NEVADA Historical Society Quarterly

Fall · 1976

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The Nevada Historical Society was founded in 1904 for the purpose of investigating topics pertaining to the early history of Nevada and of collecting relics for a museum. The Society maintains a library and museum at its Reno facility where historical materials of many kinds are on display to the public and are available to students and scholars.

Membership dues are: annual, $7.50; student, $3; sustaining, $25; life, $100; and patron, $250. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the director.

Correspondence concerning articles in the *Quarterly* and manuscripts to be considered for publication should be addressed to the editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

NEVADA
Historical Society Quarterly

FALL • 1976

VOLUME XIX
NUMBER 3

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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.

NEVADA INDIANS PLANNING TROUBLE

Situation in Eastern Portion of the State Serious and Official Action Is Taken

Arthur M. Allen, special agent of the department of justice, wired United States Attorney William Woodburn yesterday afternoon from Ely that the situation among the Indians in eastern Nevada was serious and asking him to arrange to have troops ready for dispatch upon receipt of an emergency call.

In consequence of Allen's message, Woodburn immediately took steps in the matter, though he stated last night that he was not at liberty to disclose just what action he had taken.

It is probable, however, that special agents of the government have been sent to the scene of the trouble and that the situation has been reported to Fort Douglas, Utah, the nearest point from which troops could be sent.

Big Uprising Planned

According to a report received from the sheriff of White Pine county yesterday, Piute, Goshute and Shoshone Indians are planning an uprising over a territory 250 miles in length and extending from Pioche and Elko, Nev., as far east as Deep Creek, Utah.

The Indians are said to have been supplied with arms and poison by a white man, suspected of being a German or of having pro-German sympathies, and incited to attack Indian agents and white settlers.

Gathering at Pioche

The plot is said to have been revealed by a gathering of Indians near Pioche a few days ago and at which plans for the raid were made.

Feverish excitement is reported in several Indian camps and settlements.

Start of the Trouble

Trouble with the Indians commenced several weeks ago at Deep Creek, Utah, where a body of Indians showed turbulence on account of the arrest of several Indians for evasion of the draft and who are at present being held under indictment.

The present trouble among the Indians may be a protest against the arrest of the Deep Creek Indians, though in some quarters it is believed to be due to pro-German influence.

CONVICT GERMAN EDITOR ESPIONAGE

Conrad Koremann, of Sioux Falls, S. D., Is Found Guilty of Treason

SIOUX FALLS, S. D., April 10.—Conrad Kornemann, president of the South Dakota branch of the German-American alliance and editor of a German language newspaper here, was convicted by a jury on four counts of an indictment charging violation of the espionage act, in the United States district court here tonight.

Letters which Kornemann had written to business associates and friends constituted the evidence presented against him at the trial. The letters were seized several months ago in raids on a German newspaper in Aberdeen, S. D., and in Kornemann's newspaper office and home here.

Makes Seditious Statement

In a letter written to F. W. Sallet, editor of the Aberdeen paper, who was taken into custody at the time on a charge of failing to file correct translations of articles appearing in his paper, Kornemann declared:

"I have never given any declaration of loyalty and will never do it, nor subscribe to any Liberty loan (the name is to me already an emetic phrase and misleading.)"

It was developed at the trial that later Kornemann purchased $500 worth of Liberty bonds.

Judge J. D. Elliott deferred passing sentence.

DUMP PRO-GERMAN INTO DOUGH BIN

Bakers Take Drastic Measures to Show Prisse He Can't Boost Kaiser Here

SALT LAKE CITY, Apr. 10.—Because of alleged pro-German utterances, William Praisse, 51 years old, a registered German, was thrown head first into a dough bin at a local bakery

INDUSTRIES ARE CLASSIFIED FOR FUEL PRIOI

(Continued from Page 1)

ority. The intention is to tr these alike, and possibly deci dividual cases on merits if need

Essential Industries

Plants engaged exclusively in ufacturing aircraft or supplie equipments; ammunition for th ed States and the allies; arm navy cantonments and camps; arms, chemicals, coke, domestic sumers, electrical equipment, trodes, explosives, farm impl ferro alloys, fertilizers, fire food for human consumption containers, gas, gas producin chinery, guns, hemp, jute and bags, insecticides, fungicides, ir steel (blast furnaces and foun laundries, machine tools, mines ing tools and equipment, news and periodicals, oil, refineries, (al and vegetable), oil wells equi public institutions and building lic utilities, railways, railway ment and supplies, refrigeration (except flowerseeds), bunker co including pleasure craft), ship supplies and equipment, soap plants and rolling mills, tanning (except for patent leather), t extracts, tin plate, twine (binde rope, wire rope and rope wire.

Important For War

"It is proper to say," a sta by the board set forth, "th board has not undertaken to c and industry as non-essential this time to limit the quantity which any particular industry o shall receive. The board has, ever, listed certain industries operation is of exceptional i nce measured by the extent o direct and indirect contribution toward winning the war or promoting the national welfar these industries will be accorde ferential treatment by the fu ministration in the distribution and coke and also in the transpo of such coal and coke by th roads.

"This same plan will be follo according preferential treatm war industries and plants in the portation of raw materials an plies required by them in thei ufacturing operations, so tha may not be delayed or hampe

A contemporary account of the Indian troubles in eastern Nevada from the ***Nevada State Journal*** *of April 11, 1918.*

"Indians at Ibapah in Revolt": Goshutes, the Draft and the Indian Bureau, 1917–1919

by Richard N. Ellis

IN THE COLD BLACKNESS that preceded dawn the soldiers silently positioned themselves to move against the Indians. Striking swiftly with complete surprise, they charged through the village with rifles at the ready, and frightened Indians were hauled from their homes and collected under guard. It was all over very quickly and without bloodshed, and soon several men were marched off as prisoners. The dramatic raid, complete with a night march across the desert at first glance appears to be part of the Indian-white campaigns of the nineteenth century, but the date was February 22, 1918, and this raid, coming as it did during World War I, is certainly one of the more unusual episodes in the history of Indian-white relations.

Few, if any, Americans in 1917 and 1918 expected Indian revolts, especially from the tiny, widely scattered bands of Goshutes, Paiutes, and Shoshones that struggled to eke out an existence in the hostile environment of the Great Basin. Yet during these two years Bureau of Indian Affairs officials were allegedly seized by Indians, posses were organized, and finally troops were sent. For a time at least there was great excitement, which increased in some circles when investigations revealed that the Indians refused to register for the draft, and as rumors flew that German agents were at work among the Indian tribes. The "uprising" of 1917–18 not only provides an interesting study in wartime hysteria, but also reveals another example of the incompetence of Bureau of Indian Affairs officials and ignorance of the conditions of some Indian groups in the United States. If nothing else, it is a remarkable case of governmental over-reaction.

In 1917 and 1918 the population of the Goshute Reservation on the Nevada-Utah border was less than 150. Like other bands in the Great Basin they had been left alone and had received little government support or attention. Indeed, some of the more isolated bands of the area did not

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belong to any Indian office jurisdiction. Although in 1916 the superintendent at Goshute recommended that the Indians be given schools, health care and assistance in defending land and water rights, the picture that emerges from official correspondence is that of a small group of Indians who had been virtually forgotten by the government.[1] This condition undoubtedly underlay the controversy of 1917–1918. Equally important was the quality of Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel under Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, the personality and ability of Amos Frank, superintendent at the Goshute Reservation at Deep Creek, and the bureau practice of defending employees against any and all complaints.

The first sign of trouble at the Goshute Reservation developed on June 7, 1917, when surprised officials in Washington, D.C. received a telegram from western Utah announcing, "Indians at Ibapah in revolt. . . . Indians sending messengers over state and Nevada, bringing in other Indians. All have rifles. Would like 40 to 50 soldiers. Will take that many control situation."[2] Commissioner Sells responded by sending one man, Inspector L. A. Dorrington, a career employee and an experienced investigator, although a glance at his reports over the years indicates a strong proclivity to defend the bureau and its employees from criticism.

Conflicting reports, the biases of individuals involved, and the fact that the available documents were recorded exclusively by government bureaucrats, make it impossible to discern exactly what happened. It appears, however, that the trouble grew from a deep and pervasive disenchantment with bureau officials and a basic misunderstanding about the Selective Service Act.

On June 7, 1917, George Knapp, Deputy Special Officer for the Suppression of Liquor Traffic, visited the agency and was ordered to leave by two Indians, Annie's Tommy and Willie Ottogary, the latter a resident of the town of Tremonton, some two hundred miles away in northern Utah. Apparently the agent considered the two men to be troublemakers and wanted them arrested. In the ensuing scuffle Knapp was foiled in his attempt to effect the arrest and was temporarily detained. Sometime thereafter he was released or escaped and went to the nearby town of Gold Hill, Utah, where he organized a posse and sent the telegram calling for troops. He acted, he said later, on instructions from the superintendent, Amos Frank.[3]

When Dorrington arrived at the agency, he found the situation peaceful and the Indians posting notices that they were not on the warpath. However, he also found a strong undercurrent of discontent along with outspoken demands for the removal of the superintendent. This condition was confirmed by George Knapp who reported, "Most of the Indians *hate,* and have *hated* their Superintendent right along."[4]

Dorrington defended the superintendent nevertheless and absolved him of all blame. He accepted Frank's opinions of various Indians without question, and described as "unreliable and not deserving of consideration" those band members who made complaints against the agent.

Annie's Tommy, a reservation leader, was described as "the very worst Indian" on the reservation.[5]

Dorrington also learned that the question of registration for the draft was another source of trouble. By law and by presidential proclamation all male Americans between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one were required to register for the draft; Indians were included even though the majority of them were not citizens and therefore were exempt from military service. Dorrington lectured the Indians on this subject and after great pressure and threats of prosecution convinced eight of the twelve eligible Goshutes to register. The remaining four were working off the reservation at the time. Obviously draft resistence was not an issue of great magnitude, at least in terms of numbers, but Dorrington was concerned about this unpatriotic display and recommended that Annie's Tommy, Willie Ottogary, and Al Steele be arrested and tried for "treasonable conduct" as they "maliciously, deliberately and with premeditation violated the laws of their country through advising, influencing and interfering with the registration" of members of the Goshute band.[6]

In the months that followed, Amos Frank continued as Goshute superintendent even though he found the Indians "sullen and insolvent" and feared further trouble. Frank was not a particularly sensitive man when the needs and wishes of the Indians were concerned, but in this case he perceived that the Goshutes were still upset, and he wanted his critics arrested.[7]

Indian discontent surfaced again in January 1918. The Indians demanded a new superintendent, and on January 21 they had Amos Frank write a letter for them to the commissioner. They outlined their grievances against the superintendent and against government treatment in general, including the complaint that since Frank had arrived the school had been discontinued and that he had hired only whites and Mexicans rather than Indians. They also listed the names of Indians who had been killed by whites over a period of years and charged that the agent had failed to secure justice. "This agent here says nothing about it and never tries to help," they protested. They further complained about the loss of water, land and timber to whites and concluded with the announcement that Amos Frank would have to leave by the end of February. Frank, of course, sent his own explanation with the letter, asserting that these were the same Indians that had always caused trouble and recommended that they be punished.[8]

Once again Commissioner Sells responded by sending Dorrington to settle matters. The Inspector found that the Indians were indeed determined to remove Frank and to prevent his return by force if necessary. He was surprised by their unity and the intensity of their feelings and warned them of the consequences of using force to remove the superintendent, but they repeatedly indicated their determination to rid themselves of Amos Frank by whatever means necessary.

Once again Dorrington ignored Indian complaints and asserted that Goshute opposition to military service was the main issue of controversy. Because the Goshutes had not complained about the draft in their letter to the commissioner and because the War Department declined to prosecute Indians for failure to register, it appears simply that Dorrington was trying to protect Amos Frank by shifting attention from real issues. Recognizing that the Indians misunderstood the conscription law and also opposed military service, he exploited that issue for public consumption. When he asked the Indians their attitude toward enlistment and the draft, they replied that "they were absolutely against their men going to war" and declared further that they would die on the spot rather than enlist or submit to the draft. As Annie's Tommy explained, a long time ago the President told them to lay down their arms and fight no more. We told him we would do it, he said, "and now you come and want us to fight, but we won't do it."[9]

Dorrington was sufficiently impressed with the seriousness of the situation to recommend that Annie's Tommy and other leaders be arrested and held without bail until matters were settled at Goshute. It was his firm belief that the government could not afford to let the Indians believe that they were responsible for the superintendent's removal. The immediate answer, he felt, was to provide Frank with protection. Later the superintendent should be replaced, but only on bureau terms.[10]

Washington officials were also concerned, and the Interior Department asked for prompt action in prosecuting the Indians. Dorrington conferred with United States Attorney William Ray and U.S. Marshall Aquila Nebeker in Salt Lake City, and warrants were issued for the arrest of four reservation leaders and for Willie Ottogary, who had not been involved in the controversy since the previous June. Expecting resistance, they asked for a detail of soldiers from Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City. The Interior and Justice Departments supported the request, and a detachment of three officers and fifty-one enlisted men was quickly readied.[11]

As coded messages flashed across the country on the telegraph wires and the Salt Lake City press was sworn to temporary silence to prevent leaks, the command rushed to "the front" by rail and auto. After bucking their way through snowdrifts and suffering from the intense cold, on February 22, 1918, they raced into the sleeping agency in the early morning darkness, and almost immediately seven prisoners were in custody. At the same time Willie Ottogary was arrested in distant Tremonton, Utah.[12]

The affair was not without its comic aspects. The government used coded messages and imposed a news blackout while a contingent of soldiers arrested a few Indians on an isolated reservation and confiscated some twenty-five rifles and shotguns. Newspapers carried stories of the "draft revolt" and the people of Gold Hill gave a dance in honor of the soldiers. One Salt Lake City newspaper announced, "The spectacle of a detachment of United States soldiers armed for business swooping down

so suddenly and effectively . . . and removing so effectively and quietly the mutinous Indians, it is believed, will have a far-reaching effect in wiping out opposition to the draft law. . . ."[13]

Three of the prisoners had been arrested for failure to register for the draft, and after a severe warning they were released and sent home when they promised to register. The others, all older men beyond draft age, were given a preliminary hearing in March, charged with persuading other Indians not to register, and were held under bond for a future grand jury hearing. They were soon released on their own recognizance, however, after citizens near the reservation offered to pay their bonds. Dorrington wrote, "We could not overlook the opportunity offered for gaining the confidence of these Indians, and making them feel we were really their friends." Had they been released under reduced bond to their neighbors, he explained, they "would have been under no obligation to us." It was also decided to delay bringing the case before the grand jury with the idea of eventually dismissing the case if the Indians caused no further trouble.[14]

When Dorrington wrote his report to the Commissioner on March 26, he commented in a model of understatement that "conditions at Goshute Reservation have been anything but desirable." However, he placed the blame for all the difficulties on the Indians, charging that their resistance to supervision had caused constant trouble from the time the agency had been founded. Willie Ottogary, "an outsider," was also given a portion of the blame. Once again Amos Frank was completely exonerated.

The final portion of Dorrington's report must have astonished bureau officials. Concluding that a superintendency at Goshute was "not now required and wholly unnecessary," he recommended that it be discontinued at an early date. This, he argued, would "remove much of the supervision not now needed besides curtailing the opportunity for the Indians to make constant unnecessary and ridiculous demands upon their superintendent." A teacher-farmer with his wife as housekeeper would suffice.[15]

As news of these events spread across the country, such newspapers as the *New York Evening Mail* began reporting that German agents were tampering with the Indians, including those at the Goshute Reservation. On April 10, Dorrington, who envisioned German agents behind every sagebrush, wired Washington that there was a threatened uprising by Indians in Eastern Nevada and that strange white men were reported to have furnished arms and ammunition to Indians.[16] On the following day the *Nevada State Journal* carried the headline "NEVADA INDIANS PLANNING TROUBLE," and reported that officials believed that Paiute, Goshute, and Shoshone Indians in eastern Nevada and western Utah were planning an uprising.[17] Nothing happened, of course, and the reports were promptly ridiculed by the newspaper in Pioche, Nevada where the center of the revolt was supposedly located. Reporting that a local judge had received a telegram from someone in authority asking if he wanted "troops, gatling guns or submarines" to quell the disturbance,

the *Pioche Record* eloquently exclaimed, "Ye Gods and little fishes." The *Record* reported the Indian population in the area consisted of one "squaw" and her two children, while there was an "old buck" sixty miles to the north, but he was about a hundred years old, and "not quite active enough for a German soldier."[18]

Although there was no danger of an Indian uprising, the issue of draft resistance remained important, at least in the minds of Bureau of Indian Affairs officials. The decision was made to prosecute Annie's Tommy and the other prisoners, but charges were soon dismissed for lack of evidence. Meanwhile the conflict between Amos Frank and the Goshutes continued.[19]

In his final report on the Goshute situation Dorrington continued to defend the superintendent although he admitted that the situation would not improve while Frank remained there. The Indians, he reported, "entertain a constant disregard for their superintendent . . . which has become nothing less than disrespect." He concluded, "It simply means that the Indians and superintendent are entirely out of touch with each other," and that while Frank was a faithful, efficient and conscientious employee, "his dignified and unbending nature has not been understood by the Indians." Dorrington believed that if Frank had been a "little more liberal" there probably would have been no trouble. In the end Dorrington went away, Frank remained at his post, Indian grievances continued, and friction remained.[20]

Bureau policy during this period was to defend employees against all complaints, especially from Indians. Superintendents such as Frank, who had lost their effectiveness, were kept at their posts; others who were found guilty of misconduct were most often simply transferred to other posts in the Indian Service. That policy was in effect at the Goshute Reservation where during two years of controversy bureau officials refused to recognize and confront deep-seated discontent and chose instead to emphasize only the issue of registration for the draft, which provided a convenient justification to deal with the most vocal Indian complaintants.

With American involvement in World War I most Indians in the United States quickly registered for the draft. There was slight resistance at some of the more isolated agencies such as Fort Hall in Idaho, Southern Ute in Colorado and Western Navajo in Arizona, but even in these instances matters were quickly settled when it was explained that registration did not mean that all the men would be sent to Europe to fight. At the Southern Ute Reservation, registration was delayed because of the annual Bear Dance.[21]

Commissioner Sells was proud of the Indian record during World War I. Records show that some 17,000 Indians registered for the draft and that approximately 10,000 Indians served in the armed forces. This compares to national figures of 24,234,021 registered and 2,810,296 inducted into the armed forces. Moreover, Sells boasted that Indian response to Liberty Loan drives was unsurpassed, and that they contributed a sum of

$25,000,000 or about $75.00 per person. The Commission also boasted of the "civilizing influence" of the war and proudly pointed out that "blanket Indians" serving in the military were learning better English, and some were even learning a little French.[22]

Unfortunately, these impressive figures were due to government influence as well as to Indian patriotism. United States intervention into the world war unleashed a wave of patriotism throughout the nation that frequently erupted in extreme actions. Citizens were beaten, tarred and feathered, shot, and lynched for allegedly disloyal statements or actions; the national press and government officials unleashed a propaganda campaign to support the war effort, and people everywhere were on the watch for draft evaders or "slackers." In Utah, for example, two men attacked a German who worked in a bakery, stuffed his head in a large pan of dough and fired several shots at his feet. The Salt Lake City *Herald Republican,* describing the event in a feature story, applauded the patriotism of the men.[23] It is not surprising, therefore, that the regional press approved of the military raid to suppress "mutinous" Goshute Indians. The bureau was concerned with its patriotic image, and the temper of the times undoubtedly encouraged bureau officials throughout the nation to cajole and pressure Indians into military service and enabled them to act quickly to stamp out opposition at Goshute.

In retrospect it is clear that Indians served with distinction during World War I, and if the Goshutes stand out as an exception because of their continued opposition to military service, it must be remembered that their primary concern was the removal of an unpopular superintendent. The military raid to secure the arrest of their leaders may well have been the only time during World War I when the army was used to arrest draft resisters. In effect the government was using this as a pretext to support militarily an Indian superintendent who had become *persona non grata* among his own charges.

Notes

1. Frank to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1916, 1916-034-Goshute, Central Classified Files, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C., hereafter cited as RG 75.

2. Telegram, Frank to Sells, June 7, 1917, 66895-17-126-Goshute, RG 75. This was sent by Knapp over Frank's name.

3. Knapp to Chief Special Officer, June 11, 1917, L. A. Dorrington Papers, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Federal Records Center, San Francisco, Calif., hereafter cited as Dorrington.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Dorrington to Sells, June 20, 1917, Dorrington.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Frank to Sells, June 20, 1917, Dorrington.

8. Dorrington to Sells, February 6, 1918, 30951-18-125-Goshute, RG 75.

9. Dorrington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 26, 1918, 30951-18-125-Goshute, RG 75.

10. *Ibid.*

11. John L. O'Brian (for the Attorney General) to General H. P. McCain, Feb. 15, 1918; S. G. Hopkins (Asst. Secretary of the Interior) to the Attorney General, Feb. 18, 1918; O'Brian to Secretary of the Interior, Feb. 19, 1918, 186233-281, Record Group 60, Records of the Justice Department, National Archives, Washington, D.C., hereafter cited as RG 60.

12. Nebeker to Attorney General, Feb. 26, 1918, RG 60; Dorrington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 26, 1918, 30951-18-125 Goshute, RG 75.

13. Undated newspaper clipping in 30951-18-125-Goshute, RG 75; *Herald-Republican* (Salt Lake City, Utah), Feb. 22, 1918; *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, Utah), Feb. 21, 1918.

14. Dorrington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 26, 1918, 30951-18-125-Goshute, RG 75.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Telegram, Dorrington to Sells, April 10, 1918, 30951-18-125-Goshute, RG 75.

17. *Nevada State Journal* (Reno), April 11, 1918.

18. *Pioche Record* (Nevada), April 19, 1918.

19. Frank complained that the Indians were "defiant," the situation "looked ugly," and that he thought Mormons might be agitating the Indians; Frank to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 23 and Oct. 29, 1918, 30951-18-125-Goshute, RG 75. The court case is in Record Group 21, Records of the U.S. District Court, District of Utah, Criminal Case 5166, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colo.

20. Although he defended Frank, Dorrington recommended that he be reassigned because the altitude was bad for his health. Frank also wanted a new assignment. Dorrington to Sells, Sept. 21, 1918 and Frank to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 23, 1918, *Ibid.*

21. Jacob Browning to Sells, June 5, 1917, 73752-17-125-Fort Hall; E. E. McKean to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 6, 1917, 55333-17-125-Southern Ute, RG 75; *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix), June 6, 1917; *Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, Ariz.), June 18, 1917. The *Sun* reported, "The Indians are laboring under the delusion that if they register they will be compelled to go to France and fight for The United States."

22. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1918,* p. 7; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1919,* p. 14; *Second Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War on the Operations of the Selective Service System to December 20, 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), pp. 190, 198. It should be remembered that opposition to the draft was rather widespread among white Americans. The situation in central Oklahoma provides a point of comparison. It was estimated that there were 3,000 or more draft resisters, and when armed resistance developed in 1917 some 500 people were arrested. It is interesting also that this was handled by civil authorities. See *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* (Okla.), Aug. 4, 1917, Aug. 26, 1917. The government also encouraged Indian investment in Liberty Loans, the Red Cross, etc. and permitted guardians to invest Indian money. In Oklahoma, for example, a county court judge forced the guardians of a Creek girl to buy $25,000 worth of Liberty bonds. See the *Tulsa Daily World* (Oklahoma), June 16, 1917.

23. *Herald-Republican,* April 10, 1918.

Bishop Whitaker's School for Girls

by Carrie M. Townley

WHITAKER PARK SITS ON A HILL overlooking the I-80 freeway and the city of Reno. On this site one hundred years ago, the Bishop Whitaker's School for Girls opened its doors. Ozi William Whitaker, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Nevada, came to Nevada in 1861. For years he was disturbed at the lack of educational facilities for the young people of Nevada, especially the girls. Many young men were sent out of the state to schools for their education, but few girls. In 1876 there were only three high schools in the entire state, none in Washoe County.[1]

Bishop Whitaker appealed to Episcopalians in the East for help. Miss Catherine L. Wolfe of New York offered to give $10,000.00 to the Episcopal Church in Nevada to be used to build a school for girls if Bishop Whitaker could raise matching funds. The citizens of Reno donated $4,000.00 and Bishop Whitaker raised another $6,000.00 from various donors in the East.[2]

In addition to donating money, several Renoites offered to donate land for the school. The Evans brothers offered the land on which the University of Nevada now stands. Myron Lake offered land on the south bluff of the river, where later many of Reno's nicest homes were built.[3] The Bishop accepted the land offered by Charles Crocker of the Central Pacific Railroad. Crocker gave Bishop Whitaker his choice of any of the lands owned by the railroad in the vicinity of Reno.[4]

On April 26, 1876, the Central Pacific Railroad quitclaimed to the Bishop one-half a block of land on a hill overlooking Reno, the Truckee River, the Truckee Meadows, and the mountains all around.[5] The remainder of the seven acres for the school was purchased from the Central Pacific Railroad for $400.00.[6]

Not everyone was pleased with the choice the Bishop made. Some thought the site was too far from town. Few houses separated the hill chosen and the town. To walk from the railroad depot to the school, a

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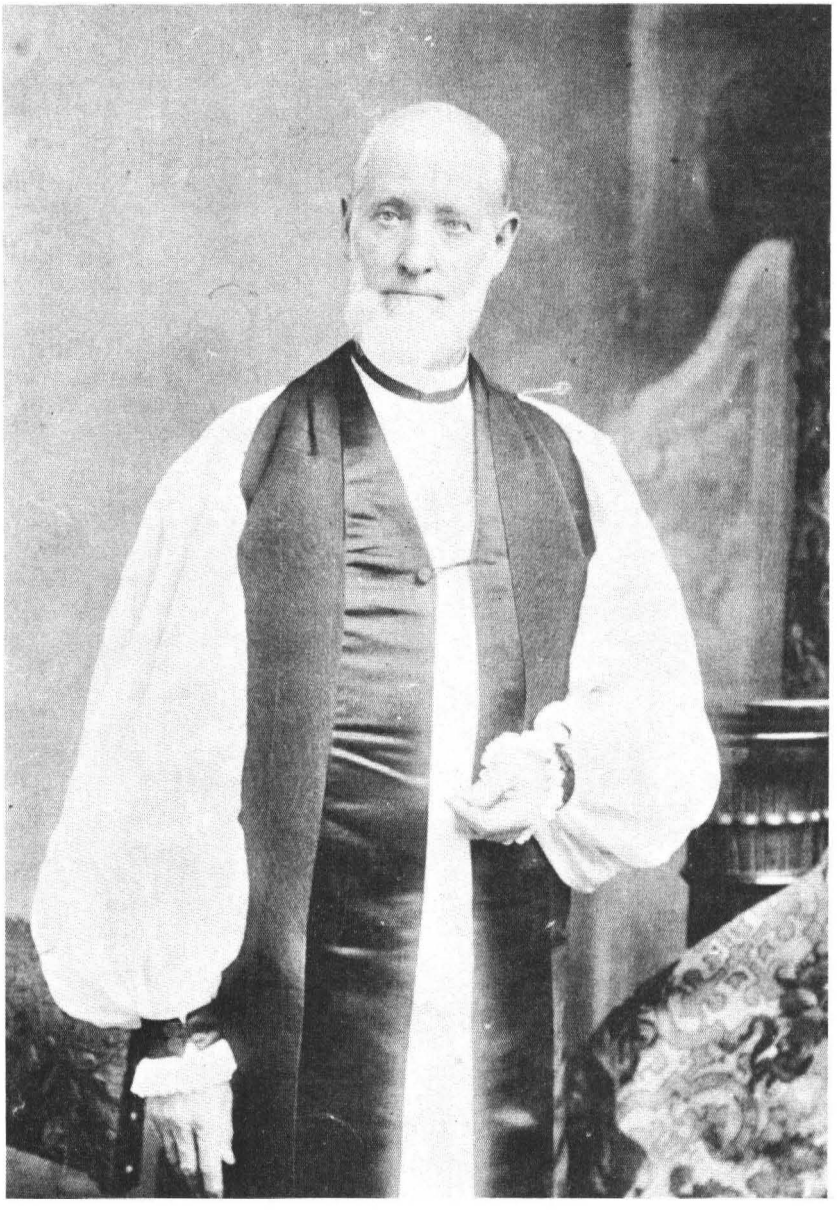

Bishop Ozi William Whitaker

person had to trudge through sagebrush for about fifteen minutes. Nothing was on the north and west of the site except more sagebrush.[7]

The Bishop wasted no time in requesting bids for the construction of the building, and in June construction began.[8] When the building was finished, the Bishop found himself with a debt of $8,500.00. The building had cost $28,000.00.[9] The only educational facility in the state even to compare with the school in size was the Fourth Ward School in Virginia City built in the same year.[10]

For years the Bishop struggled to pay off his debt for the school. By 1880 he had reduced the debt to $6,000.00, and then appealed again to Miss Wolfe for help. He told her the problems and "that without help we should go to the wall." Again Miss Wolfe came to his aid. She gave him $3,500.00 with the instructions to use it either to pay on the debt or for partial or complete scholarships for deserving girls. The Bishop, ever mindful of the girls who could not afford an education, chose to use the money for scholarships. It took years to pay off the remaining debt.[11]

There can be no doubt that the site the Bishop chose is one of the most beautiful sites in the area today, but what of the school he built? By today's standards it falls short, but by the standards of a century ago, it was magnificent. The School was filled with many luxuries uncommon to schools of the time. Five pianos were installed, along with one organ.[12] In addition, the pianos were always kept well-tuned.[13] Such recreational sports as tennis and croquet were provided.

The ground floor of the three-story building contained the culinary department. This consisted of a large well-lighted dining room, kitchen, storerooms, and a pantry. The remainder of the floor was taken up by various small rooms for servants and a gymnasium twenty by forty feet.[14]

On the second floor were the reception room, recitation rooms, school rooms, principal's office, and anterooms. The recitation rooms were separated by folding doors which could be opened to make one large room as needed. These rooms, with the exception of the recitation and school rooms, were carpeted. Two bathrooms completed this floor.[15]

The third floor was the dormitory. It was divided into forty-two very small rooms, occupied only for sleeping. The teachers' rooms were interspersed between the students' rooms, giving them extra control over their charges. Two bathrooms were provided on this floor. The entire floor was carpeted and comfortably furnished. The building was heated with steam heat, but the boiler room was placed in a separate building for safety.[16]

On October 12, 1876, the school was officially opened with an exercise led by Bishop Whitaker. Thirty boarding students and twelve day students began their first year at the school. In his talk to the girls the Bishop tried to impress upon the girls that they had a great mission in view. They came, he said, not because they were sent to obtain a small amount of French, or music, but to fit themselves for womanhood, to purify the heart through culture of the mind.[17]

In this age of liberal education, the regulations of the school seem almost ludicrous. They were few and simple, but prison-like. The object was to keep order in the household and to insure the welfare of the students. The 1882 catalogue noted:

> As a general rule it is better for a girl not to go home during the term, and the fewer correspondents she has the better. The scholars will not attend balls nor parties, nor leave the grounds unless accompanied by teachers or guardians, nor will they receive calls from gentlemen unless by joint permission of parents and the Principal.[18]

In addition no student was allowed to correspond with anyone not on a list compiled by her parents. If the parents made no list, their daughter could correspond only with them.[19]

The catalogue explained that good, wholesome food was provided, and asked that parents not send "eatables, of any description, except fruit" to their daughters. Any food sent, other than fruit, was placed on the girl's table at meals and could only be eaten at mealtime.[20]

Basically, the school was set up to be a four year course, but because most of the girls lacked the formal education needed for these courses, a preparatory department was established. Students who were not far enough advanced to keep up with the first year class were required to study in the Preparatory Department until they caught up enough to manage the regular course.[21] Girls of all ages could be found in the Preparatory Department. Although the school was primarily set up for high school age girls, the kind-hearted Bishop could not resist the pleas of a mother with a six or eight-year-old girl on her hands, especially if the child had an older sister attending the advanced classes.

It is no wonder that the school always faced money problems. The Bishop constantly meted out special rates to girls who otherwise could not have attended. As he explained to Bishop Abiel Leonard, the fixed expenses of housing, servants, and utilities were the same whether there were thirty or forty girls. The only added expenses were for food, washing, and books. Bishop Whitaker noted that he always found deserving girls to whom he was glad to give special rates and he felt the school was no poorer for it. On the whole, he considered that the special rate girls were, over the years, a benefit to the school.[22] These girls came from all over the state. The Bishop's Girls, as they came to be called, truly represented the state, coming from Cherry Creek, Bodie, Pioche, St. Thomas, Humboldt Station, Mason Valley, Mound House, Fish Springs, and Tuscarora, as well as the larger Nevada towns. This was part of the plan of Bishop Whitaker in establishing the school. He wanted it to be made up of girls from sparsely settled agricultural areas and small mining camps where few facilities were available for their education.[23]

The girls who received Bishop Whitaker's help repaid his gift to them by utter devotion to him. He was, in fact, beloved by all his girls. Until he was no longer able physically, the Bishop corresponded with his girls well over thirty years.

Although the rules were strictly enforced at the school, the discipline was interspersed with picnics, parties, musicial events, and other social affairs. The first anniversary was celebrated with a holiday from class. The entire school was driven by wagon to Glendale for a picnic and a day of play.[24] On another occasion the Bishop rented a special car on the Virginia and Truckee Railroad to take his girls on a holiday to Steamboat Springs.[25]

The first two years went by without much upset. The principal, Kate A. Sill, was well liked by the students and teachers alike. Under her able guidance the students published a four page paper called the *School Girls' Companion.* Two hundred copies of this paper were issued, printed by the *Reno Gazette* office. When the demand for more copies came in, however, the press had dismantled the type, making it impossible to print more. No copy of this paper seems to have made its way into the state depositories for preservation.[26] During the years Miss Sill was in charge, the income equalled the expenses.

After two years Kate Sill resigned as principal. It was difficult to follow the efficient woman, and Bishop Whitaker designated her successors as failures. The school, he wrote, "nearly went to pieces." He tried three principals in one year with no success. Although Miss Sill returned the following year, the enrollment, which had dropped drastically because of the lack of a satisfactory principal, did not begin to improve immediately.[27]

Kate Sill set out to restore the school to its previous standing. Again, it was disrupted when she died in December of 1881.[28] The students were joined by various local groups and clubs from Reno to provide a new organ as a proper memorial for their late principal.[29]

Four years after the school opened, the first graduation was held. On June 15, 1880, one lone graduate, Mary Grippen, received her diploma. She had attended the school for four years.[30]

The Bishop continued to make improvements in his school. In the spring of 1880, the completion of the Highland Ditch provided ample water to at least landscape the grounds. The long flight of stairs which had been the approach to the school was removed and a walk was installed. The walk followed the contour of the hill. In addition, the Bishop had a gravelled carriage drive built in front of the school. He next planted 400 trees and laid out grass and flowers. The whole area was soon covered with "an emerald carpet" and many beautiful shade trees. The area was becoming known as "Seminary Hill."[31]

A reservoir which provided water for the town of Reno, as well as the school, sat southeast of the school. The lake which resulted covered fifteen acres, and was eight feet deep. In the summer of 1880 work on the reservoir improved the area next to the school. Riprap was placed all the way around to prevent the washing of the banks which had been a problem and also to prevent the high winds from stirring up the lake, making the drinking water for Reno "riley." A carriage drive was laid out around the reservoir, providing a scenic drive for Renoites. Trees were

set out to beautify the small lake. To improve fishing, 5,000 catfish were placed in it. No one was allowed to swim in the reservoir, in an effort to keep the water as clean as possible. Dogs were also forbidden to enter the water. If a man shot a duck, he could not send his dog in to fetch it; he had to wait for the duck to float ashore.[32] The students found the reservoir a pleasant place to visit, and the water was of great importance to the school, making it possible to develop the sagebrush covered land.

The generosity of the Bishop when it came to tuition for his girls kept him constantly strapped for money to keep the school running. Help seemed to be on its way with the death in 1884 of Sarah Burr of New York City. In her will made in 1866 Miss Burr left $10,000.00 in trust for a seminary for females in Nevada Territory.[33] The Bishop did not get the money until several years later.[34] The will was contested, and made its way through the courts to the New York Court of Appeals in 1888.[35] When that court upheld the will, the Burr Bequest was set up for the use of scholarships for girls of the Bishop Whitaker School for Girls, and continued to be used for the education of Episcopal girls in Nevada for decades after the school closed its doors.

In 1886 two events occurred which were to have great effect on the future of the institution. Bishop Whitaker left the state and on March 31, 1886, the University of Nevada, then called the Nevada State University, opened its doors in Reno.[36] The university was moved from Elko where it was first established, and eventually began to compete with the Bishop's school for students.

The university charged no tuition; the girls' school expenses could run as high as $65.00 a month, depending upon what extra lessons a girl chose to take. Music, painting, French, German, and drawing were all extra expenses.[37]

In comparison, the buildings of the two schools were similar. The university required that an entering student be at least fifteen, have good moral character, and pass an exam in the basics, but students graduated from Nevada high schools were not required to take entrance exams.[38] For the first few years the competition did not appreciably affect the Bishop's school.

The greatest blow occurred in September of 1886 when Bishop and Mrs. Whitaker left Nevada. He had accepted the position of Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania. The teachers, especially, found it hard to resign themselves to losing their beloved Bishop. Eva Quaiffe, who had been with the school as music teacher from its opening, expressed her feelings to Bishop Leonard, Whitaker's successor. She wrote, "I hope all your other schools are prosperous, and going on smoothly. I feel that we are only *one* of your schools to you, but we were the apple of Bishop Whitaker's eye."[39]

In writing to Bishop Leonard, Bishop Whitaker described the school as morally and religiously the greatest blessing which had come to Nevada. He turned it over to the care of Bishop Leonard, saying, "I give it into your hands as the dearest object of my affections on earth."[40]

Certainly, the school was the direct result of the labor and love that Bishop Whitaker had poured into it. Through his efforts alone, the money was raised to build it. For ten years he had managed it. The principals had charge of the academic side, but the money, bills, and other items were attended to by the Bishop. He received and disbursed every dollar involved in its management. Every teacher was hired by him.[41] Bishop Whitaker had spent much time, energy, and no doubt, prayer, on the school. It is no wonder that it was dear to him.

Although Bishop Whitaker resigned and left the state in 1886, he continued to oversee the running of the school until 1888, when Bishop Leonard was consecrated as Bishop of Nevada and Utah. With the beginning of Bishop Leonard's term, the Dioceses of Utah and Nevada were combined and put in his charge.[42] Thus, while Bishop Whitaker could lavish his affection and care on only the one school in Reno, Bishop Leonard, by assuming control of Utah as well, had several others to deal with. Whereas Bishop Whitaker worked from the school as his residence, Bishop Leonard resided in Salt Lake City and had to run the Reno school from a great distance, with only occasional visits.

When Bishop Whitaker left to take over his new duties in Pennsylvania, he appointed Amy Pease to take charge of the school. To help her, he left his niece, Mary Ann Chester, as head of the household. Both of these capable women planned to leave at the end of the 1888 term, so Bishop Whitaker advised Bishop Leonard to put a man on the premises to take charge.[43]

The man chosen was the Reverend John R. Rankin from Burlington, Kansas.[44] Why this man was picked is lost to the record, but he seemed poorly suited to take charge of Nevada girls. Even Amy Pease expressed concern over how to tell the parents of the students that Father Rankin was to take charge.[45]

Problems with the school administration began as early as August of 1888. Beecroft, the lampman, began to turn out the lights at nine o'clock each night regardless of whether or not guests were sitting in the parlor. Amy Pease wrote to Bishop Leonard asking his aid. The lampman, she wrote, insisted that Bishop Leonard told him lights were to be put out at nine and he was only following orders. Miss Pease thought that "it would hardly do for a servant to put out the teachers' visitors." Beecroft was, Miss Pease noted, "a good deal upset by the various changes and cranky in consequence."[46]

No sooner had Rankin taken over than he decided a crisis existed. The school was losing students from the previous year. Rankin attributed the problem to several factors, such as the loss of Bishop Whitaker, the prevalence of cases of small-pox in the town, and the death of one of the teachers. The loss of Miss Pease and Miss Chester combined with the other factors to produce a crisis. Even before the girls arrived for the Advent (fall) term, Rankin had decided that the year would not go well.[47]

A delightful record of the activities of some of the girls while Rankin was in charge is provided in two sketch books of Anne Henrietta Martin,

a student. The sketch books, done in pen and ink, depict the numerous episodes of mischief in which Anne and her classmates were constantly involved. One album, called the Johnny Rankin Album, is dedicated to him. Anne Martin noted that in the year of Rankin's principalship, the girls enjoyed themselves at his expense, as the scenes in the book prove.[48] It quickly becomes evident that poor Father Rankin was wholly unsuited to take on this class of high-spirited girls. Page after page in the book shows pictures of pranks the girls pulled on the long-suffering priest. Scenes abound of the girls being punished by Rankin while they laugh behind his back.

The sketch on the front of the Johnny Rankin Album is a flying eagle with a caricature of the principal hanging from its mouth. The artist explained the cover with a poem:

> There was an eagle flying south,
> With Johnny Rankin in his mouth,
> When he found out he was a fool,
> He dropped him in the Bishop's school.[49]

The artist further explained that "The people caricatured in the following pages are not so hideously ugly as pictured. Their defects have to be magnified to make the caricatures successful."[50]

Poor Rankin's inability to effectively discipline his charges was a big joke to the girls. Anne Martin quotes comments Rankin frequently voiced. In one scene the poor man is quoted as saying, "Come to my room a moment. I'd like to have you know I'm principal of this school."[51] Principal he was, but he was able to exert little influence on the girls of Anne Martin's class. One year was all Rankin could stand as principal, and the following year he retired that position but continued to teach geology and serve as Vice-Rector and bookkeeper.[52]

Anne Martin's class, the class of 1891, became notorious in the annals of the school. The problems with discipline of this group of girls which began with Johnny Rankin continued through the next three years. By the school year of 1890-91, the class consisted of Gertrude and Anne Martin, Ellen Ashby, Louisa Lucas, Mabel Godfroy, Fredericka Lord, Adelaide Spencer, Lena Monroe, Ollie Longbaugh and a new addition in October, Stella Rhodes. In January Ollie Longbaugh dropped out and was replaced in the class by Carrie Belknap.[53]

The little sketch books show no lessening in the pranks of the class of '91 after the resignation of J. M. Rankin as principal. Obviously, the highjinks were affecting the girls' concentration on their studies. In December of 1890 Julia Megguier, the new principal, notified the girls' parents not to expect the class to graduate at the end of the Easter term. A letter in response to the news by Miss Megguier from one father, F. C. Lord of Virginia City, made its way over the years to the letters saved by Bishop Leonard. Mr. Lord noted that:

> I do not desire to have my daughters graduate until thoroughly qualified to do so. And while it will no doubt be a disappointment to Freddie, I feel that in justice to her future, it would be very

From Anne Martin's Sketchbook.

> unwise to have her graduate before fully mastering each and every one of the required studies. And that your course in the matter is correct and shall so inform her.[54]

The girls did not receive the news stoically. Anne Martin described her feelings at not graduating:

> A great calamity has befallen us. We are no longer the class of '91. For some unaccountable purpose, Miss Ervin held us back and now we will figure in the annuals of our school as the Class of '92. There are various reasons for keeping us back — but one thing we can be more thorough, and take a more complete course with the additional year. However, it is a great disappointment. We are disorganized as a class for the rest of the year, but next September we will reorganize and graduate as the class of '92.[55]

Yet the next year found only five of the girls in the class of '91 still at the school, and Anne Martin was not one of the graduates of the class of '92. She and Louisa Lucas transferred to the State University where, after taking examinations, they were placed in the sophomore class.[56] Anne Martin continued at the university until she received a degree in 1894.[57]

Although she was not to be a graduate of the Bishop's School, Anne Martin won the essay contest for the year she should have graduated. Her essay, entitled "Hawthorne and His Works," won for her the Gold Medal presented each year at the closing exercises.[58]

While at the Bishop's School, Anne Martin established a pattern of defiance of the establishment and those in authority. She continued this pattern by participating in the English movement for women's suffrage led by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. During this participation, Anne Martin was arrested and jailed along with the English suffragists. She returned to Nevada and led the fight for women's suffrage throughout the state. In 1918, still challenging the establishment, she became the first woman to run in any state for the U.S. Senate.[59]

Anne Martin's defiance of the establishment seems to have begun with the year she spent under the control, or lack of control, of the ineffective Father Rankin. One wonders if she had been under the tutelage of Bishop Whitaker instead of Father Rankin she would have developed the attitudes which enabled her to fight for the rights of women. Certainly, Johnny Rankin had helped her learn that the masculine authority was not frightening and could be challenged.

Anne Martin was not the only one to leave the school in 1891. Eva Quaiffe, the one person who had been continuously with the school since its opening in 1876, decided her time had come to depart.[60] Many tributes were paid to Miss Quaiffe for her work with the music department which she headed.

By 1890 the school consisted of three buildings.[61] One, a two-story building, now known as Scotty's Guest House, still stands. The steam-house was destroyed by fire on October 2, 1890. Fortunately, neither of the two major buildings caught fire. The principal, Julia Megguier, attributed the saving of them to the lack of wind and the turnout of the townspeople who fought the fire.[62]

The morning after the fire when the damages were surveyed, it was found that the steam-building was destroyed, thirty window panes in the large building were cracked or broken, and nearly all of the bedding in the school was ruined because it had been used to protect the large building. The north side of that building was scorched, as well as the west end of the smaller building. The carpet for the main hall and stairs of the large building had been stored in the steam-house and was ruined. All of the belongings of the two Chinese helpers who lived in the steam-house were destroyed. Art class was held in the steam-house, so the art department equipment was gone as well. Quite a lot of damage was done to the yard in the fighting of the fire.[63]

Fighting the fire was not easy. The distance from town made it difficult to get the hose to the hill. By the time the water was turned on, the building was almost destroyed. The men of Reno fought the fire with a bucket brigade and wet blankets. The *Reno Evening Gazette* remarked that it was a narrow escape, but the school still remained as one of Reno's beautiful buildings.[64]

By 1890 the decline of the school had begun, and several factors contributed to its eventual closing. The state was in the depths of what we now call the Twenty Year Depression. The hard times were being felt in the number of students whose families could afford to send them to a private school. Bishop Leonard noted in 1889 that Reno was the only town in the state which was growing, and that growth was small.[65] In 1890 he reported that the census showed such a steady decline of population during the past decade that there were in 1890 hardly as many people in the whole state of Nevada as there were living in Salt Lake City. The Bishop expressed hopes for an endowment of the school, since he realized in hard times that an unendowed church school could not hope to compete with a tuition-free state supported school.[66]

In addition to the depression, the competition of the University of Nevada was making itself felt by 1890. The University had added two more grades, cutting into the students in Reno which the School for Girls had drawn upon as day students.[67] During his term at the school, John Rankin refused to admit that the university could be in academic competition with the Bishop's School. He predicted that the University would be "little more than an Agricultural College for the cultivation of the bread and butter sciences." Rankin believed his school could always excell in philosophy, literature, astronomy, painting, music and manners.[68]

By 1891 Bishop Leonard realized that unless the situation changed, the school could not survive. He, unlike Rankin, recognized that the depression in combination with the excellent facilities the state university offered free was hindering the growth of Whitaker Hall, the new name for the school.[69] The *Reno Evening Gazette,* however, continued to praise the school, possibly in the hopes of attracting new students. Its closing would not be in the best interests of the town of Reno. The paper pointed out to tourists that the fifteen minute walk to the Hall was well worth the trip.[70]

At the end of the 1893–94 term the school was forced to close its doors. The newspapers expressed the regret felt by Nevadans all over the state at the closing of the Bishop's school. No one but Bishop Whitaker ever knew which of the attending girls were on charity, depending on the Bishop for their schooling, home, and in many cases, their clothing. The Bishop had spent his vacations each year travelling hundreds of miles over desolate areas in stages or wagons to some small mining camp where he thought girls might be found who could benefit from what the institution had to offer. He found the girls and filled his school with them. For many years Whitaker Hall was the only institution in the state where a girl could get an education above the bare minimum. The Bishop had taken a barren hill covered with sagebrush and reclaimed the land, bit by bit, until the entire seven acres was a show place.[71]

Although the school closed in 1894, the influence that it had on the lives of hundreds of Nevada's women remained. They were extremely proud to be one of the "Bishop's girls." Many years later these women formed alumnae groups not just in Nevada, but in California as well. They called their organization "The Bishop's Girls." In celebration of the 100th anniversary of Bishop Whitaker's birth "The Bishop's Girls" contributed $1,000.00 to purchase a bell in his memory. The bell, given to Trinity Episcopal Church in Reno, was dedicated on May 10, 1930,[72] and there it tolled until 1973 when it was removed to make room for a thirty-four bell carrillon, the only one in the state. The Bishop's bell is now in storage, but it is hoped that soon a home will be found for it in the state as a remembrance of Bishop Whitaker. As another memorial, "The Bishop's Girls" suggested to the City of Reno that the park which now stands on the site of the old school be named Whitaker Park in memory of what Bishop Whitaker did for Reno and the state.

One of the alumnae, Carrie Blakeslee Humphreys, no doubt expressed the feelings of all the ex-students when she wrote:

> Wherever you may find a Whitaker Hall girl there you will find a good woman. There was an influence exercised in that old grey building on the hill second to none, which so interwove itself into the lives of all that it became a part of them. We always cared about what the bishop would think if we transgressed, and I am sure in the minds of us all is the same feeling today."[73]

For several years the old school was rented for a hospital. In 1909 and 1910 the property was sold to Whitaker Hospital, Inc.[74] In 1922 the City of Reno purchased Whitaker Hall to be used for a time by the school district, and then it later developed part of the site into a park and the main building was demolished.[75] The present use of the site as a park seems a fitting memorial to Bishop Ozi W. Whitaker who cared so much for Nevada's youth a century ago.

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33. Copy of Will of Sarah Burr, April 3, 1866, Archives.
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40. Bishop Ozi Whitaker to Bishop Abiel Leonard, December 13, 1887, Archives.
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45. Amy Pease to Bishop Abiel Leonard, May 24, 1888, Archives.
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Mary Pickford's Divorce

by Jerome E. Edwards

PATRICK A. MCCARRAN, Senator from Nevada from 1933 to 1954, had a long and illustrious career as an attorney before his election to Congress. In criminal cases he posted an unusually effective record. The *Nevada State Journal* in 1911 pointed out, for example, that attorney McCarran had the reputation "sometimes claimed by surgeons of never sending a man to the cemetery."[1] If you were in a jam, McCarran was the man to call for help. His logical and precise command of the facts in a case and his emotional, flamboyant oratorical style combined to make him an exceptionally formidable adversary in the courtroom.

McCarran's most famous case came in 1920 when he represented "America's Sweetheart," film actress Mary Pickford in her divorce action from Owen Moore. This case not only created a public sensation but also raised some important and disturbing legal issues. Miss Pickford's divorce in Nevada had several unique and peculiar aspects which at first glance appeared to violate both the letter and the spirit of the state divorce law. But McCarran skillfully discovered a loophole in the law large enough to shepherd the popular Miss Pickford through her divorce travail, at least five months sooner than might have been the case with less wealthy or famous clients.

Mary Pickford, born in 1893, was by 1920 America's most popular film actress. In films such as "Tess of the Storm Country," "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm," "A Poor Little Rich Girl," and "Polyanna" she entertained audiences by playing sweet, juvenile roles despite her maturity. In fact, audiences would not allow "Little Mary" to grow up until she was in her mid-thirties. The public in 1920 still had an image of Miss Pickford as being a little girl, with all the innocence that this entailed.

Mary Pickford married Owen Moore, also a film actor, in 1911. After a stormy marriage he deserted her. Miss Pickford moved to a Douglas County, Nevada ranch on February 15, 1920. Moore, ostensibly by coincidence, went to Virginia City the latter part of the same month to make a film, and also, seemingly by chance, entered Douglas County, where he "just happened" to be served papers notifying him that his wife

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America's Sweetheart

was seeking a divorce. On March 2, after a residence of merely 16 days, Miss Pickford entered the District Court in Minden, the Douglas County seat, and, represented by McCarran, immediately secured a divorce. The reader will note that in 1920 Nevada had a six-month residency requirement for divorce on its statute books.

The court record revealed the following testimony:

Q. (Judge Frank P. Langan) And you have given up Los Angeles as your residence and your permanent residence is Genoa, Douglas County, Nevada?

A. (Pickford) Until I regain my health, and this will be my home.

Q. Do I understand that you have come into this state in good faith, seeking health and nothing else?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. That you have not come into the State of Nevada for the purpose of instituting divorce proceedings?

A. No, sir.

Q. That is absolutely so?

A. Absolutely so.

BY THE COURT (Judge Langan)

I think I have gone into this question pretty thoroughly. I feel that I should do so in all of these matters in view of the fact that our statute requires a six month residence, therefore we should look into these matters thoroughly.

• • •

Q. (Judge Langan) Have you ever directly or indirectly had any understanding with Mr. Moore, that you should come in the State of Nevada, and after being here that he should come into this state and that you would institute divorce proceedings and have him served with papers?

A. No, sir,[2]

Miss Pickford testified in this hearing under her legal name, Gladys Moore. It is not clear whether Judge Langan realized she was the famous motion picture actress. Receiving her divorce that very day from the compliant judge, Miss Pickford forsook her "permanent" home of Nevada by taking the train out of Reno the following morning. Later the same month she married Douglas Fairbanks, perhaps foolishly, because she stood a good chance of being charged with bigamy.[3] All of these events of course received the breathless attention of newspapers all over the nation.

The reason for Miss Pickford's ability to receive a divorce after only a sixteen-day residency lay in the peculiar wording, certainly intentional, of the 1915 Nevada Divorce law. McCarran later boasted he had had a hand in the law's wording.[4] The key section reads as follows:

> Divorce from the bonds of matrimony may be obtained, by complaint under oath, to the district court of the county in which the cause therefor shall have accrued, or in which the defendant shall reside or be found, or in which the plaintiff shall reside, if

> the latter be either the county in which the parties last cohabited, or in which the plaintiff shall have resided six months before suit be brought, . . .[5]

On a first reading of the statute, it might appear that the law requires a six month residency in Nevada for a person to qualify for divorce, but actually this was not necessary in all cases. The Pickford divorce, although bizarre, was perfectly legal. One need only look at the statute's punctuation to realize that one could just as easily obtain a divorce if the *defendant* "shall reside or *be found in* a county," as if a "*plaintiff* shall have resided six months before suit be brought." (Italics added.) One condition does not depend upon the other; each is an independent clause in the statute. The fact that the defendant (Owen Moore) was "found" in the county where Miss Pickford brought suit gave legality to the whole transaction. For that matter, Miss Pickford did not have to reside in Nevada at all — and neither did Moore. Nevada's supposed six month residency requirement was a travesty, and McCarran's interpretation that under certain conditions the state had no residency requirement at all was surely true.

There are, however, other disturbing problems in connection with Miss Pickford's divorce. The facts that Owen Moore was so conveniently on hand when needed, that Miss Pickford sued for divorce only sixteen days after establishing residency, and that she immediately left the state and married Fairbanks strongly suggests that much of the actress's testimony in court was fraudulent. Despite her sworn statement, the divorce appears to have been planned between her and Owen Moore from the beginning, and McCarran must have been a party to the deception.

Miss Pickford never gave a finer performance. In her autobiography, she portrays herself as intensely hurt, sincere, and even implied she stayed in Nevada the full six months.[6] Moreover, contemporary newspaper accounts testify that she wept on the witness stand while describing the ordeal of her marriage. The usually non-sensational *Reno Evening Gazette* emblazoned, day after day, in eight column headlines, the heartaches of "Little Mary." In actuality, the evidence is that lawyer and client shrewdly conceived and carried out their plan, although McCarran chanced losing his professional reputation and Miss Pickford risked a bigamy charge through her marriage to Fairbanks.

As it was many Nevada attorneys professed to be shocked. The Washoe County Bar Association, for example, passed a resolution asking the state Attorney General to investigate the Pickford divorce in order to set the decree aside (this after "Little Mary" had already remarried). In a dramatic plea, however, Gray Mashburn, McCarran's law partner and later Attorney General of Nevada, persuaded the Bar Association to rescind the resolution. Mashburn's contention was that the resolution "was a reflection on the honesty of the firm." Concerning the allegedly fraudulent testimony of Miss Pickford that she would be a "permanent"

resident, Mashburn argued that the "same situation existed in practically all the other divorce cases tried here in this court."[7]

But Governor Emmett Boyle, McCarran's enemy within the Democratic Party, pursued the matter. Newspapers quoted the Governor as saying that the Pickford case represented "such a palpable fraud that the people think an effort was made to make a joke of the state's judiciary."[8] McCarran vehemently replied that he had himself helped to write the law as a Nevada Supreme Court justice. "My career stands behind that decree," he thundered, "I am ready to back it with everything there is in me."[9] More ominously, the Attorney General of Nevada, Leonard B. Fowler, like Boyle a Democratic office-holder with little love for McCarran, was concerned about the state's reputation and also about the validity of Nevada divorces elsewhere. He therefore appealed the divorce decision in the courts. This slap at McCarran's professional reputation demonstrated the antipathy that state Democratic officials had toward the Reno attorney.[10]

Attorney General Fowler devised a double-barrelled argument. In his Supreme Court presentation, he contended that first, "the state is vitally interested in the marriage relation . . . the relation affects society as a whole." Basically he implied that Nevada should police the implementation of its divorce laws or stand disgraced before the Union. Secondly Fowler argued that the court record obviously demonstrated fraud and perjury.

> "The present situation is stronger as inducing sovereign intervention, as there subsists in the record the added element of subjects of a foreign jurisdiction, in defiance of state sovereignty, entering into and consummating a fraudulent plan, scheme and undertaking, through false testimony, deceit and imposition upon a court of record.[11]

McCarran's brief did not explicitly deny fraud. He argued that the Attorney General lacked jurisdiction in a divorce case. "In general the party aggrieved by a decree of divorce is the only party who can attack it in any way. . . . The attorney-general has no power, authority, or right to intervene in an action for divorce, nor to bring an independent action to set aside a decree of divorce granted by a court of the state." Furthermore, McCarran argued, because of the wording of the 1915 law, the transaction was perfectly legal. "If the suit was brought in the county where the defendant resided or was found, the length of residence of the plaintiff was likewise immaterial."[12]

The Nevada Supreme Court followed McCarran's argument, and decided that the Attorney General had no jurisdiction over this particular matter. The Court admitted the possibility of fraud — "Be that as it may, we cannot legislate a remedy."

> In the best circumstances, justice will sometimes miscarry, but this is not peculiar to divorce cases, and it will not do to resort to unauthorized measures to redress legal misfortunes or wrongs. It

> would not be desirable, in order to get rid of some unjust judgments, to destroy the force of judgments generally, and allow them to be attacked by third parties where the legal rules which have been established to determine their effect have not permitted.[13]

However, the loophole in the law was subsequently changed and applicants for a divorce in Nevada thereafter had to live up to the residency requirements.[14]

Two months following the Pickford divorce, McCarran bought the imposing Lewis A. Gibbons mansion from Mrs. Gibbons after her husband's death. Built in 1913 on Reno's Court Street, the home was situated on a small bluff overlooking Wingfield Park and the Truckee River.[15] The rumor soon floated in Reno, and never has really died, that this house was McCarran's fee from Mary Pickford; indeed, some stories say that the actress had lived there prior to her divorce. This gossip gained national prominence when a *Saturday Evening Post* story in 1937 declared, "Mary Pickford gave Reno its best ad when she established residence and bought a house there in 1920 to divorce Owen Moore. When she left she gave the house to her lawyer. It is the home today of United States Senator Pat McCarran. He was her lawyer."[16]

The then Senator McCarran fired off an emphatic denial to the *Saturday Evening Post,* a letter which was never published by the magazine:

> . . . Mary Pickford never lived in Reno. Mary Pickford never owned nor possessed nor occupied a house in Reno. Mary Pickford never secured a decree of divorce, nor did she ever apply for a decree of divorce in Reno. Mary Pickford did not give her lawyer her house or any other house located either in Reno or any other place in Nevada.
>
> The home in which I live and in which my family and I have lived since 1921 never belonged to Miss Pickford; neither did she ever see the place, nor did she ever give it to me or anyone else, nor did she have anything to do with the same whatsoever, nor did she ever contribute to any of the purchase price of the same. I purchased the home and property from the original owner and builder. . . .
>
> The records in the County Recorder's office in Reno, the county seat of Washoe County, will bear out and confirm every statement I have made here.[17]

The documents in the Washoe County Recorder's office do indeed bear out McCarran's contention. The transaction of sale was, according to the official courthouse records and documents filed in the McCarran papers, simply between Mrs. Gibbons and the McCarrans. The McCarrans had to acquire a substantial mortgage in order to complete the $35,000 transaction.[18]

The timing of the purchase, however, is intriguing, coming as it did only two months after Mary Pickford's divorce. McCarran had previously been chronically strapped for money and now he was buying one of the choicest mansions in Reno. Undoubtedly the lawyer received an

adequate fee from the wealthy motion picture actress for his efforts on her behalf, certainly enough to help swing the real-estate transaction. The connection apparently is no more direct than that. Still, the Pickford divorce case long titillated attorneys, the state, and the nation with its notoriety and unfounded rumors.

Notes

1. *Nevada State Journal*, Jan. 2, 1911.

2. Transcript of Gladys M. Moore v. O. E. Moore, First District Court of the State of Nevada, County of Douglas, March 2, 1920. Copy in McCarran papers, unitemized files, College of the Holy Names, Oakland. Parts of the transcript were published in the *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 31, 1920.

3. *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 31, 1920; Sister Margaret Patricia McCarran, "Patrick Anthony McCarran," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, XI (Fall-Winter, 1968), 27.

4. Quoted in *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 21, 1920.

5. *Statutes of Nevada, 1915*, pp. 26-27.

6. Mary Pickford, *Sunshine and Shadow* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955), pp. 122-23.

7. *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 31, 1920.

8. *Ibid.*, April 14, 1920.

9. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1920.

10. *Ibid.*, August 16, 1920.

11. *State v. Moore*, *Nevada Reports*, 46(1922), 68-69.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74–75.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.

14. George Bartlett, *Men, Women and Conflict, an Intimate Study of Love, Marriage, and Divorce* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931), p. 76.

15. For a history of the house, see Sister Margaret Patricia McCarran, "Patrick Anthony McCarran," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, XI (Fall-Winter, 1968), pp. 26, 57; *Nevada State Journal*, July 29, 1973.

16. Joseph F. McDonald, "The Life of a Newsboy in Nevada," (Unpublished Oral Autobiography, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1970), p. 150; John Sanford, "Printer's Ink in My Blood," (Unpublished Oral Autobiography, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1971), p. 248; *Saturday Evening Post*, CCX (December 11, 1937), 88.

17. Patrick A. McCarran to Wesley W. Stout, ed. of *Saturday Evening Post*, December 14, 1937, McCarran Papers, Nevada State Archives, Carson City.

18. Washoe County Recorder's Office, Reno, Nevada; Itemized files, McCarran Papers, College of the Holy Names, Oakland; Sister Margaret Patricia McCarran, "Patrick Anthony McCarran," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, XI (Fall-Winter, 1968), 57; *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 29, 1920.

From Our Library Collection

ROBERT HOBART DAVIS: HIS JOURNALISTIC BAPTISM IN NEVADA

SAMUEL POST DAVIS is well remembered for his large contributions in the fields of literature, poetry, journalism, and history. His niche in Nevada's history grows with the passage of time as does the need for more study of this complex man who also played an important role in the state's 19th century political arena. Yet few people are aware that his youngest brother, Robert Hobart Davis, twenty-five years Sam's junior, received his tutelage at the copy desk of the Carson City *Daily Appeal* beginning when he was fifteen years old, and was to become one of America's most outstanding authors, playwrights, editors, and, finally, a journalist who is credited with having discovered O. Henry, Fannie Hurst, Booth Tarkington, and other giants of early 20th century literature.

Bob Davis was born in Brownsville, Nebraska, on March 23, 1869, the son of the Rev. George Ransome Davis and Silvia Nichols Davis, who had come from New England to do missionary work among the Indians. Another brother, Bill, was only a few years older than Bob, and was consequently closer to the youngest of the Davis brood during his childhood years.

In 1884, Bob traveled to Carson City where, not surprisingly, he found employment on the *Daily Appeal* and began his career delivering newspapers for Sam. A story concerning this early venture, given no small lifeblood by Bob in the years to come and changed and enlarged upon by others since then, has it that Bob combined his delivery responsibilities with a contract to ride the unbroken mustangs belonging to a Carson City livery stable until they were sufficiently broken for rental or sale purposes. Physical discomforts and probable unanticipated changes in his route notwithstanding, the experience was supposed to have endowed Bob with much wisdom in business matters which stood him in good stead years later. It is not an unlikely story to come from the height of that period of Mark Twain style humor, in which Sam Davis, De Quille, Goodwin, and the other literary figures indulged to an almost eccentric degree. What makes the story significant to Nevadans is the fact that it is the only reference Bob Davis would make to the four years he spent on the payroll of the *Appeal*, and he alluded to it often.

At age nineteen, Bob Davis left the employ of his oldest brother and went to San Francisco where he found jobs with the *Chronicle*, the *Call*, the *Examiner*, and the *Bulletin;* he even attempted the editorship of the shortlived *Chick*. With the experience of reporting for these celebrated

periodicals, Davis removed to New York when he was twenty-seven and was immediately hired by the *New York World,* only to be lured, in that long ago game among newspaper editors, to the *New York Journal.* In 1898, during the Spanish-American War, Davis received his first real recognition through a story published in the *World* in which he exposed the Beef Trust and revealed the rotten meats being served the soldiers. Success was his and Davis subsequently found his talents commanding higher salaries as he rose through the ranks, working for the Hearst chain, then Pulitzer's *Morning World,* as managing editor of the *New York Sunday News,* and was finally brought to the staff of Frank Munsey's publishing empire as fiction editor. It was in this last position that Bob Davis was to find new writers, accept and publish their first stories, and thus help launch the careers of Henry, Tarkington, Hurst, Zane Grey, James Oliver Curwood, Edgar Rice Burroughs, and many others.

In 1925, Munsey made Bob Davis a roving reporter whose charge was to travel around the world indefinitely and to record everything he saw. His column, "Bob Davis Reveals," quickly became famous and continued at its zenith until his death in 1942. Davis received his greatest recognition, however, not for what he himself put on paper, but for the indefatigable assistance he rendered struggling new writers; these efforts extended even to his telling enraptured would-be authors *his* ideas for stories, outlining the plots in detail, so that they could not fail. The stories that were later published found acceptance at the editorial desk as soon as they arrived.

The Nevada Historical Society has four scrapbooks apparently kept by Bob Davis from 1903 to 1935. While they are undoubtedly incomplete, the volumes do reveal considerable information about Davis, his career, and the high regard in which he was held by the people he discovered. Some printed materials are found regarding Sam's death as well as a holograph poem by the oldest brother on their father's death. One of the scrapbooks contains correspondence received and carbon copies of Davis' replies, most of which also are in the form of poetry. It would appear that Davis wanted to keep some representation, although miniscule in comparison with the mountain of correspondence he is said to have held, with some of those famous figures with whom he was so closely associated. They include in this volume Mary Pickford, Gutzon Borglum, Caroline Lockhart, William Loeb, Jr., Charles H. May, Miller Reese Hutchison, Arthur Bartlett Maurice, John Siddall, Warren Miller, and Miss Fannie Hurst.

So it may be said that the sagebrush state played a small role in contributing to the culture of this nation during the first half of this century through Bob Davis' brief tenure with one of Nevada's leading newspapers, the Carson City *Daily Appeal.* Perhaps it was the livery stable contract that was the deciding factor in Davis' selection of a career.

L. JAMES HIGGINS
Nevada Historical Society

Notes and Documents

A BUM JOURNEY ACROSS NEVADA —1888

BECAUSE OF THE BARRENNESS of its physical landscape and the peculiarity of its institutions, no state has been scorned and derided quite like Nevada. Immigrant diaries from the 'Fourties and 'Fifties chronicled the heat, the vast stretches of open country and the paucity of woodlands, streams, tall grasses and verdant foliage. Later rail travelers were advised to pull the shades when crossing the state and to bring along a good book as there was nothing of interest for them to see. To many a modern autoist, Nevada is just so much mileage, the only profit from a day's drive accruing to the oil companies. Humorists condescend, romancers distort and the remainder simply suffer.

The following letter was published in the *Hamilton Daily Times* of Hamilton, Ohio on January 2, 1889. It recounts a rail journey across Nevada by a less-than-sympathetic Ohioan, Lou J. Beachamp, and is reminiscent of many another such account penned by travelers who preceded him. The letter was picked up and reprinted by editor W. L. Davis of the *White Pine News* in his edition of March 2, 1889. In his preface, Davis commented that it was more likely that its author ". . . counted railroad ties and that hotel keepers along the Central Pacific did not 'cotton' to him than that he rode on a Pullman car." In any case, the letter is here reprinted in full in hopes that it will amuse our readers and provide them with a peep into Nevada's past.

PHILLIP I. EARL
Nevada Historical Society

AFTER LEAVING UTAH one begins to do penance for daring to cross the continent. Nevada is entered. The Lord may know what he got up Nevada for, but I must confess that I don't. It is generally credited that there are several fine cities in the State somewhere, and a number of paying mines, but they are not visible from the railroad. The route traversed is through a country of sage brush and alkali, inhabited solely by jackrabbits and fleas. The alkali dust is blown by the wind through the cars and soon we being to "wipe our weeping eyes," and use language that is seldom heard in the pulpit. For hundreds of miles we travel through a desolate stretch of slightly rotting land, with here and there a hill, but nothing to attract the attention save now and then a jack-rabbit "slowly sloping toward the west," like Orion, and evidently taking the trail of "star of empire." A jack-rabbit is not a handsome "critter." If he

was ever vaccinated for beauty it didn't take. He is a cross between a condemned army mule, the "cotton tail" of civilized States, and a streak of lightning. He is about three times the size of an ordinary, every-day rabbit, with legs long enough for a dinner table, and ears big enough for the table cloth. His hair always seems brushed the wrong way, and he looks as if he had never had enough to eat in his life. If animals have political preferences I should think jack-rabbits were Democrats, as they seem able to live so long on nothing. If they eat anything besides sage-brush they have to go out of Nevada to get it. They are measly-looking critters, it's a fact; but, great guns! how they can run! A jack-rabbit can run faster than a campaign lie or a sewing circle whisper. On the jump he looks like the expression "Git thar, Eli," transformed into matter. And I want to remark right here that when the jack-rabbit makes a start he "gits thar" every time.

* * * * *

The Nevada and California flea, like the Artemus Ward kangaroo, "Is an amoozin' little cuss." He is not the well-known "wicked flea" whom "no man pursueth." This flea is pursued by all men, and more especially by all women. If you see a woman in either of these States while walking the streets suddenly throw up both hands, dropping her parasol and purse, and then begin to twist herself into a right-angled hypotenuse, the while one arm is brought down and its hand begins to roam frantically through the mysteries of her garments, while the other arm and hand frantically beat the air, you need'nt think it's a case of fits, and rush for a doctor. The dear soul is only after an audacious flea, and she will keep on repeating the above performance every five minutes till she reaches home. What happens after she reaches her domicil it is not for me to assert, but from the look on her face as she crosses the threshold, that flea will have to hump himself to escape. There is always a fly in the amber. Rome has her deadly malaria; Venice, its eternal dampness; London, continual fogs; Hamilton has a gas company that wants the earth, and won't be satisfied till it gets it, and California, the State of sunshine and flowers, has more fleas to the square acre than Butler county has politicians.

* * * * *

At Waterloo they prayed for "Blucher or night." Going through Nevada one prays for night or death. Blinded by dust, tired of sagebrush, alkali and jack-rabbits, mad at 75-cent meals, consisting principally of nothing, cooked too much and seasoned with dirt, the dropping of night's sable curtain comes as a sweet relief, and the ebony porter can't make up the beds fast enough to satisfy the tired and disgruntled passengers. But all things earthly have an end (except the quarrels of Hamilton and the railroad companies), even in Nevada can't last forever, and a fast express

must sooner or later cross the boundary line. Morning comes as lightly and gently as a bill falls due, and the passenger of the day before, who kept thinking of hades most of the time, awakes in an earthly paradise.

* * * * *

There is no sweeter sight in the world than to look out of your car window on the morning after a day in the dusty, dingy and dead Nevada, upon the fair hills of California, covered with the grandest of trees, greener than a Hoosier at the exposition, and weighted heavily with the diamonds of the dew, with flowers of new shape and form laughing one a welcome at every turn of the eye. Fuschia trees, not plants, covered the whole front of a two-story house. The yards in the village homes full of calla lilies in full bloom, and roses as large as a dinner plate. By and by the train stops at a wayside station, and suddenly comes the cry from the outside, "Strawberries, strawberries!" and then the fun commences. Grave and reverend seignors, whose throats are as dry as a council meeting, from yesterday's dust, unlimber and commence a race for the door. They fall over the drummer and the fat woman, and the woman with a baby in each arm, and the young married couple, and the old man who was never away from home before, and it takes several minutes to separate the masses of excited travelers, but all is fixed up at last, the blockade at the door is broken and the young strawberry merchant smileth a broad smile as his stock in trade is rapidly purchased at 15 cents a basket. Figs, prunes, apricots, and the other delicious fruits of this favored State are also for sale by the enterprising boys, and when the train moves off, with breakfast three hours ahead, the passengers are smiling and laughing and acting like a party of children at play, while all of the day before they sat and scowled at each other as if they were sure each person on the train save themselves, was a murderer of the very worst type. So much for the atmosphere and fruit and the glorious scenery of the Golden State. A man who can't forgive his enemies, and even smile at the mother of the crying babies, when he has a box of strawberries in his lap, some of which are over two inches in diameter, is a bad man at heart, and will end his days in the legislature if he isn't very careful.

* * * * *

And then the first California breakfast! We can taste it yet. The best appetizer in the world is a trip across Nevada, three Nevada meals, twelve hours of fighting fleas and alkali dust, a troubled night in a hot Pullman berth, and then three hours of journeying down the California hills the next morning, with the air as fragrant as a babe's breath, and the succeeding views all as fair as a maiden's earliest dream of love. The train stops; the porter cries out "breakfast," and before the echo dies away the car is empty and the dining room full. A big bowl of strawberries, that

only an hour before had been divorced from the vines, powdered sugar (not yaller), and cream; ye gods! think of it. Cream — real cream — from the cow, not from the condemned, condensed can. But cream thick as man's tongue when he tries to pop the question, and sweet as her voice when she answers "yes." To paraphrase Leight Hunt:

Say I'm weary, say I'm sad;
Say that health and wealth have missed me;
Say I'm growing old, but add:

Not "Jennie kissed me," but that I have eaten California strawberries the day after I wanted to die in Nevada.

* * * * *

And then there were biscuits as light as a good man's conscience, with butter which came from the churn, and not from the slaughterhouse. Fish, steak and venison, French fried potatoes, all done to a turn, hot cakes, with genuine maple syrup, to top off with, fifty minutes to eat in, and a whole day to doctor the aches and gripes that could not help but come after such a meal. But who wouldn't agree to go through a little suffering for such a royal feast. No one who has ever gone across Nevada the day before, to say the least. I think the reason most people fall in love with California is that they have to go through Nevada to get there, and then after such an experience are set down to the banquet I have just mentioned as soon as they get well across the line. I believe the State and the various boards of trade pay part of the expense of running that eating house, as a matter of business, for no man could furnish what I ate that morning for 75 cents, and keep out of the poor house very long.

What's Being Written

A Trace of Desert Waters: The Great Basin Story. By Samuel G. Houghton. (Glendale, California, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1976. 287 pp.; illustrations, map, index. $17.75)

THE MAJOR FOCUS of this study is the Great Basin and the supreme influence that water has exerted upon the area's geography, life and development. The author sweeps from geology and geography to archeology and agronomy and on to current affairs. But he always emphasizes that for many thousands of years water has been the physical basis, the real lifeblood, the prime factor in this vast land-locked expanse. "Restless water worrying the land, has left its marks. Supporting vegetation and wildlife, it has inevitably governed the distribution of human beings. It was deeply important to the aboriginese, to explorers and to those who followed — the fur traders, settlers, miners, railroad-builders and stockmen." (p. 11) Clearly any book which extends from the late Pleistocene epoch down to 1975 and touches on at least a dozen major disciplines is difficult to adequately summarize in a few paragraphs.

Mr. Houghton stresses that he has not attempted to provide a work of either "scholarly distinction" or "original research." He suggests that the study is neither a textbook nor a guidebook and that it does not probe earlier than 75,000 years ago or outside the some 220,000 square miles (including portions of six states) which comprise the Great Basin. Despite the disclaimers, however, *Desert Waters* is often scholarly and it does represent a careful observer's guide to the region. Information is accurate and exacting. For example, in discussing the shrubs within the Death Valley district, sagebrush, bitterbrush, rabbitbrush, thornbrush, brittlebrush, saltbrush, creosote brush, shadscale, hopsage, lupine, desert peach, pinyon, juniper, and many other forms of vegetation are noted and located according to dryness, salt content of the land, frost, and general soil and climactic conditions.

Desert Waters contains a score of fascinating historical incidents and brief technological accounts — from the formation and drainage of Lake Truckee thousands of years ago to the flooding of the Salton Sea in the twentieth century, and from the Mountain Meadow Massacre of 1857 to the near extinction of the pupfish in the 1970's. But the work is also of a general nature. In the some ten pages devoted to Lake Tahoe the author notes the area's geology over thousands of years as well as many of the scientific authorities who have investigated the lake. Early explorers and their trails, Indians and their crafts, forests and their use in Nevada

mines, railroads, highways, public parks, snow surveys, resort developments and the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency are all observed.

In short, Mr. Houghton has painted with a broad brush. And although scrupulously empirical, objective, and scientific one suspects that he was at heart a romantic.

> It seems probable that no one can be indifferent to the desert, for either they are enamored of it or they hate it. Even those who have the condition thrust upon them willy-nilly must come to an armed truce or be moved to an abiding love. For there is something absolute about the uncluttered space, the subtle colors, the truly deep and latent power of a vast and visible landscape. Should this macrocosm seem overwhelming — as indeed it does to some — there are always the miniatures at hand, the small living things to contemplate with their signs upon the carpet of sand, the minerals identifying a single rock, or the scent and habit of one persisting desert plant. For these forms the warm days and chilling nights are exactly what Nature has ordered and even man, when he is willing to adjust, can make this habitat his familiar home. Therein lies the opportunity for a most beguiling experience. For some it can be a complete fulfilment. (p. 251)

Desert Waters is handsomely produced with twenty-four illustrations and ten helpful maps and drawings. It also contains a forward, an extensive introductory chapter, footnotes, glossary, bibliography, and index.

WILBUR S. SHEPPERSON
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The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn. Letters from a Pioneer Judge: Observations and Travels, 1863–1866. Edited by John Nicolson. (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1974. xviii + 284 pages; illustrations, maps, bibliography, index, $8.50)

ON FEBRUARY 24, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill which created the Territory of Arizona and two and a half weeks later appointed Joseph Pratt Allyn as one of the associate justices of the territory's supreme court. The new judge was the son of a wealthy merchant of Hartford, Connecticut, and a close friend of Charles Dudley Warner, then editor of the Hartford *Evening News*. Allyn served for two years, 1864–1866, in his judicial assignment and as he did so he wrote for publication in the *News* a series of letters which Professor John Nicolson of Northern Arizona University has collected, edited, annotated and published in this book.

Arriving in Arizona early in 1864, the new judge was assigned to the western judicial district which at that time included southern Nevada. Since his duties were not demanding, he spent much time in travelling,

visiting the mines in the gulches and deserts, eluding hostile Apaches, admiring the beauty of the landscape, and writing in vigorous prose descriptive accounts of his experiences for readers of the Hartford newspaper.

Unquestionably, the publication of these letters is a major event in the historiography of territorial Arizona. No other book gives such a comprehensive eye-witness account of the first two years of the state's territoryhood. It is true that J. Ross Browne travelled through Arizona in 1864, but his route was confined to the southern part of the territory along the Gila and Santa Cruz rivers. Since mining was the principal economic activity, Allyn describes the placer mines in the vicinity of Prescott, the Mowry and Heintzelman silver mining operations in the southern desert and the diggings along the Colorado River. These accounts include descriptions of the crude technology of the era — the excavation of deep shafts to obtain the ore and the use of pans, rockers, *arrastras* and smelting furnaces to separate the rock from the metal. Judge Allyn describes the Indian situation, the hostility of the Apaches, the agriculture of the Pimas and the passivity of the Papagos. He briefly chronicles the transfer of the territorial capital from the first Fort Whipple to Prescott, the auction of the city lots and the first sessions of the supreme court and the legislature. Noteworthy are his succinct characterizations of a number of frontier figures such as King Woolsey, "brave as a lion, quick eyed as an Indian, and thirsting for revenge (p. 85)." In May of 1865, the judge took a steamboat ride on the Colorado and commented on the beauty of the scenery. In fact, not a little of the charm of the book lies in his colorful descriptions of the beauty of Arizona's mountains, canyons and deserts; memorable is his word-picture of San Xavier del Bac, "poised over the surrounding country like a thing of life (p. 173)."

The editor has carefully annotated the letters and supplied the reader with a biography of Joseph Pratt Allyn. The excellence of the annotation is matched by the publisher's mastery of the art of book-making.

ROBERT G. DUNBAR
Montana State University

Nevada Collections of Maps & Aerial Photographs. By Mary B. Ansari. (Reno: Camp Nevada Monograph Number 2, 1976. Pp. viii, 40. Introduction, index. $2.00)

THIS MONOGRAPH is a succinct, informative general summary of the maps available to a variety of users in Nevada. Some map sources have of course not been included, apparently due to failure of certain parties to return their questionnaires; the most conspicuous omissions are libraries in several rural counties. Only one of the nine branches of the Elko-Eureka-Lander county library system is listed (Beowawe); I would at least expect the main branch in Elko to have a significant map collection. In view of the limited local sources of maps available to users in the

outlying areas, it would have been worthwhile to contact selected non-responding sources of map collections in these areas whether by telephone or by a follow-up questionnaire to fill in the most apparent gaps.

One item which should have been included for established map *series* (e.g. USGS topographic maps) is whether or not (and if so, for what areas and series) the collection is complete. This would help the prospective user analyzing one area in detail to choose which collection would serve him best; in the case of USGS topographic maps he could then select the UNR Mackay School of Mines Library, whereas if he wanted 1:250,000 plastic relief maps for the Far Western U.S., he could utilize the UNR Geography map collection. Although listing all the map series separately for each collection would require considerably more space in the monograph, I would find it much more useful than simply listing the areas, topics, and total number of map sheets per collection (though these entries should not be eliminated). This is quite important when one has forty different sources of topographic map collections to choose from, all of them differing in quality and quantity.

One additional suggestion to make this volume of optimum use to the map user would be a section (perhaps an appendix) describing at least the more widely-used map series or types (e.g. USGS topographic 7½′ and 15′ series, city maps, county maps, BLM maps). For each series, information would be included regarding map scale, content (e.g., hydrography. landownership, or any other types of features included on the maps), areas of the state and its environs covered by the series, year(s) of publication, and what agencies or businesses sell the maps. Topographic map users in Reno would find it highly useful, for example, to know that they can purchase quadrangles for eastern California at certain local stationers or outdoor sports shops (listing of businesses might, however, be considered inappropriate in a professional monograph) whereas the Nevada Bureau of Mines only sells Nevada topographic maps (although the NBMG *is* the most complete source for Nevada). Users of primitive backcountry roads could likewise be informed of the value of county maps for their purpose. If this proposed section were expanded in detail it could be the subject of an additional monograph with very wide appeal to supplement Camp Nevada Monograph No. 2.

The author and publisher have done an excellent job of proofreading the manuscript. The only technical flaws I found involved pagination, colloquial use of English, or terminology which may confuse some readers.

This monograph represents a good starting point for persons who need to find sources of all types of maps available in Nevada. The general layout including the index will be very useful in directing a variety of map users toward appropriate sources of information. At the time of the next printing, however, I would like to see some additional detail as suggested above.

JOHN HOUGHTON
University of Nevada, Reno

Agriculture in the Development of the Far West. Edited by James H. Shideler. (Washington: The Agricultural History Society, 1975. Pp. ix, 316. $7.00)

THIS VOLUME consists of papers presented to A Symposium on Agriculture in the Development of the Far West, held at Davis, California in June of 1974. The papers presented covered a wide range of topics with only one really serious omission — that of water sources and their management. The editor's introduction points out that an important outcome of the Symposium was to direct attention to the necessity for research in the areas of land use planning, technology, food policies and the various interrelationships of agriculture and society.

Seven sessions covered the following general topics: Rural Society in the Far West, Industrialization of the Western Farm, Keeping the Records, Law and Governmental Policy, Immigrant Groups in Western Agriculture, Agriculture and the Western Environment, and Commodity Production and Trade. As with most symposia, the papers ranged in quality from the majority, which were clear, informative and entertaining, to a few, which were surpassingly dull.

The papers presented on rural society reflect a renewed interest on the part of historians in the ethics and values that have helped to shape American agriculture. A paper by Leonard J. Arrington and Dean May argues, for example, that the striking successes of the Mormons in the irrigation of arid lands for agriculture was due more to the religious orientation and social cohesiveness of Mormon society than it was to technological sophistication or economic motivation. Elvin Hatch's study of social stratification in a rural California town shows that from 1880–1920 religious values and religious identification were a significant part of social status in the town, but that from 1920–1960 secular values have become more dominant and profit began to overshadow all other values. Peter K. Simpson's sketches of the values of cattle industry society reveal a much more complex development than previously thought. Gerald Nash's comments on the session emphasize the importance of a critical element in agricultural history values. He points out that the values of agricultural communities are central to growth, to the acceptance and implementation of technology, to the role of farm associations, to federal and state agricultural policies and to production and marketing techniques. Moreover, historical rural values have not been exhaustively studied.

The session on the industrialization of the Western farm includes Reynold M. Wik's very interesting attack on the "beliefs that our rural colonial forefathers were men of inventive genius" and the related "myth" that "the American farmer on the Western frontier was a mechanical Houdini . . . in the vanguard of technological discovery." Wik claims that there is little evidence for either. The most creative farm inventions seem to have come from men not completely involved in farming and, further, that isolated frontier farmers made the smallest contributions to mechanical innovation. The farmer's genius was rather

for adapting the extant technology to meet new geographical and environmental conditions.

Researchers of Western agricultural history will find the contributions to the section entitled "Keeping the Records" most useful. It contains: a description of the F. Hal Higgins Library of Agricultural History collection at U.S., Davis, a description of the records available for the study of agriculture in Arizona, an essay delineating the range and scope of available federal records relevant to the study of agricultural history and a brief description of the holdings of the four regional Federal Archives and Records Centers. This last paper is of special note to those persons interested in Nevada history. It indicates the nature and extent of the records available and mentions several specific and voluminous cases referring to Nevada.

In his comment on the papers presented at the session on law and government policy, Earl Pomeroy has a remarkable and succinct summary skillfully drawing together threads from detailed and what first appear to be entirely disparate papers. Harry N. Scheiver and Charles W. McCurdy examined the development of Western resource law and the extent to which it was affected by traditions of property law from the Eastern states. They found that legal decisions in the West followed a historically continuous tradition in American property law, even though Western judges claimed great innovation. Dov M. Grunschlag examined the details of the adjudicative procedures involved in the administration and implementation of government policies regarding agricultural production. Pomeroy asks (a) to what extent Western judges had access to Eastern precedent and (b) what were the thoughts and attitudes of the authorities who passed the laws and administrative procedures in federal programs? In other words, having examined "what happened?" it is now time to move on to the information, motives and attitudes of those who acted.

Perhaps the most interesting papers were presented to the session on Immigrant Groups in Western Agriculture. Worth special mention is Walter J. Stein's paper on the "Okies" as farm laborers, which gives insight into the conditions faced by these migrants, and also uses findings from other social sciences to help explain how the life patterns developed by migrant laborers trapped its participants by creating a state of mind from which it was difficult to escape, even with the existence of opportunities. Rodman Paul's comments regarding this session are also quite valuable for the study of rural agricultural society. For example, he points out not only that California agriculture has been particularly marked by diversity at any one time in its history, but also that no one pattern of diversities has been maintained for any great length of time. The history of California agriculture has been a diversity of diversities.

The session on Agriculture and the Western Environment produced a number of papers on a wide variety of topics. Kenneth Thompson's study of the sharp changes of the way in which the environment of the Sacramento valley was viewed will give every reader pause before calling

any land "wasteland." Likewise, Harold K. Steen's history of forest service stock-reduction policies may also give heart to Nevada's environmentalists because it shows substantial long-term successes in environmental management in the face of strong and well-organized opposition.

John G. Staiger, Senior Vice-President of Massey-Ferguson, acted as chairman of the session on Commodity Production and Trade. His remarks included this statement, which concisely explains the growing importance of Western agriculture in the world:

> Food is not merely an economic issue or a humanitarian cause than [*sic*] can be left to agricultural ministers and technicians to work out. It is a foundation on which relations among nations will rest. It is, whether currently recognized or not, one of the major bases for future foreign policies of the world's nations. And it will continue to be until world population growth can be brought to zero. (p. 249)

And perhaps far beyond that.

Mr. Bill Pickens' comments on the session pointed out that all of the contributions to the Commodity Production and Trade session stressed the distinctive features of farming on the Pacific slope: commercial orientation, diversification, specialization and ability to organize. All dealt with economic reasons why developments took the courses that they did. Summing up, Mr. Pickens called for more imaginative treatment by agricultural historians. He asked them to go beyond the question "Why did things happen this way?" and explore why other possible alternatives were not chosen.

Overall, the papers and addresses to the Symposium show the diversity and interests of agricultural history and its relevance to American and world history. This may seem a trite observation, but as our nation enters the last quarter of the century it is becoming increasingly likely that agriculture, and particularly Western agriculture, will be incomparably more important to the world of the twenty-first century than it has been at any time in the previous three centuries.

S. L. Locicero
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An Army Wife on the Frontier: The Memoirs of Alice Blackwood Baldwin, 1867–1877. Edited and with an introduction by Robert C. And Eleanor R. Carriker. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Tanner Trust Fund, 1975. 118 pp. $8.00)

Emma Lee. By Juanita Brooks. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1975. 113 pp.)

Sharlot Hall on the Arizona Strip: A Diary of a Journey Through Northern Arizona in 1911. Edited and with an introduction by C. Gregory Crampton. (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1975. viii + 97 pp. $7.50)

A CENTURY AGO, William W. Fowler published a soaring bit of Victorian prose called *Woman on the American Frontier* in which he hoped to "allow woman her share of the honor" in what he called "the grandest achievement of humanity," the movement of the American people across the continent. "Standing beside her rougher, stronger companion — man," wrote Fowler, the woman of the West was the unsung hero, the ever-suffering, ever-devoted great mother whose loving support of her husband and sons made it possible for them to build a civilized nation from the parts of a savage but noble wilderness. Since Fowler's flighty canonization of frontier women, others such as Dee Brown (*The Gentle Tamers,* 1958) and June Sochen (*Herstory,* 1974) have made dissimilar attempts to cast the American female in a more prominent role in western history. But perhaps the most useful tools for working in the relatively unspaded garden of women's history are the lives of individual women themselves, whose graphically real sufferings and devotions in such a place as the American Southwest are meaningfully effective indicators of their collective place in history.

Three recent books, dealing with three very different women and their experiences in the Southwest, have added considerably to the growing body of literature on the American woman and her past. Each leaves the reader with a feeling of having studied the clichéd "remarkable woman," and yet all three contain enough human elements to bring the main characters to earth, and to suggest that there were others cut from the same cloth whose perceptions and experiences would shed equal light upon western history had their lives become subjects of similar volumes. And in this respect they are then not only interesting but significant as well.

Number six in the University of Utah Tanner Trust Fund series on "Utah, the Mormons, and the West" is the ten-year memoir of Alice Blackwood Baldwin, who in 1867 at the age of twenty-two married Frank Baldwin, a career Army officer. For the next two years she traveled with him to various posts in Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico. Her experiences during these arduous months on the edge of the frontier she carefully recorded in memoirs that were first published in 1929. She also detailed her experiences on the upper Missouri in 1877 after passing lightly over seven years during which she stayed home in Michigan. Drawing from the materials in the Frank D. Baldwin Collection at the Huntington Library, Robert and Eleanor Carriker have edited the memoirs for the present publication, providing maps, illustrations, and explanatory footnotes as well as an introduction that finishes Alice Baldwin's life story. *Army Wife on the Frontier* is best of all readable, but in addition lends itself well to any attempt at contemplating the realities of

army life in the post-Civil War West. Mrs. Baldwin's sense of humor and sparkling style provide a pleasant counterpoint to the hardship and vicissitude that seem otherwise to characterize her reminiscence. Her clear descriptions and colorful sense of adventure make the book more fun and even more elucidative of the interesting mixture of western and women's history.

Emma Batchelor Lee came to the Southwest during the last half of the nineteenth century under very different conditions than did Alice Baldwin. Converted to Mormonism in England, she came West as a young girl in a handcart company. In Salt Lake City she met and married John D. Lee, polygamist leader in southern Utah and later an ill-fated participant in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Juanita Brooks, a member of the Lee family as well as a venerated historian, has compiled this book apparently and unfortunately as an afterthought to her controversial account of the massacre and a well-received biography of Lee. Emma's life as one of Lee's wives through her first years in the Great Basin and finally as his most faithful companion through the years of his exile has all the elements of a forceful and meaningful study of the Mormon experience in the Southwest. As handled by Brooks, however, it suffers seriously from inadequate research and too much literary license to be of much use to the serious student. Its major source is the John D. Lee diary, which has been published by the Huntington Library, and the book reads like a rehash of the Brooks John D. Lee biography with an emphasis on Emma. For the rest, the author has resorted to historical fiction, inventing conversations and fabricating incidents to flesh out the story. In contrast to Alice Baldwin, Emma Lee left no memoirs or diary, and the book suffers much as a consequence. Nevertheless, the images that come through are poignant and direct — her loyalty to Lee through his difficulties, months alone as caretaker of Lee's Ferry on the Colorado, giving birth unassisted in a squat cabin, tricking nefarious Indians with bravado and a smile, and the last years after Lee's execution and her remarriage as she served as "Grandma Doctor French," the mid-wife of Winslow, Arizona. Despite its shortcomings, which includes a weak job of editing for typographical and grammatical errors by Utah State University Press, *Emma Lee* is a worthwhile contribution to history if only for its emphasis and theme.

For Sharlot Mabridth Hall, the Southwest was not a place to endure, as it had been for Alice Baldwin, nor merely a place in which to live, as it had been for Emma Lee. It was rather a place to love. Born in Kansas in 1870, she moved as a child to Prescott, Arizona, where she quickly developed both literary skills and an attachment to the "cactus and pine" of northern Arizona. She wrote numerous poems, among them one called "Out West" that inspired the creation of her own literary magazine of the same name. During the years of its publication under her editorship (1901–09), *Out West* published over forty of Sharlot Hall's works on the environment and history of Arizona. In 1909 she became territorial historian, and two years later undertook an extensive wagon trip through the little

known region north of the Colorado known as the Arizona Strip in order to complete her self-appointed task of becoming familiar with the historic sites of Arizona Territory. Her report of this journey, recorded in a detailed diary, provides the bulk of *Sharlot Hall on the Arizona Strip,* capably edited and introduced by C. Gregory Crampton, whose own well-known love for the strip and its inhabitants is possibly exceeded only by the diarist's itself. Hall was anxious to relay her feelings about "Arizona's Unknown Treasure Land" so that in the coming development of the new state, the area surrounding the Grand Canyon would not be divorced from progress and from the control of the Arizona establishment to the south. Her diary is quite simply a polemic, full of vivid descriptions of the beautiful desolation and rugged tranquility of the land she saw on a great circle journey by wagon from Flagstaff and Kingman on the south to Lee's Ferry and Zion's Canyon on the north. But in addition, her accounts of the people — the Indians, the Mormons, and the sandwash cowboys and sheepmen — make the diary and the feeling for the West it creates an invaluable portrait of the Southwest as it once was.

GENE A. SESSIONS
Weber State College

Eminent Women of the West. By Elinor Richey. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1975. Photos, bibliography, index)

EMINENT WOMEN OF THE WEST is a collection of short biographies of nine women who achieved distinction in a variety of endeavors. Richey writes well and with spirit, making this a pleasant book for the intelligent reader of light modern nonfiction. The author makes only a slight bow to scholarly style in appending a bibliography that includes the usual types of documentation; however, there are no footnotes and few internal citations, making the bibliography less useful than it might have been.

The thesis of the work, set forth in a short introduction (but not further expanded), is that post-pioneer Western society had a special effect on females of the second or third generation after the Gold Rush or Plains Crossing, making birth or young womanhood in the region a factor in later cultural superiority and accomplishment. Thus the same general milieu that caused Jeannette Rankin and Abigail Scott Duniway to lead the woman suffrage movement (Richey erroneously calls them "suffragettes") moved other women to innovative development in different fields: Gertrude Atherton and Gertrude Stein in literature, Isadora Duncan in modern dance, Imogen Cunningham in photography, Florence Sabin in medical science, and Julia Morgan in architecture. The nod-to-ethnicity inclusion of Sarah Winnemucca, a Nevada Paiute who became an ardent campigner for Indian rights, bends the thesis, however, for if Richey's theory held up, Indian women should have been able to have

had a much greater impact on the Indian cultural developments than actually was the case.

Despite this small defect of philosophy, the book shows fairly wide research, and the point is not unduly stretched. Richey makes the now-usual claims of history's neglect of women's accomplishments, although the bibliography shows that eight of the women portrayed have biographies or autobiographies (Duncan had both), while all have numerous magazine and journal accounts to remind posterity of their worthiness. Moreover, all of the women could claim distinction, not merely as females, but as contributors in their fields. A good reader will discern that, and perhaps go on to read some of the books and articles from which the volume is derived.

MARY ELLEN GLASS
University of Nevada, Reno

Western Words: A Dictionary of the American West. By Ramon F. Adams. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968; second printing, 1974. Pp. xviii, 355. $4.95)

GREEN HAND, *dabster hand, drop band,* and *flash in the pan.* Strange enough words, even to a Westerner. But a rancher, a miner, a sheepherder and a logger would recognize at least one of these phrases. People sometimes think of words as having a regional character only in isolated cases, or as archaisms. Ramon Adams reminds us again that many words have a regional usage, and often are restricted to particular occupations within that region.

This book is a second printing of a revised edition, which in turn was an enlargement of Adams' earlier book, *Western Words: A Dictionary of the Range, Cow Camp, and Trail,* first published in 1944. The earlier book was restricted to the language of the cowpuncher and rancher. The new work includes words used by sheep growers, farmers, loggers, miners, and sawmill workers. In a sense, this is a new book with some repetitions rather than a revised older book. The charm of the volume lies in the words and phrases and, most importantly, the quotes recorded by Adams in the course of his fieldwork.

As might be expected, a strong Spanish influence is noted early on. When cowpunchers adopted the methods and working gear of the vaquero, they adopted also the lexicon. A page selected nearly at random yields *mangana,* "a throw of the lasso (itself a Portuguese word) which catches the animal by the forefeet;" other words on the page include *mansador, mansito, manta, mantanza,* and *mantilla.* The last word, meaning "shawl," has widespread usage in the United States, but is included in the dictionary because its first currency was in the Southwest.

A number of words and phrases appear to be standard vocabulary, but their definitions show them to have specialized usage. For example, a *ground hog* may be a logger who works on the ground or a small truck which pushes cars up a slope in mining. The penchant for tongue-in-cheek euphemisms is rampant. A *mountain lamb* is a deer killed out of season, *prairie oysters* are the roasted testicles of a bull. Dysphemisms were regularly used to denigrate people and things that rough-living miners, loggers, and ranchers held in low esteem. Preachers are *sin twisters, sin busters,* or *fire escapes*. A tenderfoot might be a *green hand* or a *Monkey Wards cowboy.*

The finest aspect of the book is Adams' ability to capture the flavor of phrasing and the westerner's genius for exaggeration. In the following examples, the ordinary person would be content to use the unitalicized words, but the cowman wants more strength and adds words such as the italicized: "so drunk he couldn't hit the ground with his hat *in three throws,*" "raised hell *and put a chunk under it,*" and "his tongue hanging out a foot *and forty inches.*" While he holds the greatest respect for womanhood, the cowhand can be pithy when describing a woman's lack of beauty: "she ain't nothing for a drinking man to look at," "she was uglier than a Mexican sheep." Nor does the miner spare exaggeration: "I was busier than a one-legged midget in an ass-kicking contest."

No dictionary will satisfy every wordmonger, particularly those reared in the west. Adams' definition of *keno* would not satisfy a Nevadan. His explanation of *gringo* would be incomplete to any Texan. And defining a *ketch colt* as a horse born on open range leaves out a favorite Montana way of referring to a child born out of wedlock. *Justins* are called a favorite brand of boot, which is true enough, but no mention is made of *Fryes* or *Acmes*. A more serious drawback to the book is the lack of a pronunciation guide and, still more seriously, the paucity of etymologies. But to dwell too long on these pitfalls is to unnecessarily bludgeon an otherwise delightful book, one which belongs in every westerner's library.

Besides, the price can't be beat.

THOMAS L. CLARK
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Eye-Witnesses to Wagon Trains West. Edited by James Hewitt. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973. 178 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, index, $7.95)

THIS SLIM VOLUME is a collection of frontier travel narratives spanning the decade of the 1840s. It is based on a variety of sources: diaries, journals, newspapers, travel guides, and published biographies and memoirs. Sections of the book are devoted to the overland journeys of

the Bidwell party (1841), emigrants to Oregon (1843), Donner party (1846), Mormons (1846–1847), and California gold rushers (1848–1849).

No new factual information appears in the first three sections; moreover, the editor's conclusions are not very original. The last two sections of the book about the Mormons and the Forty-niners, however, are better. Hewitt does not accept the "This is the place" myth, and describes the roles of Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow in helping Brigham Young decide on the Salt Lake Valley as the permanent earthly home of the Latter-day Saints. The editor also stresses the cordial economic and social relations between the Saints and the Gentiles in Salt Lake City in 1849, and mentions how Nevada's Indians along the Humboldt River took advantage of wagon trains as convenient sources of livestock and other food.

Eye-Witnesses to Wagon Trains West was published simultaneously in the United States and Canada, and printed in Great Britain. Its editor, James Hewitt, is a Briton. Throughout the book, the British system of orthography is employed (e.g., "centre," "honourable," etc.). Serious typographical errors appear, including the name of Theodore Hittell (page 3) and the Mormon city of Nauvoo (page 122). Sam Brannan's name is misspelled twice as "Brennan," and leads to the conclusion that the editor does not know the correct spelling.

In addition, stylistic problems arise. For example, Hewitt states that land could be purchased in early Utah for five shillings an acre (page 134). It may seem ethnocentric or even downright provincial to ask, but how much is that in good old American money? Hewitt does not say.

Finally, in this day of tight budgets and expensive books, a question must be posed about any book's relative value. In view of the publisher's list price for Hewitt's book, it would seem most likely that wise readers will choose to purchase western history anthologies *other* than *Eye-Witnesses to Wagon Trains West*.

LOREN B. CHAN
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Indian Land Tenure: Bibliographical Essays and a Guide to the Literature. By Imre Sutton. (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, Inc. xiii, 290 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $10.00)

WITH NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY being currently in vogue, the result has been an avalanche of published material that threatens to engulf those who have an interest in the topic and desire to remain abreast of the literature. This availability of large amounts of new material, although desperately needed, added additional confusion to a field where bibliographic efforts have been primitive at best. What the study of Native

American history needs is the thesis oriented compiler who attempts to assemble, clarify, evaluate, and create some sort of bibliographic order to the literature around certain critical questions, if that is possible. After an examination of this book, the orientation of the study, and the methodology utilized to compile and organize the data, it would seem that Sutton is the first of a much needed breed of Native American bibliographers.

His perception that "land continues to be the crux of the conflict between Indians and whites in this country" is not that original — historians have recognized this for some time, but his approach to this central theme is invaluable and the resulting monograph is worthy of highest praise. What Sutton has done is to develop a working bibliography that "goes beyond classification of the literature by relevant topic, tribe, or place" in order "to provide a structure . . . that may facilitate research in Indian land tenure."

The paradigm of the entire study is the typology through which the author seeks "to demonstrate to the relatively uninitiated that Indian land does not stand isolated from the entire national environment, nor do our institutions governing Indian land form a microcosm insulated from our society." Instead, "the themes, processes, and events that comprise the subject matter of Indian land tenure relate to several time periods, differing environments, and varying institutions" while comprising a chronicle of "contact, confrontation, and interaction of two markedly different culture systems."

Basically this typology is composed of three sets representing man-land relationships over time. These are aboriginal occupancy and territoriality with reference to "aboriginal distributions with respect to how Indian culture perceived space as sociopolitical territory belonging to a given people who were sustaining within it in ecological terms"; land cessions and establishment of reservations which chronicle the methods and procedures by which aboriginal landownership was eliminated; and land administration and land utilization as the government sought ways and means to manage and develop former Indian lands.

Since these sets are inter-locking, sub-sets are created. Aboriginal title and land claims were concerned with the legality of the seizure of Indian lands and tribal relocation on reservations. Out of this came title clarification and change as adjustments were made for the fraudulent dealings of whites with Indians over land. A natural consequence of this was tenure and jurisdiction as tribes, realizing their rights, struggled to achieve additional modifications in laws and treaties affecting their former lands. And, finally, in land tenure and cultural change, an examination of what resulted to the Indian and his culture as a result of what had preceded.

Using this framework and the disciplines of history, anthropology, law, public administration, economics, geography, and ethnohistory, Sutton provides well developed bibliographical essays on each of the sets and sub-sets. Representative chapter titles include "Indian Land Tenure — The Structure and Content of the Literature" and "Land Administration and Utilization." Subject, tribal, and author indexes make the material

readily available from a variety of approaches. And lastly the bibliography is exhausting and invaluable because of its seeming completeness on the subject.

Sutton's contribution is certainly a pioneering effort in many ways. Not only does it isolate "what is perhaps the critical issue in Indian-white relations and the basis of the physical and cultural existence of many tribes," but he has introduced an excellent organizational scheme which offers a possible course through a vast amount of literature. Hopefully, this approach will be utilized in treating other areas of study within the disciplines drawn upon for this monograph. Although as Wilcomb E. Washburn points out correctly in the foreward, bibliographic work is not the most glamorous or the best rewarded; to the student, however, and, in this case, to the professional, it is often the most valuable. It is hoped that this initial trail blazed by Sutton will not be allowed to grow dim, but rather that it will be widened by those who follow, for Indian historiography will certainly be improved by similar efforts.

H. GLENN JORDAN
University of Oklahoma

God is Red. By Vine Deloria, Jr. (New York, Dell Publishing Co., 1973. $2.95)

IN RECENT YEARS the quantitative study of various minority groups has become fashionable. Any number of anthologies have appeared on the market pertaining to Blacks, Chicanos, Asian-Americans and Native-Americans. Most normal people will stipulate that injustices have been rendered and inequities yet exist. When pressured to identify these and analyze some of the causes we find an almost universal lack of understanding. For this reason it becomes more and more difficult to remedy prevailing circumstances. The plight of the Native American is not new. It probably began with the coming of Columbus and has gone on uninterrupted till this day.

Vine Deloria has written a very subjective, impressionistic account of Native Americans. It is not the usual run-of-the-mill rendition on the subject that we generally find. *God Is Red* is the first book I have read which attempts to bring about a conciliation between the traditional culture of the Native American and that of Anglo-America. Deloria makes it clear that a large portion of the existing problem lies in the fact that the Anglo insists on perceiving the Native-American in terms of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries and simultaneously demands that he adapt himself to the present. He sees the Native-American as yet residing in teepees and constantly saying "hoka hay" to any and everyone who will listen. He is romanticized and is given the burden of his "Indianness". He is reminded that he is tough and courageous. He has the eyes of an eagle, the sixth sense of a deer, the

ability to stalk like a cougar and the ferocity of a grizzly. With these qualities he can survive where an ordinary person cannot. He can live without a source of water and make grain grow where even creosote has retreated.

Deloria describes events of the Red Power movement which have served as catalysts in bringing the current problems of the Native American to the attention of the general public. The take-overs that occurred were partially induced by religion. Alcatraz was to become a religious center and Blue Lake had been a ceremonial place. These occurrences were brought about, to some extent, by the numerous abuses suffered at the hands of whites. Deloria lists these abuses and points out how over the years they have brought a confrontation between the two groups closer and closer.

Deloria spends some time discussing the fact that there has been very little publication of the writings of Native Americans about Native Americans. This has historically been the domain of the non-Indian. Consequently we have a partially mythological, substantially inaccurate, highly romanticized and generally wild western portrayal. "Americans simply refuse to give up their longstanding conceptions of what an Indian is. It is this fact more than any other that today inhibits solutions of the Indians' problems and projects the impossibility of their solution in the near future."

Deloria's perception of the conflict of Christian teachings and the Indians' cosmic view is very clearly stated. His suggestion that these very basic differences form a point of departure in terms of the Indian-Anglo view of the world and the role of man in that world is quite insightful. The differences in their views of life and death is significant. The Christian places great emphasis on a life after death. With the Indian "immortality is secondary to integrity of tribal existence in the present." "Western peoples have become accustomed to thinking of religous activity as involving a radical change of human personality. . . . In contrast to this attitude, the Indian tribal religions do not necessarily involve any significant change in human personality but encompass within the tribal cultural context many of the behavioral patterns spoken about by Christians." Deloria sees Christianity as being in a state of chaos, not only because of its failure to bring about good will and peace on earth, but most of all because the followers realize this failure. He feels that this has not been the case with Indian religion. Christianity, he states, has been defined by a culture while Indian culture has been defined by its religion.

Deloria's appraisal of the attempt to force Christianity on the Native American is commendable. In order to effect the transition it became necessary for the Christian to devalue the religion of the Indian. He has attempted to do this by defacing and disrupting Indian sacred places.

The author is at his best in chapter fifteen. The European's "discovery" of America and the missionaries being given a fertile field in which to work was quite a boon to Christianity. The indigenous people were declared heathens and for the next four and one-half centuries they would supply the missionaries a sufficient number of possible converts.

Deloria has produced a worthy treatment of an ignored chapter of American history. He not only has pointed out the numerous shortcomings in the relationship existing between Indians and whites but he has also offered some solutions. *God Is Red* is an important contribution to the study of the American Indian. It deserves attention not only from students of Native American Studies, but also from anthropologists, historians, teachers at all levels, and all others who wish to discover what makes the modern Native American tick.

ROOSEVELT FITZGERALD
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Artists of the Old West. By John C. Ewers, enlarged ed. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1973; 240 pages; illustrations; acknowledgments; bibliography; $22.50).

Maynard Dixon: Artist of the West. By Wesley M. Burnside (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974; xvi + 237 pages; illustrations; appendices; notes; bibliography; index; $28.95).

ONE OF THE SADDEST developments of the twentieth century is the notion that art, along with poetry and other forms of creative expression, is unmasculine. Since the days of Charlie Russell, many a painter of western scenes prefers the label "cowboy artist." Lest anyone question his *macho* credentials, he stomps about his studio with a ten-gallon hat, kerchief, chaps, boots, spurs, a chaw of tobacco, and a suitably salty vocabulary.

How odd all this would have seemed to the nineteenth century artists discussed in John C. Ewers' *Artists of the Old West*. Many of them were genuine frontiersmen — explorers, traders, soldiers, and ranchmen. One of them, Richard H. Kern, was killed by Indians. For the most part, they depicted the West as they saw it, with a minimum of romanticizing and with no apparent embarrassment over their calling as artists.

The Ewers volume (an enlarged version of his 1965 edition) presents a wide variety of artists in the West: those who were associated with the federal expeditions (Charles Willson Peale and his son Titian Ramsay Peale, Samuel Seymour, Edward M. and Richard H. Kern, and Gustavus Sohon); portrayers of the faces, figures, wars, and cultures of the Indians (Charles B.J.F. de Saint-Mémin, Charles Bird King, John Neagle, Peter Rindisbacher, George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, Rudolph Friederich Kurz, Theodore R. Davis, and Frederic Remington); genre painters (Alfred Jacob Miller, George Caleb Bingham, Charles Nahl, and Charles M. Russell); and landscapists (Thomas A. Ayers, Albert Bierstadt, and Thomas Moran). Their works ranged from pencil sketches to immense

canvases. Although they varied considerably in ability and output, collectively they performed a great service in allowing their own and later generations to learn much about the West of the nineteenth century.

Of the artists treated in the Ewers book, Russell's career is most similar to that of the subject of Wesley M. Vurnside's admirable volume. Maynard Dixon and Russell — unlike the remainder of Ewers' western artists, most of whom traveled or resided in the West only briefly — were born and raised west of the Mississippi, spent most of their adult lives in the West, and were western artists first, last, and always. Both, like the majority of their nineteenth century predecessors, had virtually no formal training in art. Both were men of the twentieth century who recreated a West that was disappearing or gone altogether.

Although the two books are handsomely produced and packed with color plates, neither are mere "coffee table" volumes. Burnside's study in particular commands respect as a product of original research, clear writing, and sound judgments. The author's introduction includes a useful overview of painting int he West which helps to put Dixon in perspective. The value of Ewers book lies largely in the convenient and succinct accounts of the artists' work with western themes.

MICHAEL J. BRODHEAD
University of Nevada, Reno

One Hundred Million Acres. By Kirke Kickingbird and Karen Ducheneaux, with a Foreword by Vine Deloria, Jr. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973; 240 pages, index; $6.95).

LAND HAS ALWAYS BEEN the primary source of Indian-white conflict in this country. It has at the same time provided the very essence of tribal existence. The future of today's Native American tribes depends on their ability to effectively utilize and control their own land. The Indian authors of this volume have skillfully untangled the complicated legal history of native land policy. In doing so, they have exposed the fraudulence and deception which has characterized federal supervision from the beginning. Their purpose is to outline an alternative program for the future. Key to their proposal is the establishment of a permanent and unalienable native land base of one hundred million acres.

Kirke Kickingbird, a Kiowa, is a lawyer with the Institute for the Development of Indian Law, and Karen Ducheneaux, the daughter of the former tribal chairman of the Cheyenne River Sioux, is a staff writer for the American Indian Press Association in Washington, D.C. In support of their case, these two former Bureau of Indian Affairs employees have produced the most perceptive analysis ever written on the social, economic, and legal status of native lands in America. Their evidence reveals the various quasi-legal tactics used by the federal government to

erode the Indian land base. It shows how Native Americans have been victimized by treaties, reservation and land allotment policies, and the doctrine of discovery. Tribes continue to suffer as a result of the conflict of interest which exists within the Department of the Interior between the BIA and various other land and water agencies. The federal government still maintains dictatorial powers over tribal lands and continues to support white interests in the exploitation of native resources. The list of broken treaties, faulty boundary settlements, bureaucratic bunglings, deliverate deceptions, and land confiscations is endless. The authors provide specific examples by showing how the Flathead, Warm Springs, Crow, Norethern Cheyenne, and other reservations have been cheated as a result of these practices. They also demonstrate how the Menominees, Klamaths, Utes, and Ourays were dispossessed by the infamous "termination policy" of the 1950's. Native land problems in Alaska are also discussed.

How are these problems to be avoided in the future? Kickingbird and Ducheneaux make a very cogent argument for the implementation of fifteen specific measures which would permit Native Americans to own and control their own lands. Included in this plan are proposals to "terminate" the government's trustee status over native lands, to exempt this land from all forms of taxation, and to allow tribes to control the use and sale of all their land and natural resources. Most importantly, the authors propose the return to native control of all reservation lands which the federal government has classified as administrative, submarginal, or surplus lands and which have thus been withdrawn from tribal control. They also ask for the restoration of lands to all terminated and non-federal tribes throught the establishment of a special land purchase fund. The recovery of these lands, when added to existing reservations and the large tract provided by the Alaska Native Land Settlement Act would permit the establishment of a one hundred million acre native land base, which would be roughly the equivalent of the amount of land under Indian control prior to the implementation of the Dawes Act of 1887.

This volume challenges the federal government to make good on its promises of self-determination. The authors have also served notice to the vested interests who control Indian affairs in this nation that a more informed and articulate native voice has arrived on the scene. Kickingbird and Ducheneaux and their supporters in the American Indian Movement have made it clear that the abuses of the past will not be tolerated. But their proposals should not be considered militant or immoderate. They are not demanding reparations or a large section of the country in which to establish a separate state. They ask merely for the return of land which the federal governments own legal system recognizes as rightfully theirs.

One Hundred Million Acres should be required reading for every tribal official and BIA bureaucrat, as well as the many people who make their living from native lands. It should also be read by all who claim an interest in contemporary Indian affairs, and especially by those of the general

public who have been convinced by Dee Brown and others that native problems ended around 1890. A new Native American consciousness on the part of all Americans is important, because, as Vine Deloria Jr. writes in the Foreword: "What happens to Indian lands and Indian rights is simply a microcosm of what is happening to the whole of American society, indeed the world. . . . Perhaps with this book we can urge the reading public to undertake a serious examination of the status of American Indians today."

MICHAEL L. LAWSON
The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque

What's Going On

FIELD TRIP RETRACES THE VIRGINIA & TRUCKEE RAILROAD

On Saturday, June 5th, some seventy-six vehicles and approximately 240 rail fans attended a retracing of the V&T right-of-way from Carson City up to the old bonanza camp of Virginia City. This highly successful trip included visits to important milling plants along the Carson River, as well as stops at American Flat, Virginia City Freight Depot and ended with a look at the new V&T shops. Rail buffs from a number of states participated, including Stephen E. Drew, of Oakland, Marshall Humphreys from the Nevada State Park System, Jan Benson of the Carson City Railroad Association, and Robert Gray of the reborn V&T. The trip concluded with a dance given at the Gold Hill Depot by E Clampus Vitus and the Carson City Railroad Association. The trip was organized and led by Richard Datin, head of the Society's new Field Service Program.

A VISIT TO OLD IVANPAH

In conjunction with the Southern Nevada Historical Society, our Field Services Program organized and led a trip on May 1st to the mining camp of Ivanpah, just over the California line and about fifty miles south of Las Vegas. Attendees drove to the site and then spent several hours on a guided tour of the mills and old townsite. Recent increases in the price of silver have caused mining companies to relocate several of the silver properties in the region.

A NEW SLIDE/SOUND PROGRAM

One of Field Services Officer Datin's first projects for the Society was the preparation of a new slide program tracing the history of the Virginia & Truckee Railroad. This fifteen minute presentation includes dozens of photographs of the famous bonanza line during its inception, construction and years of service. It has been the most popular program ever offered by the Society. In the past three months, over thirty-six presentations have been made to groups ranging from YWCA Summer Camps to Railroad History organizations. It is especially appropriate for 1976, a year in which the V&T has again begun to operate after a lapse of over twenty years.

SOUTHERN NEVADA GUIDEBOOK

It is a long-awaited pleasure to be able to announce that copies of Maryellen V. Sadovich's *Your Guide to Southern Nevada* are now on the market. The volume fills a need for tourists and residents of southern Nevada alike. It provides a series of day trips to historic sites within a few hours drive from Las Vegas. The directions are clearly marked and the photographs and maps helpful to those taking the interesting trips. Mrs. Sadovich is a member of the Society's Board of Trustees and a graduate of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

INDEX TO THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS

Mr. Eric Moody, who has been under contract to the Society for the past two years, has just completed a manuscript indexing the various publications of the Society from its inception in 1904 to 1972. These publications range from the Reports, Papers, and occasional materials, to the *Quarterly* which has been published regularly since 1957. It now goes to the printer and will hopefully be completed by January, 1977.

NINETEENTH CENTURY EXHIBITS

The Curator of Exhibits, Phillip Earl, is beginning to clear the center of our museum area for a new exhibit sequence devoted to Nevada in the 19th century. This is the second in our three-phase renovation of the museum. It is supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities and will depict the early explorations of the Great Basin, the mining frontier, ranching, economics and social history of the period. It is scheduled for completion in October.

COOPERATION WITH THE NEVADA ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY

In the past three months, Society staff have conducted historic surveys for salvage projects in areas widely scattered over the state. One project was in conjunction with the expansion of the Genoa State Park; a major study was done in the Lovelock area which will be demolished by extension of Interstate 80 through the old section of that community; a survey was made of a route selected for a new power line in Ruth; and other studies have included historic sites in Reno, Sparks and Washoe Valley.

FIRE ALARM SYSTEM

Through a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Society has just completed an automatic fire alarm system with an inter-locking communications link with the Reno Fire Department. The system immediately alerts the Fire Department to any sudden rise in temperatures in both the museum, archives and rare books room.

HISTO-SHARE PROJECT BECOMES PROFITABLE FOR NHS, TOO.

The Histo-share project was inaugurated by the NHS two years ago as an experiment in placing manuscript collections on loan to area libraries throughout the state. Since then, a number of people unable to travel to Reno have taken advantage of the opportunity and shipments have been made regularly, mostly, as expected, to the southern region of Nevada. One member of the Society, Mrs. Irene J. Brennan, has not only borrowed several collections for her research and writing, but she has made the large contribution of producing typescript copies of no less than thirty pioneer diaries, and has placed copies of her labors with the Society. Her efforts will doubtless be appreciated by future patrons who would normally hesitate to suffer the agonies of reading through unfamiliar and sometimes illegible handwritings. Mrs. Brennan, a Boulder City resident, has had many feature articles published in southern Nevada newspapers.

Western Nevada

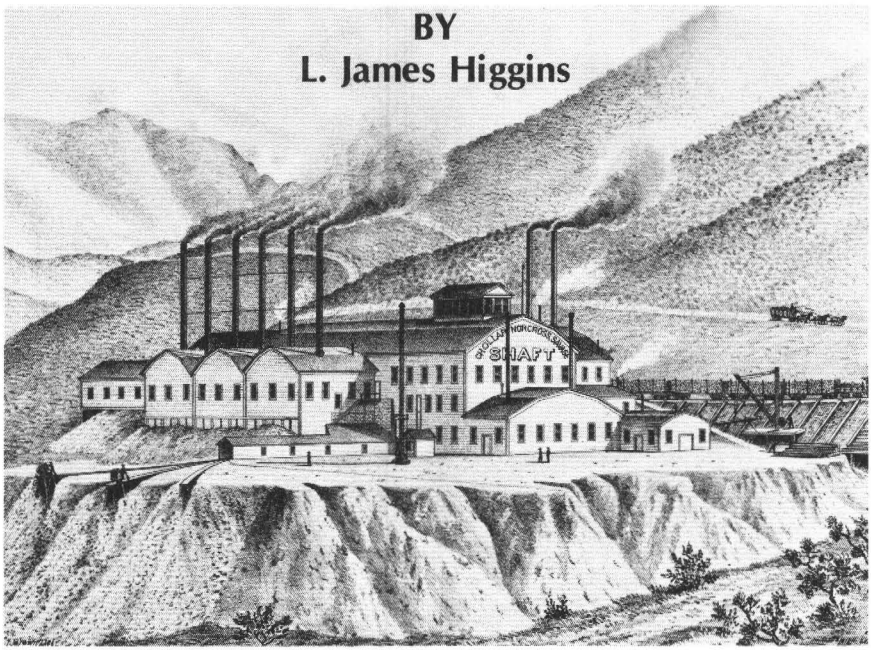
By Al and Mary Ellen Glass

Nevada Historical Society Guide Book Series

The Nevada Historical Society announces the publication of **Western Nevada**, a guide to the Reno, Lake Tahoe and Emigrant Trail portions of the state. Written by Al and Mary Ellen Glass, the guide provides five day-trips filled with exciting visits to Nevada's most fascinating historic sites and early settlements. **It can be found at your bookstore or ordered from the Society at $1.95, plus postage.**

A GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS AT THE NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY
L. James Higgins



Now, after more than seventy years of collecting, the Nevada Historical Society offers its first complete Guide to the Society's manuscript collections. Supplemented by a large "name, place, thing" index and a date index, this work is certain to interest individuals and institutions studying the history of the American West. 1975. **305 pages. $7.50, plus 50c postage and handling.**

Southern Nevada

By Maryellen V. Sadovich

Nevada Historical Society Guide Book Series

The Nevada Historical Society announces the publication of the second volume of its Guide Book Series, **Your Guide to Southern Nevada.** Written by Maryellen V. Sadovich, the book provides the reader with six fascinating one-day tours of historic areas near Las Vegas. **It can be found at your bookstore or ordered from the Society at $1.95, plus 50c postage.**