one of the teeth having been affected in the least by disease of the teeth . . . The remains have been very well preserved . . . He had been buried under circumstances that would indicate that he had died a natural death from old age. Just how old this man may have been is conjectural, it is clear, however, that he was quite well advanced in age, since the sutures of the skull are well knitted together.

Here rests John T. Reid's case for the redheaded giants. There are no more legends, no anecdotes, no notes on further discoveries. More information may remain to be uncovered, couched in mathematical terms somewhere in the many boxes of his Mayan mathematical and astronomical calculations stored in boxes at the Nevada Historical Society. This writer is not qualified to undertake such a search.

What's Being Written

The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849–1903, edited by Walter Van Tilburg Clark in three volumes (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973; 2,381 pages; illustrations; photographs; index; $60.00).

TWO IMPORTANT PUBLICATION events have occurred in the last two years in Nevada history. The first was Russell R. Elliott's *History of Nevada* and the second is now the large three volume set, *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849–1903*, edited by Walter Van Tilburg Clark. In these volumes appear over two thousand pages of notations on life in the California gold rush era, the silver era of Nevada's Bonanza, and finally the depressing years of the Comstock's decline.

Like many others Alf Doten began his western adventures as an argonaut sailing around Cape Horn from New England to San Francisco in 1849. After searching for fortune in the gold fields, he turned to agriculture. Then in 1863 he departed for the Nevada silver strikes where he joined a famous cadre of Comstock journalists to experience success followed by bitter failure until his death from alcoholic complications after the turn of the century. As editor and owner of the *Gold Hill News*, Doten became an important journalistic figure on the Comstock. He possessed the reporter's eye for the detail and sordidness relished in nineteenth century journalism. Incredibly Doten's diaries, originally written in seventy-nine notebooks, have been preserved in family attics, by collectors of historical manuscripts, and now the University of Nevada to appear in print for the larger public to share his experiences in this eventful and often tragic period of Nevada history. The journals contain some of the richest material beyond the pages of contemporary newspapers on the social history of the late nineteenth century West that is now available.

The remarkable achievement of these journals is the over fifty-four years of continuous notations beginning with the day Doten set sail with the Pilgrim Immigrant Company on the bark *Yoeman* from his home town of Plymouth in 1849 until his death in Nevada in 1903. His years in the California gold country treat familiar scenes such as the celebration of Christmas in the mines,

". . . whether from any regard for religion or not I cannot say, but this day is always a festive day in the diggin's." He participated in a vigilante execution and noted some of the same ominous overtones surrounding the event that editor Clark conveyed about lynchings in his novel *Ox Bow Incident*. Doten writes:

> The taking of the murderers, the trial and execution was carried on in the most quiet and orderly manner throughout—The night was dark and fearful and together with the howling and roaring of the wind through the tall pines and the warring of the elements rendered the scene awful and terrific in the extreme and one that will never be effaced from the memory of those who witnessed it—

Although life in California's gold fields provided adventure, it did not yield Doten's fortune. A mining accident in 1855 almost killed him leaving him with lifelong afflictions that ended his career in the diggins. In September 1855 he wrote, "Six years in California today flat broke and back broke." Now he turned to farming in the Central Valley and here the journals contain much information on early California agriculture and land title disputes growing out of the confusing Spanish and Mexican land grants. Doten was no doubt an important and literate farmer in the agricultural community of the San Jose area, but he still saw himself as a transient in California when he wrote: "California blooms with flowers, and teams with precious gold, yet Home sweet home, is not here."

Disappointment in a love affair and pure adventure prompt Doten at age thirty-four to move east over the mountains to the new silver strikes of western Nevada in 1863. His first observations of the new country and particularly of the town of Dayton record: ". . . no trees, flowers or anything of the sort—This place, like all the other towns, is created and kept up by the mining, which is all this territory is good for — not worth living in." The mines, their fortunes, and their surrounding cities became the focal point of his existence in Nevada. The land itself had nothing to redeem it. Nevada offered only ". . . the same dreary, parched, desolate waste country of sand, sage brush and stone."

The year 1864 found Doten employed as a newspaperman in Virginia City enjoying fully his life at the center of Nevada and Comstock activities. By 1872 he bought the *Gold Hill News* and the following year he married and established a family. His business flourished and the mines prospered. But as the mines began to fail and the Bonanza turned to Borrasca, Doten lost large sums in mining stocks and the *Gold Hill News* slipped from his ownership by 1879. In 1882 he worked briefly on the *Reese River Reveille* in Austin, but soon he returned to the Virginia City, Carson, and Reno area to take various clerk jobs and itinerant reporting assignments as his wife, Mary S. Doten, started to assume the main responsibility for supporting the family as a schoolteacher in Reno. When the Nevada mining society entered deeper depression, Doten's drinking and ineffectiveness became more pronounced as his life moved towards its lonely conclusion on a blustery, cold winter's night in a Carson City rooming house.

Many famous names appear in the history of journalism on the Comstock such as Dan De Quille (William Wright), Mark Twain, Rollin Dagget, and Wells

Drury, but none parallel the decline in the fortunes of the mining society as did Alf Doten's life. Doten lived on with fond nostalgia about the past and bitterness about the present. An entry in the diaries for November 3, 1891 relates:

> I had a real nice old time dream last night—I had struck it somewhere in a 'prospect' of a gold vein—picked out chunks of gold in $1, $2, & $3 and bigger ragged quartz gold pieces—more than $100 worth —hated to wake up to the scrubby reality—

When he first came to Nevada, Doten noted that the country was not worth living in except for the wealth and society created around the rich mines. Had he acted on this first impression by removing himself from Nevada, perhaps he might have averted his long years of decline, but instead he chose to live on with fading fortunes and hopes.

Doten's records of Comstock life surpass earlier more romantic accounts of the era with his descriptions of the stark and harsh realities of the western mining city — suicides, family disputes resulting in murders, child abuse, rapes, horrible mining accidents, and epidemics in the queen silver city of the West. The diaries show themselves as a rich resource for a new, more realistic social history that should be written about the western mining era rather than the romanticization that appears in many works. But Doten is also a romantic, a storyteller, a man with an ardent sex life, and a devotee of the theater. Students of Comstock theater will find in these pages extensive remarks on the quality of theatrical groups that made their appearance as well as parades and minstrel shows. It is in the area of political history and observations that the journals show many gaps. The big political figures of the state—Sharon, Jones, Stewart, Newlands—do appear, but only in a passing reference. Doten gives little or no time to such public issues as the railroad, silver politics, or irrigation. For him election reform laws of the 1890s only made for dull campaigns.

In Nevada, Doten is still a pilgrim from New England as he was in California. He dutifully notes his annual observance of Forefathers Day as was the custom in Plymouth, but without "the flowers and precious gold" of the California days. When Walter Van Tilburg Clark was asked to work with the Doten diaries over a decade ago, he first envisioned a novel based on the journals entitled "The Pilgrim on the Mountain." The prospects of such a novel are intriguing and certainly the title would have been appropriate. But as Clark's son, Robert Morse Clark, relates in the preface, his father soon saw that Alf Doten's life could stand by itself.

The task of editing the Doten diaries was monumental. Even the two thousand pages in these volumes represent only half of the material in the original note books. The process of sifting and selecting material to be published was completed before Clark's illness and subsequent death in 1971 halted the editing task. Unfortunately the difficult situation surrounding the final stages of the project produced too few editor's annotations that might have clarified vague references to people, places, and customs of the period. Readers without a working knowledge of Nevada and California in the late nineteenth century will bog down in the morass of detail and the passing references to unidentified events and personalities. But the professional historian and western buff will find the Doten diaries a necessary resource with an

invaluable index for any serious study or understanding of the period.

The University of Nevada Press is to be congratulated for producing these generously illustrated volumes. Nevadans and western lore enthusiasts have eagerly awaited the publication of the journals for many years. Also the $60.00 price for the set is not unusual today considering the high cost of the printed word and many photographs. It is safe to guess that the Press will never recover more than a fraction of the editing and production costs of the work. In this respect, the volumes are as impractical, extravagant, and improvident as was Doten's own life.

WILLIAM D. ROWLEY
University of Nevada, Reno

Nevada – A Colorful Past, by Doris Cerveri (Sparks: Dave's Printing and Publishing, 1975; paperback; 175 pages; bibliography, index; $4.95).

DORIS CERVERI admits her interest in Nevada history dates back to a grandfather who followed mining in the boom camp of Goldfield, Nevada. In this compilation of details pertaining to Nevada, a state she is obviously proud to call home, the author shows an enthusiasm for minutia of Nevada's past. A collection of multi-excerpts, taken from various newspaper articles and published writings, comprise the books content. Some readers may have difficulty in coordinating the 13 chapter titles and the text. For example on page 60, under the chapter heading "Entertainment" one finds a subtitle "Elko Settler." After a short biographical sketch of Charles E. Mayer of Elko and mention of his hotels, the author continues in the next paragraph, under the same caption, with a story unrelated to the "Elko Settler" heading.

Again Mrs. Cerveri often gives just enough of a story to intrigue, but leaves the reader's interest unsatisfied. For example on page 12 under the chapter "Business Ventures" and the subtitle "Hard Times" she quotes:

> A short-lived venture was the Nevada Motor Car Company, Inc. of Reno. Dr. Tibbets, a principal stockholder, planned to manufacture automobiles and a 10 acre site was purchased on the outskirts of Reno, adjacent to the Virginia and Truckee Railroad track. Arrangements were made with the railroad to build spur tracks to facilitate shipping. It was planned to build some cars in Chicago and have try-out runs from there to Reno.

Mrs. Cerveri leaves the story suspended there for the reader to query a conclusion for himself. Shortcomings of this type are numerous throughout the edition.

The book contains a collection of photos that enhances its value, and the bibliography and index add to the edition. It is regrettable the quotations were not documented.

Nevada – A Colorful Past is obviously a work done by a woman who has Nevada in her heart.

EDNA B. PATTERSON
Elko

Owyhee Trails: The West's Forgotten Corner, by Mike Hanley with Ellis Lucia (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1974; xxii, 314 pages; illustrations, index; $7.95).

OWYHEE TRAILS is a piecemeal history of the region of the Owyhee Mountains, where the states of Oregon, Idaho, and Nevada come together. Setting out to record for posterity "historical facts, tall tales, and anecdotes" of what he calls the "Forgotten Corner," rancher and history buff Mike Hanley cooperated with Ellis Lucia, a Pacific Northwest author to write a history of the region to the present. Their combined effort, though, falls far short of the cover flap claim that the book provides "a unique slice of Western Americana which fills a void in the historical shelves of the Old West."

The book does give a look at a once wealthy mining region that was the scene of intense activity during the nineteenth century as mining towns grew up in the mountains and sheep and cattle ranchers fought with Indians for the valleys below. But, it is difficult to differentiate between "historical fact" and "tall tale," since this is many times not indicated by the authors. Also, there is a lack of documentation of information collected over twenty years by Hanley from "old-timers" and from public records. The result is a picture of a West considerably wilder than recent serious scholarship indicates ever existed.

Tied in with this failing are problems that eliminate *Owyhee Trails* from consideration as a serious historical work, or even as good popular history. There is a total lack of objectivity throughout. For example, on the second page of the text, Hanley generalizes that "the courts have gone soft on [cattle thieves]," without a word of proof. The writing style is lacking, too, abounding with contractions and numerous awkward shifts in person.

There are, however, several interesting chapters, particularly on the mining industry and on the Basque sheep ranchers of the area. But overall, unless one lives in the Owyhee Mountain region, the book would be of little interest. Before any historical voids are filled about this area, much more work needs to be done, although the material collected by Mike Hanley will certainly be of help.

RICHARD H. FAUST
University of Oklahoma, Norman

Sagebrush and Neon: Studies in Nevada Politics, edited by Eleanore Bushnell (Reno: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Nevada, 1973; 122 pages; notes; index; $).

THIS IS A COLLECTION of essays about Nevada politics of the present and recent past. The six articles included are, according to the editor, intended to illustrate "government in action," focusing upon various uses of power to effect or prevent change within the political system. The hope is stated that the articles will "encourage discussion of the principles and actions of government, especially Nevada government."

As with many anthologies of this sort, the stated unifying theme seems somewhat strained (about all the essays really have in common is a Nevada political setting) and the contributions are uneven as to style and quality. One of them is, essentially, a journalistic memoir, while the remainder are academic explorations. Two are examinations of current political conditions and processes, while the others are historical in nature. Some of the essays simply have more to say than others.

The lead article is about Nevada's "Black Book" list of undesirables in the gaming industry, its creation, and the major court tests it underwent in the early 1960s. Written by Edward A. Olsen, who was chairman of the State Gaming Control Board at the time of the court tests, it is the article most likely to interest the general reader.

The studies that follow are more academic, if not more absorbing. The scrutiny of voting behavior in Washoe County by Leonard Weinberg and Allen Wilcox provides the reader with the rather unsurprising information that Washoe is more conservative than Clark County and the nation, that ideological differences do exist between local Democratic and Republican convention delegates, and that attitudes of Republican and Independent American activists are closer to those of their partys' rank and file than the attitudes of Democratic activists are to those of their party's members.

Faun Mortara's article examines lobbying in the Nevada legislature. The author finds that lobbyists exert a major influence upon legislation, looks at the methods of these legitimate advocates of special interests, and makes a pitch for their registration during sessions of the legislature. (A registration law was passed in 1973).

Open housing legislation is the subject of Joseph N. Crowley's contribution, which describes the tortuous path of a civil rights measure through several sessions of the Nevada legislature. The article will undoubtedly be enlightening to younger Nevadans and newcomers to the state in its description of racial segregation in Nevada's public accommodations during the 1950s and early 1960s.

Don W. Drigg's article on taxation and school financing surveys educational financing in Nevada over the past two decades and is concerned in large part with the enactment of the school support tax of 1967. One of the most cogent points it presents is how legislators can get around the state constitutional prohibition against their invalidating or changing legislation approved in a referendum.

The concluding essay, by Eleanore Bushnell, records the reapportionment of Nevada's legislature in compliance with the United States Supreme Court's one man-one vote dictum. It focuses on the efforts of two legislators, Flora Dungan and Frank Young, to achieve population based representation during the period 1966–1971. An advocate of the one man-one vote doctrine, the author views court ordered reapportionment as having been the necessary adjustment of a situation in which "higher law" (as embodied in the fourteenth amendment to the United States Constitution) had become thwarted by majority rule and government action, and she presents Nevada's reapportionment controversy as a case study in the national controversy.

Not all of the essays in *Sagebrush and Neon* are interesting reading, but most are significantly informative. They are happily free of political science jargon and they do offer the reader a clearer understanding of Nevada government and the political processes by which it functions.

ERIC N. MOODY
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Broken Hand. The Life of Thomas Fitzpatrick: Mountain Man, Guide and Indian Agent, by LeRoy R. Hafen, rev. ed. (Denver, Colorado: The Old West Publishing Co., 1973; xiii + 359 pages; illustrations; index; $15.00).

THOMAS FITZPATRICK is one of the major figures in the opening of the American West. He had three careers in his thirty-one years on the frontier and achieved notably in each of them. He ranks in prominence with Jedediah Strong Smith with whom he was associated.

Like Smith, Fitzpatrick gained prominence on his first venture in the trade, General Ashley's famous expedition of 1823. His rise in the fur trade was rapid and he soon became one of the outstanding bourgeois in the Rocky Mountains. When the fur trade on a large scale ended, he became famous as a guide for an imposing list of persons including John C. Fremont, General Stephen Watts Kearny, John Bidwell and Father Pierre Jean DeSmet.

Unlike others who drifted from guiding to obscurity, Fitzpatrick became an Indian agent on the plains. Near the end of his life he was able to negotiate an important treaty with the Kiowa, Apache and Comanche Indians. It was an outstanding finale to a great career.

Thomas Fitzpatrick presents an unusual problem for a biographer. Nearly all of the information on his life is from the accounts of the outstanding events in which he participated. Between these notable occurrences, the record is singularly blank.

Professor Hafen has revised his classic biography of Fitzpatrick with materials uncovered in the forty-two years since its original publication. Sites have been more accurately identified and the notes have a special charm. The most surprising fact is how little the additional documents have contributed to filling in the gaps in Fitzpatrick's life. The author's frustration is apparent even as he brings his lifetime of study to bear in skilled conjecture.

The only weakness in the work is the failure to take full advantage of the publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society. The Peter Skene Ogden journals (cited on page 74) appeared in a complete form in 1971 (which may have been after this book went to press). There is no excuse, however, for the error (page 92) which places Ogden on the trail in September 1830 when he was at Fort Vancouver and had already turned over the command of the Snake Country expedition to John Work.

The publisher is to be commended for an outstanding performance. I found only one "typo" (page 221). The type, the design, the paper and the binding

combine to produce a book that is a delight to the eye. The care in design extends to the dust jacket which is most attractive and appropriate.

The book is a must for those interested in the history of the American fur trade. Those who like fine books will be proud to have it on the shelf and the price, in this age, is moderate for a work of this quality.

FRANCIS D. HAINES, JR.
Southern Oregon State College, Ashland

The American Territorial System, ed. by John Porter Bloom (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1974; xv, 248 pages; tables, notes; $10.00).

JOHN PORTER BLOOM, the editor of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, directed the first conference in the history of United States territories which was held on November 3 and 4, 1969. He then edited the scholarly papers presented upon that occasion into this volume.

The use of archival material has traditionally been neglected by professional historians in favor of manuscripts and newspaper sources; also the study of the territorial period of the several states has not usually been as well researched as the later periods after statehood. To this end, the conference and its resulting volume should be a significant beginning of research for these neglected areas of historical scholarship.

The essays by Arthur Bestor and Robert Berkhofer on the Northwest ordinance are particularly incisive and effective; while Jo Tice Bloom's paper on early territorial delegates attempts to cover too much in a small space and therefore is somewhat thin. Robert Johannsen in his discussion of Douglas and the territories considered by the Senate once again overstates the importance of the Little Giant in territorial matters prior to the Civil War.

John Guice presents some important facts about the tribulations of territorial judges which Nevada historians in particular might note. However, he said them all in an earlier book which he merely summarizes here. William Lee Knecht in his study of Utah federal judges makes some interesting comments upon Robert P. Flenniker in what was then the western part of Utah—now Nevada.

The federal land survey system of the late nineteenth century in the Mountain West is the theme of the paper of Thomas G. Alexander. In it Alexander traces the vagaries of congressional policy makers who would not square their legislation with the reality of life in this region.

Kenneth N. Owens makes some interesting and important generalizations in his study of the pattern and structure of western territorial politics. Nevadans might recognize his term for early western politics—chaotic factionalism as apropos of early Nevada political battles.

Robert Larsen in his essay on territorial governor George Curry of New Mexico writes some interesting, detailed facts that suffer from not being incorporated in a larger generalization.

The concluding chapters by Robert Rollins and Harrison Loesch on the twentieth century territories attempt too much and consequently are unsatisfyingly sketchy.

Each of three principal sessions of the conference included a paper by an archivist who detailed pertinent documents and manuscripts in the National Archives. These should prove particularly useful to serious scholars.

This is an important book. Despite the shortcomings of some of the chapters, it should be read by all conscientious western historians.

RALPH J. ROSKE
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

The Overland Trail, by Herbert Eaton (New York, N.Y.: Capricorn Books, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974; bibliography, appendices, illustrations, index; $8.95).

THEY CAME FROM EVERYWHERE—Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, New York, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and even London, Dublin, and Glasgow. The huge magnet which pulled thousands of humans from the peace and security of their homes and land was gold. *The Overland Trail* is a valuable contribution to the great saga of the westward movement to California in 1852. Herbert Eaton has patiently gleaned from unpublished diaries the words of the people who made the journey. The journals and accounts were written by learned men and women, by the near-illiterate, by poets, blacksmiths, bankers, and by those who were very old and very young.

The Overland Trail is a true anthology and describes heartbreak, happiness, death, birth and life the way it really was on the hard trail to California and Oregon. With great skill Herbert Eaton has connected the bits and pieces and welded a fascinating story of epic proportions which can be enjoyed by professional and layman alike. Eaton places the events of the journey into a meaningful historical chronology of eleven chapters beginning with the outfitting towns of St. Louis, St. Joseph, Kanesville, and Council Point. The following chapters paint a vivid picture of the difficult journey to Fort Kearney and the Platte River Ford. Narrations containing hatred, bitterness, beauty, and minute description follow in rapid succession.

Actually, the variations of description by people from all walks of life are the real meat of the book and their words give the reader a rare insight into the difference of personality among human beings. At the Platte River Ford the hardships begin to take toll on human and animal alike. Outbreaks of cholera, smallpox, diarrhea, and pneumonia took unprepared lives by the hundreds and the horses, mules, and oxen began to die from lack of good water and grass. Exhaustion and exposure was rampant.

There were periods of good fortune but these days lasted only a short time. The Indians were ever-present from Mormon Ferry to South Pass and they stand out clearly in the words of the immigrants. Mostly, however, they were

feared because of their rapid change of relationship. One day the Indians would be peaceful and the next hostile and devastating. When the Indians were not present then fights among the travellers would begin over food, firewood, stolen or strayed horses, mules, and oxen. Murder, theft, and bitterness followed every human every mile.

In spite of the hardship there were those who took the time to describe the natural and human scenes around them.

Hundreds thronged the trails while others followed the rivers. There was no easy way for anyone and death awaited on the prairie or in the boiling waters of the rivers and streams. Perhaps Seth Doty, after passing Fort Kearney, summed up the scene better than most: "We have now been eighteen days on the plains, amid the greatest show in the world. The train is estimated to be 700 miles long, composed of all kinds of people from all parts of the United States, and some of the rest of mankind, with lots of horses, mules, oxen, steers, and some of the feathered creation, moving along about 15 or 20 miles per day; all sorts of vehicles from a coach down to a wheel-barrow . . . a show ahead of anything Barnum ever got up."

The appendices of the *Overland Trail* are valuable and Herbert Eaton has rendered a fine service to researchers. Not only has he included the individual names of the more noted of the emigrants but follows through with additional notes on their later accomplishments and successes. The bibliography is conveniently divided into manuscript diaries, published diaries, reminiscences, and newspapers. Enhancing the entire text are illustrations of landmarks, Indians, immigrants, and scenes of the California gold fields.

By 1853 the mass movement of people was over and the gold fever died to a life of daily toil in the gold fields and the mines. *The Overland Trail* belongs to everyone who appreciates the American pioneer—"his dogged perseverence and his overwhelming majesty." Eaton's book contains the wonderful force of history in the same manner as *Commerce of the Prairies, The Oregon, Trail*, and *The Old Santa Fe Trail.*

EUGENE B. MCCLUNEY
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James Madison Alden: Yankee Artist of the Pacific Coast, 1854–1860, by Frank Stenzel (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1975; 209 pages; xiii, illustrations, bibliography, index; $25.00).

THE SCENIC MAGNIFICENCE of the Pacific Northwest in its pre-twentieth century primeval splendor was depicted by all too few contemporary artists. Therefore it was singularly fortunate that a person with the creative talent of James Madison Alden seized the opportunity to portray the region in its natural splendor in the 1850s before the onslaught of civilization with its uneven ecological benefits.

The present volume was largely a labor of love on the part of a physician and his wife who spent years tracking down the various holdings of Alden landscapes scattered throughout the country as well as in delving into archival records and interviewing descendants of the artist to supply the narrative accompanying the paintings reproduced in the book. Dr. Stenzel is an amateur historian with a superficial understanding of the significance of the events during which Alden lived. His writing style is cumbersome and at times crude. But in the present context prose is subordinate to pictorial art and the splendidly rendered reproductions of Alden's art are the main attraction.

James Madison Alden was a New Englander with impeccable credentials, tracing his ancestry back to John and Priscilla Alden of Mayflower fame. Well-connected besides being well-credentialed, Alden managed through the influence of his uncle, Lieutenant James Alden of the United States Navy, to have himself attached to the crew responsible for the first federal government survey of the West Coast. With his uncle pulling the necessary strings, Alden enlisted in the Navy in 1854 and after a period of training in cartographic drawing in Washington was assigned as a junior officer on the Survey ship U.S.S. *Active*. Beginning with the 1854 survey season, Alden and the official artist of the survey, William Birch McMurtrie, evidently amicably collaborated on producing pictorial records of the various landmarks encountered as the *Active* wended its way up the Pacific Coast from San Francisco to the Columbia River and inland. Alden was occupied in this task for the three years of the West Coast Survey's existence between 1854 and 1857, turning out dozens of sketches and watercolors, most of which depicted natural rather than man-made phenomena. The artist was as a matter of fact surprisingly uninterested in portraying humans, displaying little interest in Native American culture which was to be sure somewhat on its last legs as an entity on the Pacific Coast. Alden was an artist of the Romantic school, delighting in broad vistas and towering mountains as well as in harbors, river and canyon scenes. The few humans in his drawings and sketches are crude representations, at times almost stick-like in their verisimilitude.

With the ending of the Coast Survey in 1857, Alden was assigned as the official artist for the Northwestern Boundary Survey, a long-delayed endeavor to finally ascertain the boundary between the United States and British Canada. The artist accompanied the expedition into British Columbia as well as penetrating present-day Washington, Oregon and California. The result of his exertions was a series of well-executed representations of the region's natural phenomena.

Although his major significance in American history is as an artist, Stenzel's narrative includes Alden's post-Pacific Northwest career during the Civil War and after. Alden became the personal secretary of David Dixon Porter of the U.S. Navy and occupied that position of service to the later Admiral of the Navy for some twenty-eight years. The author was obviously somewhat out of his element in attempting to ascertain the importance of Alden's role in this position and the section might very well have been eliminated from the text.

James Madison Alden was not a major artist but he was more than competent

and his pictorial legacy constitutes a valuable record of the nineteenth century landscape of the Pacific Northwest. His artistic endeavors have been well served by the publishers of this book.

NORMAN LEDERER
Camden County College,
Blackwood, New Jersey

What's Going On

TRAIL GUIDE PUBLISHED

The Nevada Emigrant Trail Marking Committee has completed its guide to the Truckee and Carson River portions of the Overland Trail. The book consists of forty-seven pages and three maps, with explicit directions to following the trail between Winnemucca, Nevada and the crest of the Sierra Nevada. This long-needed guide is entitled *The Overland Emigrant Trail to California* and represents five years of effort by the committee to mark the preserve the portions of the trail still existing. It is available through the Society office at $2.50 plus postage of 25c. Persons desiring copies can mail or telephone their orders into the office.

MICROFILM PRINTER PURCHASED

The Society's two year project aimed at collecting Nevada newspaper microfilm copies has been successfully concluded. The reels of film are now available for use and have enabled us to place the fragile original copies of newspaper into permanent storage. The microfilm reading room is completely equipped with new readers for the use of patrons. The last piece of equipment necessary was funded by a $6,000 grant from the Luke B. Hancock Foundation. This grant permits the Society to purchase an 821 Xerox microfilm printer that will give dry copies of film ranging from 8½" X 14" to full newspaper size reproductions.

MARK TWAIN LECTURE

On November 20, 1975, the Nevada Historical Society will sponsor a lecture entitled *In the Wheeltracks of Mark Twain*. The speaker will be Dr. Louis G.

Pecek, chairman of the Department of English, John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio. This is one of several lectures on the famous author developed by Dr. Pecek and will be illustrated by 120 slides relating to Twain's career. The lecture will be given at the Washoe County Library in Reno at 8:00 in the evening. There is no charge and the public is invited.