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# NEVADA Historical Society Quarterly

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The Nevada Historical Society *Quarterly* publishes articles, interpretive essays, and documents which deal with the history of Nevada and of the Great Basin area. Particularly welcome are manuscripts which examine the political, economic, cultural, and constitutional aspects of the history of this region. Material submitted for publication should be sent to the N.H.S. *Quarterly*, 4582 Maryland Parkway, Las Vegas, Nevada, 89109. Footnotes should be placed at the end of the manuscript, which should be typed double spaced. The evaluation process will take approximately six to ten weeks.

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## THE COVER

"Bloody Sunday" Parade  
Goldfield, Jan. 20, 1907

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# ***Radical Labor Struggles in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District, 1901-1922***

by Guy Louis Rocha

Under the I.W.W. sway in Goldfield [in 1906 and 1907] the minimum wage for all kinds of labor was universal. The highest point of efficiency for any labor organization was reached by the I.W.W. and W.F.M. in Goldfield, Nevada. No committees were ever sent to any employers. The union adopted wage scales and regulated hours. The secretary posted the same on a bulletin board outside the union hall, and it was the LAW. The employers were forced to come and see the union committees. — Vincent St. John (former IWW organizer and general secretary-treasurer), 1919.

## **Introduction**

THE DISCOVERY OF SILVER in west-central Nevada in May 1900 by Jim Butler, and gold in December 1902 by Harry Stimler and William Marsh, marked the beginning of a new era of mining and labor relations in the state. The generally peaceful cooperation between the Virginia City and Gold Hill Miners' Unions and the Comstock mine owners in the late 1860s and 1870s, prior to Nevada's twenty-year mining depression, would now be replaced by bitter industrial warfare which pitted radical labor unions against powerful corporate monopolies in Tonopah and Goldfield.

The two areas which comprised the district followed similar patterns of mining development. First, they struggled through a period of dormancy due to a lack of investment capital, which was immediately followed by the use of the leasing system to attract money into the district, and then the leaseholders were rapidly replaced by corporate monopoly control. Corporate mining entered Tonopah when the Tonopah Mining Company,

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controlled by the Brock interests of Philadelphia, took over the major silver mining operations in January 1902. The incorporation of George Wingfield's and Nevada U.S. Senator George S. Nixon's Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company in November 1906 signalled the beginning of monopoly control in Goldfield.<sup>1</sup>

While the capitalist interests consolidated their control in Tonopah and Goldfield, two radical industrial unions entered the booming mining camps to organize labor into their ranks in order to challenge the growing hegemony of the mining corporations. The Western Federation of Miners (WFM), founded in 1893 in Butte, Montana, granted Tonopah's local miners' union a charter shortly after its formation on July 2, 1901 (WFM Local No. 121) and established WFM Local No. 220 in Goldfield sometime in April 1904.<sup>2</sup> The advent of this socialist-oriented miners' union, and its philosophy of labor which centered on organizing "all persons in and around the mines, mills, and smelters" in Tonopah, Goldfield, and throughout the mining West, presaged the Industrial Workers of the World's (IWW) more inclusive brand of industrial unionism preached after the union's inception in Chicago's Brand Hall on June 27, 1905.<sup>3</sup>

The anarcho-syndicalist IWW planned to galvanize the entire American working class, and eventually all wage earners, into one big industrial union. To achieve their revolutionary goal, the Wobblies, as IWW members were commonly called, advocated a series of strikes, eventually culminating in a general strike. Then through the use of direct action, syndicalist (that is, worker-controlled) industrial departments would take over the means of production. Without relying on political action, the IWW would therefore create a new society from the shell of the old and establish a workers' commonwealth. Yet, after all was said and done, the Wobblies' apocalyptic goal was only a tragic dream in Tonopah and Goldfield. Radical labor activity suffered through extensive legislative, executive, judicial, and community repression during its vigorous but generally short-lived history of organizing and promoting working-class interests in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District.

On the other hand, one WFM union managed to avoid suppression. Labor relations between Tonopah Local No. 121, a more conservative local than its Goldfield counterpart, and the mine owners were relatively amiable. As opposed to Goldfield, violence was virtually non-existent in Tonopah's first fourteen years of existence. A major problem that embroiled Goldfield in violent and near-violent labor disputes was not present in Tonopah due to the nature of its mining operations. Tonopah was a silver camp and did not have to contend with the problem of "high-grading," the term used to describe the theft of the rich high-grade gold ore found in the Goldfield mines. The IWW and the more radical members of the WFM in Goldfield openly condoned high-grading on the assumption that the workers should enjoy all the fruits of their labor. Fences, persons involved in illegal buying of stolen ore, abounded. Saloon keepers, gamblers, prostitutes, and local merchants found the added income from miners' high-grading lucrative. While many of

Goldfield's citizens sympathized with the miners, such community support was not present in Tonopah in the town's early years.<sup>4</sup>

Between 1906 and 1908 Goldfield experienced bitter labor disputes between the mine owners and the WFM and IWW. After helping to organize the IWW, the WFM became the IWW mining department when it officially affiliated in September 1905. The Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District proved to be an initial staging area for IWW attempts to establish revolutionary industrial unionism. The fledgling labor union also experienced its first large-scale defeat in the Nevada mining district. George Wingfield and Senator George Nixon, prominent mine owners and businessmen in Goldfield, were instrumental in ruthlessly manipulating and crushing the WFM and IWW.

Yet the IWW was not permanently eliminated from Goldfield in 1908 as Russell Elliott, an eminent Nevada historian, would have one believe when he quotes George Wingfield writing in 1911: "the I.W.W. are now [1908] eliminated from the camp at Goldfield and always will be as long as I am identified with it."<sup>5</sup> Although the Wobblies were forced to remain underground and had little chance to agitate openly for better labor conditions as they had before 1908, the IWW organized a miners' union in Goldfield in 1914, and reorganized the local on a regional basis in 1917.

In addition, the radical labor scene in Tonopah was definitely not as serene as Elliott and other historians have depicted it during the troubled years of 1906 and 1907. The first IWW local in Tonopah was unsuccessful as a viable labor organization from its inception, but its attempts to establish itself as labor spokesman for the town workers were more numerous and visible than supposed. Even more important, the 1919 strike was not "Tonopah's only major labor disturbance in the first nineteen years of its history," as Elliott contends. Long before the IWW's final labor disputes between 1919 and 1922, Tonopah had become the focal point of Wobbly agitation in Nevada.<sup>6</sup>

Weathering governmental repression, economic recessions, and political schisms in its own ranks, the IWW was successful in reestablishing a foothold in Tonopah in 1914. The immediate effect of the IWW was substantial as it established an eight-hour day and wage increases in most hotels and restaurants. With labor riots, a free-speech fight, arson, a bombing, as well as two shootings and a death related to the IWW's presence in Tonopah during the volatile period of 1914, Elliott's argument that there were no major labor disputes in Tonopah until after World War I does not withstand the evidence to the contrary.

The purpose of this essay then is to reexamine the role of radical labor, and especially the IWW, in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District between 1901 and 1922, using documentation Russell Elliott did not incorporate into his earlier studies. Hopefully a more thorough and balanced picture of IWW organizational activities will be presented, and the union will emerge in a more favorable light, by combining the neglected primary radical sources, and other new information, with the conventional documentation.

**Tonopah and Goldfield: 1904-1908**

Labor unions began their organizational campaigns in Goldfield in 1904. After the radical WFM entered the Goldfield labor picture in April, Samuel Gompers' conservative American Federation of Labor (AFL) followed with the establishment of Carpenters' Local No. 1761 of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on September 22, 1904. A third union created to organize all remaining workmen was formed as the Federal Union — or Western Labor Union as it was sometimes called — during the latter months of 1904. This industrial union was not affiliated with the craft-oriented AFL as Russell Elliott and Richard Lillard presume, but rather functioned as an appendage of the WFM. The Federal Union, and its broad working class rank and file, was later incorporated into the IWW after its entrance in late 1905. The roots of labor alliances were therefore present in 1904, and would soon grow into bitter ideological quarrels between conservative miners and the craft unions on one side, and the allies of the "One Big Union," as the IWW often called itself, on the other.<sup>7</sup>

Another problem which plagued the Goldfield labor scene was the entrance of out-of-state mining operators. Many of the recent arrivals to Goldfield, both out-of-state operators and WFM miners, had dealt violently with each other before in the industrial wars at Cripple Creek (1903), Telluride (1901), and Coeur d' Alene (1899). And their animosities were not left behind in Colorado or Idaho.<sup>8</sup> Deportations by the WFM, and blacklisting practiced by the mine owners and operators, were charges hurled by each side in their attempt to discredit the other during 1904 and 1905. Harold Lord Varney, an IWW member, writing "The Story of the I.W.W.," admitted:

F. J. Campbell of Denver, part owner of the Vindicator Mine in Cripple Creek and an accessory to the outrages which had been committed on the strikers of 1903 days, was beaten up and driven out of the city when he endeavored to come to Goldfield. All scabs and gunmen who were remembered by the W.F.M. received similar treatment.<sup>9</sup>

Both sides were guilty of these acts, but the numbers actually involved were probably small in comparison to the allegations.<sup>10</sup>

The problem of deportations and blacklisting extended into 1906 and 1907, and the accusations were exacerbated with the arrival of the Wobblies. IWW Local No. 77 was founded in late 1905 — probably in November — and a newsboy local organized in February 1906. The radical industrial union planned to eventually organize all the workers in the mining community under its banner. Vincent St. John, the major IWW organizer and later national secretary-treasurer, wrote:

Out in the gold mining camp of Goldfield, Nevada the main portion of the membership being miners, we [the WFM later incorporated into the IWW] were first on the ground with a labor organization and our men proceeded without force, without

intimidation, without deportations, and without murder, to organize all wage workers in the community. They succeeded and in the organization were miners, engineers, clerks, stenographers, teamsters, dishwashers, waiters, and all sorts of what are called "common laborers."<sup>11</sup>

It was evident in IWW publications, and on the Tonopah-Goldfield labor scene, that the animosity toward Samuel Gompers and his conservative craft unionism was inherent in IWW actions as well as its doctrines. The inroads of AFL organizer Grant Hamilton were relatively small in Goldfield, with Carpenters' Local No. 1761 and Typographical Union No. 105 being the only organizational successes. In Tonopah, on the other hand, the AFL in early 1907 ousted the IWW Public Service Workers' local which was barely a year old at the time of its demise. The AFL worked closely with Tonopah and Goldfield citizens' groups and mine owners to undermine the IWW and establish itself as the legitimate representative of the towns' workers. Hostile relations between the WFM and IWW on the one side, and the AFL on the other, in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District were openly avowed.<sup>12</sup>

The IWW justified its deportations of AFL members, stating:

It is true that the I.W.W. and W.F.M. did force some A.F. of L. members out of town and they were probably not provided with all the luxuries of modern civilization. The I.W.W. and W.F.M. were on strike for a considerable period of time in Goldfield and had the town thoroughly unionized. The bosses, realizing they were up against a rebel class of workers, conferred with their good friends and tools, the A.F. of L., and the result was the A.F. of L. SENT THEIR OWN MEMBERS INTO GOLDFIELD TO SCAB ON THE STRIKERS. This did not happen at once, but continuously, and the strikers, finding no appeal to the ORGANIZED SCABS on the grounds of manhood or loyalty to the interests of the working class, did use a little direct action by giving the "union" scabs orders to the effect that their room was preferable to their company.<sup>13</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt established the Roosevelt Commission in December 1907 to investigate alleged WFM and IWW violence in Goldfield. It concluded, after listening to testimony from various individuals and groups, that no more than twenty-five men had been deported in 1906 and 1907.<sup>14</sup>

Interestingly enough, outside the deportation and blacklisting problems, labor relations between the WFM and most Goldfield mine owners and operators were basically amicable through most of 1906. The lack of any major strike or overt union violence was ample evidence. The first Goldfield labor dispute probably occurred in the fall of 1904 between the WFM and the mine owners. A possible strike was peacefully resolved. W. A. Willis, a member of the WFM, stated:

At that time the Combination Mining Co. was constructing a mill. Mr. Edgar Collins, then Supt., attempted to inaugurate the 9

hour work day in lieu of the then existing 8 hour day. Chas. H. McKinnon, — at that time financial Secretary threatened to call out the miners and all others who hold membership in the Miners' Union and were employed in the Combination Mine. The result was an immediate victory for the miners.<sup>15</sup>

Yet the isolated cases of deportations and blacklisting foreshadowed the increased hostility that later arose after the alliance of IWW Local No. 77 and WFM Local No. 220 in late 1906.

The entrance of the IWW added a new dimension to the labor picture in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District. The Wobblies made their presence felt within seven months after the inception of locals in the area. During the last week of May 1906, the IWW began their first organized strike in Goldfield. According to the *Goldfield Weekly News*, "the messenger boys at the Western Union Telegraph Office, struck for higher pay, and the Industrial Workers of the World demanded that all employees [*sic*] of the office, including clerks and operators, join the union by June 1." Management took no action at that time, prompting the IWW to issue an ultimatum to comply with its order by June 6. Pickets wearing badges surrounded the office on June 2, declaring the establishment "unfair." Western Union then wired telegrams notifying Governor John Sparks and the sheriff of the labor dispute. Arriving shortly thereafter, Governor Sparks, with the aid of Attorney-General James G. Sweeney, held labor mediations that soon culminated in something of a compromise. The striking messenger boys received a five dollar per month increase instead of the twenty dollars they had requested. This was only a 2.5 cents an hour increase computed on a fifty-hour work week. Still, most important was the fact that the IWW was now tentatively recognized as the messenger boys' union representative.<sup>16</sup>

The rapidly expanding IWW soon found its locals at odds with Lindley C. Branson's *Tonopah Daily Sun* and *Goldfield Daily Sun*. An ardent opponent of the WFM and IWW, Branson, both owner and editor of the newspapers, attacked the radical labor organizations, especially in the *Tonopah Sun*. In August 1906, Tonopah IWW Local No. 325, which had been organized on May 9 of that year, declared the paper unfair. The Goldfield IWW Newsboys' Union declared a sympathy boycott of the *Goldfield Sun*. The newsboys refused to deliver the paper, and merchants were threatened with boycotts of their establishments if they patronized it.<sup>17</sup>

IWW Local No. 77 of Goldfield then requested WFM Local No. 220 to endorse its action. This was soon achieved and labor solidarity was strengthened in Goldfield. On the other hand, an overture concerning a merger between the Typographical and Carpenters' locals of the AFL with the WFM Miners' Union and IWW was not entertained. In fact, neither of these AFL affiliates honored the boycott which precipitated overt hostilities between the rival unions.<sup>18</sup>

The IWW accused the carpenters of scabbing on the newsboys, as well as charging that AFL contractors monopolized building contracts in

Goldfield. Claims by the other side included harassment and injury to newspaper employees, and the photographing of all people patronizing the *Goldfield Sun*.<sup>19</sup> As the animosities grew, the mine owners (who were sympathetic to the newspaper and the AFL) and their hired gunmen made their appearances:

One evening George Wingfield and "Diamondfield Jack" Davis bot [*sic*] papers, knocked two men down who called out "scab" and with guns cocked, stood on the steps beside Clark [a carpenter contractor selling newspapers] and defied the crowd that surged in front of them.<sup>20</sup>

The mine owners later closed the mines for one shift to allow a vote by the miners in order to ascertain if the miners' union would continue to support the boycott. Their vote sustained the boycott. The Goldfield mine owners then locked out the members of the WFM "until such time as the trouble was settled," which in essence meant until the endorsement of the IWW's action was withdrawn.<sup>21</sup>

On September 10, 1906, IWW Local No. 77 merged with Goldfield Miners' Union No. 220 during a mass meeting in the big arena erected for the Gans-Nelson world championship prizefight. Claims were made that the mine owners instigated this merger on the belief that the conservative miners would control the IWW element. Although not altogether true, Wingfield and other mine owners favored this labor combination on the grounds that the larger miners' union would dominate future meetings and labor arbitration.<sup>22</sup>

A settlement was reached on September 14 after the Tonopah IWW committee requested the Goldfield IWW committee to withdraw the Goldfield boycott, and the latter agreed. Lindley Branson was pressured to sell the *Goldfield Sun*. Renamed the *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, it was not removed from the unfair list until October 8 when former *Sun* employees were finally terminated.<sup>23</sup> The unified IWW and WFM had achieved a successful boycott, the Wobblies' second success since coming to Goldfield. Mass industrial unionism was now becoming a successful united front in garnering labor demands for the working class in Goldfield. Unfortunately, this was not the case in Tonopah where conditions had not significantly changed for IWW Local No. 325.

The mining boom was in full swing when on December 18, 1906 the amalgamated WFM Local No. 220 (the official title for the WFM and IWW locals) demanded an increase in the wage scale of one dollar a day for all types of mining labor. This was a 12.5 cents an hour increase computed on a forty-hour week. The following day notice was served upon the mine owners that five dollars per day would be the uniform wage scale for mining labor in Goldfield. The strike commenced the next day against all leaseholders and owners not paying the five dollar wage. Wingfield and Nixon's Consolidated Mines Company (recently organized with the aid of a \$1,000,000 loan from Eastern financier Bernard Baruch) and the Florence Company closed their mines that day.<sup>24</sup> Vincent St. John claimed:

The Mohawk and Combination companies refused to pay the scale and shut down. Thereupon these companies, which are controlled by U.S. Senator Nixon and the others that he represents, brought pressure to bear upon all other operators to close down also.<sup>25</sup>

Still, not all the owners and leaseholders were against the new wage scale. The newspapers, and according to Laura White, the community as well, supported the wage increase for miners. After a week, appropriate committees were appointed by each side for labor mediation. The mine owners demanded long-standing WFM members as labor representatives. On December 31 the owners drafted a proposition and submitted it to the miners' union for a vote. The mine owners offered a wage increase of fifty cents per day, contingent upon the owners establishing a general merchandise store. The union would acquire and own half interest. The proposition included the construction of change rooms at the mine owners' option. Change rooms were buildings where miners would change clothes in the presence of a company official to prevent highgrading. On January 1, 1907, a mass meeting of union members voted unanimously to table the proposition.<sup>26</sup>

The joint committee submitted another proposal to the union a week later, granting the five dollar scale for all skilled labor and for all underground work, and four dollars and fifty cents for all unskilled labor on the surface. This proposal still included the possible establishment of change rooms. It passed by a vote of 1,293 to 554. On January 9, the same day, the miners resumed work. Residents of Goldfield overwhelmingly believed "that the union was in control."<sup>27</sup>

Tonopah had its own labor difficulties between December 1906 and April 1907. IWW Local No. 325 of the Restaurant and Hotel Workers found itself conducting a losing battle against the Citizens' Alliance Association of the silver mining town. James W. Walsh, an IWW national organizer sent to Tonopah to strengthen the local, described the conditions and history of the strike:

... on the 18th of last December, when this camp (Tonopah) was completely organized in the I.W.W., the cooks and waiters made a demand for an eight hour day. They were met with a Citizen's [sic] Alliance lockout. Every eating place was closed, except the miners' boarding houses, and remained closed twelve days. During this twelve days' closedown the Tonopah Citizen's Alliance Association put up \$2700 to import a car load of scab cooks and waiters from Denver.<sup>28</sup>

It appears that most of the cooks and waiters accused of scabbing were in the AFL. These workers succeeded in organizing an AFL local in Tonopah supported by the Citizens' Alliance. The actions of the AFL in gaining the support of the Citizens' Alliance Association, as well as thwarting the labor efforts of the Tonopah IWW local, only increased the animosities between the two labor groups in Goldfield. Walsh, and IWW

headquarters in Chicago, conceded that the local was lost when he was transferred to Seattle in late April to organize union activities there.<sup>29</sup>

William E. Trautmann, general secretary-treasurer of the IWW, considered the restaurant workers' strike a "flat failure" in his September 1907 report on the work of the IWW:

The lock out in Tonopah was lost because the members of the Industrial Workers of the World were not supported in their justified demands by the miners. . . . The I.W.W. will be revived again in Tonopah and then it will be a lasting accomplishment.<sup>30</sup>

The accusation that the strike for an eight-hour day was lost because Tonopah Miners' Union No. 121 did not support the Wobblies' labor efforts only exacerbated the already growing cleavage in 1907 between conservative WFM miners and the rest of the WFM and IWW in Goldfield. The schism was apparent on a national level at this time, and would lead to the official disaffiliation of the WFM in July 1908.<sup>31</sup>

Still, on October 8, 1907 the Goldfield Miners' Union passed a resolution which advocated the affiliation of the Tonopah Miners' Union with the IWW. John M. O'Neill, editor of *Miners' Magazine* (the official publication of the WFM) blasted the resolution, and condemned the internal dissension which resulted from the power struggle at the IWW's 1906 national convention. O'Neill refused to recognize either the Sherman (conservative) or Trautmann (radical) faction of the IWW, ignored all attempts for affiliation in Tonopah, and proclaimed "the I.W.W. is . . . dead."<sup>32</sup> A hostile Citizens' Alliance Association, the entrance of an AFL International Restaurant and Bartenders' League local, and a lack of labor solidarity between the WFM and the Wobblies significantly contributed to the elimination of a viable IWW local in Tonopah until May 1914.

On the other hand, the Wobblies in Goldfield continued to expand their activities. In fact they were so successful in organizing most labor in Goldfield that they decided to sponsor a "Bloody Sunday" parade on January 20, 1907. The event was held in commemoration of Bloody Sunday in St. Petersburg and the unsuccessful Russian Revolution in 1905. By order of the union all mines, restaurants, and saloons were closed for two hours during the parade.

Following the parade, Vincent St. John, a resident of Goldfield since November 1906, made a fiery speech in which he sent "true revolutionary greetings to brothers of the working class in Russia, Poland, and Finland." St. John strongly protested against the illegal arrest, imprisonment, and trial of "Big Bill" Haywood and Charles Moyer, who were national officials of the WFM, and George Pettibone for the murder of former Idaho governor Frank Stunenberg. According to the *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, St. John emphatically charged:

If they hang Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, the fall of the death trap will explode the percussion cap of the coming revolution in the country and fire the brains and hearts of every class con-

scious worker to fierce revolt, and we will sweep the capitalist class out of the life of this nation, and then out of the world.<sup>33</sup>

St. John's speech aroused public antagonism in many Goldfield circles, including a large segment of conservative miners. Increased tensions in the community after this date contributed to the explosive labor atmosphere of March 1907.

Ignoring Governor Sparks' declaration that the eight-hour day applied only to miners, the IWW passed an eight-hour regulation for all affiliated workers on March 1, 1907. Goldfield citizens and various organizations charged that Local 220's demands and tactics were excessive. WFM and IWW members countered that the charges were "grossly exaggerated." Whatever the case, WFM Local No. 220 had now established job control in Goldfield.<sup>34</sup>

The initial labor troubles in March 1907 erupted as a result of the Carpenters' Union hiring practices. The Goldfield Miners' Union accused Local No. 1761 of refusing miners part-time work unless they held an AFL membership card. Members of the miners' union were discharged from building sites, and the carpenters halted construction on the miners' union hospital because they failed to secure the removal of miners working on the building. WFM Local No. 220 then presented an ultimatum to all carpenters and joiners to become members of the WFM by seven o'clock the next evening. The carpenters and joiners refused the demand and carried guns to their jobs on the morning of March 7. A delegate of the miners' union retaliated by calling out all miners working in one mine where AFL carpenters were employed. Local No. 220 did not officially endorse this action, but an official retraction proved fruitless. The mine owners sanctioned a lockout of all WFM members. Sides were quickly being drawn in Goldfield. One particular incident on March 10 underscored numerous allegations and actions by both sides of this acute labor conflict.<sup>35</sup>

On the second day of the lockout, John Silva, a restaurant owner, refused to pay a waitress on the grounds that she did not give him a one-day termination notice. Morrie R. Preston and Joseph Smith, delegates and business agents of Local No. 220, attempted to arbitrate. Upon reaching no resolution, Preston and Smith declared the restaurant unfair and blacklisted the establishment. The carpenters' union did not honor the boycott, nor did the mine owners, businessmen, and citizens opposed to the WFM and IWW. With Tonopah town workers by this time controlled by the AFL Restaurant Local, Silva sent to the silver camp for scab help to run his business. The miners' union countered by setting up a picket line.<sup>36</sup>

On the evening of March 10, Morrie Preston turned away two prospective customers from Silva's restaurant. Silva ran outside, gun in hand. A heated exchange of words followed with Silva raising his gun toward Preston. Preston reacted quickly, and shot and mortally wounded Silva. He then ran from the scene of the shooting, but turned himself in early the

following morning only to find he was accused of "cold blooded murder" by unsympathetic people in the community.<sup>37</sup>

The night of March 10 also found the notorious "Diamondfield Jack" Davis, a known murderer and George Wingfield's hired gunman, armed with so-called warrants alleging "conspiracy to commit murder." He entered Joseph Smith's home, dragged him out of bed, and took him to the Goldfield jail. "Diamondfield Jack" had no authority to arrest Smith. An attempt was made to lynch Preston and Smith, who were unpopular with a number of people in Goldfield due to their radical labor activity. Union members prevented this vigilante action by placing armed guards around the jail.<sup>38</sup>

On April 29, while Preston and Smith were awaiting trial, Vincent St. John and seven other members of the miners' union were arrested on "secret indictments" alleging complicity in the murder of John Silva. The *Tonopah Daily Sun* and the *Chicago Journal of Finance* leveled other accusations at the IWW. They argued that St. John and other labor officials had manipulated the Goldfield Stock Market for their own personal profit. The story went that the IWW leaders would initiate strikes to drive down the price of stock, buy at the reduced price, and then terminate the strike and sell the stock when the price increased. St. John and the others were released in June under high bonds after being incarcerated for a month in the county jail in Hawthorne. They were finally set free later that summer on request of the prosecuting attorney due to a lack of evidence.<sup>39</sup>

Preston and Smith were not so lucky. On May 9, 1907, in Goldfield, Morrie R. Preston was found guilty of second-degree murder. The verdict on Joseph Smith was voluntary manslaughter. Their sentences were twenty-five and ten years respectively, even after the jury recommended mercy to the court.<sup>40</sup> Interestingly enough, Smith according to his testimony and most reports was at home eating with his family at the time the shooting occurred. The laws of Nevada defined manslaughter as follows:

Manslaughter is the unlawful killing of a human being without malice, expressed or implied, and without any mixture of deliberation. It must be voluntary upon a sudden heat of passion; caused by provocation, apparently sufficient to make the passion irresistible. . . .

Under the circumstances described, Joseph Smith could not have violated this Nevada statute as it read in 1907. In fact, Laura White's scholarly study in 1912 pointed out that Smith "is the man whose methods 'in behalf of his co-laborers' aroused so much resentment that he is said to have been convicted of a conspiracy to murder, not on the evidence, but on his general unpopularity" [as a member of the IWW].<sup>41</sup>

The prosecution's main witnesses in the conviction of Preston and Smith were Thomas Bliss, W. L. Claiborne, and "Diamondfield Jack" Davis. Their testimony was questionable. Bliss, according to the *Indus-*

*trial Union Bulletin*, the national IWW publication, had earlier been convicted of robbing a bank in Springville, Utah, and then received a parole "for informing penitentiary officials of a jail break he instigated." Later in 1908, he was arrested for robbing a Wells Fargo stage in Schurz, Nevada, and jumped bond shortly thereafter. A sheriff in Price, Utah shot and killed C. L. Maxwell, alias Thomas Bliss, on August 23, 1909. Claiborne was arrested in July 1908 on a charge of grand larceny after stealing an automobile in Rawhide, but apparently escaped prosecution. As a mine owner in nearby Diamondfield, Davis' close business associates included Wingfield, Nixon, and Tasker Oddie. More importantly, "Diamondfield Jack's" reputation as a gunman for John Sparks and George Wingfield was well known.<sup>42</sup>

Apparently parole officials questioned the length of Joseph Smith's prison term. After serving four and one-half years of his ten year sentence, the Nevada State Penitentiary released Smith on November 14, 1911. Numerous prolonged attempts to secure Preston's freedom resulted in his parole on April 24, 1914. The Parole Board, following a favorable four to one vote, released Preston over the protest of its dissenting member, Governor Tasker L. Oddie. During Preston's incarceration, Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor Party nominated him for the U.S. presidency in 1908. He declined the nomination on the advice of his attorney. The parole board, seven years later, admitted that the testimony of the star witnesses was evidently perjured, and that Morrie Rockwood Preston had, in fact, shot in self-defense.<sup>43</sup>

A number of attempts were made to eliminate the IWW from the miners' union, and Goldfield, after the Silva shooting. The AFL Carpenters' Union staged anti-IWW rallies. The newly-formed Goldfield Business Mens' and Mine Operators' Association, headed by George Wingfield, blacklisted all IWW members. These actions were unsuccessful in quashing the Wobblies, although labor relations were strained between conservative members of the WFM and radical members of the WFM and IWW. A vote of confidence was given the IWW and miners' union when by a decision of 1,120 to 786 the remaining unorganized miners in the Goldfield area decided on March 22 to join the WFM.<sup>44</sup>

Yet internal dissension began to plague WFM Local No. 220. Conservative miners held numerous meetings and attempted to establish a new miners' union in the latter part of March 1907. Their attempts failed. On April 6 acting WFM president Charles Mahoney, who had recently arrived in Goldfield, held a mass meeting of miners at the request of U.S. Senator George Nixon. A vote to separate from the IWW was passed by the margin of 756 to 514, but on April 9 the WFM membership nullified this alleged illegal action on the grounds there was no IWW since the local had dropped its charter upon joining the miners' union.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, several meetings were conducted to settle the lockout and ensuing strike against the mine owners. On April 9, the mine operators' association presented its proposal, which the miners' union ignored. The

IWW found itself under attack again. Supplies were cut off on April 12 to every business establishment which employed IWW members. This strong action was apparently successful, for the two opposing factions reached a tentative agreement on April 21. The terms allowed the WFM to represent all workers in and around the mines, except superintendents and managers. The former wage scale and eight-hour day would remain in effect. On the other hand, boycotts, strikes, or lock-outs could be declared only after a two-thirds vote of either organization. Town labor controversies were not allowed to disturb mine operations in any way. On April 22, 1907, the Goldfield Miners' Union ratified the agreement which was to exist for two years. IWW members, who were predominantly town workers, were unhappy with the agreement and accused President Mahoney of selling them out.<sup>46</sup>

The labor scene was relatively calm during the early summer of 1907. A possible major labor dispute on July 18 over the hiring of watchmen was successfully avoided by the mine owners. It seemed that hostile labor-management relations had been replaced by a successful working agreement.<sup>47</sup>

Later that summer, the *Nevada Workman*, the mouthpiece of the Goldfield Miners' Union and "a weekly newspaper devoted to the organization of the workers along industrial lines," appeared. The new editor, Percy Rawlings, published the first issue on August 17. Radical labor now had an active and visible voice in Goldfield. The miners' union periodical was widely circulated until it ceased publication in early 1908.<sup>48</sup>

Unfortunately, all was not to remain calm between the mine owners and the Goldfield Miners' Union. The president of the Consolidated Mines Company, Senator George Nixon, on August 17 declared that a change room was to be opened at the Mohawk Mine to offset high-grading. A shower and wash basin were provided for the miners, but the water was drawn from the bottom of the Mohawk. The miners argued that the water was impure due to a lack of sanitary facilities in the mine and subsequent seepage of human excretion to the bottom of the mine. Gases resulting from exploded powder and other sources impregnated the already foul water. The miners protested that they had to undress in front of curious spectators, and then walk a distance of over one hundred feet in their underclothes to reach their lockers. Extremely unhappy with the Mohawk Mine change room, the miners on the morning shift called a general walkout. By August 18 the miners' union had officially sanctioned the miners' wildcat action.<sup>49</sup>

High-grading was common in Goldfield, and mine owners initiated numerous court cases against alleged gold-ore thieves. The principal mine owners claimed that \$1,250,000 worth of high-grade ore was stolen in 1906, or approximately 18% of the total gold production of \$7,026,154 for that year. The *Engineering and Mining Journal* challenged the size of the high-grading figures: "We find it difficult to believe that these thefts

attained so marvelously high a figure estimated by the mine officials at Goldfield," the article charged. "Especially does this appear improbable in view of the fact that the Mint statistics [of 1906], which are based on the production of refined gold and silver, fail to indicate the re-appearance of so much stolen gold. . . ." Although some stolen ore may not have reached the U.S. Mint until 1907, the allegations of the mine owners and officials concerning the extent of high-grading were excessive. Change rooms, it appears, were just as much a product of the mine owners' anti-radical hysteria as of substantial high-grading.<sup>50</sup>

Arbitration on the change room controversy began on August 21. Each side rejected the other's proposals. On September 6, a representative of WFM Local No. 220 travelled to Reno to arbitrate directly with Senator Nixon and other Consolidated officials. A settlement was soon reached, and the miners resumed work on September 8. In effect, the Goldfield Miners' Union won the dispute. The Consolidated Mines Company kept its change rooms, but agreed to reinstate all former employees and remedy the objectionable features of the change rooms.<sup>51</sup> WFM Local No. 220 was still recognized as the legitimate representative of the miners. The Goldfield local, as well, continued to represent the IWW town workers. The future of this mass industrial union still appeared bright, yet future events would herald the downfall of the "One Big Union."

A prelude to the crucial chain of events occurred at 5:30 P.M. on November 5, when Vincent St. John found himself the victim of three bullet wounds after a heated argument with "Paddy" Mullany. Mullany, a conservative miner who had little regard for the IWW, shot St. John twice in the right wrist and once in the left arm, crippling one arm for life. Each man had "expressed himself in no complimentary terms regarding the other." Apparently Mullany was against a WFM sympathy strike with the striking employees of the Nevada-California Power Company. Although the two unions remained affiliated in Goldfield, as opposed to the WFM's national renunciation of the IWW, the growing cleavage between the two in this mining town was manifest in the St. John shooting. Internal dissension was seriously undermining radical labor activities in Goldfield.<sup>52</sup>

More important, however, were the external factors which affected the future existence of the radical union. The Panic of 1907, and the resulting depression, helped to crush WFM Local No. 220 and eliminated any IWW organizational activity in Goldfield until the spring of 1914. The WFM was incapable of reasserting itself as the union representative of the miners after 1908. During this period of late 1907 and early 1908, the Consolidated Mines Company and other mine owners, in conjunction with federal and state agencies, suppressed radical labor activities and were instrumental in quashing any further anarcho-syndicalist actions for the next six years in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District. The Panic provided the chaotic economic atmosphere for their repressive attacks against the WFM and IWW.

The panic began in late October when "financial stringency in the East had occasioned some depression in Goldfield."<sup>53</sup> Bank failures, as well as the smelters' refusal to pay cash for gold ore, led to the Consolidated Mines Company's decision on November 14 to pay the miners half in cash and half in scrip. Two days later, without consulting the miners' union, the company decided to issue all scrip through the John S. Cook and Co. Bank effective November 18. Interestingly enough, George Wingfield and Senator Nixon owned the controlling interest in Goldfield's lone bank. After extended deliberations with the belligerent mine operators' association, the miners' union voted almost unanimously not to accept the scrip without guarantees of future monetary redemption. WFM Local No. 220 then voted unanimously to strike on the following morning of November 27.<sup>54</sup>

Production was reduced to nothing. The siege began with the mine owners bent upon total eradication of the WFM and IWW. Supporting their efforts were most businessmen, AFL unions, and newspapers of Goldfield. The townspeople sympathetic to the miners' union found that hard times, and the closing of the mines, were not conducive to outspoken support for the strike.

On December 2, 1907, the mine operators' association cancelled all former agreements with WFM Local No. 220. The mine owners justified their action by asserting that the Goldfield Miners' Union did not take a two-thirds secret referendum vote. Yet the April agreement stipulated that a strike declaration only required a two-thirds referendum vote, a procedure which the miners' union had followed. The mine operators' association may have based its decision on a November twenty-eighth state detective report sent Governor Sparks which stated that the miners were denied a referendum vote, and "that at least 90% of the miners would have been glad to continue work."<sup>55</sup>

On the same day, a committee of mine owners, including George Wingfield (vice-president of the Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company), met with Governor Sparks under the guise of selecting a smelter site. The Roosevelt Commission later outlined the actual reasons for the meeting:

The action of the mine operators warrants the belief that they had determined upon a reduction in wages and the refusal of employment to members of the Western Federation of Miners, but that they feared to take this course of action unless they had the protection of federal troops, and that they accordingly laid plans to secure such troops, and then put the programme [*sic*] into effect.

No indication was permitted to become public as to the real purpose of the call of the committee on the governor.<sup>56</sup>

According to Russell Elliott, "Henceforth Governor Sparks, either wittingly or unwittingly, 'played the game' according to the rules established by the operators." Sparks, after receiving a coded telegram from the mine owners, wired President Roosevelt on December 5 that

"domestic violence and unlawful combinations and conspiracies" existed in Goldfield, although none did. Roosevelt's response was swift. On December 6, three companies of the Twenty-Second Infantry under the command of Colonel Alfred Reynolds, arrived from San Francisco.<sup>57</sup>

This extralegal tactic of the Governor, which was supported by Senators Francis Newlands and George Nixon, and Representative George Bartlett as well as the mine owners, stunned and outraged many of Goldfield's citizens. The miners were caught completely by surprise, and found themselves unable to cope with the combination of factors threatening their existence. The mine operators then implemented their plans to eradicate the radical industrial union. On December 9, they established a card system, illegal by Nevada law, and reduced wages to four dollars a day for all skilled labor.<sup>58</sup>

When the mines reopened on December 12, the mine owners found few miners signing their "yellow-dog contracts." George Wingfield and other operators retaliated by recruiting scab labor from surrounding states. *The Outlook*, a national periodical, reported:

The mine-owners in Goldfield have announced that they are not fighting organized labor and are ready to give employment to members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and to such members of the Western Federation of Miners as are opposed to the violent methods of some of their leaders and who are willing to work.<sup>59</sup>

This scab importation tactic was so extensive and successful during the depression that WFM Local No. 220 would find itself completely devastated by the spring of 1908. Even the more conservative WFM local in Tonopah registered a strong protest against this type of repression.<sup>60</sup>

President Roosevelt was also disturbed about conditions at Goldfield. After Secretary of State Elihu Root telegraphed Governor Sparks that the evidence to date did not support his contentions of "domestic violence," Roosevelt sent three federal representatives to Goldfield to investigate the labor unrest. The Roosevelt Commission, which consisted of Lawrence O. Murray, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Knox Smith, Commissioner of Corporations, and Charles P. Neill, Commissioner of Labor, arrived on December 15 and immediately began a full-scale investigation of the labor situation in Goldfield.<sup>61</sup>

Governor Sparks was adamant about the charges of "domestic violence" and possible future disruptions on the part of WFM Local No. 220. Yet the Roosevelt Commission's report strongly disagreed:

Our investigation so far completely failed to sustain the general and sweeping allegations in the governor calling for troops, and the impression as to conditions here given is misleading and without warrant. We find no evidence that any condition then existed not easily controlled by the local authorities. Neither immediately preceding nor since the arrival of troops has there been any particular disorder, but immediately after arrival of troops mine owners announced reduction of wages from \$5 to \$4,

and positively refused employment to all men who do not agree to renounce in writing the local union, although a law of Nevada prohibits such requirement.

So far as can be learned no county officer was consulted by [the] governor previous to calling for troops. All still resent his action and consider it was unnecessary.<sup>62</sup>

After reading the report on December 20, President Roosevelt decided to evacuate troops on December 30.<sup>63</sup>

Governor Sparks, however, continued to argue that the troops had prevented possible violence and asked Roosevelt to retain the soldiers. By this time the President was extremely annoyed with the state of affairs in Goldfield. He sent Sparks an ultimatum which demanded the Nevada governor call a special session of the legislature in order to create a state police. Only then would he give orders for the troops to remain. On December 30, Governor Sparks finally capitulated to the President's demand and issued a call to the state legislature to meet in two weeks. Roosevelt then ordered Colonel Reynolds and the three companies of infantry to remain in Goldfield.<sup>64</sup>

The legislature met on January 14, 1908, and passed the police bill on January 27 over the strong protest of union labor throughout the state. Sparks, pleased with the legislature's action, signed the bill into law on January 29. The Nevada State Police had "full and absolute power to take all or any steps to preserve law and order," which included making arrests without warrants of persons charged with a crime or suspected of committing a crime, ". . . and the rules and articles of war established by Congress became operative" when the governor declared martial law. In addition, all prospective state police candidates not only had to pass a physical examination, but were required to submit to a "mental examination" to determine if they were of "good moral character." In February, the state police directed by Superintendent William L. Cox began to replace the government troops, and by March 7, all federal troops had left Goldfield.<sup>65</sup>

Besides implementing an open shop policy and relying on executive and legislative repression to crush the union, the mine owners also utilized the courts to obtain their objectives. On December 26, the Consolidated Mines Company asked for an injunction against WFM Local No. 220, alleging that the union was in restraint of trade. The company also accused the union of being a criminal society and conspiracy devoted to subverting the general principles of government. A temporary restraining order was refused. The initial hearings were set in the Federal Circuit Court, District of Nevada, on January 3, 1908. After two months of court battles, the mine operators' association scored an overwhelming victory. On March 6, the miners' union was labeled a conspirator and found guilty of illegal acts of picketing. The court also invalidated the 1903 Nevada statute which prohibited the card system. An excerpt of the court's ruling read:

It is a constitutional right of an employer to refuse to have business relations with any person or with any labor organization, and it is immaterial what his reasons are, whether good or bad, well or ill founded, or entirely trivial or whimsical.<sup>66</sup>

On April 3, 1908, the miners' strike was called off by a vote of ninety to twenty-five. The small number of union members voting only emphasized the devastation of WFM Local No. 220 during the previous four months. The mine owners, and especially George Wingfield, who dominated the mine operators' association, used practically every means available to eradicate and destroy the WFM and IWW in Goldfield during the depression of late 1906–1908. By the spring of 1908, the "Golden Age" of the IWW, as Vincent St. John later referred to this period, was over with the elimination of the "One Big Union" in Goldfield.<sup>67</sup>

### Tonopah and Goldfield: 1908–1919

The years between 1908 and 1914 marked one of the lowest points of Wobbly activity in Tonopah and Goldfield. The IWW was now the only avowed radical labor organization in Nevada. The WFM, no longer a member of the IWW, was represented by conservative Tonopah Miners' Local No. 121. If an IWW local existed in these mining towns, no mention of its charter was listed in contemporary IWW periodicals. Any Wobblies living in Tonopah and Goldfield had to operate underground. The only reference to these towns in *The Industrial Worker* was the second page weekly banner, "Our Fellow Workers, Preston and Smith, Are Still in Jail." And even this reference was discontinued after July 9, 1910. The last mention of this area until the spring of 1914 was on August 27, 1910, when *The Industrial Worker* published an article which outlined AFL and IWW relations in Goldfield in 1906 and 1907.<sup>68</sup>

The year 1914 brought the Wobblies back into the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District. John Pancner, a former miner and member of Tonopah Local No. 325 in 1906, was one of the major union organizers.<sup>69</sup> Pancner later described the rebirth of the IWW in this region:

In the spring of 1914 a group of enthusiasts for the cause formed a "Flying Squadron," and made a very successful propaganda trip through Nevada. Four locals were organized, one in Reno; a Hotel and Restaurant Workers' local and a Propaganda League in Tonopah, and a Miners' local in Goldfield.<sup>70</sup>

Tonopah Public Service Workers' Local No. 111, established in late May 1914, and Goldfield Metal Mine Workers' Union No. 353, organized in August 1914, were the first IWW locals in almost seven years. John Pancner preached, "Fellow agitators of the I.W.W., the Tonopah-Goldfield district was once an I.W.W. stronghold. Why not make it one again?"<sup>71</sup> Tonopah soon became the center of IWW labor agitation during 1914, as Goldfield was in 1906 and 1907.

The first acts of IWW Local No. 111 were to demand an eight-hour day and wage increases in Tonopah restaurants and boarding houses. Within



*Parody "scrip" issued by the Goldfield Miners' Union*

two weeks after its founding, the Wobbly local accomplished its objective in every establishment except the Celtic and Midway hotels. Negotiations continued with the two businesses, but no settlement could be reached. The Tonopah Wobblies decided to boycott.<sup>72</sup>

The evening of July 11 marked the first labor disturbance since the IWW established a local in May. A group of drunken miners who resided in the non-union houses attacked the IWW union hall. They tore down signs and boycott notices. Nick Skoll, a member of the Tonopah local, found himself under attack as well. Pancner was in the vicinity at the time and tried to intervene on Skoll's behalf. The mob recognized Pancner as the leader of the Tonopah Wobblies and apparently tried to lynch him. Pancner, according to the national IWW periodical *Industrial Solidarity*, "fired into the midst of the bloodthirsty hirelings, hitting one man in the leg." He was arrested and charged with assault with a deadly weapon, and intent to kill.<sup>73</sup>

A roundup of IWW organizers and officials was conducted similar to the arrests of Morrie R. Preston, Joseph Smith, Vincent St. John, and other Wobblies during the March and April 1907 labor difficulties in Goldfield. Henry E. McGuckin, returning from his attempts to organize an IWW local in Goldfield, was arrested on a charge of unlawful conspiracy. Gideon E. Stevens, secretary of the Tonopah local and a long-time Nevada Wobbly, was held for disturbing the peace. Shortly thereafter Tonopah officials dropped charges against both of them. Subsequently a new charge of criminal anarchy was filed against McGuckin. He soon posted bail of five hundred dollars. A lack of evidence substantiating the charge enabled McGuckin to avoid the Nevada State Penitentiary.<sup>74</sup>

John Pancner was not as fortunate as his fellow Wobblies. Initially, the charges were dismissed by the justice court on a plea of self-defense. The

presiding Justice of the Peace, a Socialist, Harry Dunseath, stated his judicial opinion on July 13:

This complaint is drawn on an assault. I can't make out from the evidence that this man is the one that did the assaulting. It appears to me from the statements of both sides that the assaulting came from the other side: I can't make anything out of the evidence to save my soul. I think there should have been some others arrested before this thing even came off. That is just a personal opinion about it. But the evidence certainly shows that there was trouble going on—this sign they pulled down and other things they pulled off there. It looks to me as though there should have been some other men arrested before this thing ever happened. And I am compelled to dismiss the defendant under those circumstances.<sup>75</sup>

Pancner was immediately rearrested on a bench warrant for the same crime. He appeared before the fifth district court on July 14. The hearing was set for July 17 and bond placed at \$2,500. The case continued for two weeks. With the jury recommending mercy to Judge Mark R. Averill, Pancner was found guilty on July 31.<sup>76</sup>

The evidence for Pancner's conviction contained many inconsistencies. There was a general feeling in the community that some of the jurors were coerced into their decisions, after the first ballot of seven for acquittal, five for guilty, was reversed to a unanimous decision of guilty. Statements made during the trial revealed a possible conspiracy against the Tonopah Wobblies. Thomas F. White, the miner shot in the leg by Pancner, stated that he was choking a Wobbly for calling him a scab. Testifying in court on a stretcher, however, he denied any conspiracy on his part. On the other hand, Victor Johnson, an acquaintance of White's, testified that White had told him of one plan to attack the IWW union hall two days before the event. One witness during the justice court proceedings had stated that he had gone to the IWW headquarters to start a fight, but "when called upon to testify in the district court it was found he had left town."<sup>77</sup>

Whatever the facts, on August 25 Judge Averill sentenced Pancner to the Nevada State Penitentiary for a term of not more than eighteen months and not less than twelve months. The Pancner Defense Committee attempted to obtain a retrial in the following months. Efforts to obtain funds through donations failed. The economically troubled times of late 1914 forced the termination of the Pancner appeal.<sup>78</sup>

The incarceration of John Pancner was only a precursor to other events and accusations surrounding IWW Local No. 111. On September 22 a bomb exploded in the vicinity of the *Tonopah Daily Bonanza* building. W. W. Booth, editor of the newspaper, accused the IWW of instigating the violence. Booth demanded in an editorial that the agitators be driven out of town. The *Carson City Daily Appeal* had another version of the incident:

Captain J. P. Donnelley, of the State Police, has returned from Tonopah where he went a few days ago at the insistence of Governor Oddie, who had been asked by W. W. Booth of the *Tonopah Daily Bonanza* to send a detachment of police there as he (Booth) feared that another attempt, following the one of ten days ago, would be made to blow up his office.

Captain Donnelley states that upon his arrival in Tonopah he found everything quiet and that the local officers had matters well in hand. The I. W. W. are there in number, all right, but their chief weapon is talk.

From other parties who have come from Tonopah since the attempt was made to blow up Booth's office the *Appeal* learns there is a feeling existing in Tonopah that the Industrials had nothing to do with the act; that some enemy of Booth's, and he had quite a few, took advantage of the presence of radical Industrials and thought he could do the belligerent editor of the *Bonanza* an injury and escape detection and prosecution and put the blame on members of the I. W. W.<sup>79</sup>

In any event, nothing came of Booth's charges, and the Tonopah Wobblies continued using their conventional tactics. On the morning of October 7 a rally occurred on Tonopah's Main Street. H. E. McGuckin, Oscar Ruf, and Al Williams were arrested for disturbing the peace while singing songs and lecturing to passersby. McGuckin, acting as his own attorney, and the other Wobblies were acquitted of the charge.<sup>80</sup>

Later in the week, a banner in the October 12 *Tonopah Daily Bonanza* read, "Horde of I. W. W. Are On The Way to Raid Tonopah." The headline actually announced the first and only free-speech fight in Nevada labor history which would occur on October 22, 1914. The IWW employed this tactic first in Missoula and Spokane (1909), then Fresno (1910), San Diego (1912), Everett (1916), and throughout the West during this period of Wobbly history. Governor Tasker L. Oddie while campaigning for re-election visited Tonopah on October 19. Town Wobblies questioned Oddie as to his use of the Nevada State Police to turn back footloose Wobblies in a planned free-speech fight in 1913. In contrast, the 1914 Tonopah free-speech fight would attract a significant number of Wobblies without substantial state interference. For the last week IWW members had streamed in from all over Nevada and surrounding states. The IWW's disruption of an anti-Wobbly meeting sponsored by W. W. Booth shortly before the free-speech fight contributed to an already volatile atmosphere in Tonopah.<sup>81</sup>

Free-speech activities began on the evening of October 22 when, according to *Industrial Solidarity*:

The boys started the free-speech fight. They had been singing and talking for 30 minutes, had finished and were selling books and *Solidarity* like water, when the police kicked the box from under the boys, using guns on their heads and beating them up generally. They did not attempt to arrest them; just tried to start a riot, but failed utterly.<sup>82</sup>

Chief of Police Bill Evans, a WFM member and former president of Local No. 121, and other WFM members acting as deputies conducted the brutal attack on the Tonopah Wobblies. It is important to note that Evans only arrested H. E. McGuckin and not the other IWW members. The major purposes of a free-speech fight — to fill the jails to overflowing and to inundate the court docket, which the Wobblies had done with some success in the past — were undermined by Evan's action.<sup>83</sup> Tonopah labor relations between the WFM and IWW had not always been cordial in the past. The national schism between the two unions in 1908 was clearly apparent in the 1914 Tonopah free-speech fight.

The unsuccessful evening of October 22 signaled the end of the free-speech activities. The Tonopah IWW made no further attempts to continue its fight. The charges against McGuckin, organizer of the free-speech fight, were dropped on October 27.<sup>84</sup>

Only two days later, Boris Thomason, a young Russian immigrant known as the "Kaiser" by his enemies, set fire to the Nevada Theater on Brougner Street in Tonopah. The theater fire engulfed at least fifteen surrounding homes. After his arrest on November 11, Thomason's attorney and members of IWW Local No. 111 argued that he had started the conflagration as a retaliatory measure for the beating given him by the Tonopah police.<sup>85</sup> It appears that the same tactics were used to obtain a confession to the theater fire when, according to the *Daily Bonanza*, "after a trying examination, in which the third degree was forcibly administered, Boris Thomason was led to the point of a free and voluntary confession."<sup>86</sup> Thomason pleaded guilty to arson in district court on November 12. On Saturday evening, November 14, Judge Mark Averill pronounced sentence on Thomason: a maximum of twenty-one years but no less than twenty years. In justice court, H. E. McGuckin and Jack Whyte, a national organizer and veteran of the 1912 San Diego free-speech fight who had recently arrived in Tonopah, were accused of complicity in committing arson. Whyte was released on November 16, but McGuckin was bound over to the grand jury.<sup>87</sup> Tonopah IWW activities were extremely disorganized with John Pancner in prison, Boris Thomason bound for prison, and H. E. McGuckin in jail.

IWW troubles continued. On December 22, Robert Lee Jefferson Davis Stegal forcibly entered the home of Mrs. Minnie Abbott, defense fund secretary for the Tonopah Wobblies, and shot Jack Whyte in the back while he was eating dinner. Whyte and McGuckin (who had been recently released from the county jail, his case still pending) had planned to leave for California by train the following morning where they would exhort Wobblies to come to Tonopah and Goldfield. For Whyte the organizational campaign never came to pass. Stegal's bullet had grazed his spine, leaving him almost completely paralyzed. Interestingly enough, Whyte refused to press charges on the grounds he had no respect for capitalist law, a sentiment he had forcefully conveyed at his trial in San Diego two years earlier. When the justice of the peace and district

attorney visited Whyte at the county hospital and asked for his deposition, he vehemently responded:

To hell with your law; I'll *prosecute no one. I have been working to dissolve the state 20 years. Why should I prosecute any one. I have neither seen nor heard of justice in Tonopah.*

Stegal was soon released on one thousand dollar bond, was rearrested shortly thereafter and again released, this time on five hundred dollar bond. He was then freed a month later. His motives for the shooting were never determined. Whyte was moved to San Francisco's McNutt Hospital in early January, and died there on February 2, 1915. The irony of the Whyte shooting is that Stegal committed suicide after Whyte's death.<sup>88</sup>

The death of Jack Whyte culminated the last major IWW incident in Tonopah until shortly before World War I. The attempt to make Tonopah a stronghold of the "One Big Union," as Goldfield once was, had failed.<sup>89</sup>

The labor situation in Goldfield in 1914 differed greatly from Tonopah. The cyanide process, not shaft mining, was the major producer of gold ore. Cyaniding, the final process in a mining operation which recovers the remaining ore in left-over tailings, required a small work force. The Consolidated Mines Company employed most of the seven hundred miners still working in Goldfield. The town's labor force would prove nearly impossible to organize with George Wingfield, a man who thoroughly detested the IWW, controlling the declining number of jobs.<sup>90</sup>

The Wobbly "Flying Squadron" reconnoitered the Goldfield labor scene in May and June 1914. John Pancner, after having several successful street meetings, left the Tonopah Propaganda League to organize Goldfield. It was not until August 26, 1914 that Goldfield Metal Mine Workers' Union No. 353 was organized with the aid of H. E. McGuckin.<sup>91</sup>

It appears little, if anything, was done to improve Goldfield labor conditions during the two and one half years the union functioned. A letter to Paul F. Brissenden, the first historian of the IWW, from Secretary Charlie Chambers of the IWW local gave a vague insight into the depressed economic conditions in April 1916. Chambers wrote, "The economic conditions of this camp forbid the answer of the question. . . . I trust . . . it will not be long before 353 can meet openly and above board."<sup>92</sup>

On July 20, a Goldfield miner — probably Chambers — wrote a letter to *The Industrial Worker*. The miner asserted that good rebels who had gained their experience at Cripple Creek and Coeur d' Alene comprised IWW Local No. 353. His letter also contained some very significant information. He cited a letter from "Big Bill" Haywood, secretary-treasurer of the IWW, to a Western Wobbly — again probably Chambers. The letter explained in some detail the IWW tactics that would be used in future organizing efforts in Tonopah and Goldfield after January 1917:

The small mine locals [353 and others] have been struggling along and accomplishing little. My idea was to extend the jurisdiction of the charter of Redding, Cal., preferably to include the entire Western country. A campaign of organization then to be carried on in all other mining camps, concentrating the membership under this one charter. The work would be done in all camps until we are strong enough to establish ourselves in local industrial unions. I believe if this plan is adopted the men of spirit and red blood will gather under the banner of industrial unionism and before many years have passed, we can have *One Big Union* of mineworkers of which we can all be proud, and for such a union we can devote our energy.<sup>93</sup>

Charles McKinnon's attempts in 1917 to organize Goldfield's four hundred and fifty miners into Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800, based in Phoenix instead of Redding, proved virtually fruitless. McKinnon, long-time brother-in-law of Haywood and former president of WFM Local No. 220, was now a full-fledged Wobbly organizer under the direction of Grover Perry, secretary-treasurer of the regional miners' union. Nearly ten years after his first defeat at the hand of George Wingfield, McKinnon still could not weaken Wingfield's iron grip on the dying community. Wingfield constantly threatened to close his remaining operations if there were any labor troubles. Goldfield miners continued to receive the lowest mining wage in Nevada until the Consolidated Mines Company closed its mill in January 1919. The mill closing ended the last major gold mining production in the Goldfield area.<sup>94</sup> Although George Wingfield was definitely unsuccessful in eliminating the IWW permanently from Goldfield in 1908, Russell Elliott is correct when he states that "There was no effective labor movement after 1908."<sup>95</sup> Goldfield's heyday as a mining town and "Golden Age" for radical labor activities had long since passed.

In Tonopah, the lack of labor solidarity between the WFM, affiliated with the conservative AFL since 1911, and IWW locals did not contribute to a successful Wobbly organization. In fact, the hostility between the two unions in 1914 insured the failure of the IWW, as had been the case when WFM Local No. 121 refused to back the IWW in 1906 and early 1907. The elimination of IWW organizers John Pancner, Henry E. McGuckin, and Jack Whyte coupled with the rapidly declining Goldfield economy also contributed substantially to the failure of the IWW in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District.

The year preceding American entrance into World War I represented the zenith of Wobbly success nationally. An increase of national IWW membership from approximately 40,000 in 1916, to over 100,000 in 1917, was augmented by some radical gains in Tonopah.<sup>96</sup>

WFM Local No. 121 continued to be labor spokesman for Tonopah miners until its demise in October 1916. On October 20, a local IWW Miners' Union was established. The Tonopah Mine Workers' Union, which claimed a total membership of nearly one thousand, won a sub-

stantial wage increase of fifty cents per day for all miners in December 1916.<sup>97</sup>

The Tonopah Mine Workers' Union disbanded shortly before Charles McKinnon organized a local of Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800 in May 1917. Sustained Wobbly labor activity in Tonopah by the regional miners' union appeared negligible during the war years. McKinnon, soliciting donations for the Bisbee, Arizona deportees, in August, was himself deported from Yerington and Rochester, Nevada. The imprisonment of Grover Perry and Charles McKinnon during the September federal crackdown on Wobblies dealt a crucial blow to IWW activities in Tonopah, Goldfield, and throughout the mining West.<sup>98</sup>

The war years of 1917 and 1918 witnessed overt repression of radical labor activity on a national, state, and local level. After numerous private meetings, a committee of Western governors, including Nevada Governor Emmet D. Boyle, adopted an anti-IWW resolution. The resolution proposed:

That members of the I.W.W. against whom there is evidence of intrigue or activity, not merely to agitate for better conditions, but to commit acts of treason and treasonably to hinder the operations of industries, or the harvesting of crops necessary to the prosecution of the war, be not arrested after charges, but they be interned during the period of the war—preferably in camps at some distance from the place of apprehension. This plan would effectively mistify [*sic*] and frighten them; would avoid making heroes out of them; and would deprive them of their best material for propaganda—besides, avoiding rash action by citizens [similar to the Bisbee deportations].<sup>99</sup>

Although the resolution did not indicate how the government would differentiate between legal and treasonable agitation, the Western governors presented this scheme to President Woodrow Wilson on July 13, 1917. The plan included extra-legal and illegal means to crush the IWW which utilized a federal effort backed by state and local agencies. The anti-IWW plan was never officially endorsed by the federal government. Yet the fact that Governor Boyle approved of such a policy would in many ways be representative of Nevada's attitude toward the IWW during and after the war. Boyle most assuredly did not complain about the systematic federal harassment and imprisonment of Wobblies during the Wilson administration.<sup>100</sup>

### **Tonopah: 1919–1922**

Commenting in his annual legislative message in 1919, Governor Boyle described the Nevada labor climate during the war:

Moreover, on the record, labor, over the wartime period, met in the most admirable manner the demands and the request of governments, state and national. In the face of rising costs of living, wage increases over this period were surprisingly moder-

ate. Conspicuously, in this state, no labor group failed to meet the request of the state that differences be arbitrated or adjusted.

Boyle then went on to lambaste the Wobblies as well as their vigilante opponents:

[There] will come the danger to harmonious relations between employer and employee; danger of the absorption by idle and discouraged groups of false philosophies and increasing danger to the state of the recurrence of the intense and bitter industrial disputes which at one time served to write disgraceful pages in the history of the intermountain country. The I.W.W.ism with its faults and brutal philosophy has not been and will not be successfully combatted by mob rule or by methods which do not lie wholly within the law, and it lives and thrives on the petty autocracy manifested in the inconsiderate acts of capital.

Governor Boyle no longer advocated interment camps to crush the IWW. In February, 1919 the Nevada Criminal Syndicalism Act was passed at the governor's behest. Any "doctrine which advocates or teaches crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful means of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform" was a felony. Punishment included a prison sentence of not more than ten years or a five thousand dollar fine, or both. Boyle, it appeared, had the legal power to eradicate the IWW, if it should act in the manner described.<sup>101</sup>

On the other hand, the Criminal Syndicalism Act was virtually useless in the Tonopah area because it was next to impossible to secure a convicting jury. The predominately working class population was generally sympathetic to the radicals, and hostile toward the mining corporations, while judicial prosecution only made the Wobblies labor martyrs.

With a post-war boom in silver production in full swing due to the Pittman Silver Act of 1918, the area mine operators called upon the Department of Labor to deport alien agitators. This federal action, as far as the mining interests were concerned, would eliminate the growing Wobbly threat in 1919. Any prosecution of Wobblies in Tonopah's fifth district court was considered a worthless venture due to pro-labor community sentiment, and the Tonopah Vigilance League — which had kept the peace during the war — could not be relied on. The last thing the mine owners wanted was another vigilante deportation crusade like Bisbee, Arizona. Nevada Senators Key Pittman and Charles B. Henderson, and ex-Delaware governor C. R. Miller, an influential investor in Nevada, demanded that the Immigration Bureau move against the Tonopah Wobblies before "the propaganda which is being carried on . . . result[s] . . . in the commission of overt acts." The bureau after numerous investigations found no deportable offenses, and thus no grounds for federal intervention in the Tonopah labor scene.<sup>102</sup>

In early 1919 the IWW, driven underground during the war years, dramatically surfaced in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District. The Wobblies, now portrayed as a "bolsheviki" threat as opposed to "Imperial Wilhelm's Warriors," were estimated by the Nevada Commissioner

of Labor to number between one and two thousand in the state. Whether or not these figures were actually representative of Nevada IWW membership, the Wobblies would have sufficient numbers organized in Tonopah to initiate a miners' strike on August 17, 1919. Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800, reinvigorated with the new leadership of George Kinser and Mickey Sullivan, succeeded in passing a strike vote. The strikers' demands included wage increases and a shorter day for miners and millmen in the area.<sup>103</sup>

Conservative miners, led by W.J. McKeough, chairman of the Airdome Committee — the committee was named after the structure where the meetings were held — originally asked for a wage increase of one dollar per shift which would make the standard wage six dollars for top men and muckers and seven dollars for shaft men. Later IWW meetings conducted by George Kinser in the Tonopah ballpark included the additional demands of a six-hour day, at least two miners working together in the mines for increased safety, and eight dollars per shift for shaft men. The generally conservative surface miners and millmen did not endorse the radical demands which would mainly benefit the underground miners. The surface workers continued to back their original proposal. A lack of labor solidarity was evident.<sup>104</sup>

The Tonopah and Divide Operators' Association offered the striking miners a counter proposition. The mine owners would help establish a cooperative community store and "use their influence to lower the cost of rentals and to do everything in their power to reduce the cost of living in Divide [a mining town three miles south of Tonopah] and Tonopah. . . ." The proposition did not appeal to either faction of the striking miners. James E. Hayes, member of the conservative Airdome Committee, sent a telegram to the U.S. Secretary of Labor asking for a federal mediator.<sup>105</sup>

Joseph Lord arrived in Tonopah on the evening of August 26. Arbitration between the mine operators and miners began the next day. Lord found that the conservative miners had organized the Tonopah and Divide Mine and Mill Workers' Union just one day prior to his arrival. The conservative miners were also backed by the newly-created AFL Tonopah Trades Assembly. The labor situation was becoming increasingly complicated. Lord was faced with the problem of arbitrating between two factions of miners and two bodies of mine owners, since the Divide operators were more conciliatory than their Tonopah counterparts.<sup>106</sup>

The IWW was not happy with the arbitration arrangement and the Tonopah labor scene in general. George Kinser urged miners not to affiliate with the conservative miners' union because it did not represent the strikers. The Tonopah and Divide Mine and Mill Workers' Union soon quietly passed away. Kinser also protested the Nevada State Police deportation of Wobblies Mickey Scanlon and Fred Mignardot on the evening of August 18. Boyle's August 22 directive to the state police to

preserve an attitude of neutrality toward the Tonopah labor conflict came after the fact.<sup>107</sup>

Governor Boyle and Nevada Labor Commissioner Robert F. Cole arrived in Tonopah on Tuesday morning, September 2. Boyle's first item of business was to confer with the Tonopah and Divide operators, and then the two factions of strikers. With arbitration at a standstill, Governor Boyle decided to accept an invitation to address the ballpark contingent of miners and the IWW committee on Monday evening, September 8. Boyle's attitude toward radical labor and the IWW was plainly visible when he labeled them as "subversive of civilization and destructive of all industry," and charged that the Wobblies "had scabbed shamelessly on the job when the whole civilized world was on strike against an autocracy that threatened to destroy every democratic institution." It was quite evident that Boyle did not recognize the IWW as a legitimate labor organization and a representative of the Tonopah miners.<sup>108</sup>

Labor's weakness in the initial discussions was evident in the obvious lack of solidarity between the surface miners and millmen, and the underground miners. Governor Boyle, aware of this dissension, asked that a new miners' committee be created, and shortly thereafter announced that the mediators would conduct no further negotiations with the ballpark IWW delegation. Boyle proposed a secret referendum vote among so-called bona fide employees to end the strike. The referendum was passed by what seemed an overwhelming margin of nearly six to one on September 13. The only concession the miners gained was the original Tonopah and Divide Operators' Association proposal.<sup>109</sup>

On Monday, September 15, 1919, Tonopah mines and miners were to return to normal activity. Yet the anti-strike referendum, passed by the millmen and surface miners and not underground miners, did not override the IWW strike order. The Tonopah Trades Assembly also refused to violate the order. Boyle, extremely disappointed in his failure to end the strike, had underestimated the strength of the IWW Miners' Union and their ballpark delegation.<sup>110</sup>

The strike continued for over two weeks without any significant changes in labor relations. George Wingfield, who owned the controlling interests in many of the Tonopah and Divide mines, arrived in Tonopah on October 1 and served as the mine owners' representative in the negotiations. Wingfield conferred with the conservative miners and craft union members later that day. On October 2, the Tonopah Trades Assembly withdrew its support of the strike. The Tonopah and Divide Mine and Millmens' Union, recently organized with the mine owners' approval, declared the strike over. Wingfield was definitely determined to eliminate the IWW from the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District once and for all.<sup>111</sup>

An official proclamation by Governor Boyle appeared in the Tonopah newspapers on October 3 which gave executive support to the agreement of the mediators, mine owners, and labor representatives, excluding the

Wobbly delegation, to end the strike. Boyle declared that all labor organizations which profess "American principles" had returned to the job in Tonopah and Divide, and that the state would use its full power to support every "decent man" affiliated with an "American union" who desired to work.<sup>112</sup>

IWW Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800 still refused to recognize the end of the strike. Activities and agitation which included the striking miners' wives picketing the mines were maintained to keep the mines closed. On October 4, Governor Boyle went to Judge Mark R. Averill, the presiding judge in the Pancner and Thomason cases as well as the present chairman of the Tonopah businessmen's committee involved in the strike negotiations, and obtained sweeping injunctions repressing IWW strike activities. George Kinser and Mickey Sullivan were specifically named in the injunction which restrained them from teaching criminal anarchy and syndicalism, direct action, and unlawful coercion, among other charges.<sup>113</sup>

The temporary injunction against the Tonopah Wobblies reflected the 1919 national Red Scare hysteria. The injunction claimed

that during the last ten (10) years the Industrial Workers of the World have conducted a campaign of terrorism which has been notorious throughout the United States so that their name is a synonym for violence, incendiarism, treason and anarchy; that within that time they have burned wheat fields and vast expanses of timber; that they have blown up factories and destroyed mines; that they have broken machinery, derailed trains [*sic*] and created havoc generally by physical force; that they have intimidated communities and on frequent occasions have so terrorized the population as to require the full power of the county [*sic*] for their suppression; that by threats made by placards as well as sent through the mail, they have put thousands of persons in fear of assassinations and in fear of destruction of their buildings as well as in fear of the ruin of their business activities; that during the war with Germany, they notoriously stood on the side of the enemy and advocated the obstruction of every sort of the conduct of the war, all of which is . . . common knowledge. . . . that at said [ballpark] meetings from day to day, speakers addressed the assemblages and stated that the social revolution was in progress throughout the civilized world; that Lenine [*sic*] of Russia was the apostle of such a revolution and that Great Britain, Australia, Russia, Germany, Italy and the United States would soon be at the mercy of men who advocated the same principles as are accepted and advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World. . . .<sup>114</sup>

On Monday night, October 6, Nick Skoll, a Tonopah Wobbly during the 1914 labor activities, was arrested by the state police and charged with coercion for his attempts to dissuade men from returning to work. Appearing in justice court on October 10, Skoll was released on five hundred dollars bail in lieu of a jury trial. Martin J. Scanlan, Socialist

attorney for the IWW and former Nye County state senator, defended Skoll at the same time he defended Kinser and Sullivan in district court. On October 19, the jury found Skoll guilty but recommended clemency. Justice Harry R. Grier freed him on bond to keep the peace.<sup>115</sup>

Meanwhile, the IWW injunction trial and strike continued. Judge Averill upheld the temporary injunction on October 23, yet mining operations were sporadic until November 8. The mine operators and conservative labor officials finally ratified a negotiated contract effective through August 15, 1920. The contract was a partial compromise for the Tonopah and Divide Mine and Millmens' Union. The miners received a fifty-cent increase in pay retroactive to the time they resumed work. The mine owners also established a commissary and boarding house to reduce the cost of living. The boarding house charged \$37.50 per month, the commissary sold goods at cost, and coal was delivered at cost. The contract still contained a significant stipulation that led to further labor trouble. A federal mediator would return to Tonopah every thirty days to determine if the cost of living had been reduced. If this was the case, the fifty-cent wage increase would be abolished.<sup>116</sup>

The mining operation returned to pre-strike activity on November 10 after the IWW ballpark committee was permitted to meet by the governor. Subsequently the strike was called off. Surprisingly, the Wobblies decided not to challenge the court's decision which upheld the temporary injunction. The Tonopah miners' strike in 1919 was clearly a substantial defeat for the Wobblies in Nevada, but it seems for propaganda purposes an article in *Industrial Solidarity* declared that the IWW had won the strike. On November 25, Judge Averill made the temporary injunction a perpetual one. In effect it became a crime to be a practicing Wobbly in the state. The November 12 banner headline of W. W. Booth's *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, "Exterminate the I. W. W.," mirrored the anti-IWW policy actively pursued by Governor Emmet Boyle and George Wingfield. Although the IWW was by no means eliminated from the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District in 1919, the Red Scare zeal of Nevada officials, and Tonopah and Divide mine owners, aimed at crushing the Wobblies had dealt a crucial blow to their organizational activities. With a stepped-up campaign of repression in 1920, the regional miners' union was rendered virtually impotent as a viable labor organization.<sup>117</sup>

The anti-radical campaign began on January 10 when Nye County deputy sheriffs arrested Mike Morarity and Mickey Sullivan. A raid on their residences three days earlier had produced a quantity of IWW literature. George Kinser's house was also ransacked, but no radical material could be found. Morarity and Sullivan were charged with criminal syndicalism as members of Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800, and accused of initiating new members. In addition, the warrants alleged that Morarity was secretary of the Tonopah local, and Sullivan was a delegate. The arrests had culminated a week-long investigation of IWW activities in Tonopah and Divide by the Department of Justice, state police, and Nye and Esmeralda county sheriffs.<sup>118</sup>



*Tonopah IWW Strike Notice*

On January 14, the grand jury returned indictments against the two Wobblies on grounds they violated the Nevada Criminal Syndicalism Law. Bail was set at five thousand dollars each. With Martin Scanlan as counsel for the defense, Morarity and Sullivan appeared before Judge Averill on February 7. Judge Averill overruled the demurrer which claimed that the grand jury indictment was faulty due to the vagueness of the language outlining the Criminal Syndicalism Law, and set the trial date for March 29.<sup>119</sup>

While awaiting trial in the county jail, Sullivan received a telegram from Butte, Montana. His brother was seriously ill, and Sullivan notified the district attorney that he desired to see his dying brother. Harry H. Atkinson and Judge Averill conferred on the question of Sullivan's release shortly after the request. The court permitted Sullivan to leave Nevada on his own recognizance, providing that he appear in court on March 29. That evening, March 15, Sullivan boarded the north-bound train and left Tonopah. The local newspapers questioned if he would ever return to stand trial.<sup>120</sup>

On March 20, Scanlan sent District Attorney Atkinson a telegram from Reno, where he maintained his office, and asked for a postponement of the trial due to the death of Sullivan's brother and serious illness of his sister. Judge Averill complied. Sullivan's case was postponed to May 12, while Morarity's trial was deferred to May 19. Morarity secured his freedom on March 31 when bond was reduced to twenty-five hundred dollars.<sup>121</sup>

Just three weeks later, on April 21, the secretary of the IWW local was rearrested for again violating the Criminal Syndicalism Law. His bond was set at the original five thousand dollars. A strike was to be called April 22, and it seems that the Nye County district attorney wanted Morarity in jail with no opportunity to coordinate IWW activity in Tonopah.<sup>122</sup>

Atkinson received another telegram from defense attorney Scanlan on May 4 which stated that Sullivan had been subpoenaed as a witness in a Butte murder inquest and could not appear on the twelfth. Sullivan's case was postponed to September 6, and Judge Averill released the jurors for that session. Morarity was upset over Averill's action. He charged that the judge had not consulted his attorney prior to releasing the jurors and demanded that he be tried on May 19. Appearing in court on that date, Morarity's attorney made a motion that a new judge hear the case; otherwise the charges should be dropped against the defendant. The following day, Judge J. Emmett Walsh ruled that Averill was qualified to sit on the case. Judge Averill then ordered the case continued until the next calendar.<sup>123</sup>

With his trial date postponed for the second time, Morarity took his case to the Nevada Supreme Court on a writ of habeas corpus. The supreme court was not sympathetic. It declared there were no grounds for habeas corpus, denied Morarity's writ, and remanded him to the Nye County sheriff's custody on August 6. It appears Morarity subsequently worked out a deal with Judge Averill whereby the criminal syndicalism charges would be dropped on the condition he leave Tonopah. Still claiming he was an active Wobbly, Morarity was released from the county jail on September 11. Nonetheless, he left Tonopah shortly thereafter. Apparently Sullivan never returned from Butte, and with Morarity eliminated as an organizer and secretary of the IWW local, the *Tonopah Daily Times* proclaimed, "when he [Morarity] was locked up the local 'fellow workers' missed his leadership, and it was only a short time until the wobblies began leaving the camp. It is probably safe to say that today Tonopah has less wobblies than it has had at any time in the past 10 years, and they're getting scarcer everyday."<sup>124</sup>

Yet prior to the purging of Morarity and Sullivan from Tonopah, the IWW was still able to conduct limited, although usually covert, organizational activities. On the evening of February 7, 1920, Tonopah and Divide miners staged a walkout in protest of the mine owners' abolition of the November 1919 fifty-cent wage increase. After four days of relative peace, a negotiated agreement was reached by the mine operators' association, the mine and millmen's union, and the trades assembly. The radical underground miners took no action. Consequently, District Attorney Atkinson announced that the perpetual injunction against Wobbly activity would be strictly enforced and warned the underground miners that he would prosecute any and all involved in illegal — that is, IWW — labor gatherings. The walkout ended on February 14 with little conspicu-

ous evidence of IWW strike activity. The November 1919 contract remained intact, except that commissary goods could now be sold up to five percent above cost and the Tonopah and Divide miners were guaranteed the fifty-cent wage increase retroactive to February 8. The contract provided for a five dollar and fifty cent minimum wage and was binding for one year. The signing of contracts, an AFL policy, by the Tonopah and Divide Mine and Millmen's Union was antithetical to a successful IWW policy. For the Wobblies, contracts only eliminated their right to strike, which for the radicals was an important, if not the most important, weapon in obtaining their demands from unsympathetic capitalists.<sup>125</sup>

On April 22, Tonopah and Divide underground miners violated the contract and perpetual injunction. Area mine and mill operations were shut down by a sympathy walkout with the Butte strike. The *Tonopah Daily Times* claimed that twenty Wobblies instigated the strike. Only a day earlier, District Attorney Atkinson had warned the miners that any strike action like the one contemplated would be suppressed by his office.<sup>126</sup>

The striking underground miners' demands included a six-hour day, a seven dollar minimum wage, water spray through all drills to prevent accumulation of dust which impaired breathing, and two men in all workings and on each machine drill. The single-man machine drill, a recent technological innovation, had replaced many underground miners in the industry. The strikers also demanded "immediate release of all industrial and political prisoners." Radical underground miners received little support from the conservative miners and millmen. Most of the Divide miners returned to work only one day after the strike call. The abortive action ended in Tonopah on April 24 when, according to the *Daily Times*, "by a vote of 268 to 57 the true-blooded Americans of Tonopah yesterday demonstrated their patriotism, as well as their disgust of the radical element, by signifying their intention of returning to work this morning." That same day, Mike Morarity, recently incarcerated in the county jail, instructed the remaining strikers to return to work. Morarity's decision to call off the strike may have been influenced by the arrival of Deputy Attorney General Robert Richards and six members of the state police to augment the contingent of four already present in Tonopah.<sup>127</sup>

Following the unsuccessful strike, the *Daily Bonanza* and *Daily Times* reported that a meeting of the town's leading citizens and patriotic society representatives had produced a "committee of 100." This "patriotic" vigilante committee was created "to assist in enforcing law and order to the end that Bolshevism and I.W.W.ism be barred from the camp." A small but influential body of Tonopah citizens led by William J. Otts, a member of the state police in 1908 and one-time Burns Agency detective, manifestly perceived the IWW as a national and local threat. The "committee of 100," the state police, and Harry H. Atkinson's stringent enforcement of the perpetual injunction and Criminal Syn-

dicalism Law, guaranteed the Wobblies were well on the road to permanent elimination from the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District.<sup>128</sup>

The last strikes that in any way involved the IWW occurred in 1921 and 1922. Although the Wobblies had reorganized their mining department, and created Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 210 in August 1920 to replace Industrial Union No. 800, the Tonopah branch lacked any significant leadership. By April 12, 1921, when the Tonopah and Divide Mine Operators' Association announced a wage cut of seventy-five cents effective April 16, only a small contingent of rank and file Wobblies worked in the mines. Morarity and Sullivan had long since been eliminated, and George Kinser, it seems, had left Tonopah voluntarily.<sup>129</sup>

The strike lasted nearly four months, from April 16 to August 8. Wobbly periodicals such as *Industrial Solidarity* published strike news, but actual leadership came from the Workers' Association of Tonopah, not the IWW. Nonetheless, the generally conservative body of workers found themselves conducting a losing struggle against the mine operators' association. Senator Key Pittman's criticism of the wage cut went unheeded, while Nevada Labor Commissioner Frank W. Ingram's investigation, which generally favored the miners' position, had no effect on the mine operators' stand. The importation of strike-breakers beginning on May 9, coupled with Governor Boyle's deployment of thirty-five state police in late June to allegedly counter the IWW element, culminated in a thorough defeat of the miners. The spectre of the Wobblies certainly loomed over the strike action, but the radicals played only a minor role at most. It appears that the mine operators used the IWW's presence to their advantage and successfully manipulated the dispute.<sup>130</sup>

On October 1, 1922, the last labor dispute which included any IWW activity began. Several hundred striking underground miners assembled in Tonopah's Eagle Hall and selected committees from each mine to present their demands of six dollars per day for miners and five dollars and fifty cents per day for muckers. Tonopah Wobblies had conducted a meeting at the ballpark prior to the Eagle Hall gathering, but their demands and tactics were generally ignored. Interestingly enough, most of the underground miners decided to arbitrate directly with the mine operators.<sup>131</sup>

Mediation began on October 3. The mine operators agreed to obtain wage and living comparisons of other mining camps in Nevada and surrounding states. Shortly thereafter, the operators' association presented a comparison which showed the Tonopah wage scale higher than adjacent states, although the cost of living was also higher. The operators offered an additional twenty-five cents per day which made the miners' wage five dollars and fifty cents per day.

On October 17, the underground miners returned to work after accepting an adjusted proposal. The main points in the agreement included:

1. An increase of 50 cents per shift conditioned on \$1.00 silver.

2. The underground employees agreed to return to work on October 17, 1922, and would not engage in any sympathetic or other strike during the life of the agreement.
3. Employees agreed to combat any attempt to stigmatize Tonopah and Divide camps as anything but fair camps.
4. Employees agreed to maintain as permanent the committee signing the agreement as their representatives and to provide for filling vacancies of the committee promptly.<sup>132</sup>

This proscriptive labor contract was aimed covertly, if not overtly, at the IWW and its organizing activities in the Tonopah and Divide mines. According to the *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*,

The result [of the contract] will unquestionably be that we will be favored with the presence of the most skilled men in the industry, and that the undesirable foreign element [the IWW] will soon be extinct. Efficiency is what a mine operator desires, and it is only possible to secure the same through making an inducement that will bring about a class of citizenship that is truly American in deed, thought, and principle.<sup>133</sup>

The acceptance of this contract by the underground miners, the one class of workers which consistently supported the Wobblies due to their dangerous working conditions and low wages, sounded the death knell for the IWW. Radical labor, after seventeen years of fighting for working class solidarity in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District, was for all practical purposes "exterminated."

### Conclusion

Radical labor history in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District, which was much more extensive and complex than portrayed by historians to date, involved a long history of suppression. Mine owners, governors, legislators, and judges proved instrumental in crushing the WFM and IWW. Although the Wobblies' goals and rhetoric were radical and anti-capitalistic, their tactics were militant at most. Wage increases, better working conditions, and shorter hours were demands that could fit only into an evolutionary syndicalist policy, not a revolutionary one. The "anarcho-image" and the revolutionary apocalypse projected in Wobbly rhetoric were more their undoing than their syndicalist philosophy. This is not to say that they would have succeeded where they previously failed if the rhetoric and image had been toned down. Still, the IWW's chances of success and longevity, especially in their initial organizing activity in Goldfield, would have been greatly enhanced had they not alienated the conservative WFM miners and industrial unionists. Community and government repression, economic depressions, internal conflict, a world war, and the Red Scare proved to be the final undoing of the IWW in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District.

## Notes

1. Russell R. Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Booms: Tonopah, Goldfield, Ely* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), pp. 5, 8, 15–19.
2. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 6, 1901; Laura A. White, "Rise of the Industrial Workers of the World" (M.A. Thesis, University of Nebraska, 1912), p. 4. Apparently there is a discrepancy which concerns two possible master's theses written by Laura White. Both have been cited by scholars in studies of this time period in Goldfield. The University of Nevada Gatchell Library in Reno had a thesis titled, "History of the Labor Struggles in Goldfield, Nevada," which totals 203 pages. I possess a shorter thesis of 113 pages sent to me by the University of Nebraska Love Library in Lincoln. In "Rise of the Industrial Workers of the World," the study terminates in March 1907, while in "History of the Labor Struggles in Goldfield, Nevada," the thesis ends with the demise of the WFM and IWW in early 1908.
3. Paul F. Brissenden, *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol. 83 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919), pp. 41–42, 191.
4. "High Grading," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* LXXXIII, (May 25, 1907), 1012; "Gold Stealing in Nevada," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* LXXXIV, (December 14, 1907), 1128.
5. Russell R. Elliott, *Radical Labor in the Nevada Mining Booms 1900–1920*, Nevada Studies in History and Political Science No. 2 (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1963), p. 43.
6. Elliott, *Nevada's Twentieth Century Mining Booms*, pp. 145, 148.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 104; White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," pp. 4, 17. It is interesting to note that the American Labor Union (1902–1905), organized by the WFM to challenge the hegemony of the AFL, was formerly called the Western Labor Union (1898–1902). In C. B. Glasscock's work, *Gold in Them Hills: The Story of the West's Last Wild Mining Days* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1932), he mentions the American Labor Union's presence in Tonopah, p. 301. ALU Local No. 224 of Tonopah existed between 1902 and 1905 when in the latter year the national organization merged into the IWW, *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, December 27, 1902. Just three months after the merger, the IWW conducted their first organizational meetings in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District, *Tonopah Daily Sun*, October 27, 1905.
8. According to Lillard, *Desert Challenge* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), "Later in the year [1904] two other unions formed a carpenters' local of the American Federation of Labor and a Federal Union. The latter was a local of Samuel Gompers's [*sic*] new organization intended to enroll all unskilled workers and frustrate any 'one big union' some other organization might want to start," p. 279. The question still remains as to why the IWW so easily captured the Federal Union if its function was to prevent just that.
9. Laura White's study sheds some important light on the subject. She treats the Federal Union as a distinct organization, and not as a local of the AFL: "Thus we have from the first three labor groups that are to figure prominently in the latter struggles—the Western Federation of Miners, the American Federation of Labor represented chiefly by the carpenters' and printers' unions, and the local Federal Union, which later becomes part of the Industrial Workers of the World," p. 5. The implication here is that the Federal Union—or Western Labor Union as W. A. Willis, an official in the union and the WFM, called it—was not related ideologically to the AFL but the IWW. This would explain why the IWW had no trouble in replacing the Federal Union by 1906. It seems reasonable to conclude that the chances were greater that the Federal Union was a local of the WFM's American Labor Union, than a local of the AFL.
10. White, "Rise of the I.W.W." pp. 8–13.
11. Harold Lord Varney, "The Story of the I.W.W.," *One Big Union Monthly*, (August 1919), p. 36.

10. *House. Papers Relative to the Labor Troubles at Goldfield. Nevada Message from the President of the U.S. transmitting Report of Special Commission on Labor Troubles at Goldfield, Nevada, and Papers Relating Thereto.* 60th Congress 1st Session, House Executive Document, No. 607. (Washington, D.C., 1908), p. 23.
11. Fred Thompson, *The I.W.W. Its First Fifty Years (1905-1955)* (Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1955), p. 31; White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," p. 18; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, March 30, 1907; *The Goldfield News*, December 1, December 29, 1905.
12. Phillip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, 4 vols. (New York: International Publishers, 1947-1965), 4: 94-95; Brissenden, *I.W.W.*, pp. 83-110; White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," pp. 22-23; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, April 6, September 14, 1907.
13. *The Industrial Worker*, August 27, 1910.
14. House Ex. Doc., No. 607, p. 23.
15. White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," pp. 6, 17.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 22; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, April 6, 1907; Tonopah IWW papers, Getchell Library-Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno.
18. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, April 6, 1907.
19. *Ibid.*; White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," p. 23.
20. White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," p. 24.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 25; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, April 6, 1906.
22. White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," pp. 25-26.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; Margaret L. Coit, *Mr. Baruch* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1957), p. 126; Glasscock, *Gold in Them Hills*, pp. 241-45.
25. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, April 6, 1907.
26. Affidavit: Charles McKinnon, *The Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company v. Goldfield Miners Union No. 220, et al.*, Circuit Court of the United States within and for the District of Nevada (1908), p. 6.
27. White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," pp. 30-33.
28. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, March 30, April 6, April 13, 1907.
29. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1907; *Tonopah Daily Sun*, January 8, 1907. James H. Walsh led the colorful "overalls brigade" to the fourth annual IWW convention in Chicago in 1908. His troupe was instrumental in ousting the Daniel De Leon faction of the IWW. Walsh is also credited with the idea of printing the now famous *Little Red Songbook* (1909), Richard Brazier, "Story of the I.W.W.'s Little Red Songbook," *Labor History* 9 (Winter 1968), 91-105.
30. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, September 14, 1907.
31. Vernon H. Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950), p. 193; *Tonopah Daily Sun*, January 4, 1907.
32. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, October 12, November 9, December 7, 1907; *Miners' Magazine*, October 31, 1907.
33. White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," pp. 41-50.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-40.
35. *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, March 17, 1907; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, April 6, 1907; Affidavit: Charles McKinnon, p. 8.
36. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, April 6, 1907. Joseph Smith was the Socialist Party's candidate for Nevada state treasurer in 1906, Brissenden, *I.W.W.*, pp. 201-202.

37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, March 11, 1907.
39. *Tonopah Daily Sun*, April 12, 1907; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, May 4, May 18, June 8, November 2, 1907.
40. *Industrial Solidarity*, June 6, 1914.
41. *Nevada Workman*, September 7, 1907; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, February 27, 1909; White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," p. 19.
42. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, July 4, 1908; *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, July 31, 1908, August 25, 1909; Jack Grover, *Diamondfield Jack: A Study in Frontier Justice* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1968), pp. 160–61.
43. *Carson City Daily Appeal*, November 7, November 14, November 15, 1911, April 25, 1914; *Industrial Solidarity*, June 6, 1914; Brissenden, *I.W.W.*, p. 197; "Biennial Report of the Warden of the State Prison, 1911–1912," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1913), 35; "Biennial Report of the Attorney-General, 1913–1914," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1915), I, 101–104. A provocative question remains unanswered as to why Governor Oddie — a Tonopah mine owner and close associate of George Wingfield — objected to Preston's parole after J. F. Douglas, chief counsel for the prosecution in the Preston-Smith case, wrote a letter in 1914 to the Board of Pardons and Parole which stated: "Relative to my opinion of the testimony given by Claiborne and Bliss at the trial of M. R. Preston, I have no hesitancy in stating that I became convinced at the time of the trial and from information which came to me subsequently thereto, that both the above witnesses perjured themselves at that trial. Certainly, enough of their testimony was perjured to create grave doubt as to the truth of any of it." Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *The Rebel Girl, An Autobiography: My First Life (1906–1926)* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), pp. 93–95; Morrie R. Preston, *The Smith-Preston Case* (Reno: Journal Press, April 1915), pp. 21–22.
44. *Tonopah Daily Sun*, March 11, March 15, 1907; *Goldfield News*, March 16, 1907; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, March 30, 1907.
45. *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, April 1, April 7, 1907; *Goldfield News*, April 13, 1907; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, May 18, 1907.
46. *Tonopah Daily Sun*, April 12, 1907; *Goldfield News*, April 13, April 27, 1907; *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, April 22, 1907; *The Engineering and Mining Journal* LXXXIII, (May 18, 1907), 976; Affidavit: Charles McKinnon, pp. 11–12.
47. *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1907; *Goldfield News*, July 27, 1907; Affidavit: Charles McKinnon, p. 13.
48. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, August 30, 1907; White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," pp. 55–56. The *Nevada Workmen* is mentioned in John Dos Passos' *The 42nd Parallel*, pp. 100–109.
49. *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, August 20, August 21, 1907; *Goldfield News*, August 24, 1907; Affidavit: Charles McKinnon, p. 14. Russell Elliott states that the change room trouble began on August 18. That is the date the *Goldfield* newspapers cite in their rather sketchy reports on the early days of this labor-management confrontation. McKinnon, who was elected president of WFM Local No. 220 during this period, describes in some detail the establishment of change rooms and places the origin of the controversy on August 17.
50. "Gold Stealing in Nevada," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* LXXXIV, (December 14, 1907), 1128.
51. *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, September 8, 1907; Affidavit: Charles McKinnon, pp. 15–16.
52. *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, November 6, November 7, 1907; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, November 16, 1907.
53. *Engineering and Mining Journal* LXXXIV, (October 26, 1907), 804.
54. *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, November 27, 1907; Affidavit: Charles McKinnon, pp. 17–24.

55. *Goldfield Chronicle*, December 3, 1907; C.O. Lovell to Governor John Sparks, Goldfield, Nevada, November 28, 1907, John Sparks Papers, Nevada Historical Society. The Nevada State Legislature approved the state detective bill on March 5, 1885. The governor was given the authority to appoint a maximum of five detectives who had the power of a peace officer and could make arrests without warrants.

It appears that officials of the Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company requested Governor Sparks in December, 1906 to send detectives to the town. Sparks complied on January 4, 1907 and sent four detectives: Fred Gleason, C.O. Lovell, T.F. Murray, and E.S. Sheridan. Murray resigned on September 4, and Governor Sparks appointed Clarence A. Sage. Sage not only worked as a Nevada state detective, but was employed by the Thiel Detective Agency as well. George Wingfield had hired the private detective agency earlier that year to apprehend high-graders and infiltrate the miners' union. A fifth state detective, Thomas Ramsey, was appointed in December and sent to Goldfield. Sage directed both the state detectives and private detectives. John Sparks Papers, Nevada Historical Society; White, "Rise of the I.W.W.," p. 43.

56. House Ex. Doc., No. 607, pp. 21-22.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 22; Elliott, *Twentieth Century Mining Booms*, p. 131.

58. House Ex. Doc., No. 607, p. 22; *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, December 10, 1907.

59. "The Goldfield Situation," *The Outlook*, December 21, 1907, pp. 838-39.

60. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, December 28, 1907.

61. House Ex. Doc., No. 607, pp. 5, 16; "The Situation at Goldfield," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* LXXXIV, (December 21, 1907), 1177.

62. House Ex. Doc., No. 607, pp. 8-9.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10; "Troops to Leave Goldfield," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* LXXXIV, (December 28, 1907), 1227.

64. House Ex. Doc., No. 607, pp. 11-14.

65. *Statutes Of The State Of Nevada Passed At The Special Session Of The Legislature 1908* (Carson City: 1908), 21; *Industrial Union Bulletin*, February 15, 1908; "The Nevada State Police," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* LXXXV, (February 18, 1908), 376; *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, March 7, 1908.

66. *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, December 27, December 28, 1907, March 7, 1908; *Tonopah Daily Sun*, March 7, March 11, 1908.

67. Being extremely popular among rank and file Wobblies because of his leadership in the Goldfield labor troubles, Vincent St. John (1876-1929) was elected general secretary-treasurer of the IWW in late 1908. In 1915 he resigned from the top union position. St. John then prospected in New Mexico until federal authorities arrested him in October 1917 for his past affiliation with the IWW. In August 1918, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis sentenced St. John to ten years in prison and fined him \$30,000. He was released from Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary by President Calvin Coolidge in 1923.

68. *The Industrial Worker*, August 27, 1910.

69. Tonopah IWW Papers, Getchell Library-Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno.

70. *Industrial Solidarity*, December 18, 1915.

71. *Ibid.*, June 13, July 25, 1914; Brissenden, *I.W.W.*, p. 203.

72. *Industrial Solidarity*, July 25, 1914.

73. *Ibid.*; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 13, 1914.

74. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 13, 1914; *Industrial Solidarity*, July 25, 1914, December 18, 1915.

75. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 14, 1914.

76. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1914; *Industrial Solidarity*, September 5, 1914; "Biennial Report of the Attorney-General, 1913-1914," I, 165.

77. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 29, August 1, 1914; *Industrial Solidarity*, September 26, 1914.
78. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, August 26, 1914; *Industrial Solidarity*, November 28, 1914. Pancner served his maximum sentence and was released from the Nevada State Penitentiary on April 12, 1916, "Board of Pardons and Parole Commissioners," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1917), I, 42; *Carson City Daily Appeal*, April 12, 1916. John Pancner returned to his organizational activities for the IWW. He was arrested in the federal crackdown on Wobblies during World War I, found guilty of violating the Federal Espionage Law, and sentenced to five years at Leavenworth. Pancner was released in the early 1920's along with a number of other political prisoners and returned to his birthplace, Detroit. He quit the IWW and joined the United Auto Workers (UAW) in 1933. He later became secretary-treasurer of the Hupp local, and retired from UAW Local 235 in 1952. Pancner died recently, and his papers, including an oral history, are preserved in the Wayne State University Labor Archives in Detroit. Joyce L. Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices, an I.W.W. Anthology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), p. 99.
79. *Carson City Daily Appeal*, September 29, 1914; *Industrial Solidarity*, October 24, 1914.
80. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 7, October 8, October 17, 1914.
81. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 12, 1914; *Industrial Solidarity*, October 31, 1914.
82. *Industrial Solidarity*, October 31, 1914.
83. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 23, 1914; Foner, *Labor Movement*, Vol. 4, pp. 174-75.
84. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 28, 1914.
85. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1914; *Industrial Solidarity*, December 18, 1915.
86. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, November 11, 1914.
87. *Ibid.*, November 12, November 13, November 14, November 16, 1914; "Report of the Attorney-General, 1913-1914," I, 165-66; Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices*, pp. 104-105. The Board of Pardons and Parole commuted Thomason's sentence from twenty to twenty-one years, to twenty years in November 1918. He was subsequently paroled on November 29, 1919, "Governor's Message to Legislature," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1919), I, 41; "Governor's Message to Legislature," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1921), I, 37; *Carson City Daily Appeal*, November 29, 1919.
88. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, December 23, December 24, December 26, December 28, December 29, 1914, January 18, January 28, February 5, 1915; *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 4, 1915; Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices*, pp. 104-105; "Report of the Attorney-General, 1913-1914," I, 166; "News and Views," *The International Socialist Review*, (March 1915), p. 571.
89. *Industrial Solidarity*, December 18, 1915.
90. *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, January 4, 1914; *Industrial Solidarity*, June 13, 1914.
91. *Ibid.* Exact date is recorded on official seal preserved in the Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company detective materials.
92. Brissenden, *I.W.W.*, p. 203, Thompson, *The I.W.W.*, p. 34. Charlie Chambers' position as secretary of Goldfield Metal Mine Workers' Union No. 353 can be verified in Consolidated Mines Company detective materials.
93. *The Industrial Worker*, July 29, 1916.
94. *Ibid.*, September 23, 1916, May 5, June 2, 1917; James W. Hulse, *The Nevada Adventure: A History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969), p. 180. The IWW organized Metal Mine Workers' Local No. 800 on January 29, 1917; Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company detective materials. On June 20, 1918, Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company employees requested an increase in pay of one dollar per day. Committees representing the miners and the company management held a number of conferences, but no agreement could be reached. A strike was called on June 25. Governor Boyle then sent

Commissioner of Labor Robert F. Cole to Goldfield to effect an adjustment. Arriving on July 2, a conference was held between Cole and the committees. The Consolidated Mines Company management argued that they could not afford any increase in pay and would discontinue operations if any pay hike was granted. On the other hand, the miners showed that their rate of pay was far below any in the state and that they desperately needed a wage increase to keep up with the rising cost of living.

The Labor Commissioner could not secure a mutual agreement, and as a final effort proposed voluntary binding arbitration since he had no legal authority to force arbitration. The miners' committee agreed on July 8 to accept Cole's proposal, but the Consolidated Mines Company ignored the Labor Commissioner's initial proposition, as well as a subsequent request to agree to arbitrate. Cole later wrote: "Thus it will be seen that the attitude of the company precluded all possibility of conciliatory adjustment and the case was carried no further."

It seems that Goldfield's last significant strike was not a radical action, but just a concerted effort of unorganized miners to improve their condition. George Wingfield's attitude toward labor in general was plainly visible in his total disregard of Labor Commissioner Cole's proposition for equitable arbitration, "Second Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1917-1918," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1919), II, 94-95.

95. Elliott, *Radical Labor*, p. 43.

96. Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the IWW* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. 349-50.

97. *The Industrial Worker*, October 14, November 4, December 9, 1916.

98. *Ibid.*, June 23, August 11, August 22, October 20, 1917.

99. William Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 124-26; Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, pp. 393-97.

100. *Ibid.*

101. "3rd Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1919-1920," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1921), I, 68.

102. Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, pp. 231-32.

103. "4th Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1921-1922," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1923), I, 68; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, August 18, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, August 19, 1919. According to Superintendent of State Police R.B. Hendricks: "During April of 1919, the I.W.W. element at Tonopah became active to such an extent that practically the entire force of the Nevada State Police was detailed to that place to handle the situation," "Biennial Report of the Nevada State Police," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1921), I, 3. Tonopah's newspapers suppressed all information on Wobbly activity during this period. It seems the newspapers did not want the stigma of the IWW affecting the entrance of outside investment capital following the end of the war.

104. "4th Biennial Report of Labor," I, 68; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, August 18, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, August 19, 1919.

105. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, August 20, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, August 20, August 21, 1919.

106. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, August 22, August 26, August 27, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, August 23, August 26, August 27, August 29, 1919.

107. *Tonopah Daily Times*, August 22, August 28, August 29, August 30, 1919.

108. *Ibid.*, September 3, September 4, September 5, September 6, September 7, September 9, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 2, September 3, September 8, September 9, 1919.

109. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 10, September 11, September 12, September 13, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, September 10, September 11, September 12, September 13, September 14, 1919.

110. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 17, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, September 16, 1919; *Tonopah Miner*, September 20, 1919.
111. *Tonopah Daily Times*, October 1, October 3, 1919; *Tonopah Miner*, October 4, 1919.
112. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 3, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, October 3, 1919; *Tonopah Miner*, October 4, 1919.
113. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 6, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, September 25, October 4, October 5, 1919; *Tonopah Miner*, October 11, 1919.
114. Second Amended Complaint: *The State of Nevada v. George Kinser, M.C. Sullivan, John Doe, Maggie Roe, et al.*, 5 D.C. Nev., 4-5, 9 (1919).
115. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 11, October 20, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, October 8, October 11, October 19, 1919.
116. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 23, November 8, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, October 24, November 8, 1919; *Tonopah Miner*, October 25, November 8, 1919.
117. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, November 10, November 12, November 22, 1919; *Tonopah Daily Times*, November 10, November 22, 1919; *Industrial Solidarity*, November 29, 1919; Judgement and Decree Granting Perpetual Injunction: *The State of Nevada v. George Kinser, M.C. Sullivan, John Doe, Maggie Roe, et al.*, 5 D.C. Nev. (1919).
118. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, January 7, January 12, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, January 8, January 11, January 13, 1920.
119. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, January 15, January 17, February 7, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, January 16, February 8, 1920; *Ex Parte Morarity, Nevada Reports* 44, Kennett 1920-1921 (Carson City: 1922), 168-69.
120. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, March 16, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, March 17, 1920; *Ex Parte Morarity*, 168-69.
121. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, March 26, March 29, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, March 30, 1920; *Ex Parte Morarity*, 168-69.
122. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, April 21, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, April 22, 1920; *Ex Parte Morarity*, 168-69.
123. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, May 19, May 20, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, May 21, 1920; *Ex Parte Morarity*, 168-69.
124. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, August 11, August 15, September 14, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, September 14, September 15, 1920; *Carson Morning News*, August 7, 1920; *Ex Parte Morarity*, 168-70. In 1920 the Criminal Syndicalism Law was not only used in the prosecution of Morarity and Sullivan. Mickey C. Scanlon, the Wobbly deported during the 1919 Tonopah strike, also found himself charged with being a member of the IWW. It seems that during late August 1919, Scanlon was arrested and indicted for violating the Criminal Syndicalism Law. Released on a bond of two thousand dollars, he left Tonopah and did not return until January 7. He was rearrested and appeared before Judge Averill on January 13 without counsel. George Vandever, attorney for the IWW in the Chicago and Centralia trials, had been wired by Scanlon, as well as by Morarity and Sullivan, to come to Tonopah and defend them in their trials. Pending Vandever's filing of briefs, Scanlon's case was postponed six weeks. Judge Averill directed Scanlon to leave Tonopah for that time or have his bond raised to five thousand dollars. Apparently Scanlon left Tonopah the evening of January 15, never to return; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, January 13, January 15; *Tonopah Daily Times*, January 8, January 13, January 14, September 1, 1920.
125. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, February 9, February 10, February 12, February 13, February 14, February 16, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, February 10, February 11, February 12, February 13, February 14, February 15, 1920.
126. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, April 22, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, April 23, 1920; "4th Biennial Report of Labor," I, 69-70.
127. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, April 23, April 24, April 26, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, April 23, April 24, April 25, April 27, 1920; "4th Biennial Report of Labor," I, 69-70.

128. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, April 26, 1920; *Tonopah Daily Times*, April 27, 1920.
129. *Tonopah Daily Times*, April 12, 1921; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 28, 1920; "4th Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1921-1922," I, 72-73.
130. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, May 24, May 25, May 26, June 6, June 15, June 16, June 25, June 30, July 25, August 9, August 10, 1921; *Tonopah Daily Times*, May 3, May 10, May 15, May 27, 1921; *Industrial Solidarity*, April 30, May 28, June 18, July 2, July 16, August 6, August 13, 1921; "4th Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Labor," I, 72-73; "Biennial Report of the Nevada State Police," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1923), II, 3, 6; John S. Gambs, *The Decline of the I.W.W.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 229-32.
131. "4th Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Labor," I, 74-75.
132. *Ibid.*
133. *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 17, 1922; There is evidence for continued Wobbly activity after October 1922. The local branch of Industrial Union No. 210 still functioned in 1923 and 1924, but little was done in improving working conditions, wages, or hours in the mines. No strike action was associated with the IWW after 1922; *Industrial Solidarity*, June 16, 1923, February 2, 1924.

# ***The Election of 1890: The Last Hurrah for the Old Regime***

by Sally Springmeyer Zanjani

BECAUSE IT IMMEDIATELY PRECEDED an era of electoral upheaval, the election of 1890 occupies a special place in Nevada political history. Twenty-six years of domination by a Republican majority that rarely met defeat antedated this election. A scant two years later, the newly-created Silver party would shatter both traditional parties and rule state politics for a decade. Following the fusion of the Silverites and Democrats, the Republicans would only win occasional victories and the Democrats would emerge as the new majority party. The election of 1890, then, was the last hurrah for the old regime. On the surface, it seemed another typical Republican victory; however, closer examination indicates that the winds of change were already stirring in the Democratic party. When the Democratic leaders assembled for their convention, a sense of outrage tinged with despair was apparent. "Truth and justice are on our side," observed R. P. Keating bitterly in his keynote address to the party he had helped organize a generation earlier, "but truth and justice does not often prevail in Nevada. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

## **The Platforms**

Nearly a century later, the Democratic platform of 1890 remains a startling piece of political polemic. In no other gubernatorial campaign between 1886 and 1918 did a major political party issue so scathing an indictment of an adversary. The Republican party was charged with "every crime possible to be committed against a free people." The "infamous deeds" of the Republicans in national government were described in detail and included not only the standard Democratic charges, such as the demonetization of silver, liberal immigration, extravagance, and the high tariff, but also fresh grievances arising from the new pension bill, the caucus system, and the force bill, and old grudges dating back to Reconstruction, an issue now belatedly and inexplicably resurrected.

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The platform then denounced the offenses of the Nevada Republicans during their lengthy "career of dishonor and ruin." Nevada's desperate economic condition during this period of severe depression was ascribed directly to the Republicans because they had always controlled at least one branch of the state government. Under their management, industry had been "paralyzed," taxes had soared, and the state was being depopulated. These afflictions were partially due to "careless and extravagant financial methods" combined with a pernicious system of patronage. "In the interest of office seekers, the Republican party . . . has created unnecessary offices, multiplied deputyships, established extravagant fees and unprecedented salaries." Another factor was Republican indifference to reform: "necessary amendments to the constitution have failed of passage, either through neglect, ignorance or of purpose."

Furthermore, the Republicans had allowed California interests to exploit Nevada in the classic imperial-colonial style. Indeed the Republicans had "instituted a system of business which enriched and populated the state of California at the cost of Nevada." The Comstock contained hundreds of non-resident mining corporations headed by men "drawing salaries which of right belong to our people. Of a thousand million dollars taken out of the mines, not ten millions remain in the state." The symbiotic relationship between the Republican party and the corporate monopolies had impoverished the Nevada populace.

Not only the business of mining and milling ores, but the business of manufacturing lumber . . . the business of supplying water, fuel and lights; in short, every profitable industry is monopolized, dragged and plundered, until nothing is left to our people but the wretched pittance called the wages of labor.

The state is literally the spoil of the monopolies. The public lands which should have been sold in small holdings to settlers have been contracted to speculators and cattle kings in tracts large enough for counties, and in place of our villages being homes for the people, they are camps for the cows.

The most notorious of these relationships was, of course, the one between the Republicans and the railroad corporations. For the sake of favors from the railroad, the national Republicans had declined to reclaim unearned land grants or compel the payment of railroad debts. The railroads had been allowed "to discriminate in freight and fares and to defraud and plunder the government and the people" at will.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the political corruption so long endemic in Nevada was attributable to the Republican regime.

It has so often imported candidates for office into the state, so often exposed the great office of Senator for sale, so often corrupted the ballot box, that we have been stigmatized as the "rotten borough" and have become a byword and reproach and stench in the nostrils of the English speaking people.<sup>3</sup>

That the wisest Republican statesmanship could have averted a depression primarily caused by the absence of new mineral discoveries or

could have compelled the investment of Nevada mining profits within the borders of the state, is very doubtful. That the Democrats were "the relentless foe of oppression and wrong"<sup>4</sup> dedicated to reforming a world they never made is a questionable assertion. Nonetheless, this impassioned Democratic critique of the existing order has been corroborated in its essentials by authorities on Nevada history. Under the Republicans, few serious efforts toward reform had been undertaken. Corporation control of state politics had been a tradition ever since the first Nevada constitution was defeated, in part because the mine owners took exception to its provisions on the taxation of mines.<sup>5</sup> Corporation control was also the rule in the economy, where public utilities and stock raising, no less than mines and railroads, were dominated by a few large owners. In the absence of a board of equalization, the county assessors enjoyed *carte blanche*, and the corporations received advantageous tax treatment.<sup>6</sup> When the mines faltered, corporation control survived intact under the aegis of the railroads. H. M. Yerington, the manager of the Virginia and Truckee, was actively engaged in determining legislative policy through a regularized and careful system that relied chiefly upon the Republican party and extended from the local level through county and state conventions to the capitol building. The interests of the Pacific railways were managed by the infamous and powerful Black Wallace. As Sam Davis observed, Wallace finally grew so powerful that his decisions at state conventions were received "as the general order of a military commander to this troops."<sup>7</sup> The primary focus of his attention was the legislature because United States senators who could defend Central Pacific interests in the national arena were elected there. Accordingly, senatorial elections were the center of gravity for the political system; they also produced candidates with doubtful claims to Nevada residence and furnished deplorable examples of corruption. The "contest of the moneybags" between James G. Fair and Senator Sharon in 1880 was a notorious illustration of bribery at the polls, but it was unique only in the lavish sums involved.<sup>8</sup> The observations of historians therefore suggest that Democratic motives may have been narrowly partisan but the Democratic analysis was fundamentally accurate.

The Democratic proposals to reform this unjust political order were clearly at odds with continued railroad political domination. This Democratic platform was the first in a Nevada gubernatorial election to advocate direct election of United States senators. Unquestionably, this was a great innovation in its day. In Nevada, where the political process had been warped by legislative performance of this electoral function, the popular election of senators, in conjunction with the secret ballot also advocated by the Democrats, could generate profound political changes. Democratic condemnation of the Republican failure to foreclose railroad debts and end discriminatory charges, and the Democratic demand for enforcement of the long and short haul provisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission Act, made clear what policy Nevada senators should henceforth pursue toward the railroad. In addition, the Demo-

cratic plank favoring tax equalization and reduction was an important declaration in a sensitive policymaking area that would remain highly controversial for at least thirty years to come. It was also a matter of some importance to the Pacific railroads, which had paid 22.1% of Nevada property taxes in 1889 under assessments that varied dramatically from one county to another.<sup>9</sup> The Democratic demand for a constitutional convention was no less significant. This question was before the voters as a referendum in the forthcoming election. While it is known that the Democrats hoped a more simple and economical government better suited to Nevada's straitened economic circumstances could be shaped at the convention, campaign orators apparently did not elaborate on the constitutional changes they envisaged. Indeed controversy over specific provisions at this stage could well have been fatal to the entire proposal. The railroad interests, however, were not slow to perceive the dangers inherent in a new constitution. They opposed a constitutional convention, rightly viewing it as a threat to the existing order. After all, it might produce a railroad commission, as had California's new constitution of 1879, a board of equalization, or, at least, a more equitable system of taxation.<sup>10</sup> Without doubt, a constitutional convention afforded unusual opportunities for restructuring government.

In these demands, the Democrats were drawing upon an identifiable reform tradition. Railroad abuses had long been criticized by Nevada reformers. Governors Bradley, Kinkead, and Adams had advocated a board of equalization, and the constitutional convention issue had been in the political arena since the seventies. The Democratic platform of 1882 had contained planks favoring both proposals. Governor Adams had been interested in direct election of United States senators. The Republicans had also edged in that direction with a platform plank in 1886 advocating the "Nebraska plan," a popular preference vote for United States senators. However, the background of these proposals in no way detracts from the importance of the Democratic stand.<sup>11</sup> The failure of earlier reforms to enact them is, in part, the measure of the massive opposition they had encountered. Furthermore, it is necessary to bear in mind that if the reform proposals were not new, the sense of outrage and the blistering criticism of the Republican order were. The announced intention of the Democrats to mail a copy of their platform to every Nevada voter reveals their own recognition that it was a unique and important document.<sup>12</sup>

The tone of the Republican platform, by contrast, was mild and self congratulatory. "No political party in human history . . . has so elevated a nation," it modestly asserted, "and so contributed to the happiness of man." In company with the Democrats, the platform favored free silver, reclamation, the Australian ballot, economic retrenchment, and restriction of immigration. The Republicans, however, took a more nativist position. The Democrats had specified restriction of Chinese immigration; the Republican proposal was more general and also included a demand for revision of the naturalization laws. The intent of this plank

was subsequently spelled out when the Republican controlled legislature of 1891 memorialized Congress requesting the exclusion of "ignorant, degraded, criminal, and pauper classes," and tests in English on the United States Constitution for immigrants seeking citizenship.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the Republicans advocated a reduction in taxation and set forth some specific proposals for retrenchment in state and county finance by reducing the size of the legislature, shortening legislative sessions, and consolidating county offices. Although support from Republican legislators had brought the proposed constitutional convention to the referendum stage, the party was unwilling to endorse the measure in their platform. Reforms supported in past years, such as the "Nebraska plan," were conspicuously absent.<sup>14</sup>

The contrast between these two platforms could hardly have been more clearcut; in addition, the relationship between the Democratic platform and subsequent policy developments was also a significant one. Although the radicalism of the nineties has sometimes been ascribed to the diffusion of Populism, the Nevada Democrats were building upon an indigenous reform tradition in a period when there was no Nevada Populist party and the national Populist party had not yet been organized. In fact, the Democratic platform of 1890 was more radical than any gubernatorial platform presented during the ensuing decade, and already contained most of the major issues and policy milestones of the period. Some issues of growing popularity — free silver and reclamation — appeared in both party platforms in 1890; some additions of importance in the Nevada political context were forthcoming later, notably the Democratic and Populist demand for government ownership and operation of railroads in 1894, the labor arbitration planks set forth by all parties in that year, and the woman suffrage referendum endorsed by the Republicans in 1898;<sup>15</sup> nonetheless, the Democratic platform of 1890 provided a remarkable agenda of future political issues. A step would be taken toward direct election of United States senators with the enactment of a senatorial preference vote in 1899. Legislation creating a board of equalization would be enacted in 1891 and rescinded two years later. The economy issue would remain important. Although there would be a reversion from the convention to the amendment method after the popular vote on the constitutional convention was ruled invalid by the 1891 legislature, constitutional revision would remain a central issue in 1894, when a lengthy list of constitutional amendments would be submitted to the people.<sup>16</sup> Democratic outrage at political corruption, crystallized by the Nevada Populists into a plan for reporting and limiting campaign expenditures, would emerge as the "Purity of Elections" Law of 1895, repealed four years later.<sup>17</sup> In 1898, the issue of non-resident candidates would still be featured by the Democrats and Populists. The Democratic thrust for a stronger ICC would appear in party platforms in 1894 and 1898. Foreclosure on railroad debts would be a major issue in the campaign of 1894 and a controversial subject for legislative resolutions in 1893 and 1895. The Democratic protest against railroad domination

would be sounded again and again in gubernatorial campaigns, and ultimately Francis Newlands, using the vehicle of the Democratic party, would lead a revolt against the Wallace forces.

It should be noted that although the Silver party seemingly emerged as a protest group, its policies were less radical than those of the traditional Democrats. The Silverite platform of 1894 echoed the Democrats on the ICC, foreclosure, and senatorial election issues, but nothing comparable to tax equalization or a constitutional convention was suggested. The non-ideological nature of the Silver party was even more evident in 1892, when the party first appeared on the political scene and presented a platform devoted to free silver and an attack upon the force bill.<sup>18</sup> On balance, the nineties may be viewed as a retreat from the Democratic radicalism of 1890. This withdrawal was primarily due to the emphasis upon free silver to the exclusion of other issues during a period when politicians concentrated on applying pressure group tactics against the national parties through the Silver party and declared a virtual moratorium on state policy.

### **The Candidates and the Campaign**

There was greater novelty in the platforms of 1890 than in the candidates. Both gubernatorial contestants were political novices who had been in Nevada since the pre-territorial period but had little or no experience in elective state office. However, both were typical Nevada gubernatorial candidates in an era when Republicans tended to be mine owners or superintendents, Democrats were usually ranchers, and all were wealthy, older men and long time Nevada residents. The Republican candidate was Roswell Colcord, then fifty-one, a mine superintendent working in Esmeralda county. He had never been previously nominated for state office. His supporters portrayed him as a thrifty, hard working "mechanic" whose assets did not exceed \$5,000; opponents described him as the "faithful servant" of his corporate employers in both public life and private endeavors. In the opposition press, the thrifty mechanic was described as a wealthy man with tenuous claims to Nevada residence.

The father of the Democratic candidate, Theodore Winters, had been a candidate in several elections, including Nevada's second gubernatorial contest a generation earlier, and members of the family reportedly blamed that defeat on electoral fraud. The younger Winters, then sixty-seven, was a wealthy Washoe Valley rancher and dairyman with a taste for fine race horses. Although he was a Democratic leader of long standing and had been a member of the State Board of Agriculture, he had not served in elective state office since the days of the territorial legislature. Supporters praised his independence from corporation ties; opponents dismissed him as a "horsebreeder" ill suited to govern a mining state.<sup>19</sup>

The *Nevada State Journal* declared that the Republican ticket represented the "younger element" in the party, but if this was so, the Nevada Republicans were an aging organization.<sup>20</sup> A biographical check on six candidates showed that none was under forty and the average was fifty-two, slightly above an average of forty-nine for seven Democratic candidates. Like Colcord and Winters, most were long time Nevadans who had arrived in the sixties, or even earlier. No shift in the nature of the political elite that had governed since statehood was indicated by either factor.

Although the gubernatorial contest was somewhat overshadowed by the lively debate between Horace Bartine, then seeking his second term in Congress, and George Cassidy, his Democratic opponent, Colcord's corporate ties and his residence were central issues during the campaign. In his keynote address to the Democratic convention, R. P. Keating had proudly called attention to "the absence of the black plumed gentleman from Eureka — Black Wallace — and the white plumed gentleman from Ormsby [H. M. Yerington] from our deliberations." As the election approached, the Democrats continued to charge that Colcord was a political unknown, owned by the corporations and controlled by H. M. Yerington. Railroad lobbyists were accused of securing his nomination by improper methods, including bribery and promises of county offices and deputyships to supporters. Colcord protested that he was independent and vehemently swore that no living man would control him. It should be parenthetically noted that although Black Wallace's influence at the Republican convention was widely acknowledged and it is unlikely that Colcord's nomination could have occurred without his consent, Colcord's subsequent conduct as governor sometimes showed little regard for the Central Pacific. At the same time, this does not preclude the possibility that Colcord was Yerington's protégé, because the priorities of Wallace and Yerington did not invariably coincide. Reiterating their theme of Republican non-resident candidates, the Democrats contended that Colcord was not a Nevada taxpayer nor were his interests identified with the state. As recently as 1885, he had been superintending a mine in Bodie, California. Colcord insisted that he was a Nevada taxpayer.<sup>21</sup>

Throughout the campaign, the Democrats portrayed the Republicans as opponents of needed reforms. Republican legislators were condemned for blocking Democratic efforts to enact the secret ballot during the previous legislative session. Railroad opposition, the Democrats suggested, had prevented the Republicans from endorsing a constitutional convention. Republicans were charged with extravagance because official salaries were high and sinecure deputyships abounded. The Republicans argued that these laws were endorsed by both parties many years before and the Democrats only regretted their inability to capture the positions in question. Since Nevada was a predominantly Republican state, they asserted, Democrats could only win through bribery. The *Nevada State Journal* reasoned that since the legislature, where a dutiful Republican majority to ratify the re-election of Senator John Jones was

being assembled, would undoubtedly be overwhelmingly Republican, it was necessary to elect a governor of the same party to ensure cooperation on economic problems.<sup>22</sup> Democrats were described as a "minority that never did anything but find fault," and the abusive tone of their platform, characterized as "the grumble of a common scold," was viewed as a sorry contrast to Republican confidence and optimism.<sup>23</sup>

In the paternalistic style of the period, both parties made appeals to the labor vote. The Democrats stressed Winters' offer to donate his Bowers' Mansion property to the state as a home for disabled miners and charged that Colcord was then supervising a mining camp where the lowest wages in the state were paid and workers were compelled to board in company buildings. In Colcord's defense, Republicans cited a resolution of 1885 by the Bodie miners' union expressing their gratitude to Superintendent Colcord for opposing the reduction of wages.<sup>24</sup> In essence, the campaign was a defensive one for the Republicans, as the Democratic assault that began when the platforms were drafted continued unabated.

### **The Election**

On the surface, the election appeared to be no more than another typical Republican victory. Colcord's percentage of the state vote was almost identical to that of Stevenson, the Republican gubernatorial candidate in the last contest four years earlier. Like Stevenson, Colcord lost in five of the fourteen counties. Massive pluralities in Esmeralda county, where Colcord resided, Ormsby county, the balliwick of Yerington and Bartine, and populous Storey county provided the foundation for his victory. The entire Republican ticket was elected by nearly uniform majorities, and the Republicans won overwhelming superiority in the legislature, where only a handful of Democrats survived the holocaust. On the basis of technical irregularities and a total vote below the requisite percentage, the vote on the constitutional convention proposal was eventually disallowed. Statistical analysis of the election data confirms that the election of 1890 was linked to the old regime. It correlates with the elections of 1884 (.76) and 1888 (.51) but shows no strong relationship with any election between 1900 and 1918.<sup>25</sup>

However, beneath the surface of this typical Republican victory were faint signs of voter disaffection. In nine of the fourteen counties, Colcord won lower percentages of the vote than Stevenson had received in 1886. Losses averaged 4.4 percent. In addition, the average Democratic percentage of the gubernatorial vote in the eastern counties was six percent above the average in the western complex of Washoe, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Lyon counties, the largest regional disparity to appear in any gubernatorial or presidential election since 1878. During the nineties, the revolt against the traditional parties would center in the eastern region. A final noteworthy feature of the 1890 election was a high estimated voter turnout rate of 84.3 percent. This figure, the highest in any election between 1880 and 1900, may suggest either serious fraud or an

unusual degree of voter interest, possibly generated by the Democratic protest movement.<sup>26</sup> In retrospect, these straws in the wind are visible to historians, but to Democratic politicians at the time that "more enlightened public" they had appealed to in the most radical campaign of the period must have seemed unresponsive. For partisan political purposes, having truth and justice on your side was manifestly less effective than having Black Wallace and H. M. Yerington.

### Conclusion

This analysis has suggested that the election of 1890 was unique because a mood of spirited protest was evident in the Democratic party. Essentially, this protest was directed against the prevailing system of railroad political domination through the Republican party. Most of the prescriptions set forth by the Democrats were not new, but all were intended to alter the existing order through basic governmental reform. Not until 1910, when Nevada progressivism was at its height, would basic governmental reform be as strong a theme in any gubernatorial campaign.

The election of 1890 is also significant in its relationship to the political developments of the ensuing decade. At the time, the Democratic call to arms must have seemed abortive. Voter response was visible but faint. Just two years later, with the creation of the Silver party, all protest would be deflected to the third party and the free silver issue. The Democrats would decline to a pitiful minority, and a decade would pass before their emergence as the new majority in state politics. For several reasons, the Democrats failed to harvest any gains in 1892 from the protest movement they had led in 1890. The emergence of a national Populist party made a third party a viable alternative in Nevada, and the Democratic leaders lacked the flexibility to forswear Grover Cleveland as readily as they abandoned the monetary policy of the national Democratic party. Various explanations, none entirely satisfactory, have been advanced for the creation of the Silver party.<sup>27</sup> However, the short term effect of that organization in 1892-1894 is certainly clear: it prevented voter protest against the state and national Republican regimes from benefiting the Democrats, and it preserved the system of Central Pacific political domination intact under the old leadership in the guise of party rebellion.

These effects may have been by no means unintended by Black Wallace and the other Republican chieftains who played so prominent a role in the organization of the Silver party. A brief sojourn with the Silver party, inevitably a temporary artifice, would make the protest movement far easier to control than an exodus of voters to a Democratic party that had repeatedly shown itself unsympathetic to the Central Pacific, or to a local Populist party with radical tendencies and independent leadership. After a decent interval, the return to Republicanism that Wallace obviously envisaged could take place.<sup>28</sup> However, the scenario did not pro-

ceed as planned. Bryan's victory within the Democratic party trapped the Silver Republicans in the logic of their own position. At the critical juncture when the Silver party was breaking up, the Republicans lacked effective leadership, while the Democrats had both a strong leader in Newlands and new sources of voter support in the boom counties. But none of these events could have been foreseen in 1892. At that time, it must have seemed that the specter of protest under radical Democratic leadership which had emerged in 1890 had been successfully averted.

### Notes

1. *Nevada State Journal*, September 12, 1890. On Keating's role in the Nevada Democratic party, see Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1881), pp. 264–272.
2. Although these criticisms were primarily directed against the national party, they are quoted here because railroad matters were such sensitive political issues in Nevada.
3. Reprinted in the *Weekly Independent*, September 21, 1890.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Other factors in the defeat of the first constitution were factionalism over the division of offices and Democratic opposition. See Eleanore Bushnell, *The Nevada Constitution* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1968), pp. 31–5.
6. Mine proceeds were taxed at a lower rate than other forms of property. Between 1880 and 1890, farms under 500 acres decreased substantially at the same time that farms above that level were increasing in number. See Romanzo Adams, *Taxation in Nevada* (Reno: The Nevada Historical Society, 1918), pp. 7, 40–50, 139, 175–180; James G. Scrugham, ed. *Nevada*, I, (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1935), pp. 222–230, 300–320, and Department of the Interior, United States Census Division, *Abstract of the Eleventh Census: 1890* (2nd ed. revised; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), p. 98.
7. Sam P. Davis, *The History of Nevada*, I, (Los Angeles: The Elms Publishing Company, 1913), p. 441.
8. References on the history of the period include Gilman M. Ostrander, *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough, 1859–1964* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), pp. 64–95; Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), pp. 161–208; and Stuart Daggett, *Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1922), pp. 199–210, 456–500.
9. Adams, *loc. cit.* The tortuous legislative history of the Nevada Tax Commission indicates the controversial nature of this institution.
10. *Nevada State Journal*, August 1, 1890; *Weekly Independent*, September 28 and October 12, 1890; on the passage of the constitutional convention measure, see the *Journal of the Assembly*, 1889, pp. 230, 313, and the *Journal of the Senate*, 1889, p. 244.
11. Scrugham, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–370; Ostrander, *op. cit.*, chs. II–IV; the Republican platform of 1886 was reprinted in the *Carson Morning Appeal*, September 26, 1886.
12. *Weekly Independent*, October 5, 1890.
13. "Assembly concurrent resolution and memorial to Congress, relative to immigration and naturalization laws," no. 8, Stat. 195 (1891).
14. The platform was reprinted in the *Nevada State Journal*, September 24, 1890.
15. Other additions included the Republican planks in the 1898 platform favoring free textbooks and uniform state laws on marriage, divorce, and extradition, and the Silver planks in the 1894 platform favoring abolition of national banks and government ownership of telegraphs. Party platforms in 1894 and 1898 were reprinted in the *Weekly Independent*,

September 16, 1894, the *Nevada State Journal*, September 6, 1894, and September 10, 1898, and the *Carson Morning News*, September 6, 1894, and September 16, 1898. The Democratic platform of 1894 referred to here is that of the Keating faction.

16. On the vote on the constitutional convention, see Report No. 22. "Report of the Committee on Canvassing Vote on Constitutional Convention," *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly, 1891*; the constitutional amendments submitted in 1894 appear in Nevada, Secretary of State, *Political History of Nevada* (5th ed.; Carson City: State Printing Office, 1965), pp. 184–185. For the statute on senatorial elections, see Act of March 14, 1889, Stat. 1744.

17. "Purity of Elections" Law, Stat. 93, ch. LXXV, (1895); the Populist platform of 1894 was reprinted in the *Nevada State Journal*, September 8, 1894.

18. The force bill, also opposed by the Democrats in 1890, was essentially a revival of Reconstruction electoral methods; during the 51st congress, the Silver Republicans had combined with the Democrats to kill the measure. On the force bill, see Vincent P. DeSantis, "Benjamin Harrison and the Republican Party in the South, 1889–1893," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LI (1955), pp. 279–302. The Silver platform of 1892 was reprinted in the *Weekly Independent*, October 28, 1892.

19. *Nevada State Journal*, September 7, 1890. For biographical material and campaign charges, see also the October 1 and 12 issues, the *Weekly Independent*, October 5 and 12, 1890, Scrugham, *op. cit.*, II, p. 80, and III, p. 200, and Myrtle T. Myles, *Nevada's Governors* (Sparks: Western Printing and Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 172–174.

20. *Nevada State Journal*, September 7, 1890.

21. As governor, Colcord supported tax equalization and vetoed a legislative resolution requesting Congress to grant a time extension for railroad debts. On the charges against Colcord, see the *Nevada State Journal*, October 1, 1890, and the *Weekly Independent*, September 14, and October 5, 1890. On Colcord's statements, see the *Weekly Independent*, October 12, 1890, and the *Nevada State Journal*, October 14, 1890.

22. *Nevada State Journal*, November 2, 1890; on the other charges, see the October 12 Issue and the *Weekly Independent*, September 28, 1890.

23. *Nevada State Journal*, September 18, 1890.

24. *Weekly Independent*, October 19 and November 2, 1890.

25. Data on gubernatorial elections was derived from the Historical Data Archives, Inter University Consortium for Political Research, University of Michigan. In order that the predominance of one of the traditional parties relative to the other would not be obscured by their reduced percentages of the vote in the counties where the Socialists became concentrated, Republican percentages of the vote were subtracted from Democratic percentages and correlation coefficients were then determined.

26. Estimated turnout was based on the Census Department figures on white male citizens over 21. Because the number of naturalized foreign born men in 1880 is not listed, an estimate was made for that date.

27. For a discussion of these explanations, see Mary E. Glass, *Silver and Politics in Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969), pp. 62–6.

28. On Wallace's return to the Republicans, see Glass, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–180.

## ***What's Being Written***

*Silver Peak.* By Hugh A. Shamberger. (Nevada Historical Press, Carson City, Nv. \$6.00)

SILVER PEAK is Hugh A. Shamberger's latest book in a series on Nevada mining camps, most of which have received meager treatment prior to his accounts. It covers the history of two mining districts, Red Mountain and Silver Peak in Esmeralda County, southwest of Tonopah.

The history of the area dates back to 1863. It is thought that the earliest discoveries were probably made by Mexicans. Two brothers by the name of Roberts or Robinson were credited with discovering silver-bearing rock. In the nearby Red Mountain District gold ore was found. By 1866 the Silver Peak and Red Mountain Gold and Silver Company was incorporated. Many names enter into the early history of the district.

Along with the development of the mines came the building of mills, small ones to begin with, though by 1869 a 30 stamp mill was in operation. The building of roads and tramways is also described.

The period of 1875 to 1905 was one of very little activity in the area, with little recorded production. Lengthy litigation took place between companies involved. Some work was carried on by lessees, including John Chiatovich, Sam Wasson, the Valcalda brothers, and L. J. Hanchett. John Chiatovich had built a cyanide plant at Silver Peak which processed much of the ore that was produced during this period.

In 1905 a new townsite of Silver Peak was laid out, heralding a new spurt of activity. The new town had four restaurants, several hotels, saloons and grocery stores. A doctor established himself and built a drug store. About the same time a new town named Blair was surveyed and laid out, about three miles distant. Blair reached a peak of population in 1908 with 1050 people.

Silver Peak's first school was organized in 1895 by Fred A. Vollmar, Sr. The operation of the school varied with the population of the town, and it was forced to discontinue at times. In 1916-17 Silver Peak students were sent to Blair. Later, Silver Peak supported a high school.

As with all mining camps, the water supply was vital. Silver Peak grew up close to a large spring. Also, ground water was obtainable at depths of twenty to twenty-five feet, but this water was so highly mineralized it was unsuitable for irrigation and domestic use. Water for drinking had to be hauled in from a spring about eight miles away.

An event of interest in the history of Silver Peak was a prize fight between Max Baer, former heavyweight champion of the world, and

"Big Ed" Murphy of Silver Peak in 1939. The four round bout lasted less than one round, to the sorrow of "Big Ed."

In 1941 a disastrous fire consumed the post office, general store, bar, an empty hardware store and an unused theatre. The fire was fought by nearly every able-bodied person in town, and this kept it from spreading further.

An all-important factor in the development of the district was electric power. This was obtained from the Bishop hydroelectric plant, whose power reached Tonopah and Goldfield in September 1905. Mr. Shamberger includes an interesting account of the development of hydroelectric power.

Equally interesting are his descriptions of the development of the various mining companies in the Silver Peak area, including the Mohawk-Alpine Mining Co., the Silver Peak Gold Mining Co., the Valcalda mines, and the Pittsburg Silver Peak Gold Mining Co., which built the Silver Peak Railroad connecting with the Tonopah and Goldfield Railroad.

The rapid building of the town of Blair, a nearby rival to Silver Peak, failed to wipe out that sturdy community, and in the long run Silver Peak outlasted Blair.

The history of the mines is accompanied by that of mills, varying from small structures to large, elaborate ones. The means of treating the ore near at hand seemed to determine the success of the mines. Various fine pictures of mills are included in the book.

In 1927 an attempt was made to change the name of Silver Peak to Gold Peak without success. After a period of greatly decreased activity in the area, 1927 saw the beginning of a rejuvenation, with Fred Vollmar, Jr. being one of those responsible. New mining companies were formed, and new money brought in.

In 1966 the Foote Mineral Company began a new operation at Silver Peak, the mining of lithium, which continues to this day. Lithium is obtained from brine which evaporates in large ponds, and it has many uses.

This review is purposely brief as I hope to whet your appetite to read the whole worthwhile book, with its seventy-one good pictures and several maps. Mr. Shamberger has gone to great effort to authenticate every statement, and the result is a well-documented work.

My own interest in this account was personal since my father, Ben Edwards, operated a general merchandise store in Candelaria, Nevada, on the Carson & Colorado Railroad. From there he freighted all kinds of wares to Silver Peak; and I have correspondence between him and John Chiatovich, often mentioned in Mr. Shamberger's book.

LORENA E. MEADOWS  
*El Cerrito, California*

*Conquered Provinces: Nevada Moves Southeast, 1864–1871.* By John M. Townley. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press; 1973; 66 pages; maps, index.)

BOOKS ON SOUTHERN NEVADA are rare and serious works on this area of the state are even more rare. John M. Townley has authored an excellent addition to the meager output concerning this region.

In this brief monograph, Dr. Townley traces the process by which Nevada expanded to the east and north at the expense of Utah and Arizona between 1864 and 1871. Created out of the western extremity of Utah, the new Nevada territory expanded eastward in 1862. Yet after statehood in 1864 the Silver State still looked hungrily at additional territory to the south and east. The area had little value as a farming region, but mineral discoveries in the Pioche and Pahrnagat districts captured Nevada politicians' attention. Since Nevada was a state, it would expand at the expense of the unpopular Mormon-controlled Utah Territory, and the very sparsely-settled Arizona Territory.

In an effort to keep the roistering miners far from Utah, the Mormons in the middle 1860's tried to preempt the best mineral sites and water holes and thus forestall Gentile advance into the borderland. Non-Mormons, however, were not deterred and if the mineral strike was great enough they crowded in, in order to take control. When it was clear that the Mormon settlements on the Muddy and at Panaca were situated in Nevada the Mormon settlers were faced with a hard choice. They would either pay Nevada back taxes or leave. In Panaca, which prospered because of its proximity to booming Pioche, the Mormons elected to pay; in the troubled Muddy River settlements they did not and abandoned them.

Townley has done an excellent job of weaving his sources into a clear and coherent story. His judgments are generally sound, but this reviewer believes that there is more to the story of how Nevada expanded at the expense of Arizona and Utah in 1866 than just the desire of the Radical Republicans in Congress to obtain the votes of the Silver State congressional delegation. President Andrew Johnson, the Radical's implacable foe, had to sign the bill. Never slow to veto, Johnson chose to accept the measure — a so far unexplained action.

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*Pyramid Lake – A Bibliography.* By Alvin R. McLane. (Camp Nevada, University Station, Reno, Nevada, 1975, 70 pages)

IN HIS INTRODUCTION Alvin McLane explains that "all of the literature pertaining to Pyramid Lake isn't listed in this report, but there are about

540 references listed to get one started in the right direction." The 540 references are more than a good start on a famous body of water which has received written attention for more than 130 years.

Nevada and a few out-of-state newspapers provide a large part of McLane's references, with Reno's *Nevada State Journal* and *Reno Evening Gazette* far outnumbering all others. Researchers of the Lake's Indian history may notice the neglect of such sources as the *Sacramento Bee*, *Sacramento Union*, and other early California and Nevada newspapers, but when the two Reno publications came into existence in the 1870s they became the major recorders of the area's happenings.

The news stories contain some little known, interesting information. For instance, did you know there was once a steamship, the *Utah*, sailing the waters of Pyramid Lake? For the story of how it exploded and sank, McLane points to the *Nevada State Journal* of January 14, 1913.

One magazine reference listed in the Addendum caught this reviewer's attention — for good reason. The June, 1974, issue of *Scientific American*, in its section called "Mathematical Games," carried a story by Martin Gardner, which told of his visit at Pyramid Lake with an old friend, Dr. Matrix, who operated a "massive factory building of steel and concrete . . . built in the shape of the great Pyramid of Cheops." Here Dr. Matrix and his beautiful daughter manufactured pyramid models which, with their occult powers of "psi-org energy would keep razor blades sharp, preserve rosebuds, and restore old typewriter ribbons."

If you read the article you probably recognized it as a spoof — but unfortunately all of its readers did not. Shortly after publication a Utah couple drove 600 miles to see the marvelous pyramid building and after an unsuccessful search, telephoned this reviewer (because of his book, *The Desert Lake, The Story Of Nevada's Pyramid Lake*) with the hope of obtaining directions. Other requests followed. If you were one of the callers don't feel too embarrassed — so was a professor from a well-known California college who made two trips to the Lake, almost wrecking his car attempting to climb a mountain road.

Contributing to efficient and convenient use of the bibliography, McLane has arranged his references into six categories: anthropology, description, fauna-flora, fishing and fisheries, geology and hydrology, and political. A subject index also helps to make more than a century of written information more easily available to Western history and outdoor buffs — as well as to less fortunate people.

SESSIONS S. WHEELER  
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*Copper, The Encompassing Story of Mankind's First Metal.* By Ira B. Joralemon. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1973)

THIS BOOK IS A SURVEY, on a world-wide basis, of copper mines. The author, a geologist and consulting mining engineer who personally par-

anticipated in some of the episodes he describes, originally published the first part of the book in 1934 under the title *Romantic Copper, Its Lure and Lore*. This part of the book begins with fascinating descriptions of ancient mines on Cyprus and in the Rio Tinto region of Spain. The reader learns, for example, that the Romans remain unsurpassed in their ability to discover ore and that they mined countless tons of copper at great depths without explosives or artificial power. The story of copper then moves to America's Michigan Peninsula. Here, in the 1840's, prospectors rediscovered mines once worked centuries before by now forgotten Indians. For a generation the rich Michigan mines supplied our copper needs. Then, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century came Butte, "The Richest Hill on Earth." From here the author carries his account into the Southwest and Mexico where, in rapid fire succession, new mines were opened. The increased supply of copper from Butte and the Arizona mines at Clifton, Globe, Bisbee, and Jerome drove the price of copper down to a level which made it possible for western civilization to enter its age of electricity. But by the turn of the century new discoveries of concentrated ore bodies had ceased, and by 1907 rumors of a copper famine were heard. At this point Daniel C. Jackling came to the rescue by establishing the worth of disseminated ore bodies. Nevertheless, by 1913 the cycle of copper discoveries in the United States had closed; and with a growing demand for the vital red metal, copper companies turned to overseas supplies, to Peru and Chile and then Katanga and Rhodesia.

As the reader would surmise from the word "romantic" in the original title, this part of the book abounds in interesting personalities who will be familiar to some readers in the Rocky Mountain West. Among the many are F. A. Heinze, Marcus Daly, William A. Clark, Bill Greene, John R. Boddie, and Jim Houston. The author's colorful anecdotes appear to be based on first-hand experience and the oral traditions of mining camps. How accurate the latter are is open to some doubt. In republishing this part of the book the author has interpolated at the end of some of the chapters responses to criticisms of his accounts by relatives and friends of some of the principal actors.

The second part of the book carries the story of copper from 1935 to the early 1970's. During these years present day prospectors have discovered nearly eighty mines scattered around the world. But to these achievements the word "romantic" does not apply. Whereas earlier discoveries and their development were the result of individual feats of perseverance, acumen, and luck, the more recent finds have been made by teams of technicians using highly sophisticated equipment to plot their discoveries.

The reader should not expect from this book a general history of the copper business. The author's emphasis is on the discovery and development of mines. There is little, for example, on labor-management relations; and he discusses technological innovations in mining and metallurgy only insofar as they facilitated the development of new mines. His main theme is the constant leap-frog adjustment and readjustment

among the discovery and development of new mines, the price of copper, and a constantly accelerating consumption of this essential industrial metal.

The book is generally well written and is richly illustrated. The chapters on modern developments include photographs of the principal actors and the mines they developed. For those unfamiliar with the terminology of mining and the metals industry there is also a glossary. On the other hand, there are aspects of the book which raise some doubts about its validity as history. The author overworks "Fate" as a causal agent. His account of Butte, for example, is marred by numerous incidental factual errors; and, perhaps because of his friendship with Reno Sales, it is unduly anti-Heinze. But these small inaccuracies fit with the author's observation that "there is probably no such thing as truth, especially in stories handed down by word of mouth." (p. 169)

Although completed in the midst of the Great Depression, part one of the book ended with an expression of the author's optimism that a revival of the copper industry was only a matter of time because copper is indispensable to modern civilization. However, part two now ends on a very somber note. There probably will be no significant additions to the copper discoveries of the past forty years. At our present rate of consumption, known copper deposits will meet our need for no longer than forty more years.

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*Indians and Bureaucrats: Administering the Reservation Policy during the Civil War.* By Edmund Jefferson Danziger, Jr. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1974. x + 240 pp., \$8.95)

IN THIS STUDY, Edmund Danziger has analyzed the problems experienced by field authorities of the Office of Indian Affairs in implementing the federal government's reservation policy throughout the trans-Mississippi West from 1861 to 1865. Mr. Danziger chose to focus his narrative around Indian Office relations "with the two most representative Indian groups" — the Cheyennes, who resided in eastern Colorado and south-central areas of the Nebraska territory, and the Santee Sioux, who in 1861 dwelled on the prairies of southern and western Minnesota. In the first major section of the book, the Cheyennes served as the most typical of the various nomadic clans, while the Santee Sioux were utilized in the second and last section as the exemplary reservation tribe.

Danziger maintains that during the Civil War years, the Office of Indian Affairs continued to follow a reservation program, first proclaimed in the early 1850's, that called for the transformation of western Indians into self-supporting farmers who should subsequently adopt the white man's culture. The continuous westward movement of whites, who, sharing racist assumptions regarding the Indian, ignored tribal land

claims and occupied increasingly larger sections of the red man's territory as part of their never-ending scramble for fertile soil areas and precious metals, resulted in an all-out assault upon Indian life. To prevent violent confrontations between the two groups, the Indian Office management sought to separate Indians from white persons by placing the former on designated parcels of land and training them as food-producing farmers.

The personnel of the bureau failed to carry out even this policy during the Civil War period, however, for a variety of reasons. Not the least important cause of this failure, according to Danziger, was the Indian Office's primary purpose, throughout the nineteenth century, of "facilitating the expansion of America's white population" while, at the same time, relegating Indian welfare to a distant secondary position. Indian agents were never able to induce the wandering Cheyennes "to abandon their plains culture" and accept as their homeland the small, poor quality reservation lands offered by the government. This defiance prompted bloody conflict with federal troops, but by 1865 most of the Cheyennes still remained away from planned reservation sites. Meanwhile, the Santee Sioux found that the Indian Office could not supply them with sufficient food, clothing, and shelter at their new reservation, established within the Dakota territory in the spring of 1863. Plagued by ravaging insects, persistent drought, and attacks by surrounding hostile tribes, these people remained (as we might expect) discontented with their plight, and finally abandoned any attempts at white-directed subsistence farming only to return to their traditional ways of living.

Mr. Danziger also catalogues a host of other difficulties which frustrated the execution of Indian Office policy. The preoccupation of political leaders in Washington with the sectional conflict in the East, for example, diverted both attention and needed monetary support away from western Indian administration. Dissension between Indian bureau employees and officials of the War Department (which had directed the Office prior to 1849) over questions involving the methods of dealing with various tribes led to unnecessary delays in responding fairly to the requirements of the reservation system. In addition, widespread deterioration of Indian Office plans, says Danziger, occurred on the local level, as a consequence of the corrupt activities among underpaid federal agents and superintendents, many of whom were unqualified political appointees. White traders, seeking to sell or barter liquors in Indian domains, along with land-hungry settlers who spread communicable diseases and destroyed the red man's customary food sources, regularly precipitated reciprocal acts of violence, thus exacerbating the administrative quagmire already confronted by the Indian Office staff.

Much of this book is poorly organized, and the resultant structural incongruity thwarts clear expression of the main argument. Although the Cheyennes and the Santee Sioux are employed as representative tribes, a number of other Indian groups — both nomads and reservation people — are discussed in the two major sections. Because Danziger gives varying degrees of attention to these disparate groups, he is able to set forth a

general sketch of the Indian Office's operation, but at the expense of a lucid presentation. Further, we might have expected a more rigorous examination of day-to-day relations with the two tribes selected as characteristic of their respective types. This monograph advances no novel interpretation, for it merely amplifies themes previously developed by Laurence F. Schmeckebier, Donald J. Berthrong, Roy W. Meyer, and others. By no means the last word on the subject, *Indians and Bureaucrats* represents a preliminary exploration into a frequently overlooked era of federal Indian policy, and for this, we owe Mr. Danziger a tempered note of commendation.

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*Black Powder and Hand Steel: Miners and Machines on the Old Western Frontier.* By Otis E. Young, Jr., with the technical assistance of Robert Lenon. (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1976; 196 pp., illus., map, notes, biblio., index, \$9.95).

THE PUBLICATION of this compact volume adds to Professor Young's list of books and articles on western mining history, a field that he has probed with the patience of a prospector and the expertise of an engineer. Spiced with rare humor and timely anecdotes, his latest contribution tells a fascinating and informative story of life and labor in the industry during essentially the late nineteenth century. The origins, character, social life, amusements, and work experiences of the miners, and of the Cornish and Irish in particular, provide the human drama in the account.

The tools and equipment upon which the miners depended suggest the problems and prospects of technology. "With double-jack and steel, black powder and Bickford fuse, wire rope and steam engines, western mining entered into its salad days about 1860" (p. 32). The impact of such technological developments on the miner's labor is explored.

The discovery and development of some of the great bonanzas of western mining are explained with human interest and geological understanding. Students of Nevada history will welcome the author's comments on working the Comstock lode and the brief account of the Tonopah-Goldfield boom.

Well written and ably illustrated, the book will appeal to the professional historian as well as to the general reader. Excellent explanatory notes give additional detailed information on the science and technology of mining for those who are interested in digging deeper into the subject.

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# **What's Going On**

## **19TH CENTURY EXHIBITS**

The second phase of the museum renovation project is now complete. Phillip Earl, Curator of Exhibits, has finished the final adjustments to the displays interpreting the 19th century in Nevada. The exhibit includes panels and relics depicting the early trappers and traders, the emigrant trail, the Comstock excitement and the gradual extension of the mining frontier throughout the state. Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the exhibit is particularly rich in rare and unusual relic items from the pioneer period.

## **TERRITORIAL PAPERS PROJECT**

Robert D. Armstrong has been retained to compile a finding aid to the territorial papers of Nevada. Mr. Armstrong will canvas the state locating existing territorial documents before visiting surrounding states and the federal repositories in Washington. It is hoped that the project will result in an eventual history of Nevada during the territorial years, 1850–1864.

## **STATE ARCHIVES CATALOG**

The Division of Research Grants, National Endowment for the Humanities, has approved a \$75,166 project to catalog the holdings of the Nevada State Archives. This joint program between the Archives and the Society will fund the employment of an archivist to work in Carson City for thirty months and result in creation of an annotated card catalog to the collections. Requests for archival information can be answered to major cities in Nevada through the State Library's network communications system. Once completed a student or researcher can query the State Archives regarding its collections and receive a prompt reply through a public library.

## **NEW AUDIO/VISUAL PRODUCTION**

As part of a continuing program of bringing Nevada's history before the public in a new format, the staff of the Society has recently completed No. 17 of its Sound/Slide Series, a history of the Nevada Historical Society from its founding in 1904 to the present day. Entitled "Preserving the Past: The Nevada Historical Society," the program is twenty-two minutes in length and makes use of 140 rare photographs. It is available for school groups, civic organizations and others interested in historical programs.

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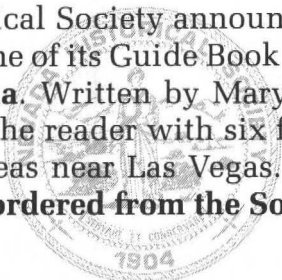
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