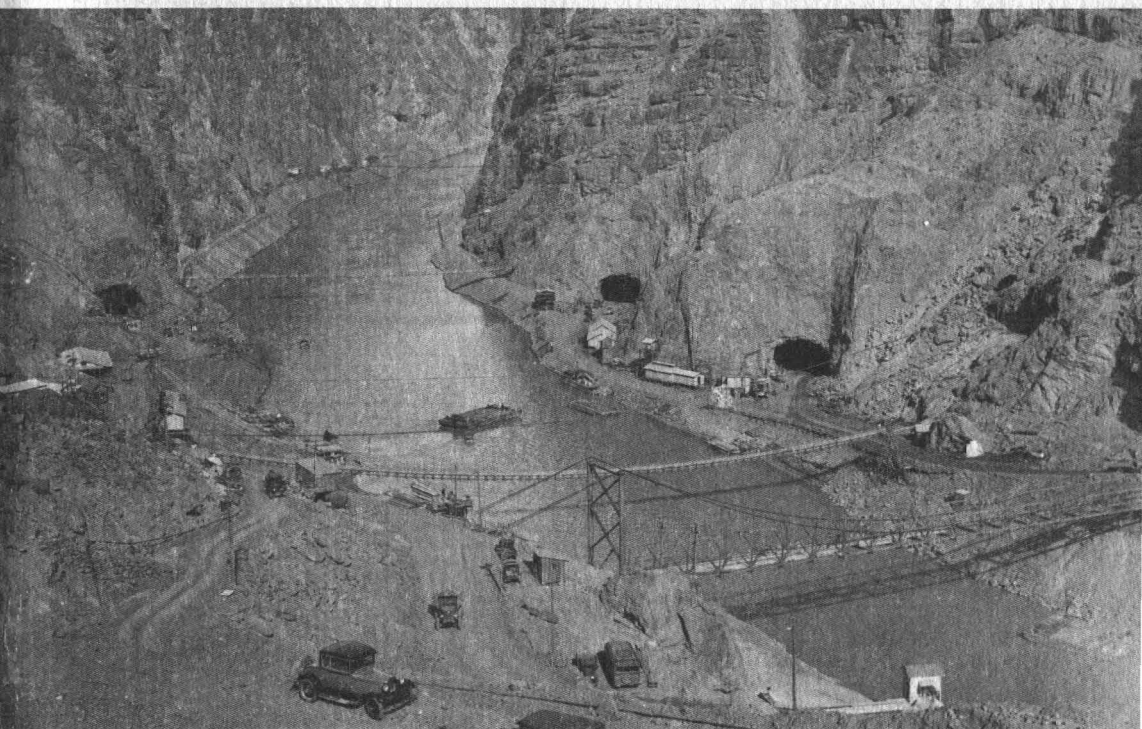


Nevada Historical Society Quarterly



Spring • 1978

Nevada Historical Society

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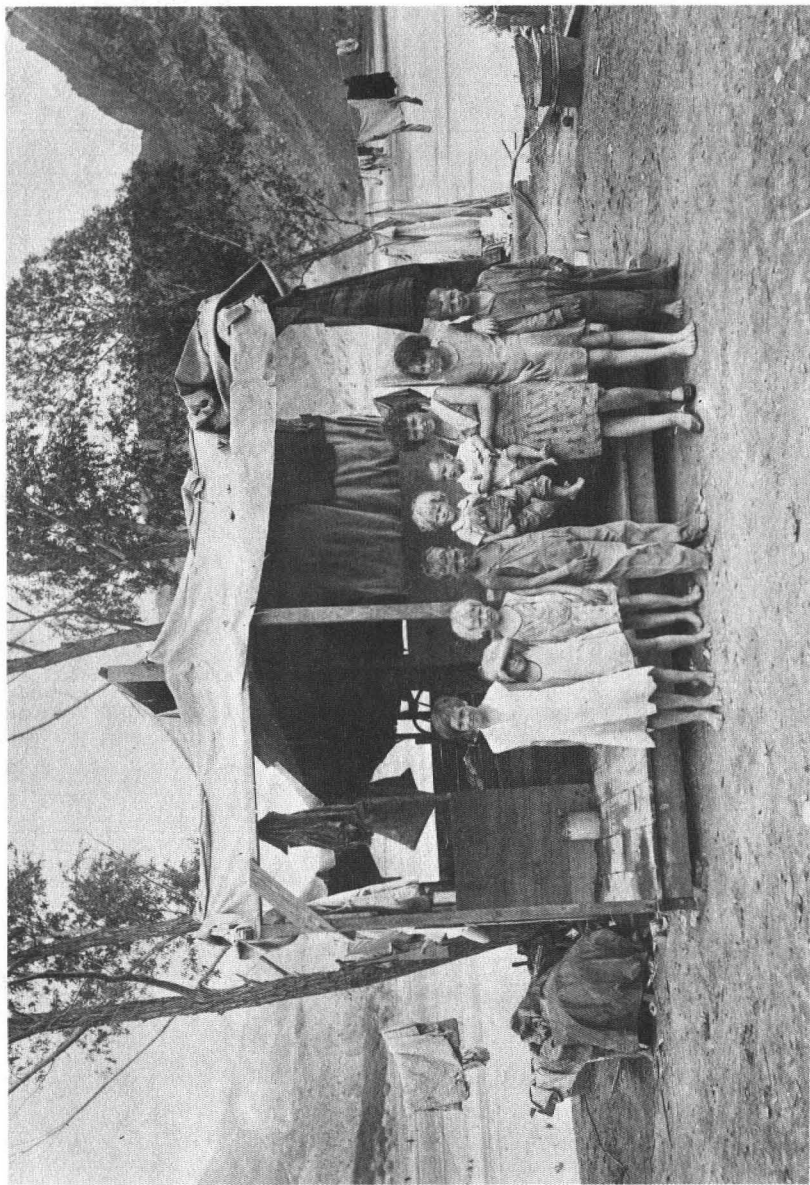
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THE COVER

Boulder Canyon Project, c. December 1931



The "FLAT," "RAGTOWN," or WILLIAMSVILLE (the names by which this site on the Colorado River was known), August 13, 1931: thousands of unemployed men brought their families to southern Nevada and the dam project in hopes of finding jobs in the midst of the nation's worst depression. (Courtesy: Union Pacific Railroad)

The IWW and the Boulder Canyon Project: The Final Death Throes of American Syndicalism

by Guy Louis Rocha

ON AUGUST 16, 1931, the last significant organizational activity of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in Nevada terminated with the unsuccessful strike at the Boulder Canyon project. This abortive action appears to have been one of the last important IWW-related activities in America as well. Interestingly enough, after the IWW's founding in 1905, the radical labor union had staged its first organizational campaigns in Tonopah and Goldfield beginning in late 1905 and extending through early 1908, and there suffered its first substantial defeat. Thus Nevada witnessed both the birth and the death of the anarcho-syndicalist IWW.

The Wobblies, as members of the IWW were commonly called, hoped to galvanize the entire American working class, and eventually all wage earners, into "one big industrial union." To achieve its revolutionary goal, the IWW advocated a series of strikes, eventually culminating in a massive general strike. Then through the use of direct action, syndicalist, worker-controlled, industrial departments would take over the means of production. Without political action, the Wobblies would therefore create "a new society from the shell of the old" and establish a workers' commonwealth.

Because of the Wobblies' highly inflammatory rhetoric, their labor union is remembered today for its revolutionary ideology and goal. The IWW's tactics were in reality militant at most, and its usual demands were for better hours, wages, and working conditions. Appealing to predominantly unskilled workers, a segment of the American proletariat largely neglected by conservative craft unions such as the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the Wobblies realized that immediate gains could not be sacrificed to an apocalyptic general strike. "Big Bill" Haywood aptly

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described this contradictory facet of Wobbly philosophy when he shouted at the founding convention in Chicago, "We are going down into the gutter to get at the mass of workers and bring them up to a decent plane of living."²

The activities of the IWW at the Boulder Canyon project indicate that the organizers were more interested in protecting the unskilled workers from exploitative contractors and bettering their immediate condition, than promoting class warfare and revolution. For example, in reference to the numbers of injuries and deaths projected by the IWW as a result of dam construction over a seven-year period, a Wobbly—after describing a recent premature dynamite explosion which critically injured two workers—graphically articulated the IWW's objectives at the dam site:

Our job is to organize, make it safe, make it fit to work on, and make it a source of decent living for ourselves. . . . When the Simplon Tunnel was finished in 1901 a statue was erected to the workers killed on the job. They may do it here. It is up to the workers to choose between a red union card and a statue.³

Little attention has been given to the labor problems, much less the role of the IWW, at the Boulder Canyon project during the first spring and summer of construction. Conditions were extremely hazardous, the heat unbearable, and an open shop policy was put into effect by the six private firms contracted to build the gigantic concrete structure on the Colorado River. At the same time, many of the dam workers found themselves without adequate housing because the project was begun six months earlier than originally planned. As the depression became more critical in the later half of 1930, President Herbert Hoover, and Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur, determined it was necessary to employ some of the vast number of jobless workers in America as soon as possible. President Hoover then requested Elwood Mead, Director of the Bureau of Reclamation, to proceed on the dam construction with the "utmost dispatch possible." Bureau of Reclamation engineers rushed the completion of project plans and specifications, and bids were let in December. The price of such a measure was to begin building the dam before the completion of Boulder City, the proposed model government town about seven miles from the dam site.⁴

The original building contract, a product of over ten years of Colorado River control planning which included federal passage of the Boulder Canyon Project Act in December 1928, included only three stipulations in regard to labor. Mongolians could not be hired, preference was to be given veterans, and, what later proved to be one of the most important issues associated with labor-management relations on the project, eighty percent of the laborers hired by the contractors had to be housed in company buildings in Boulder City. Shortly after obtaining the construction contract with a bid of \$48,890,995.50 on March 11, five million less than the nearest of two competitors, the Six Companies, Inc., of San Francisco ("Big Six") found that the latter stipulations had been tem-

porarily suspended because of the government's decision to begin dam operations before Boulder City was built.⁵ Paul Kleinsorge, in his work *The Boulder Canyon Project*, wrote that:

Construction was begun in the spring of 1931, and engineers and contractors alike rushed the start of the work, although the existing conditions were most unsatisfactory. Instead of adhering to the usual practice of having small crews prepare adequate facilities before the main body of men was put to work, hundreds of men were given jobs in 1931 even though Boulder City was a barren desert. The inevitable result was severe hardships for those employed, especially since the summer temperatures for 1931 were twelve degrees above normal.⁶

Another problem in addition to the lack of adequate housing resulted from the government contract. Dam construction was to be divided into two major phases. The first phase entailed the digging of four tunnels, each four thousand feet long and fifty feet wide, with two on each side of the river to divert the water around the dam site after the cofferdams were built, thus drying the area for work. The contract specified that the tunneling had to be finished by October 1, 1933, or a three thousand dollar fine would be imposed for every day over the deadline. The second phase included the actual building of the dam, and the deadline for completion in this case was June 15, 1936. Again the same penalty would be imposed for every day over the deadline. The entire project, including the power plant, was to be completed by May 1, 1938. The impending deadlines led the Big Six in the first years of construction to a job speed-up, and safety precautions, on many occasions, were neglected to save all-important time and money.⁷

In late March 1931, the Big Six initiated work on the dam section of the railroad linking Las Vegas to the project. The section which connected the Boulder City camp to the Union Pacific siding seven miles west of Las Vegas (Bracken) had been completed by another contractor. The Lewis Construction Company was presently building the short stretch between the Boulder City camp and the dam section of the railroad. Construction had already begun on the dam highway as well, which when finished would connect Las Vegas to Boulder City and the dam site. Both the railroad and the highway, like Boulder City, were to have been originally completed before the awarding of the Boulder Canyon project contract.⁸

On April 9, while in Las Vegas to sign the Big Six building contract, Raymond F. Walter, "chief engineer of the reclamation bureau's Denver office," expressed the government's priorities regarding the Boulder Canyon project. Walter announced "that under the revised plan, everything is working out on schedule except the construction of Boulder City, which has been temporarily sidetracked to make way for the more necessary work." Paradoxically, Louis C. Cramton, appointed by Secretary of the Interior Wilbur to oversee the construction of Boulder City, recognized the value of adequate housing and living conditions for the

dam workers, but not the immediacy. "Our plans for the city," Cramton proclaimed, "will be in the best interests of the workmen employed on the job, for satisfied workers mean greatly increased efficiency, lack of labor difficulties, and saving of both time and money in construction of the dam project." Cramton's observations in early April later proved to be an unconscious prognostication of future labor strife due in large part to the delay of Boulder City's construction.⁹

With the signing of the building contract by Bureau of Reclamation Director Mead in Las Vegas on April 13, and by Secretary of the Interior Wilbur in Washington on April 20, actual dam operations began. During April, eight hundred workers were employed on or near the dam site, and the large, unorganized work force attracted the IWW. Wobbly headquarters in Chicago sent organizers representing Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 310 (IU No. 310) to establish a local in Las Vegas. With the small desert town of just over five thousand residents as a base, the organizers were then to hire on with the Big Six and other contractors, solicit on the job, and agitate for better conditions.¹⁰

The IWW was no longer a powerful labor organization as a result of the devastating federal and state repression during, and after, World War I, and because of the internal dissension and schisms which plagued the union in 1919 and 1924. But it now planned in the depression year of 1931 to make a comeback as a viable union. In addition to the coal strike in Harlan County, Kentucky, the IWW focused its resurgent organizational activity on the Boulder Canyon project. Frank Desmond Anderson, recently elected a General Organizer Committee member for IU No. 310, was selected as head Wobbly organizer in the crusade to make the dam project and nearby Las Vegas an IWW stronghold.¹¹

Anderson arrived in Las Vegas sometime in early May and proceeded to the project where he obtained a job at the river camp as a truck tender. Shortly thereafter, on May 16, construction began at the dam site when the first dynamite charges were exploded "at the portals of two adits driven into the abutments of the projected dam, one on each side, to intersect the diversion tunnels." The four hundred men, including Anderson, employed at the Big Six river camp to work on the tunnels were housed in crude, wooden dormitories similar to army barracks. Perched precariously on the canyon wall at "Cape Horn," the river bend just above the dam site, the camp had little to offer in the way of common comforts. Showers were unavailable in the dormitories, and this forced dam laborers to bathe in the river. Drinking water was drawn directly from the silt-laden Colorado River, stored in large tanks, and with no water coolers, it would become tepid or hot. As temperatures increased, the water, with its high bacteria count, began making the river camp workers sick.¹²

At the same time, there were no facilities for cooling the dormitories. Daytime temperatures were constantly on the rise, and by the end of July the average daily maximum temperature was 119.9 degrees. After an

eight-hour shift dam workers would be totally exhausted. They would then return to the river camp only to swelter in the evening heat, which by the end of July averaged 95 degrees. With summer days and nights as hot as 128 and 103 degrees respectively, and only warm or hot water to drink, it is a wonder that the river camp laborers could work, much less sleep.¹³

Dr. Elwood Mead, paraphrasing a March 9, 1931, Department of the Interior press release in an address at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, described the brutal summer heat:

This project, like Panama, has a similar climate. The summer wind which sweeps over the gorge from the desert feels like a blast from a furnace. At the rim of the gorge, where most of the work must be done, there is neither soil, grass nor trees. The sun beats down on a broken surface of lava rocks. At midday they cannot be touched with the naked hand. It is bad enough as a place for men to work. It is no place for a boarding house or a sleeping porch.¹⁴

Ironically, Mead was aware of the inhospitable conditions associated with housing men in the canyon during the summer, yet did little to remedy the immediate situation. It seems Mead hoped that the men could survive the first summer without great losses, and occupy the Boulder City housing scheduled for completion in the fall. "Next year," declared Mead, "there will be an entirely different story."¹⁵

Meanwhile, Frank Anderson and other Wobblies employed at the dam project were outraged, not just over housing conditions, but even more because of the growing number of injuries and deaths related to poor working conditions. Although some of the casualties appeared to be careless accidents on the part of the workers involved, the Wobblies quickly publicized the situation as "capitalist exploitation" and a job speed-up through their national weeklies, *Industrial Solidarity* (Chicago) and *Industrial Worker* (Seattle). IU No. 310 local headquarters in Las Vegas wired all dam information via Western Union to Chicago and Seattle. After the radical newspapers were received in Las Vegas, Wobblies would sell them on downtown street corners, in front of casinos, and smuggle them into the Boulder City and river camps on the federal reservation. The IWW hoped that workers would join the union because of the dramatization of the working and housing conditions at the dam site, and the union's advocacy of a six-hour day to reduce the work load and employ more men.¹⁶

Such was not the case. Twenty-six persons died on the dam project between May 16 and August 4—approximately one person every three days, and a majority of them from heat prostration. Yet, for a dam worker to join a labor union, especially a union with the IWW's national image, on an open shop job was not considered a wise decision in the midst of the nation's worst depression. Single men and married men with their families had travelled by the thousands to Las Vegas in hopes of finding jobs on the dam project. The lawn in front of the downtown Union Pacific

depot served as the home for many of the desperate job-seekers. The rest moved on to the "Flat" located between the Boulder City camp and the dam site; there they lived in tents, trailers, cars, and out in the open, while the men "rustled" for jobs. With employment at a premium, few dam workers, despite the miserable working and housing conditions, desired to join the IWW and jeopardize their livelihood.¹⁷

The Wobbly local had no problems attracting hostility and suppression in nearby Las Vegas, although IU No. 310's organizational campaign in the Clark County seat, and at the Boulder Canyon project, had met with only limited success at best. On July 10, Deputy Sheriff Eddie Johnson, a part-time Boulder City bouncer, arrested Frank Anderson in front of the casino. Anderson recently had been laid off from his job as truck tender at the project, and was now working evenings in Las Vegas. Most of his free time was spent selling Wobbly newspapers both at the dam site and in town. Subsequent to Anderson's arrest, the July 11 headlines of the *Las Vegas Age* proclaimed, "I.W.W. Group at Dam Revealed." A quote attributed to Anderson read that he forecast Wobbly control of Boulder City, had organized twenty-one members in one month, and that he boasted of three hundred workers as IWW members. Further, the article claimed that the labor union's objective at the dam project was to organize a large enough body of workers to call a general strike.¹⁸

Obviously, sensationalist journalism was used to arouse public antagonism. The *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal* criticized the *Age* for its inflammatory story, and claimed that there was no real Wobbly threat at the Boulder Canyon project. Local IU 310 headquarters denied the statements attributed to Anderson, as well as charges that the union had forced workers to join the IWW organization. The construction workers' local argued that "its primary purpose is not to call a Boulder Dam strike but to organize for better pay, hours, and so on, and that if a strike is necessary the men will have the power of unity to fight it to successful issue."¹⁹ The IWW was conducting itself more like a "bread and butter" union than an anarcho-syndicalist organization, but that did little to change its subversive image in the minds of Las Vegas officials.

On Saturday morning, July 11, IWW organizers Louis Gracey and C. E. Setzer were arrested as they left the Western Union telegraph office. Gracey and Setzer had just wired Herbert Mahler, IWW general secretary-treasurer, in Chicago informing him of Anderson's arrest, and requesting defense funds. A Western Union operator apparently tipped off the police, although the manager of the telegraph office denied the Wobblies' accusation. Las Vegas IU No. 310 then took steps to secure an attorney to fight the vagrancy charges lodged against the three organizers, while town officials planned an investigation of the radical union.²⁰

Local officials approached Assistant U.S. Attorney George Montrose, who was in Las Vegas that Saturday on federal business, about the possibility of government prosecution in the Wobbly cases. Montrose's response was that the matter was "wholly and solely in the hands of

county and city officials." No government action would be forthcoming unless overt acts were committed on the federal reservation, or construction of the dam delayed by disruptive union activities. With no cooperation from the U. S. Attorney's office, city officials decided to prosecute the three IWW organizers on the vagrancy charges.²¹

Saturday night witnessed a wholesale roundup of Wobblies selling *Industrial Solidarity* and *Industrial Worker* in front of the Boulder Club; evidently they were staging a protest against Anderson, Gracey, and Setzer's arrest. W. F. Burroughs, R. A. McFarland, Bert King, K. Mather, and Barney Savilonis were arrested by Eddie Johnson, and incarcerated in the city jail. Local IU No. 310 planned to continue selling newspapers, and as fast as Wobblies were arrested, other union members would take their place. Using tactics similar to the bygone "free-speech" fights between 1909 and 1916, the IWW hoped to fill the city jail and inundate the court docket.²²

Eight Wobblies found themselves spending Sunday and Monday in the Las Vegas jail. Although the IWW members probably capitalized on their predicament and exaggerated conditions in the jail, it still appears that the facility lacked a swamp cooler and adequate bedding in the crowded cell. Daytime heat was stifling, and the floor proved to be a poor substitute for a mattress. Besides these obvious discomforts, the Wobbly cell was the drunk tank. Early Monday morning, two Wobblies were told they had to work and carry boxes through the streets of Las Vegas. The men refused on the grounds that they had not been tried and convicted of any crime. The eight Wobblies' only meal that Monday consisted of a couple of sandwiches given them at 9 A.M. When Police Chief Clay Williams was interviewed by the *Evening Review Journal* about the food problem, he replied that "he was giving I.W.W. members no assurance as to how much they would be fed when housed in the Las Vegas city jail."²³

On the morning of July 13, the eight Wobblies were arraigned before Municipal Judge W. G. Morse. They pleaded not guilty to the vagrancy charges, and declared that they were going "to stand upon their constitutional rights and demand jury trials." Since the arresting officers were absent, Judge Morse rescheduled the hearing for 4 P.M. Wednesday, July 15. Postponement was granted all defendants except Barney Savilonis. He was fined ten dollars, which could be worked off on a five-day street job. Refusing to pay the fine or work, Savilonis was returned to his cell and had to endure a diet of bread and water. City Attorney Frank A. Stevens took the matter of a jury trial into consideration. There was no provision in the city ordinances for a jury trial in municipal court, and a favorable decision meant that the case would go to a higher court.²⁴

In the meantime, Wobblies continued to sell IWW newspapers on the streets of Las Vegas. On Monday evening, three more men were arrested on vagrancy charges and jailed with their fellow-workers. Later that night the eleven Wobblies were separated from the other prisoners and

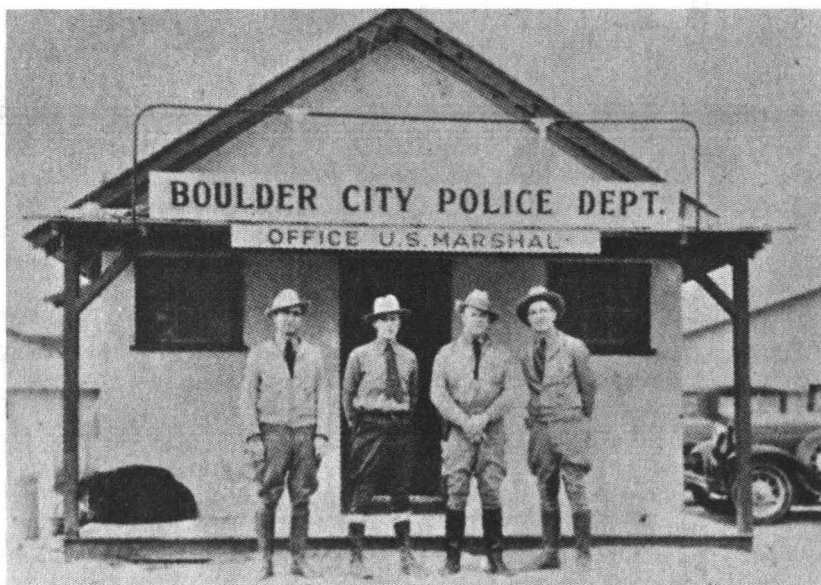
given no food. All efforts by union members to provide the incarcerated men with outside food were prevented by the police. In addition to the problems with city officials, the Western Union office held up a telegram addressed to Secretary-Treasurer Mahler for four days. The overt suppression of the Las Vegas IU No. 310 organizers and members, and subsequently the denial of a jury trial by the city attorney, appeared to set the stage for increased troubles associated with the July 15 hearing.²⁵

Surprisingly, however, the case was decided in favor of the IWW. Frank Anderson, represented by T. Alonzo Wells—attorney for the Wobblies—was called before the court Wednesday afternoon. Eddie Johnson was sworn in as a witness. He testified that he was a Clark County deputy sheriff, and was working at the Boulder Club as a bouncer at the time of Anderson's arrest. Johnson stated that he had seen the defendant three times between July 1 and July 10, and on one occasion overheard Anderson criticize labor conditions at the dam site. Anderson's entrance into the Boulder Club on two occasions, and his sale of IWW newspapers at the time of his arrest, were introduced into evidence.²⁶

Wells' cross examination of the witness destroyed the grounds for vagrancy. Although Anderson earned twenty-eight dollars a month as a member of the IU No. 310 General Organizer Committee, Johnson admitted he knew nothing about Anderson's means of support at the time of his arrest, had never read a Wobbly newspaper, and that he arrested the defendant because "Bud" Bodell, chief Deputy Sheriff and owner of the Boulder Club, told him to. Following Johnson's testimony, counsel for the defense made a motion for dismissal, which Judge Morse denied.²⁷

Frank Anderson then took the stand. City Attorney Stevens attempted to discredit Anderson's testimony in the cross examination, but to no avail. When Stevens redirected his questions and argument, and cited court precedents in similar Texas and Ontario, Canada cases, Wells protested on the grounds he came prepared to defend Anderson on a vagrancy charge and not as a Wobbly. Ironically, Anderson and the other defendants might have been prosecuted under the 1919 Criminal Syndicalism Law which outlawed the distribution and sale of subversive literature, among other proscribed activities. The Wobblies were fortunate for it seems the Las Vegas city attorney either neglected to research his case properly, or realized that no IWW member had ever been convicted of violating Nevada's anti-syndicalism law.

Judge Morse took the case under advisement until the following day.²⁸ On the morning of July 16, he ruled that the City of Las Vegas had failed to prove the charges against Frank Anderson and ordered that he be released. On the motion of city attorney F. A. Stevens, the remaining cases were dismissed. Barney Savilonis was released at the same time, even though his sentence remained unfinished. The IWW had won an important legal battle in the southern Nevada town. The newly-freed



"Bud" Bodell, former chief deputy sheriff of Clark County, was appointed a deputy U.S. Marshal and police chief of Boulder City in August 1931 in order that "labor agitators" and "radicals" be "weeded out rapidly" from the work force on the dam project.



ANDERSON MESS HALL, Boulder City, October 1931: By late fall 1931, most dam workers were housed and fed in Boulder City which alleviated a major problem associated with the August strike.

Wobblies returned to selling their newspapers, organizing dam workers, and agitating on and off the job for better conditions. The Las Vegas Central Labor Council now recognized the IWW construction workers' local and invited a delegate to address its next meeting on Tuesday evening, July 21. W. F. Burroughs after his release wrote in *Industrial Solidarity* that "much fine sentiment among the local people had come to light as a result of the affair. Nevadans have not forgotten the workers' condition in the unparalleled Goldfield which was controlled by the I.W.W."²⁹

The Wobblies' success in Las Vegas may have influenced the Big Six and the federal government to upgrade conditions on the dam project. By early August, cooling systems were being installed in the bunk and cook houses at the Boulder City camp, and at the river camp's cook house. The powder room at the dam site was moved to the Arizona side of the river from its previous location thirty feet from the blacksmith shop. Drinking water was transported from Las Vegas to the river camp, although the Wobblies claimed there was not enough. And a fridaire water cooler was placed in the river camp cook house. According to IWW reports, this improvement also had its limits. With only one electric coil, and the water cooler's constant use, little cold water was available.³⁰

IU No. 310 was not satisfied with these small concessions. It demanded a six-hour day, or "eight hours from camp to camp," on the grounds that Boulder City camp workers spent eleven hours on the job, and river camp workers nine to ten, when travel was included to and from the actual work site. Other demands made were: "a cooling system in every bunk house; water flushed toilets; health inspected camps; food clean and wholesome; water clear and pure."³¹

Whether or not a food problem existed was a questionable issue. An *Industrial Solidarity* article reported that the Anderson Brothers Board and Supply Company, contracted by the federal government to feed project employees, did not provide enough food, and that the food served was of poor quality. According to the Wobbly (card No. x81482) writing the exposé, on one occasion at the river camp there had been widespread ptomaine poisoning due to bad pork, and four or five men had died as a result. The Anderson Brothers were also charged with not hiring enough kitchen help, and that those hired were men just waiting for construction jobs. The irate Wobbly demanded three full-time dining room crews.³²

Yet on most counts other reports conflicted with the *Solidarity's* account of the food problem. One itinerant worker who found a job as a waiter for the Anderson Brothers at Lewis Construction Camp "B" reported in the *Nation* that he was definitely overworked, but "there can be no legitimate complaint about the food, either as to quantity or quality, and I would say that it was well chosen to suit climatic conditions." The consensus at the project was that the food was generally good.³³

The *Las Vegas Age* did report one outbreak of ptomaine poisoning at the river camp which affected twenty-seven workers, but all rapidly

recovered. The ptomaine poisoning which allegedly killed four or five workers may have been covered up, but it is much more likely that the Wobblies in their zeal to organize dam workers, and rectify real problems, sometimes exaggerated already bad conditions at the camps.³⁴

The IWW did not have to exaggerate the Big Six wage cut of August 7, 1931. As the swing shift on the dam project went to work that afternoon, they saw a notice which stated that tunnel workers would receive a wage reduction. According to a Wobbly report, muckers, nippers, and cherry pickers were to have their daily pay reduced from \$5 to \$4, cabletenders from \$5.60 to \$4, and brakemen from \$5.60 to \$5. The Big Six, and later the federal government, argued that a new mucking machine rendered some unskilled tunnel labor less valuable, and that only thirty men were affected. The workers, on the other hand, immediately protested against the wage cut charging that the Big Six was trying to take advantage of the unlimited labor supply in Las Vegas and Williamsville (another name for the "Flat"), and that 180 workers suffered from the wage reduction. They argued that the construction company would threaten to hire other laborers if the present men affected did not capitulate and accept the lower wage. Ironically, just three months earlier, the president of the Big Six proclaimed that the company "was anxious to co-operate with the government in its desire to maintain or raise the wage scale thruout [sic] the nation."³⁵

Aroused by the wagecut, the swing shift workers met the day crew coming off work at the boat landing and discussed the situation. Two Wobblies addressed the gathering and exhorted the workers to hold a mass meeting to consider strike action. The day and swing crews agreed to meet at the river camp cook house at 5 P.M. The debate there was brief. The four hundred workers in attendance voted unanimously to strike. A committee was elected to draw up strike demands, and then travel to the Boulder City camp and solicit workers to join the walkout.³⁶

The meeting at the Boulder City camp began at 7 P.M. Nearly six hundred workers attended, and when they heard about the wage reduction voted to go out on strike. After a second strike committee was organized, the river and Boulder City camp committees were to present the strike demands to Big Six Superintendent Frank T. Crowe the following day at 10 A.M. All work was brought to a standstill.³⁷

The first and only major labor-management confrontation on the Boulder Canyon project had begun. On Saturday, August 8, the two Las Vegas daily newspapers featured banner headlines announcing the strike. The labor unrest even made the front page of the *New York Times*. The *Las Vegas Age* had interviewed Frank Crowe by telephone the night of the strike. Crowe's opinion at that time was that the "protest" would have little effect on the project, and "was largely the result of I.W.W. agitation. . .and that the company would be glad to get rid of such." The committee when interviewed stated that the walkout was a spontaneous action stemming from the wagecut, and did not result from IWW action

or any other labor organization. "We wish to make it plain," committee members emphasized, "that the strike has nothing to do with the I.W.W.s or the United Mine Workers—it is a matter distinctly among the workmen on this project. We're not wobblies and don't want to be classed as such." Although Frank Anderson and other IU No. 310 organizers and members tried to promote the strike at the dam site and in IWW newspapers, the overwhelming majority of unorganized workers reasoned that to openly associate themselves with the small contingent of Wobblies would undermine their cause by giving the strike action a radical image.³⁸

L. L. "Red" Williams, head of the strike committee, verbally presented Superintendent Crowe the strike demands Saturday morning. The demands included:

- (1) A pay raise from \$4.00 to \$5.00 for surfacemen; \$5.50 for tunnel workers; \$6.00 for miners and \$6.00 for carpenters.
- (2) Improvements in the sanitary conditions of the river camp.
- (3) That all men be returned to their jobs without discrimination.
- (4) That workers be supplied with ice water until drinking fountains were installed.
- (5) That rates for board be set at \$1.50 flat per day.
- (6) Strict adherence to Nevada and Arizona mining safety laws.
- (7) That dry rooms be installed at portals in tunnels.
- (8) An eight-hour day from camp to camp.
- (9) That a safety miner be placed in each heading.

Crowe told the strike committees he would take twenty-four hours to consider the demands and announced a general shut-down. With fourteen hundred men, including skilled laborers, out on strike by that time, Crowe's action meant little to the protesting workers.³⁹

In an interview in the *Evening Review Journal*, Superintendent Crowe claimed that if the laborers had not gone out on strike they would have had electricity in the river camp dormitories that night for fans and lights, and that frigidaire water coolers were already in operation there. He denied there had been any delays in transporting workers to and from the construction camps. Crowe even stated that the company's July records showed no reported accidents. The death of seven Big Six employees—five from heat prostration, one by drowning, and one from an appendicitis attack—must not have been considered accidents by Crowe.⁴⁰

The Wobblies associated with the strike accused "Speed-Up" Crowe, as he was derogatorily called, of lying about conditions. According to a report in *Industrial Solidarity*, electricity could not have been provided that night because the walkout began at 4 P.M. and the electricians had already stopped work. The article also claimed that there were no fans or water coolers in the river camp and no preparations in the dormitories for water coolers. Travel to and from the Boulder City camp for dam workers was not just one hour as Crowe announced, but between three and four.

Another accusation was directed toward Crowe's statement regarding the absence of accidents involving Big Six employees in July. "There are six men drawing compensation for July," the IWW argued, "and if they aren't accident cases why are Nevada and Arizona paying compensation?" Whether or not Superintendent Crowe's or the Wobblies' stories reflected actual conditions at the dam project, the fact remained that the striking workers themselves believed immediate conditions had to be upgraded.⁴¹

At 10 A.M. on August 9, Crowe responded to the strike demands by closing down the project indefinitely. He refused to make any concessions, and told the committees that the striking workers must vacate the federal reservation. William Wattis, president of the Big Six, when asked in San Francisco about strike demands for an increase in pay, cold water, and a safety inspector at all tunnels replied, "We do not mean to be arbitrary, but we will not discuss the matter with them. They will have to work under our conditions or not at all."⁴²

Many workers picked up their paychecks and left the area for Las Vegas after word spread that federal troops were in readiness and might be called in by Walker R. Young, the government construction engineer in charge of the dam project. Superintendent Crowe announced that he would hire new crews as soon as all strikers had left the federal reservation. The strike committee countered Crowe's plans by keeping as many workers as possible on the project to continue the strike. Sympathetic Las Vegas merchants donated food and money to the remaining strikers, and the siege began with the protesting workers determined to obtain their demands.⁴³

The Big Six was determined to clear the federal reservation of strikers. Shortly after Crowe's announcement in Boulder City of an indefinite shutdown, Big Six strikebreakers travelled to the river camp to deport any workers found there. The strikers at the dam site, including IWW organizer Fred Fuglevik, were rounded up at gun point and loaded into company trucks. Fortunately for the laborers, a U.S. deputy marshal arrived on the scene and ordered the vehicles unloaded. After arresting one strikebreaker for carrying a weapon, the deputy marshal told the strikers that the Big Six had no authority to move them without a warrant. A successful strike seemed a distinct possibility as long as the federal government maintained a neutral stand.⁴⁴

Yet subsequent events demonstrated that federal officials would abandon their neutral position and support the interests of the Big Six. At a 6 P.M. meeting held in the Boulder City government warehouse on August 11, Walker Young ordered the strikers to vacate the federal reservation by 8 A.M. the following day. After a discussion of conditions on the project, the recently amalgamated general strike committee, desiring no confrontation with government authorities, agreed to comply with the order if transportation were provided.⁴⁵

Early Wednesday morning, Young, U.S. Marshal Jacob H. Fulmer, and Assistant U.S. Attorney George Montrose proceeded to the river camp where between 150 - 200 strikers, including the Wobbly contingent, were holding out. Congratulating the workers for the non-violent manner in which they had conducted the strike, Young told the men that the reservation was to be cleared, and that government trucks would take them to Las Vegas if they so desired. The striking laborers assumed that the federal authorities were acting as a neutral body and left the project peaceably. Yet they reminded government and Big Six officials that the strike was still on. The strikers established "Camp Stand" eight miles southeast of Las Vegas on the nearly-completed Boulder City highway, where they planned to picket the reservation.⁴⁶

The Las Vegas Central Labor Council openly supported the strikers. After an organizational meeting Tuesday evening, that body sent a resolution to William Green, the AFL president, Fred Balzar, Governor of Nevada, and the Las Vegas newspapers, which condemned the Big Six for their wage reduction, the deplorable conditions at the river camp, and the construction company's attempt to blame the Wobblies for the labor-management confrontation in order to excite public sentiment against the strikers. Green was requested by the Council to submit the resolution to Elwood Mead, Secretary of Labor William Doak, and President Hoover. Excerpts of the resolution read:

We know that the conditions complained of by the employees of the Six Companies are the true conditions there . . . that the officials of the Six Companies make denial of these charges and endeavor to create alibis and excuses for their shortcomings and wind up telling the press and the public that it was only the dissatisfaction of a few I.W.W.'s that was the cause of the tie up. . .

We believe that the public . . . and the department heads should be informed, if they don't know, that the Six Companies have established a wage scale below the uniform wage prevailing throughout the entire country. . .

We feel it is a crime against humanity to ask men to work in that Hell-hole of heat they encounter at Boulder dam and do it for a mere pittance. . .

The Las Vegas Central Labor council with its affiliated crafts, voice our protest against the conditions hereinbefore mentioned and that we appeal to that sense of fair play among men to help labor hold its place and maintain the standards which we believe are essential to good citizenship and contentment. . .⁴⁷

The Central Labor Council's action did not influence Walker Young. At noon on August 13 the government engineer in charge of the project ordered the Big Six to hire laborers and resume work. The reduced wage scale that produced the strike remained in effect. Deputy Nevada Labor Commissioner Leonard T. Blood opened a branch of the Las Vegas state-federal employment office at the reservation's entrance four miles

northwest of Boulder City near Railroad Pass. Federal authorities then placed a large gate across the highway to prevent any unauthorized persons from entering the project area. U.S. Marshal Fulmer followed up the action by deputizing twenty reclamation engineers to guard the gate and police the area. When asked by the *Las Vegas Age* if the rumors that "semi-martial" law had been established on the Boulder Canyon project were true, Assistant U.S. Attorney Montrose obliquely remarked, "It may be called semi-martial law only in that Marshal Fulmer has complete control over reservation conditions." Although the federal government had claimed to be a neutral party in this critical labor-management dispute, its actions beginning on August 11 were obviously aimed at breaking the strike.⁴⁸

Following Superintendent Crowe's request that "old worthy" workers should be given first preference for jobs, the government employment office hired 350 former Big Six employees by 8:30 P.M. on August 13. Housed at the Boulder City camp, the recently hired laborers became the day crew and resumed digging the diversion tunnels the following morning. By the afternoon of August 14, an additional 380 former employees were rehired to constitute the swing shift. In spite of the fact that over 700 workers crossed the picket line of the strikers, the strike did effect the living conditions at the project. None of the Big Six workers were housed at the river camp because cooling systems, lights, water coolers, and other simple necessities that should have been operational when the camp opened that spring were now being installed.⁴⁹

The two hundred unorganized strikers and Wobblies at Camp Stand desperately struggled to maintain the strike on the basis that the Six Companies' reduced wage scale was still in effect. "We are not beaten," the general strike committee announced after Walker Young's order to resume construction on the Boulder Canyon project. "We went out on strike in protest of a wage scale based on a \$4 day for muckers and as that scale is still in force we consider men returning to work as strikebreakers. The strike is still on and we intend to stick with it until it is settled."⁵⁰

At a 3 P.M. meeting on August 14, held in the Las Vegas Airdome theater, two hundred strikers and over six hundred spectators listened to militant speakers charge that the "Hoover Dam strike (was) the focal point of the entire 'class struggle' at the present time" in the nation, and that the federal government had betrayed its neutral stand in order to support the Big Six. The speakers accused the government of breaking the strike because federal officials recognized that there was a labor dispute when they notified the striking laborers that they had to leave the reservation. While most of the strikers who addressed the Airdome crowd still advocated using peaceful methods in conducting the strike, some of the disgruntled workers suggested resorting to violent tactics. One striker took the stage and declared that nonviolent action had gotten them nowhere. "Are we going out now to where these fellows are going back to work as strikebreakers and take a shillelah and beat

the ears off the guys ?” the angry striker shouted. “Or, are we going to say ‘please, Mister.’ ”⁵¹

Following the speakers’ addresses, a strike committee chairman and recording secretary were chosen, and then seven resolutions passed at an earlier meeting at Camp Stand were adopted by the Airdome assemblage. The resolutions advocated a dramatic policy change. The government was no longer to be recognized as a third party in the labor-management dispute, but rather as the agent of the Big Six. It was now obvious to the strike committee that the federal governments clearing of the reservation of strikers was actually the first step in resuming operations at the Boulder Canyon project, and that federal authorities had not made, and would not make, any attempts to encourage some form of arbitration. At the same time, immediate intensive picketing was proposed for Las Vegas, particularly at bus stations, on the Boulder City highway near Camp Stand, at the government employment office near Railroad Pass, in Searchlight, and where the Los Angeles highway crossed the Nevada-California state line. Daily meetings were to be held in Las Vegas, ones designed to recruit unemployed workers into the ranks of the strikers. The strikers also announced that Publicity and Ways and Means committees were to be created to publicize the strike nationally and solicit financial aid from sympathetic individuals and groups. That evening the general strike committee sent Governor Fred Balzar a telegram which read:

Boulder Dam strike still on. One dollar wage still in effect for forty per cent tunnel crews. Six Companies employing strike breakers. Is the state of Nevada going to uphold Six Companies cutting wages in this time of depression? Strikers wish investigation of project.⁵²

Governor Balzar promptly responded to the strikers’ telegram the next day, August 15, and passed any responsibility in arbitrating the labor-management dispute back to the federal government. “State of Nevada absolutely neutral in all labor disputes,” his telegram read. “Matter should properly be referred to department of labor, Washington.” By that Saturday, nearly eleven hundred former Big Six employees had been rehired under the reduced wage scale. Although some of the militant proposals had been initiated by the strike committee, the chances of a successful strike with no support from federal or Nevada officials (and with workers flocking back to the job despite pickets) were practically nil. At a closed meeting the question of a vote to call the strike off was proposed. The strikers agreed to have a secret ballot vote the next day.⁵³

On Sunday, August 16, 1931, “Camp Despair,”—formerly Camp Stand—was abandoned after the remaining die-hard strikers voted 68 to 58 to end the strike. Many of these men were Wobblies, and the resolution calling off the strike designated their organizational objectives on returning to work:

It is moved that we transfer the strike back to the job and that our demands stand the same to secure a federal investigation and that the General Strike committee be authorized to appoint or elect a committee on the job to carry on our fight to secure our demands, and we go on record that if these demands are not successful, we renew the strike.⁵⁴

Superintendent Crowe, on the following day, hoped to counter the proposed action by announcing that all former strikers known to carry "red cards . . . and bear a reputation as agitators" would not be rehired. A Wobbly optimistically responded to Crowe's statement in *Industrial Solidarity*. "'Red cards' are on the Boulder Dam today and will continue to be there until the project is finished," proclaimed the IWW member. "Maybe, Mr. Crowe, 'Red cards' may organize the Boulder Dam to strike, not as an unorganized body as was the present case, but as an unshakeable union that will not be intimidated by company arsenals or company gunmen."⁵⁵

Wobblies continued to work on the dam until its completion (two years ahead of schedule) on March 1, 1936; but the strike between August 7 and August 16, 1931 was the last significant IWW-related activity on the Boulder Canyon project. Interestingly enough, "Bud" Bodell, former chief deputy sheriff of Clark County, was appointed a deputy U.S. Marshal and police chief of Boulder City in order that "labor agitators" and "radicals" be "weeded out rapidly." By the end of August, work on the open shop job had returned to near-normal. The brutal summer heat soon passed, and the river camp workers at least had livable quarters as a result of the strike. By November 1931, most Big Six employees were housed in Boulder City, thus alleviating one of the major problems associated with labor unrest at the project. The six dormitories were all equipped with combination heating and cooling systems, lavatories, and showers; the 125 family cottages contained all the basic conveniences. Besides housing, the workers were provided with a 1300 man mess hall, a steam laundry, a garage, a clubhouse, and a company store. Boulder City's population numbered 2,500 by the end of 1931, and truly represented a well-planned model government town.⁵⁶

Although housing conditions were vastly improved on the Boulder Canyon project after the August labor troubles, IU No. 310 still maintained a local in Las Vegas. Frank Anderson, Fred Fuglevik, and J. C. Frast headed the small Wobbly contingent in Clark County, and sponsored the national IWW Construction Workers' conventions in October, 1931 and 1932. Many articles criticizing the federal government, the Big Six, and working conditions on the dam project appeared in *Industrial Solidarity* until it ceased publication in December, 1931, and after *Solidarity's* demise, in the IWW's lone national newspaper *Industrial Worker*.⁵⁷

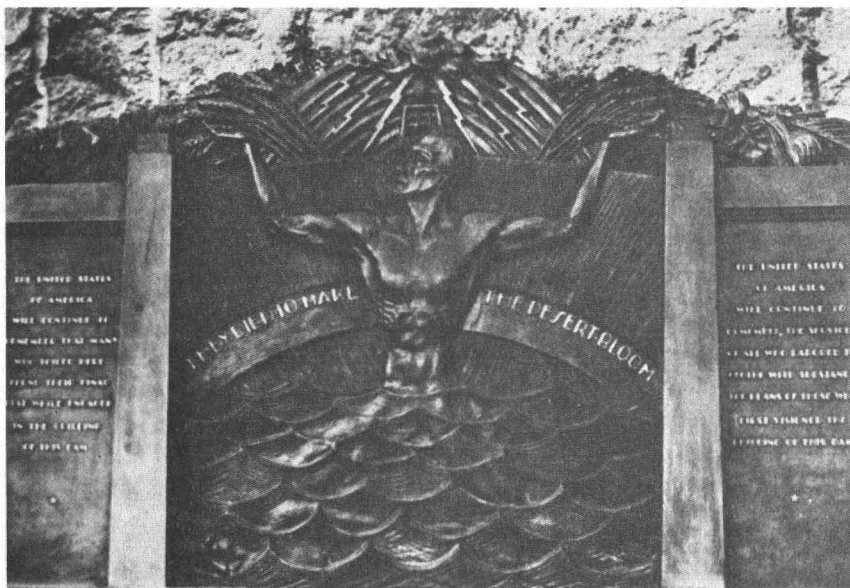
Yet the Wobblies' dream of making the Boulder Canyon project and

Las Vegas into IWW strongholds had suffered a mortal blow in the August strike. The last IWW attempt to organize the dam workers to strike occurred two years later on August 16, 1933, in an effort to prevent the firing of all known Wobbly laborers. Eight organizers, including Frank Anderson, distributed handbills in Boulder City's Anderson mess hall. The notices demanded increased safety regulations, a six-hour day with the same pay, one dollar per day for board, a fifty percent reduction in rent, and no discrimination against IWW members working on the project. The Wobblies exhorted the workers to make "a show-down with the Six Companies by remaining off shift," but the rally was an abysmal failure. The crews returned to work, and according to Wobbly historian Fred Thompson, this was the only time in the IWW's history that it called a strike and none developed.⁵⁸

Ironically, the Wobbly in 1931 who described the IWW's organizational drive at the Boulder Canyon project in terms of the workers choosing between a red union card and statue proved to be a prophet of sorts. Most dam workers never joined the IWW, but the men killed on the project received their monument. Entitled "They Died To Make The Desert Bloom," the memorial commemorated a sizable number of workers who died needlessly as a result of a hasty presidential decision. If President Hoover had not rushed the building of Boulder Dam in order to employ only a small minority of America's growing hordes of jobless during the depression, the work would not have begun in the spring and summer heat of 1931, Boulder City would have been completed, the Big Six would not have been able to exploit the laborers to the extent they did, and in the end the monument which paid tribute to the dead dam workers would have represented fewer fallen men.⁵⁹

Notes

1. Paul F. Brissenden, *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism*, Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol. 83 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919), p. 191; Guy Louis Rocha, "Radical Labor Struggles in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District, 1901-1922," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* XX (Spring 1977), 3-20 *passim*. The Wobblies' last sustained organizational drive appears to have been conducted in the early 1930s prior to the founding of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Washington State's Yakima Valley witnessed the Wobblies' unsuccessful attempt in 1933 to organize hop pickers into Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110. The IWW, a rapidly deteriorating labor union, after 1933 found it impossible to compete with the Communists' brand of revolution and the CIO's industrial unionism. See Cletus E. Daniel, "Wobblies on the Farm: The IWW in the Yakima Valley," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 65 (October 1974), 166-75; James G. Newbill, "Farmers and Wobblies in the Yakima Valley, 1933," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 68 (April 1977), 80-87; Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the IWW* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 478.
2. Joyce L. Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices, An I.W.W. Anthology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), p. 2.
3. *Industrial Solidarity*, May 19, 1931, p. 1.
4. Paul L. Kleinsorge, *The Boulder Canyon Project: Historical and Economic Aspects* (Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 1941), p. 300; James Robert Kluger,



Memorial set into rock canyon wall on Arizona side of Hoover Dam pays this tribute to labor: THEY DIED TO MAKE THE DESERT BLOOM. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL CONTINUE TO REMEMBER THAT MANY WHO TOILED HERE FOUND THEIR FINAL REST WHILE ENGAGED IN THE BUILDING OF THIS DAM. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL CONTINUE TO REMEMBER THE SERVICES OF ALL WHO LABORED TO CLOTHE WITH SUBSTANCE THE PLANS OF THOSE WHO FIRST VISIONED THE BUILDING OF THIS DAM.

"Elwood Mead: Irrigation Engineer and Social Planner" Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona University, 1970), 201-202, 206-207, 209; "Open Shop at Boulder Dam," *The New Republic*, June 24, 1931, pp. 147-48; "Construction of Boulder Dam Begun on July 7, 1930," *New Reclamation Era*, October 1930, p. 200; "Hoover Dam and Power Plant Contracts to be Let," *New Reclamation Era*, December 1930, p. 245. Originally there were two sites considered for Boulder City. Elwood Mead chose the present site over one three miles from the dam project because of its higher elevation (800 feet), better soil conditions, and location at the Union Pacific branch railroad terminus. Better living conditions associated with relatively cooler summer temperatures were primary considerations in his decision.

5. Edmund Wilson, *The American Earthquake: A Documentary of the Twenties and Thirties* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958), pp. 369-70; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, *The Story of Boulder Dam*, Conservation Bulletin No. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 12-17, 21-22; Kleinsorge, *The Boulder Canyon Project*, pp. 204-205; *The New Republic*, June 24, 1931, p. 147. The Big Six, incorporated under the laws of Delaware, included Utah Construction (Ogden), W. A. Bechtel and Henry J. Kaiser (San Francisco), Morrison-Knudsen (Boise), Pacific Bridge (Portland), J. F. Shea (Portland), and MacDonald & Kahn (San Francisco). The Six Companies Inc. building contract was the largest ever awarded by the federal government up to that time.

6. Kleinsorge, *The Boulder Canyon Project*, pp. 300-301.
7. *The Story of Boulder Dam*, pp. 26-34; *Industrial Solidarity*, March 24, 1931, p. 1, "Specifications and Plans Available For Work at Hoover Dam," *New Reclamation Era*, February 1931, p. 33; Kleinsorge, *The Boulder Canyon Project*, p. 204.
8. *Las Vegas Evening Review and Journal*, March 30, p. 1, April 9, 1931, pp. 1-2; "Boulder Canyon Project News," *New Reclamation Era* March 1931, p. 68.
9. *Las Vegas Evening Review and Journal*, April 9, 1931, pp. 1-2.
10. *Ibid.*, April 11, pp. 1-2, April 13, p. 1, April 20, 1931, p. 1; *Industrial Solidarity*, April 28, 1931, p. 6; Fred Thompson, *The I.W.W. Its First Fifty Years (1905-1955)*, pp. 158-59; U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population: 1970*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 30, Nevada. Las Vegas' permanent population in 1930 was 5,165, although transient job-seekers considerably boosted the town's population in the early years of the decade.
11. Thompson, *The I.W.W.*, pp. 158-59; *Industrial Solidarity*, April 28, 1931, p. 6. According to John S. Gambs, *The Decline of the I.W.W.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), by September 1930 IWW membership had declined to approximately seven or eight thousand members; p. 166. Estimates by Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, give the Wobblies a peak membership of one hundred thousand just prior to World War I; p. 349.
12. *Industrial Solidarity*, June 16, 1931, p. 4; Wilson, *American Earthquake*, pp. 368, 370; "Boulder Canyon Project News," *New Reclamation Era*, July 1931, pp. 149, 151; photograph of the river camp on page 151; Kleinsorge, *The Boulder Canyon Project*, pp. 206, 222.
13. *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 4, 1931, p. 1; Wilson, *American Earthquake*, p. 370.
14. "Department of the Interior-Memorandum for the Press," March 9, 1931, p. 1; *The New Republic*, June 24, 1931, p. 147.
15. *The New Republic*, August 26, 1931, p. 48; Kluger, "Elwood Mead," p. 204.
16. *Las Vegas Evening Review and Journal*, April 25, p. 1, April 28, p. 1, May 4, p. 1, May 10, 1931, p. 1; *Industrial Solidarity*, May 19, p. 1, June 2, p. 1, June 16, p. 4, June 30, p. 1, July 7, 1931, p. 1.
17. "Well, I Quit My Job at the Dam," *The Nation*, August 26, 1931, p. 207; "A Visit to the Hoover Dam Site," *New Reclamation Era*, August 1931, pp. 172-73. Photograph of the "Flat" (Williamsville) on pages 172 and 173.
18. *Las Vegas Age*, July 11, pp. 1, 6, July 16, 1931, p. 1; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 11, 1931, pp. 1-2; *Industrial Solidarity*, July 21, 1931, p. 1.
19. *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 13, 1931, pp. 1-2; *Industrial Solidarity*, July 21, 1931, p. 1.
20. *Las Vegas Age*, July 12, 1931, p. 1; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 11, pp. 1-2; July 13, 1931, pp. 1-2; *Industrial Solidarity*, July 21, p. 1, July 28, 1931, pp. 1-2.
21. *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 11, 1931, pp. 1-2.
22. *Ibid.*, July 13, pp. 1-2; July 16, 1931, p. 3; *Industrial Solidarity*, July 21, 1931, p. 1.
23. *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 16, 1931, p. 3; *Industrial Solidarity*, July 21, p. 1; July 28, 1931, pp. 1-2.
24. *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 13, 1931, pp. 1-2; *Las Vegas Age*, July 14, 1931, p. 1; *Industrial Solidarity*, July 28, 1931, pp. 1-2.
25. *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 16, 1931, p. 3; *Industrial Solidarity*, July 28, 1931, pp. 1-2.
26. *Las Vegas Age*, July 16, 1931, p. 1; *Industrial Solidarity*, July 28, 1931, pp. 1-2.
27. *Ibid.*; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 11, 1931, pp. 1-2.
28. *Industrial Solidarity*, July 28, 1931, pp. 1-2. The reports for the Board of Pardons and Parole Commissioners beginning in 1919 in the *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* show no record of a criminal syndicalism conviction. Interestingly enough, the

Criminal Syndicalism Law (NRS 203.117) has never been repealed. In 1967 it was amended, and the penalty reduced from a maximum sentence of ten years to six years.

29. *Ibid.*; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 16, 1931, p. 3; *Las Vegas Age*, July 17, 1931, p. 5. The Las Vegas Central Labor Council, or Central Labor Union as it was alternately known, was organized on August 3, 1929; its members in 1931 included International Painters and Decorators Union, Local No. 159; United Associations of Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, Local No. 566; Common Laborers Union, No. 597; Plasterers, Local No. 761; Journeyman Barbers' Union, Local No. 794; and Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Local No. 1780, *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, September 7, 1931, p. 1; "Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Labor 1929-1930," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1931), I, 29-30; "Biennial Report of the Commissioners of Labor, 1931-1932," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1933), I, 29-30.

30. Wilson, *American Earthquake*, p. 372; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, July 18, 1931, p. 1; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 11, 1931, p. 1.

31. *Industrial Solidarity*, August 11, 1931, p. 1. According to Kluger, "In 1935, four years after construction began, the Interior Department accused Six Companies of more than 70,000 violations of the eight hour day. Until then, no-one apparently seemed concerned (*or was in a position to object*) [emphasis added] about this.

"The Six Companies sought to justify their actions by citing the exceptions to the eight hour law 'in the case of extraordinary events and conditions.' Henry J. Kaiser, President of the Six Companies, claimed the emergency of helping to relieve unemployment created by the depression and the danger of floods to the Imperial Valley as the emergencies. [Secretary of Interior] Ikes refused this reasoning and Six Companies was fined \$100,000. This was hardly excessive since the Six Companies reportedly made \$18 million on the \$48 million contract." "Elwood Mead," 208f.

32. *Ibid.*; Wilson, *American Earthquake*, p. 371.

33. *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 8, 1931, p.2; *The Nation*, August 26, 1931, pp. 207-208.

34. *Las Vegas Age*, July 14, 1931, p. 1.

35. Wilson, *American Earthquake*, pp. 372-73; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, May 16, 1931, p.1; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 18, 1931, p. 1; U.S. Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1931*, p. 21.

36. *Industrial Solidarity*, August 18, 1931, p. 1.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Las Vegas Age*, August 8, 1931, pp. 1, 6; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 8, 1931, pp. 1-2; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 18, 1931, p. 1.

39. *Las Vegas Age*, August 8, 1931, pp. 1, 6; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 8, 1931, pp. 1-2; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 18, 1931, p.1.

40. *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 4, pp. 1-2, August 8, 1931, p.2.

41. *Industrial Solidarity*, August 18, 1931, p. 2.

42. *Las Vegas Age*, August 9, 1931, p. 1.

43. *Ibid.*; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 10, 1931, pp. 1-2; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 18, 1931, p. 1. Both the *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal* and *Industrial Solidarity* mention the Las Vegas merchants' donations to the strikers, but neither periodical makes reference to specific businesses.

44. Wilson, *American Earthquake*, pp. 373-74; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 10, 1931, p. 2; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 18, 1931, p.1.

45. Wilson, *American Earthquake*, pp. 373-78; Kluger, "Elwood Mead," 204; *Las Vegas Age*, August 12, pp. 1, 6, August 13, 1931, p. 1; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 12, 1931, pp. 1, 3.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Las Vegas Age*, August 12, 1931, p. 6; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 12, 1931, p. 3. William Green and the AFL executive council did follow through and submit the Las Vegas Central Labor Council's resolution to Secretary of Labor Doak. Although Doak ordered E. H. Fitzgerald, Los Angeles conciliation commissioner, and Charles E. Prime, Reno federal-state public employment service director, to Las Vegas on August 20, it seems Fitzgerald and Prime either never made the trip, or if they did, were called back prior to making an investigation of conditions on the Boulder Canyon project. Las Vegas newspapers make no mention of Fitzgerald's or Prime's arrival, or any investigation. Furthermore, the Department of Labor in *Monthly Labor Review* reported that the "present status and terms of settlement" in regard to the project strike was "Unclassified," as opposed to "adjusted" or "pending." "Settled before commissioner arrived," *Las Vegas Age*, August 19, p. 1, August 22, 1931, pp. 2, 6; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 19, pp. 1-2, August 21, 1931, p. 1; *Industrial Solidarity*, September 1, 1931, p. 1; "Labor Disputes Handled by the Conciliation Service During the Month of September, 1931," *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1931, p. 118.

48. Wilson, *American Earthquake*, p. 378; *Las Vegas Age*, August 13, 1931, p. 1; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 13, 1931, pp. 102; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 25, 1931, pp. 1, 3.

49. Wilson, *American Earthquake*, p. 378; *Las Vegas Age*, August 14, 1931, pp. 1, 3; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 13, pp. 1-2, August 14, 1931, pp. 1-2.

50. *Las Vegas Age*, August 14, 1931, pp. 1, 3; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 14, 1931, p. 2.

51. *Las Vegas Age*, August 15, 1931, p. 1; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 15, 1931, p. 1-2.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Las Vegas Age*, August 16, 1931, p. 1; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 17, 1931, pp. 1-2; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 25, 1931, pp. 1, 3.

54. *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 17, 1931, p. 1-2.

55. *Ibid.*, Wilson, *American Earthquake*, p. 378; *Las Vegas Age*, August 18, 1931, p. 1; *Industrial Solidarity*, August 25, 1931, p. 1.

56. Kleinsorge, *The Boulder Canyon Project Act*, pp. 206-207, 224-25; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1931*, p. 21; *Las Vegas Age*, August 23, p. 1, September 12, 1931, p. 1; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 24, 1931, pp. 1, 5.

57. *Industrial Solidarity*, September 1, p. 1, September 22, p. 3. October 6, p. 1, October 13, pp. 1, 4, October 27, p. 1, November 3, p. 2, November 24, 1931, p. 1.

58. Thompson, *The I.W.W.*, p. 159; "Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1933-1934," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Carson City: 1935), I, 25; *Las Vegas Age*, August 17, 1933, pp. 1-2; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, August 16, pp. 1, 3, August 17, 1933, p. 6.

59. U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, *Sculptures at Hoover Dam* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 17; *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, April 24, sec. 5, p. 6, April 26, p. 5. James Kluger arrived at the same general conclusion concerning culpability when he wrote that the troubles related to Boulder City and the dam project "were not so much [Elwood] Mead's fault as they were the result of the haste in beginning construction to relieve unemployment and greed on the part of the Six Companies," "Elwood Mead," 224.

County Evolution in Nevada

by Stan Mottaz

Introduction

THIS PAPER WILL ATTEMPT to describe through maps the gradual evolution of counties in Nevada from the creation of the first counties by Utah and New Mexico Territories in 1852 through the 1975 session of the Legislature of the State of Nevada. Throughout the history of Nevada—when it was incorporated into other territories, when it was a territory in its own right, and later as a state—the creation of counties and the establishment of boundaries have been functions of the legislature; thus this is primarily a legislative history.

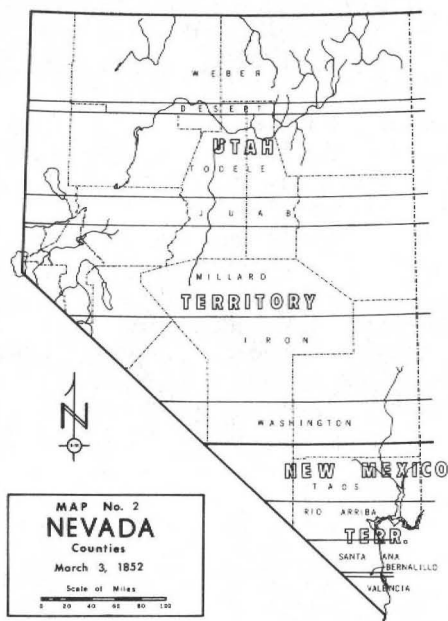
Because of the reliance upon legislative enactment, the maps incorporated herein do not always agree with the early maps of Nevada. On those early maps, the cartographers frequently placed county boundaries where they *thought* they should be. Often they were based upon faulty surveys and inaccurate knowledge of the country. The maps in this paper are based upon the latest material available concerning the placement of particular areas.

For example, the Act of Congress establishing the Territory of Nevada¹ conflicts with the boundary of California as the latter was described in the Act of Admission.² The first counties to be established by the Legislature of Nevada Territory are examples of the continuation of this conflict because of the extension of the western counties into what was legally the State of California. The maps show those county boundaries only as far west as the one hundred and twentieth meridian of longitude, the eastern boundary of California.

Another conflict arose out of the duality of meridians. During the formative period of the state and territory it was generally thought that the principal longitudinal lines west of Greenwich and the longitude west of Washington were coextensive when in fact they were approximately

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three miles apart. Thus the eastern boundary of Nevada, as established by the Act of Congress of 1866 is on the thirty-seventh degree of longitude west of Washington, nearly three miles west of the one hundred fourteenth meridian west of Greenwich.³ Where this difference has caused conflicts the legal limit is shown (i.e., a Nevada county cannot be extended eastward to the one hundred fourteenth meridian west of Greenwich, and therefore its eastern boundary is shown as the thirty-seventh

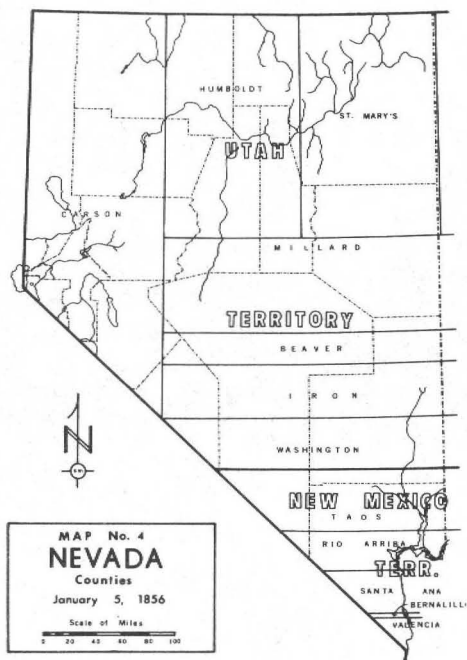
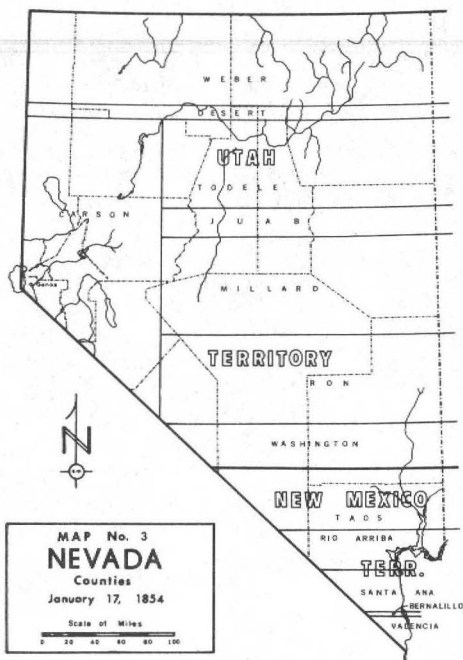


degree west of Washington). However, where county seats were established outside the legal limits of that county, their location is shown. The locations of the Nevada county seats are indicated on the maps; however, they are named only on the first map on which they appear.

Finally, where the many conflicting surveys of the boundary between California and Nevada, southeast of Lake Tahoe, have caused jurisdictional disputes, only the present boundary is shown.

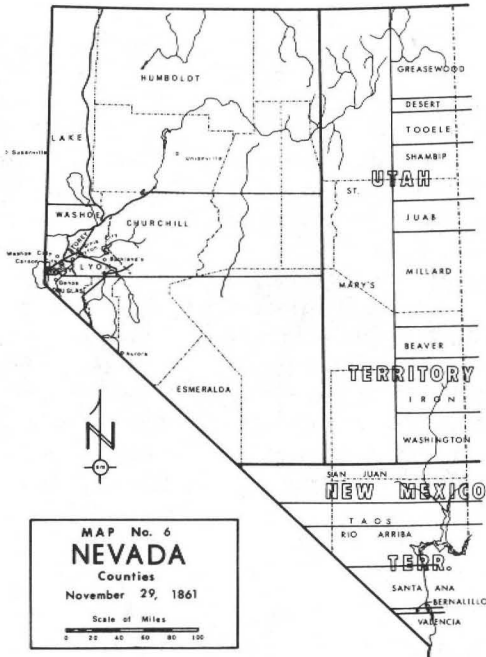
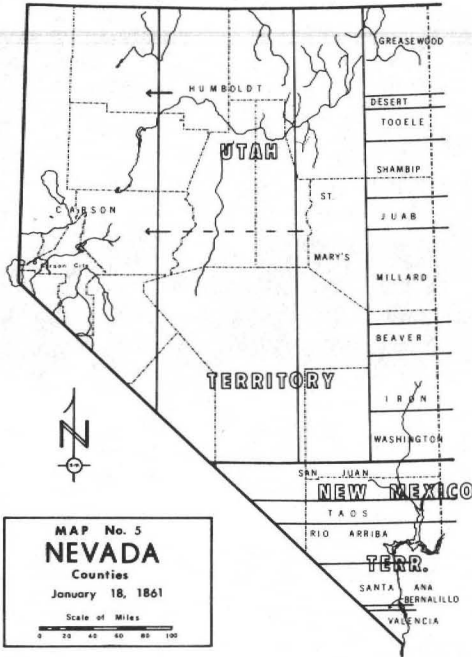
Map 1 shows the placement of Nevada within the American southwest. The territory presently embracing the states of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and portions of Colorado and Wyoming was acquired from Mexico in 1848 by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The first boundaries therein were established by the various acts constituting the Compromise of 1850: the admission of California as a state, and the creation of the territories of Utah and New Mexico.

The first counties to be established in what is now Nevada were created by the Territory of New Mexico on January 9, 1852.⁴ These were followed by an act of the Legislature of Utah Territory on March 3, 1852.⁵ Although the counties of both territories extended to the western limit of the territory, those portions in the present day Nevada were merely "paper" counties; there were few settlements and no government existed outside of the central portions of the respective territories. (*See Map 2.*)



Carson County, the first county to be totally within the present state of Nevada, was established on January 17, 1854, with its county seat at Genoa, formerly known as Mormon Station.⁶ (*See Map 3.*)

On January 5, 1856, the counties in Utah Territory were redefined.⁷ The boundaries of Carson were extended northward, and the counties of Humboldt and St. Mary's were established. Three days prior to the approval of that act, legislation was adopted attaching the counties of Humboldt and St. Mary's to the county of Tooele.⁸ Although the act establishing Humboldt and St. Mary's counties authorized the appointment of a county judge and that judge was to designate a county seat and organize the counties, this was never done; Humboldt and St. Mary's counties remained unorganized throughout their existence. The act of January 5 also redefined the boundary between Washington and Iron counties and established Beaver County, though they remained paper counties as far as Nevada was concerned. (*See Map 4.*)

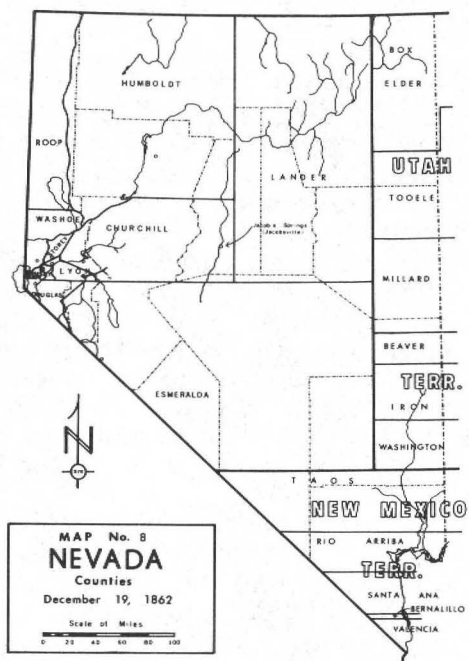
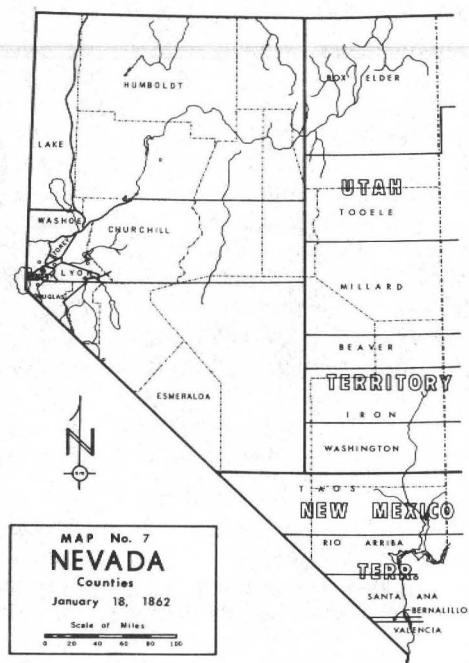


Because of the conflict between the Gentiles and Mormons in western Utah and the fear in Salt Lake City that the Gentiles would gain control of Carson County, that county was disorganized on January 14, 1857, and attached to Great Salt Lake County (not shown on the map).⁹ On January 17, 1859, Carson County was reorganized, Genoa reestablished as the county seat, and Humboldt and St. Mary's counties were attached to Carson.¹⁰ San Juan County, New Mexico Territory, was established on January 12, 1861.¹¹ On January 18, 1861, the Legislature of Utah Territory approved two acts affecting Nevada.¹² The first of these moved the county seat of Carson County from Genoa to Carson City and repealed that portion of the act of 1859 attaching Humboldt and St. Mary's counties to Carson. The second act extended Humboldt and St. Mary's counties southward and reduced St. Mary's County westward, thus extending Greasewood, Desert, Tooele, Shambip, and Juab counties into Nevada and reducing the western boundaries of the counties of Millard, Beaver, Iron, and Washington eastward. (*See Map 5.*)

The Territory of Nevada was established by Congress on March 2, 1861. The boundaries were defined as follows:

Beginning with the thirty-ninth degree of longitude west from Washington; thence running south on the line of said thirty-ninth degree of west longitude, until it intersects the northern boundary-line of the Territory of New Mexico; thence due west to the dividing ridge, separating the waters of Carson Valley from those that flow into the Pacific; thence on said dividing ridge northwardly to the forty-first degree of north latitude; thence due north to the southern boundary-line of the State of Oregon; thence due east to the place of beginning....¹³

The act included a provision that no part of the State of California would be included in Nevada without the consent of California. That consent was never granted. Further, since the eastern line of Nevada was established at the thirty-ninth degree west of Washington and the eastern line of St. Mary's County was the one hundred sixteenth meridian west of Greenwich, there remained an unassigned strip almost three miles wide. However, it was generally assumed at the time that the longitude west of Greenwich and the longitude west of Washington were the same. On November 21 of that year, the territorial legislature of Nevada established the first counties.¹⁴ On the same day, Carson City was designated as the seat of government¹⁵ and four days later the county seats were established: Aurora (Esmeralda County); Genoa (Douglas); Carson City (Ormsby); Washoe City (Washoe); Dayton (Lyon); Virginia City (Storey); Unionville (Humboldt); and Buckland (Churchill). The county seat of Lake was to be determined by an election. The last act also attached Churchill County to Lyon County.¹⁶ The election authorized for Lake County was never held, although the county officers operated out of Susanville (Plumas County, California) through 1863, thinking it was part of the Nevada county. (*See Map 6.*)



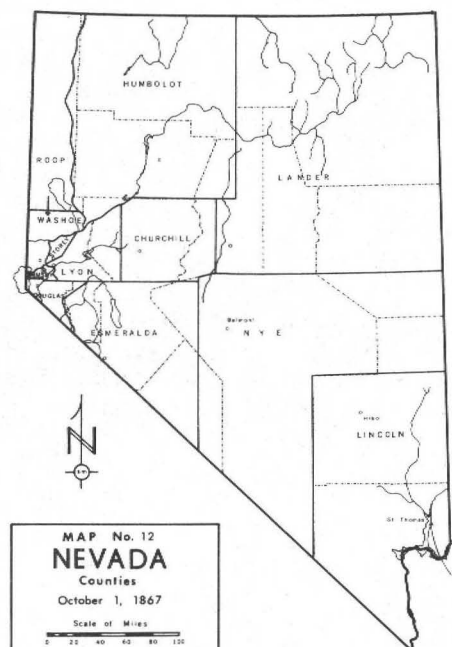
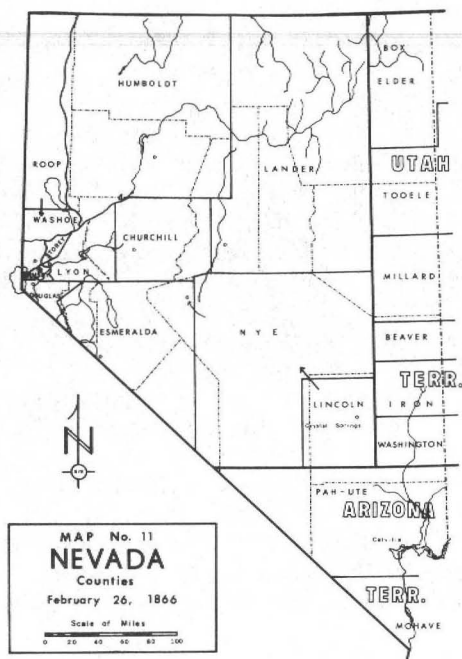
The changes in the early part of 1862 occurred in those portions of Utah and New Mexico Territories within present-day Nevada. Juab County was reduced, removing it from Nevada; Greasewood, Desert, St. Mary's and Shambip counties were dissolved; and Box Elder, Tooele, Millard, Beaver, Iron, and Washington were extended westward on January 17.¹⁷ The following day the New Mexico Legislature dissolved San Juan County.¹⁸ (*See Map 7.*)

On July 14, 1862, Congress extended the eastern boundary of Nevada Territory one degree eastward.¹⁹ Lake County was renamed Roop (for Isaac Roop, the Governor of the Provisional Territory) on December 5.²⁰ On December 19, Lander County was established from portions of Humboldt and Churchill, with the county seat at Jacobs' Springs (renamed Jacobsville within a month).²¹ (*See Map 8.*)



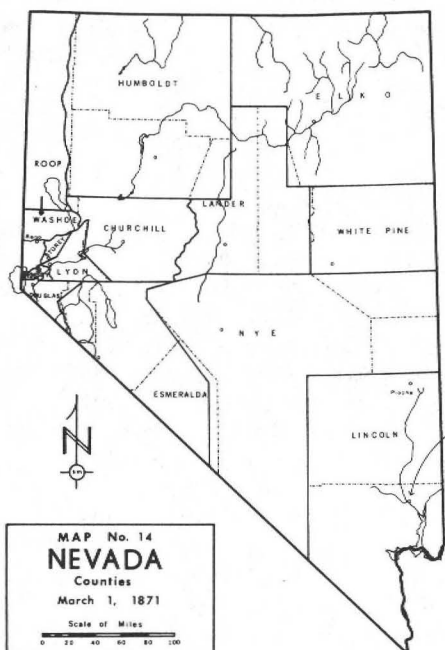
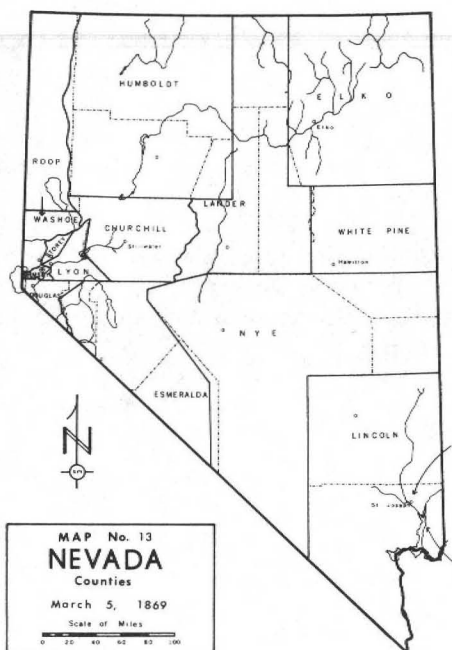
On February 24, 1863, Arizona Territory was established.²² Thus the New Mexico counties were removed from Nevada. On March 21, Governor Leland Stanford of California and Acting Governor Orion Clemens of Nevada Territory concluded an agreement on the boundary between their jurisdictions.²³ By this agreement Susanville and the Honey Lake Valley were established in Plumas County, California, and Aurora was determined to be in Esmeralda County, Nevada Territory. The agreement was to remain in force until the boundaries could be properly surveyed. The county seat of Lander County was moved to Austin by election on September 2.²⁴ On February 16, 1864, Nye County was established from a portion of Esmeralda County.²⁵ The county seat was established at Ione (which was in Esmeralda County). On February 18, Roop was disorganized and attached to Washoe.²⁶ This change was necessitated by the California-Nevada boundary agreement, which placed all the population of what was thought to be Roop County within California. The following day Churchill County was organized,²⁷ and a day later portions of Churchill were placed within Lander and Lyon counties.²⁸ It had been discovered that the county seat of Lander County was within the territory of Churchill. The transfer of a portion of Churchill to Lyon County left the former's county seat in Lyon, so La Plata was named the new Churchill County seat. (*See Map 9.*)

The territorial legislature of Arizona established its first four counties on October 11, 1864, but the County of Mohave included a portion of what is now the State of Nevada.²⁹ Nevada was admitted to the Union as a state on October 31, 1864, by presidential proclamation.³⁰ On March 9, 1865, the boundaries of Nye County were redefined.³¹ (*See Map 10.*)



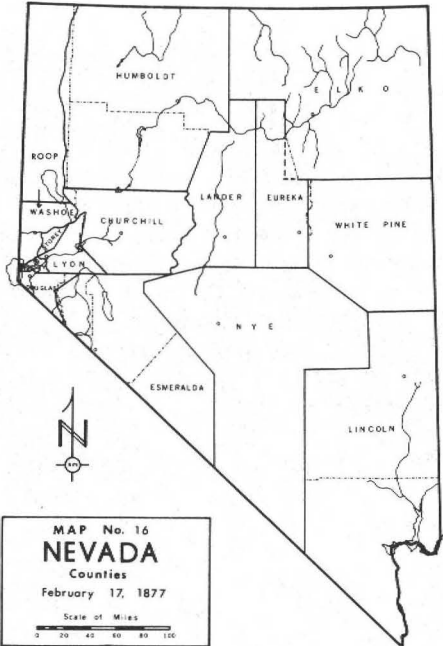
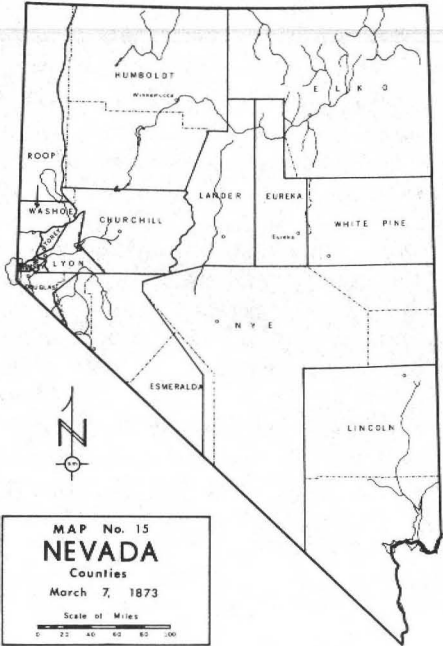
Pah-Ute County, Arizona Territory, was established from the northern portion of Mohave County on December 22, 1865, with the county seat designated at Callville.³² The boundaries of Beaver and Millard counties, Utah Territory, were redefined on January 10, 1866.³³ The Nevada Legislature established Lincoln County on February 26, 1866, from a portion of Nye County, with the county seat designated at Crystal Springs.³⁴ (*See Map 11.*)

In early 1866 it appeared that Congress would authorize the extension of Nevada's boundaries eastward and southward. On March 1 an act of the Nevada Legislature was approved extending the boundaries of Lander and Nye counties into the proposed addition to the state, and the act included any new county or counties which might be established on the eastern or southern boundary of the state.³⁵ Since Lincoln County had been created two days earlier, this act applied to Lincoln County as well as to Lander and Nye. On May 4 Congress approved an act to extend the boundaries of the State of Nevada: the eastern boundary one degree eastward, and the southern boundary to the Colorado River. The eastward extension became effective immediately, since provision had been made and acceptance given in advance in the state constitution. The southern expansion was made conditional upon the acceptance by the State of Nevada.³⁶ The resolution of the Nevada Legislature accepting the additional territory was approved on January 18, 1867.³⁷ However, the state constitution, which outlined the boundaries of the state, was not amended. Because of this neglect, Arizona Territory did not recognize the cession until 1871, when the County of Pah-Ute was finally dissolved.³⁸ In fact, the county seat of Pah-Ute County, Arizona Territory, was moved to St. Thomas, deeper into Nevada, on October 1, 1867, nine and one-half months after the cession became effective.³⁹ On February 6, 1867, the county seat of Nye County was moved to Belmont, in order to reflect the change in mining conditions within that county,⁴⁰ and on March 18, Lincoln County was redefined and organized, with Hiko designated the county seat.⁴¹ (*See Map 12.*)



At the general election of 1868 the voters of Churchill County selected Stillwater as their county seat. The following year saw the creation of two new counties and several boundaries were adjusted. Although the act of Congress of 1866 removed all jurisdiction of Utah over what is now Nevada, the boundaries were unclear, having never been surveyed. On February 18, 1869, the Utah Legislature established the County of Rio Virgen. By statute this county was totally outside of Nevada; however, St. Joseph, in Lincoln County, Nevada, was designated as the county seat of Rio Virgen County.⁴² On February 27, the boundaries of Churchill County were redefined, annexing to that county portions of Humboldt and Lyon counties.⁴³ On March 2, the County of White Pine was established with the town of Hamilton as the county seat, reflecting the mining boom there.⁴⁴ Three days later Elko County was established, with the town of Elko designated as the county seat.⁴⁵ The same day, March 5, two acts were approved redefining the Churchill-Lander boundary, and that of Nye with Churchill and Esmeralda.⁴⁶ (*See Map 13.*)

Although Pah-Ute County, Arizona Territory, had remained a county since the southward extension of Nevada's boundaries in 1867, the county seat had remained in St. Thomas. On February 18, 1871, the Territorial Legislature dissolved that county, finally recognizing Nevada's jurisdiction over that portion of territory.⁴⁷ The county seat of Washoe County was moved from Washoe City to Reno by legislative act on February 17.⁴⁸ Population shifts in Lincoln County caused a need to move the county seat and on February 21, an act was approved authorizing the voters of that county to vote for or against the removal of their seat of justice.⁴⁹ Three days later the legislature designated the town of Pioche as the temporary county seat.⁵⁰ That location was upheld by the voters on April 22 in an election that pitted Pioche against Hiko.⁵¹ On March 1 the boundaries of Elko County were redefined, as a portion of territory was annexed from Lander.⁵² (*See Map 14.*)



The last "foreign" intrusion was removed from Nevada on February 16, 1872, when the Territory of Utah dissolved Rio Virgen County. The 1871 survey of the boundary between Nevada and Urah had demonstrated that the majority of the population of this county resided in Nevada.⁵³ On February 17, 1873, the county seat of Humboldt County was moved from Unionville to Winnemucca.⁵⁴ Eureka County, with the county seat designated at the town of Eureka, was established from the eastern half of Lander County on March 1.⁵⁵ On March 7 the boundary between Humboldt and Lander counties was redefined, annexing to Lander a portion of the territory of Humboldt.⁵⁶ Lander County assumed its present boundaries, except for a minor adjustment of the boundary with Eureka County which was to occur almost a century later. The boundary Between California and Nevada southeast of Lake Tahoe had been unsettled for a decade. By each successive estimate and unofficial survey that line had been placed either within California or within Nevada. Since the town of Aurora was situated so close to the boundary, its citizens were unclear concerning the state they inhabited. For a period of three years (1861-64) Aurora was the county seat of both Esmeralda County, Nevada and Mono County, California. By an act of the legislature, approved March 7, 1873, Nevada acknowledged the appropriation of Congress to survey that line, and authorized the Board of County Commissioners of Esmeralda County to relocate the county seat should the survey prove that the court house was in California.⁵⁷ The survey placed the whole town of Aurora in Nevada, and the county seat remained there for another decade. (*See Map 15.*)

The year 1875 witnessed a number of boundary adjustments. On February 16, an act was approved annexing the Mineral Hill portion of Elko County to Eureka.⁵⁸ However, this change was not permanent. The act was contested, and was tried before the State Supreme Court at its July term. The court declared the act unconstitutional and void because of an omission. By law all acts must contain an enacting clause: "The People of the State of Nevada, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows." The act in question omitted the words "Senate and" from the enacting clause, thus rendering the act void.⁵⁹ By three acts approved in February, Nye County assumed its present boundaries. On February 20 a portion of Nye County was annexed to Lincoln, on February 26 the boundary between Nye, Esmeralda, and Churchill counties was redefined, and that same day another portion of Nye was annexed to White Pine County.⁶⁰ On February 17, 1877, the unconstitutional act of 1875 was reenacted, properly this time, finally annexing the Mineral Hill strip to Eureka County.⁶¹ (*See Map 16.*)

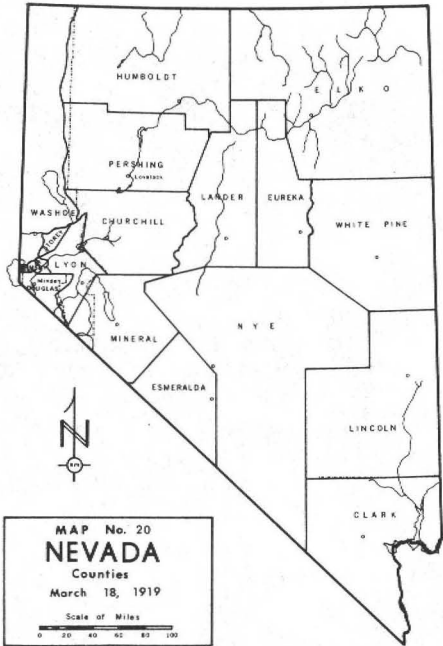
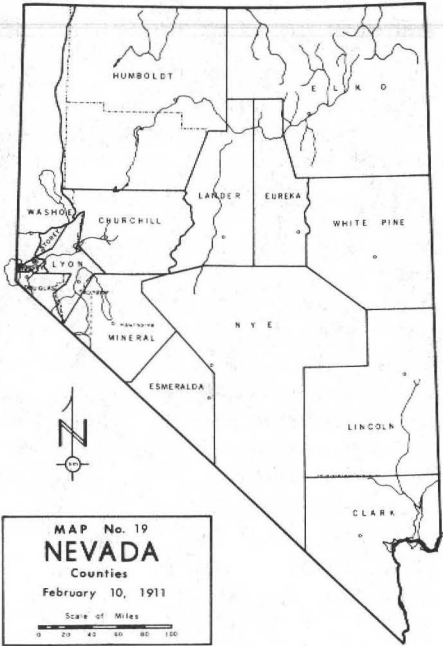


The counties of Eureka and White Pine assumed their final forms on March 2, 1881 when the boundary between them was redefined as the summit of the Diamond Range of mountains.⁶² Roop County, having existed in an unorganized condition since the California-Nevada boundary agreement of 1863, was dissolved on January 18, 1883, its territory being annexed to Washoe County.⁶³ On March 1 two acts were approved affecting Esmeralda. The first moved the county seat from Aurora to Hawthorne (spelled "Hawthorn" in the act) and the second transferred a portion of its territory to Lyon County.⁶⁴ (*See Map 17.*)

Of the six changes indicated on Map 18, covering a period of twenty-two years, four are concerned with the removal of county seats, each act establishing the present county seat of the counties involved. On January 28, 1887, the county seat of White Pine was moved from Hamilton to Ely.⁶⁵ The seat of justice for Churchill was changed from Stillwater to Fallon on March 5, 1903.⁶⁶ Nye's county seat was moved to Tonopah from Belmont on February 6, 1905⁶⁷. And on February 4, 1907, Goldfield became the county seat of Esmeralda, the previous one having been Hawthorne.⁶⁸ March 19, 1897 witnessed the approval of two acts for new counties which were later rejected by the voters of the concerned areas.⁶⁹ The first of these authorized the voters of the counties of Storey, Ormsby, Douglas (spelled "Douglass" in the act), and Lyon to vote for consolidation into one county. The act included a provision that if a majority of the voters of any of those counties expressed their disapproval, that county would be excluded from such consolidation. Only the voters of Ormsby County approved the measure and this nullified the proposal. The second act authorized the electors of Lincoln County to approve or reject the division of that county; it was rejected by a vote of 67 in favor of division to 486 opposed.⁷⁰ Because of this rejection by the voters, these two acts are not shown on the map. On March 6, 1899, the boundaries of Lyon County were readjusted without being defined. The act somewhat ambiguously states:

The territory over which Lyon county has exercised jurisdiction for the period of five years last past, in the assessment and collection of taxes, in the selection of grand and petit jurors, in the establishment of voter precincts and the holding of elections therein, is hereby declared to be within the boundary of that county.⁷¹

This act had the effect of annexing a small portion of Douglas County and causing a conflict with Storey County which had to be settled by the Nevada Supreme Court in 1911.⁷² In 1909 two new counties were proposed, but only one of the acts became law. On February 5 the act establishing Clark County (out of the southern portion of Lincoln County) was approved. The town of Las Vegas was designated as the county seat.⁷³ The second bill, introduced on February 8, was to establish the County of Bullfrog. This county was to include all of that portion of Nye County south of the first standard parallel south, with Rhyolite designated as the county seat, but the act did not pass.⁷⁴ (*See Map 18.*)



On February 9, 1911, the Lyon county seat was changed from Dayton, where it had remained since 1861, to Yerington, its present location.⁷⁵ The following day, an act was approved establishing the County of Mineral from the northern portion of Esmeralda, with Hawthorne as its county seat.⁷⁶ The purpose of this act was to appease the residents of the northern portion of Esmeralda who had expressed strong disapproval that their county seat had been transferred from Hawthorne to Goldfield in 1907. (*See Map 19.*)

On March 15, 1915, the county seat of Douglas was moved from Genoa, the original county seat of Carson County, Utah Territory, to the town of Minden.⁷⁷ For forty-six years, since the removal of Humboldt's county seat from Unionville to Winnemucca in 1873, the inhabitants of the southern portion of that county had been agitating for a change: Winnemucca was too far to go to transact business. The legislature responded to that agitation on March 18, 1919, by establishing the County of Pershing, with the county seat located at Lovelock.⁷⁸ (*See Map 20.*)



By 1919 all of Nevada's present counties had been established. The final map of this paper shows the minor boundary adjustments which have occurred since the establishment of Pershing County. The first such change raises some questions of legality, since it was neither a legislative act nor an initiative measure approved by the voters. On May 19, 1924, the Board of County Commissioners of Washoe County adopted an ordinance approving a revised description of the eastern boundary of that county, one following the survey lines north of the fortieth parallel of north latitude.⁷⁹ The Nevada Revised Statutes still describe the eastern boundary of Washoe County as the act of 1861 defined Lake County (annexed to Washoe in 1883):

...thence due east to the summit of the first range of mountains east of the Truckee River; thence in a northerly direction, along the range, and the main granite range of mountains, to the Oregon Line...⁸⁰

Although this redefinition of the boundary was a unilateral act of Washoe County, it has been acquiesced in since 1924 by the counties of Humboldt and Pershing, as well as the State of Nevada. The official maps of Nevada show the boundary as defined by Washoe County. On March 28, 1933, a

portion of Mineral County was annexed to Lyon, giving Mineral County its present boundaries.⁸¹ On March 22, 1951, the boundaries of Churchill County were redefined.⁸² The act of March 9, 1960, an Interstate Compact adjusting and redefining the boundary between Nevada and Arizona, took effect June 6, 1961, upon the consent of Congress.⁸³ By an act approved April 1, 1963, the boundaries of Storey County were confirmed as of January 1 of that year "notwithstanding any future change in the course of the Truckee River, whether such change results from natural or other causes."⁸⁴ The boundary between Douglas and Ormsby counties was redefined by an act of March 2, 1965, and the Washoe—Lyon boundary was clarified on March 25 of the same year.⁸⁵ In 1967 the boundary lines between Ormsby and Washoe, and Douglas and Lyon counties were redefined, the former on April 4 and the latter on April 12.⁸⁶ On April 1, 1969, Ormsby County was dissolved through the consolidation of Carson City and Ormsby County into one municipal government, to be known as Carson City. This was authorized by an amendment to the state constitution approved by the voters at the general election of November 5, 1968.⁸⁷ On April 16 of that same year, the boundary line between Lander and Eureka counties was defined according to the surveys. The original line between those counties, adopted in 1873, was ambiguous:

Beginning at a point on the north boundary line of Lander County, equidistant between the northeast and northwest corners of Lander County; thence running due south from the initial point to the south boundary line of Lander County....⁸⁸

The act of 1969 clarified that line and established it along the section lines of the U.S. Government surveys.⁸⁹ The final boundary law of that year was approved on April 24. It provided for a redefinition of the boundary between Churchill and Lyon counties, along the lines of the government survey.⁹⁰ On February 16, 1973, the latest act affecting county boundaries was approved. This act merely adjusted the description of the boundary of Washoe to conform to the act of 1969 redefining the boundaries of Carson City.⁹¹ The only other boundary change since the establishment of Pershing County was not the result of legislative action. That is the boundary between Clark and Lincoln counties. The act of 1909 established Clark County as "all that portion of Lincoln County lying south of the third (3rd) standard parallel south...."⁹² At that time the third standard parallel south had been only partially surveyed; it was generally assumed that it would be a continuation of the existing line. Although portions of that line remain unsurveyed to this day (as do over eight hundred townships in Nevada) the Bureau of Land Management throughout the 1960s prepared Projection Diagrams for the unsurveyed portions of the state based upon evidence gathered over the years. As a result of these projection diagrams, the line between Clark and Lincoln counties has been adjusted to conform to the position where the line should be when it is finally surveyed on the ground.

Conclusion

In 115 years, Nevada has progressed from territorial status to that of a state, and has established eighteen counties, one (Roop) having been dissolved owing to lack of population, and another (Ormsby) having been consolidated with the capital city. Most states, with much smaller areas to organize have a greater number of counties. But then those states also have greater populations, and such divisions are warranted. As the population of Nevada increases in some of the unsettled areas, perhaps more counties will be created. Even now there is agitation in one of the counties for a change in the county seat. Throughout its history, Nevada has been a state showing great change, and there is little reason to expect that condition to cease.

Notes

1. U. S., *Statutes at Large*, XII (1859-63), 209.
2. *Ibid.*, IX (1845-51), 452.
3. *Ibid.*, XIV (1865-67), 43.
4. New Mexico Territory, *Laws*, 1851-52, 290.
5. Utah Territory, *Laws*, 1851-52, 162.
6. *Ibid.*, 1854, 19.
7. *Ibid.*, 1856, 5.
8. *Ibid.*, 8.
9. *Ibid.*, 1857, 13. For a more complete history of the conflicts in Western Utah, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works*, vol. XXV: *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*. (San Francisco: The History Co., 1890), 81-83.
10. Utah Territory, *Laws*, 1859, 19.
11. New Mexico Territory, *Laws*, 1861, 16.
12. Utah Territory, *Laws*, 1861, 12, 19.
13. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XII (1859-63), 209.
14. Nevada Territory, *Laws*, 1861, 50.
15. *Ibid.*, 54.
16. *Ibid.*, 291.
17. Utah Territory, *Laws*, 1862, 46.
18. New Mexico Territory, *Laws*, 1861-62, 16.
19. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XII (1859-63), 575.
20. Nevada Territory, *Laws*, 1862, 6.
21. *Ibid.*, 53.
22. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XII (1859-63), 664.
23. U.S., Department of State, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Nevada Series (National Archives Microfilm Publications, M13).
24. Austin (Nev.) *Reese River Reveille*, September 5, 1863, p. 4.
25. Nevada Territory, *Laws*, 1864, 143.
26. *Ibid.*, 159.
27. *Ibid.*, 86.
28. *Ibid.*, 147, 148.

29. Arizona Territory, *Compiled Laws*, 1871, 31.
30. James D. Richardson, ed., *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington: Bureau of National Literature, 1907; revised ed., 1911), vol. V, 3430.
31. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1865, 352.
32. Arizona Territory, *Laws*, 1865-66, 19.
33. Utah Territory, *Laws*, 1866, 207.
34. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1866, 131.
35. *Ibid.*, 183.
36. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XIV (1865-67), 43.
37. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1867, 145.
38. Arizona Territory, *Laws*, 1867, 68; 1871, 86.
39. *Ibid.*, 1867, 24.
40. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1867, 47.
41. *Ibid.*, 129.
42. Utah Territory, *Laws*, 1869, 7.
43. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1869, 88.
44. *Ibid.*, 108.
45. *Ibid.*, 153.
46. *Ibid.*, 128.
47. Arizona Territory, *Laws*, 1871, 186.
48. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1871, 59.
49. *Ibid.*, 64.
50. *Ibid.*, 75.
51. Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada* (Oakland: Thompson & West Publishing Co., 1881; reprint ed., Berkeley: Howell-North, 1958), 478.
52. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1871, 92.
53. Utah Territory, *Laws*, 1872, 28.
54. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1873, 59.
55. *Ibid.*, 107.
56. *Ibid.*, 189.
57. *Ibid.*, 180.
58. *Ibid.*, 1875, 66.
59. Nevada *ex rel. Chase v. Rogers*, 10 Nev. 250.
60. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1875, 80, 102, 103.
61. *Ibid.*, 1877, 64.
62. *Ibid.*, 1881, 104.
63. *Ibid.*, 1883, 12.
64. *Ibid.*, 95, 99.
65. *Ibid.*, 1887, 27.
66. *Ibid.*, 1903, 47.
67. *Ibid.*, 1905, 18.
68. *Ibid.*, 1907, 20.
69. *Ibid.*, 1897, 110, 112.
70. Nevada, Legislature, Biennial Report, Office of Secretary of State, *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly*, 1899, 59.
71. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1899, 41.

72. *Lyon County v. Storey County*, 34 Nev. 243.
73. Nevada *Statutes*, 1909, 8.
74. Nevada, Legislature, "Assembly Bill 77," Twenty-fourth Session, 1909 (State Archives, Bills Introduced in the Legislature, 1909-1913).
75. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1911, 7.
76. *Ibid.*, 10.
77. *Ibid.*, 1915, 154.
78. *Ibid.*, 1919, 75.
79. Washoe County, Board of County Commissioners, *Minutes*, May 19, 1924.
80. Nevada, *Revised Statutes*, 1975 Supplement, sec. 243.340.
81. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1933, 335.
82. *Ibid.*, 1951, 440.
83. *Ibid.*, 1960, 145; U.S., *Statutes at Large*, LXXV (1961), 93.
84. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1963, 269.
85. *Ibid.*, 1965, 130, 337.
86. *Ibid.*, 1967, 722, 972.
87. *Ibid.*, 1965, 1515; 1967, 1797; 1969, 287; Nevada, *Constitution*, art. 4, sec. 37.
88. Nevada, *Statutes*, 1873, 107.
89. *Ibid.*, 1969, 656.
90. *Ibid.*, 1112.
91. *Ibid.*, 1973, I, 31.
92. *Ibid.*, 1909, 8.

Las Vegas as Border Town: An Interpretive Essay

by Charles L. Adams

MORE AND MORE FREQUENTLY, Frank Waters is being hailed as the greatest living writer of the American Southwest. Numerous critics and authors are suggesting him as Nobel Prize material. While several of his works have never gone out of print (*The Man Who Killed the Deer* has been in print thirty-five years), other works were total failures upon initial publication and have only recently enjoyed wide sales as Waters has emerged as a "cult figure."

It is not generally known that Waters lived for some time in Las Vegas. He still speaks quite warmly of the old Golden Nugget Casino and of the time that he judged a beauty contest for the annual Helldorado parade.¹ One of his novels is partially set in Las Vegas.² For the last several years I have been teaching a two-semester course in Waters' works and have found Las Vegas students to be tremendously responsive to them. And since Waters has always dealt with problems that have only lately become of national concern, there was every reason to expect this favorable response.

One work, however, a border town novel called *The Yogi of Cockroach Court*, produced a highly unexpected response. When this work was first published in 1947, it was a total failure. The British agent to whom it was offered even refused to present it to "any reputable publisher in England" because of its "salacious" nature.³ There was perhaps a legitimate concern in that initial reaction, for nowhere in his fiction does Waters deal as nakedly with the dualities of human nature and human existence as he does in *Yogi*. But since its reissuance in 1972, the book has been enjoying very healthy sales, and I had expected satisfactory results with it in the class room. I was not prepared, however, for a class response that practically disrupted the course.

Dr. Charles L. Adams received his Ph.D. from the University of Oregon, and has been associated with the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, since 1960. He is currently Professor of English, and was for several years the Dean of the Graduate College. This essay is based on a paper delivered at the Modern Language Association's Seminar on Frank Waters, San Francisco, December, 1975.

I had planned on spending about two weeks on this book, but even after the class had supposedly moved on to other works, the discussion kept returning time and again to *Yogi*, the students continually finding meaningful illustrations and correspondences, posing problems, and discussing philosophic issues. It was finally necessary for me to tell them that while I was perfectly willing to spend that much time on *Yogi*, it was also necessary for the class to determine why that particular book held such fascination for them. The first step in that determination was our realization that, psychically, Las Vegas is a border town.

One critic has described the unnamed border town in *Yogi* (actually modeled on Mexicali) as "a town in which everyone seems to make a living by catering to the unhealthy desires of everyone else. . . ."⁴ While this is not totally true of Las Vegas, it is a city which, above all else, sells illusion. It is also a city of open dualities, one of Waters' favorite themes. As one of my freshman composition students recently wrote, "It's legal to be illegal in Las Vegas." There is, also, a Las Vegas saying that "If something is going to happen to you, it happens quicker in Las Vegas."⁵ Indeed, many people accept the theory that individual destinies work themselves out with unusual, sometimes amazing, speed in Las Vegas. The city has been compared to "an open hearth furnace, where the strong get stronger and the brittle crack."⁶

The city itself is located in a thriving metropolitan area of over 350,000 with churches, schools, PTA's, parks, an Air Force base, and a nuclear test site. It even has a university. It has also, however, been well publicized as the "Sin Capital of the World." In Las Vegas, more than in any other "college town," humanity—all humanity on an international basis—reveals its darker side. This dark side is recognized, acknowledged, and can be studied. In spite of TV commercials that tell residents that "Las Vegas is your kind of town, for your family, etc.," it, like Waters' Cockroach Court, has a negative spirit of place. Visitors are told, explicitly or implicitly, "Even if it is wrong somewhere else, it is all right here." "You can't do it at home, but you can in Las Vegas." The cumulative effect is that Las Vegas is out of bounds—like a border town. Perhaps this is what draws millions of people to it; and perhaps this is not an entirely unhealthy thing.

Like a border town, Las Vegas is singularly attractive to outsiders, to *strangers*. In any given month, there may be 600,000 to 1,000,000 people in this community who do not work here, who contribute nothing to the community except money, and who are in town to *get* all that they can for that money.⁷ These people, like visitors in a border town, frequently leave with the feeling that they have "sinned safely."

But for those who remain behind, those who live in Las Vegas permanently, the town presents some unique problems. Waters shows us repeatedly that our only hope for the future lies in the reconciliation of apparent dualities, and perhaps nowhere else except in a true border town are the dualities so open, obvious, and condoned. Nowhere do

young people encounter the need for that reconciliation at such an early age.

Most of the residents of Waters' Cockroach Court have come there of their own volition, and the confrontations resulting from their numerous experiences of dualities and contradictions are those to be expected in a true border town. Most, but not all, of the residents of Las Vegas are here of their own volition, and similar confrontations are a very real part of their lives.

It is possible that *Yogi* is received by my students in Las Vegas with such intense enthusiasm because of unique conditions which have developed in the last decade. When I first began teaching in Las Vegas in 1960, it was almost impossible to find a student who was born here. As the town has grown, however, a generation of "locals" has grown up with it, students who have spent most, if not all, of their lives as products of this environment, much like the central characters in Waters' border town. It seems to be these students, especially, for whom *Yogi* is meaningful. *Yogi* arouses immediate sympathetic reactions in my students, for it validates feelings they have already experienced, and it reinforces their search for alternative solutions. They do not wish to be tuned to the negative. Yet, unlike the respectable tourists, they cannot ignore the problem by leaving town.

The parents, relatives, and friends of many of my students are associated with the gambling and tourism industries. Indeed, by college age, many of them are themselves directly associated with those industries. Even if they are not, it is impossible not to come in contact, directly or indirectly, with an unusual number of "undesirable" people, people revealing negative aspects of human nature. And I do not mean to restrict this group to pimps, prostitutes, dope pushers, ex-felons, etc., (any of whom, incidentally, might find their ways into university classes).

But the *tourists*, the "respectable" people, the customers who are catered to, also continually display a dark side of human behavior. Their behavior in Las Vegas is frequently quite different from their behavior at home, and the "double standard" is obvious to any observer. In Las Vegas the gambling, prostitution and drugs are material manifestations of the darker side of the dualities that are present in all of us in all locales. But in Las Vegas, it is possible for "respectable" people to flirt safely and more openly with these darker sides, to release hostilities, aggressions, and repressions. In the process they cannot help but reveal their own dark sides to the employees, who are, in turn, peddling illusion, dealing in tinsel and "safe sin."

For many readers, a book like *The Yogi of Cockroach Court* will always be a fantasy, an imaginative experience. But for Las Vegas readers, it is startlingly real, from the keno runner, the dealer, the bus boys and waitresses, down to the student who stays after class to blurt out "I know what it's like to be a Barby!"—perhaps the most lost and pathetic of all Waters' characters.

Frank Waters is a novelist of ideas; hence his novels do not readily lend themselves to plot summaries. In fact, such summaries can frequently be highly deceptive, even as they can be of the novels of Joseph Conrad, whom Waters admires very much. However, for the benefit of those who are not familiar with *The Yogi of Cockroach Court*, the characters and their adventures are basically as follows: Barby, a young half-breed orphan, is taken in by an old Chinese shopkeeper, Tai Ling, whose primary effort in life is to achieve "escape" through his Yogic practices. Barby falls in love with Guadalupe, a half-breed "percentage girl" from one of the local cantinas. The interaction of the two characters is observed by the philosophic Tai Ling, on the one hand, and by Sal, Guadalupe's American friend and co-worker. The backgrounds of the characters, combined with an environment which includes open prostitution, gambling, and the sale of drugs result in the destruction of them all, in one way or another. In spite of their pitiful hopes and ambitions, life for all of them is a downhill slide.

The applicability of the lives of the characters of *Cockroach Court* to the lives of Las Vegas college students stems not only from the influence of the Strip, but also from social and psychological forces which are present everywhere. It is no wonder that the student who changes from his jeans into a tuxedo and rushes off to a casino at night to work as a dealer in order to finance his education and to support a wife and baby finds *Yogi* to be his favorite Frank Waters work. And other students, in contact with the Las Vegas dualities, even if not as directly involved in them, react similarly. Because they are actually living with those open dualities, they are far more familiar with humanity's dark side. They do not deny its existence, nor do they repress the darker forces. They cannot pretend that such forces do not exist. Above all, our students, like readers in some other locales, *cannot pretend that they exist only somewhere else*. Nor can they afford the luxury of maintaining that, though such things do exist, they should not appear in literature. On the contrary, they require them in literature, if it is going to be meaningful.

The central problem of *Yogi* is this search for an alternative solution to those offered in a community openly displaying contradictions and continually revealing the darker side of human nature. The search is conducted by Tai Ling, the old Chinese Yogi, alone, while he cuts himself off from any social involvement or implications. Ironically, this search is one with which many of my students are familiar, and, combined with the hope of a possible "escape" through intellectual effort, makes them ready—much more so, I suspect, than many readers—to identify with that border town Yogi. Even if they do not identify directly with the characters in the book, they have still known and sympathized with them—even with Tai Ling, who is so desperately seeking release from illusion. One critic says of these characters:

The grasping self, the assertive frame of mind, the dominating ego sense are pretty much universal. The personalities are meant

to be microcosmic; these people in *The Yogi of Cockroach Court*, who even in their limited victories fall so short of health and wholeness, are simply run of the mill human beings.⁸

Yogi reflects fundamental conditions true in many places but more visible in Las Vegas. As individuals in a national culture, we are all being forced by events to turn inward, forced to explain our own inner experiences without the guidance of traditional dogmas, rituals, or authority. Without collectively sanctioned absolutes, it is necessary for each person to build his own defenses and to discover the meaning of his own existence.

What then are my students finding in Frank Waters' border town novel? Usually in his works, a benevolent spirit of place provides the constant with which the characters can attune themselves, thus not only making possible a harmonious relationship with their environment, but also resolving the conflicting dualities within their own natures. A border town, having a negative spirit of place, prevents this attunement and actually militates against both internal and external harmony. A border town is a point of transition from place to place, and Frank Waters' characters fail in the story because they cannot successfully make that transition.

The Yogi of Cockroach Court dramatizes forcefully for Las Vegas students that, while living in a locale with a negative spirit of place, one cannot find integrity or wholeness, by adjusting to that spirit. One can, however, eventually distinguish the right way from the wrong way to search, providing, as the old Yogi finally learns, that one does not attempt to separate the principles that guide life from life itself. Consciousness of, and understanding of, negative forces can promote the exercise of positive forces, ultimately revealing a model of the greater unity which contains within it the interactions of both the positive and the negative.

A former Las Vegas newsman put it nicely: "It would be a horror if every city were a Las Vegas. . . . [But] Las Vegas cuts deeply into its citizens. . . . and those who survive (and I might add, those who make the transition from point to point) are stronger for the experience."⁹

Notes

1. Conversation with Frank Waters, January, 1974.
2. *The Woman at Otowi Crossing*. Denver, 1966.
3. Conversation with Frank Waters, January, 1974.
4. Thomas J. Lyon, *Frank Waters*, New York, 1973, p. 115.
5. Jude Wanniski, "Why Live in Las Vegas," *Las Vegas Review Journal*, April 28, 1965, p. 10.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Figures based on those supplied by the Las Vegas Convention Authority for 1976. Actual figures for December 1976, were 589,684 and for July, 1976, 954,568.
8. Lyon, p. 117.
9. Wanniski, p. 10.

Notes and Documents

From Walker Lake to Walker Pass with Frémont's Third Expedition: the Travel Journal of Edward Kern

Edited and with an Introduction by Meri Hanson

THE PURPOSE of this study is to locate the route and campsites of the Edward Meyer Kern party of John C. Frémont's Third Expedition (1845), whose winter journey from Walker Lake southward through the Owens Valley to Walker Pass recorded for the first time the true nature of the region adjacent to the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

I first became interested in this study while working with a research team on the subject of the route of J. C. Frémont's travels across the Great Basin during his Fifth Expedition in 1854. As a team we conducted a foot and mobile reconnaissance during 1975 and 1976 of that section of Frémont's route which extends from the Walker River at the head of Walker Lake south along the eastern declivity of the Sierra Nevada to Walker Pass.

The Kern journal covers a three month span from November of 1845 to February of 1846. In anticipation of his increased responsibility Kern began to record the nature of the soil, land configurations, plant life, and made occasional editorial comments. The journal was first published in 1876 by the Government Printing Office in *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah* as part of Captain J. H. Simpson's report under the title of "Journal of Edward M. Kern of an Exploration of the Mary's of Humboldt River, Carson Lake, and Owens River and Lake, in 1845." Some extracts of the original were published in April, 1959, by *Life* magazine as "Artist's Journal of a Pioneer Trip." This journal was again published in 1973 by the University of Illinois Press in its publication of *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont, II*, edited by Mary Lee Spence and Donald Jackson.

Kern wrote another journal which covers his involvement in Frémont's Fourth Expedition from 1848-49. The journal was edited by LeRoy Hafen and published in 1960 by the Arthur H. Clark Company in *Frémont's Fourth Expedition: A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-1849*.

Good biographical information on Edward Kern can be found in the

Kern County Historical Society's Fifth Annual Publication "Notes on the Life of Edward M. Kern" (1939) and in the Kern County Historical Society's *Edward M. Kern, the Travels of an Artist-Explorer* (1953).

The significance of this edited portion of Kern's diary can be appreciated when it is compared to the other primary accounts written in 1845-1846. The tide of emigrants wanting to go to California began to swell but the only known routes were few and hazardous. Kern explored a very favorable route down the Owens Valley. Those travelling from the east would have to challenge the snow or risk the chance of landing in Death Valley to reach California traveling southwest, but if they traveled down the Owens Valley they had a sure passageway, one with an abundance of water, food, and fuel, and without snow.

An examination has been made of Kern's journal comparing the geographical features described by Kern with modern topographical maps and maps contemporary to Kern. Two trips were made as foot and mobile reconnaissances through the Walker Lake and Owens Valley region, and field observations discredited those theories which were improbable. Kern's route was then superimposed on a modern physical relief map.

In this account those place names are presented which are believed to be the true geographical representations of Kern's descriptions. The major goal has been to geographically edit the diary of Edward M. Kern completely and without error so that those who examine the literature of the American West might have a greater appreciation for landscape as an integral part of historical interpretation.

The original text is followed as closely as possible, with several departures based on common sense and the current scholarly practice. In the matter of capitalization the original is followed, unless the writer's intention is not clear, in which case there is resort to modern usage. Occasionally, in the interests of clarity, a long, involved sentence is broken into two sentences. Missing periods at the ends of sentences are supplied, but the missing acute accent in Frémont is not provided.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY was a time of exploration in the American West. Explorers were confronted with the expanse of uncharted country stretching from the west bank of the Mississippi River to Mexican California which lay beyond the Sierra Nevada. Isolated from the eastern half of the continent by a vast barren plateau, this land received no Anglo visitors until 1826 when Jedediah Smith arrived from the Green River rendezvous with a band of trappers, making the first overland thrust into Alta California. The next decade saw Joseph Reddeford Walker, a lieutenant in Captain B. L. E. Bonneville's fur brigade, open a direct route across the Great Basin via the Humboldt River, linking Walker Pass in the Tehachapis with the Wasatch Mountains on the eastern fringe of the Great Basin. The 1840s saw the Humboldt Valley become the highroad of the emigrants traveling west. This process of discovery and

rediscovery of the country by entrepreneurial interests was an important factor in shaping the development of culture and civilization in the West.

However, it was the government explorer and the man of science who first actually charted the routes to the Pacific. John Charles Frémont was one such individual. Under orders drawn up in 1843 by Colonel Abert, Chief of Topographical Engineers, Frémont was directed to extend his reconnaissance of 1842 (his first expedition, which had explored the West as far as South Pass) to the Oregon Country, and to establish contact with Charles Wilkes, USN, who in 1841 had surveyed the Pacific Coast and inland on the Columbia River as far as Fort Walla Walla.

After the completion of his original orders, Frémont turned his expedition southward from the Columbia River and explored a route along the east face of the Sierra Nevada, arriving at Sutter's Fort in Alta California in the dead of winter. He and his party stayed a short while at Sutter's Fort, and then proceeded south up the San Joaquin Valley. They camped on the Kern River near present-day Bakersfield, just below Caliente, and at Oak Creek near Tehachapi, where, under more favorable weather conditions, they breached the Sierra to return to St. Louis in the spring of 1845 via the Old Spanish Trail and the Smoky Hill River route.

Frémont embarked on his third expedition in the fall of 1845; its purpose was to be an exploration. After crossing the Rockies in November, the expedition was divided at the Humboldt River. Edward Kern was in charge of topographical work with the main body, which explored the Humboldt River to its sink. Meanwhile, Frémont and ten others struck out west across the Great Basin to rendezvous with Kern at Walker Lake. After a stay of nearly two weeks the party split again; Frémont took fifteen men and crossed the Sierra to obtain needed supplies at Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento; the major portion of the exploring company proceeded south from Walker Lake to Walker Pass under the command of Theodore Talbot, who had also been a member of Frémont's Second Expedition. This group was guided by Joe Walker, and Kern was responsible for the cartography.

The two parties were to have later united at a river called the "Lake Fork of the Tulare Lake." However, because of a misunderstanding, Frémont did not find Talbot when he arrived at the King's River, which he understood was to be the intended place to meet. Therefore, after ascending the river to an elevation of 11,000 feet and not finding Talbot's party, Frémont returned to Sutter's Fort.

Meanwhile, unaware that Frémont was on King's River, the Talbot-Kern party encamped at the South Fork Valley of the present-day Kern River, believing that they had arrived at the rendezvous site. They remained there from December 27, 1845, to January 17, 1846, and exhausted their supplies; when Frémont still did not arrive, the party decided to resume its journey down the San Joaquin Valley. Eventually they located Frémont near San Jose.

The Fourth Expedition of 1848 was considered a failure due to errors of judgment, and many died of cold and starvation in the Rockies as a result. Frémont blamed the troubles on the guide, Old Bill Williams, although Frémont himself left the party in the Rockies.

Edward M. Kern, who was born October 23, 1823, had received a liberal education which included a variety of scientific studies. He became a member of Frémont's Third Expedition in 1845 when he was not quite twenty-two, and served as that group's topographer.

During the Bear Flag Revolt, Frémont appointed Kern the commander of Sutter's Fort. During this time he organized the relief party which brought out most of the Donner Party survivors. In 1848 Kern and his brothers, Benjamin and Richard, accompanied Frémont on his Fourth Expedition. Benjamin died in an ambush. In 1850, Edward and Richard joined the James H. Simpson Expedition. Simpson was a member of the Corps of Topographical Engineers in the U.S. Army. The expedition, to which Edward and Richard were assigned as artists, originated in Santa Fe, and explored areas of the Great Basin.

In December, 1852, Edward Kern accepted an appointment as artist for an exploring expedition in the northern Pacific, and in 1855 he ventured on a dangerous special exploration to survey and map portions of the coast of Japan. He served with the Topographical Engineers in Missouri at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, and died on November 23, 1863, of epilepsy at his home in Philadelphia.

Kern's route extends from the Walker River at the head of Walker Lake south along the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada to Walker Pass. The Walker River system rises in lakes and springs along the Sierra Nevada crest and flows to destinations formerly covered by the Pleistocene Lake Lahontan. From the mouth of the river, which is Walker Lake's only significant source of water, it is about eighteen miles to the south end of the lake; its width varies from five to six miles at the middle, and the depth is relatively shallow. With the increasing demand by agriculture for water it is possible that Walker Lake will completely dry out within the next century or two. The effect of river diversion is evident at many points on the western shore, where successive beach contours can be seen along the foothills of the Wassuk Range, abruptly culminating to the south at Mt. Grant. The dark mountains come bluff to the water's edge. Across Walker Lake the Gillis Range, which is much less impressive, lies back beyond the gentle shore declivity while fifty miles further the White Mountains rise eleven thousand feet and can be viewed southwest across the lake.

Departing from their base camp of ten days, the explorers traveled on the Walker River approximately three miles south to Walker Lake; they journeyed along its eastern shore, camping among the sandhills midway down the lake in the vicinity of present Wildhorse Canyon. The next day's journey brought them to the south end of Walker Lake near the

mouth of Soda Spring Valley. Subsequently, they proceeded south through the valley (occupied by the present townsites of Hawthorne and Babbit, Nevada), crossed the low sand ridge, and turned in a southeasterly direction to camp at Rattlesnake Well. Continuing south the next day, they traversed the Excelsior Mountains and descended into the small and barren Huntoon Valley. At the southern extremity of this valley they crossed a steep ridge and proceeded through a maze of interspersed grassy valleys opening into Adobe Valley which lies between Mono Lake and the White Mountains.

Bordered by the Benton and Cowtrack Mountains, Adobe Valley was the site of a Pleistocene lake about fifteen miles long and seventy-five feet deep at its maximum; at that stage it overflowed to the Owens River system through a very steep and impressive canyon. The Mt. Diablo Base Line cuts across its middle and small vestiges of the Pluvial development remain: Adobe Lake, Black Lake, and a playa flat or two. Traveling across Adobe Valley, the party passed by the River Spring Lakes and entered into Blind Spring Valley through a rocky gap to the east of Black Lake.

After a "delightfull bath" in a warm spring near the present-day community of Benton Hot Springs, California, they headed out of the north end of the valley (which opens into Benton Valley), thus avoiding the barrier of the Blind Spring Hills. On the eastern side of the valley the White Mountains rise to an elevation of 11,000 feet. The travelers then proceeded south on the eastern side of Hammil and Chalfant Valleys, and met the Owens River just west of Laws, California.

Downstream from present-day Bishop they followed the Owens River which flows between two very lofty and very different mountain developments. The Inyos and White Mountains on the east with their steep and barren slopes, confront the Sierra Nevada, which rises like a wall to the west, and wedges the Owens River in between. The contrast is vivid: the Sierra enjoys a climate and expresses a quality appropriate to alpine regions; the Inyos and White Mountains have a desert quality and truly relate to the Great Basin. From Bishop southward many clear creeks descend the western escarpment.

Coursing down its valley, the men followed the Owens River on its east bank to Owens Lake where, like all other Great Basin Rivers, the Owens comes to a sandy destination. Today nearly all the water of the basin has been preempted by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, so Owens Lake is bone dry and barren, the bottom of what was once an elongated sea. At its highest level this sea spread over 205 square miles and had a depth of 220 feet. The party then traveled south down the west side of Owens Lake, and after leaving the lake passed through the large ravine (now filled by the waters of Haiwee Reservoir) which opened into a large plain today known as Rose Valley. They left this valley, passed today's Little Lake, and followed the foothills of the Tehachapi's search-

ing in the canyons for a passageway until they reached Walker Pass, which they ascended and crossed; they found Canebrake Creek, a tributary of the Kern River, which they followed until they reached the forks of the Kern River, which today is covered by the waters of Lake Isabella.

The Travel Journal of Edward Kern

November 27.-...Tomorrow Captain Fremont leaves us again, this time to take his old trail of 1843, while the main body of camp will continue down the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, which Walker had discovered when exploring this section of the country some 10 years ago. We will remain here 9 or 10 days to recruit our animals, as many of them are exhausted. [CAMP: SOUTHEAST OF PRESENT DAY SCHURZ]

December 8.-...On this river [Walker River], with but a couple of exceptions, is the only large timber we have met since leaving the Timpanogos. Traveling three miles on the river and about twelve on the shores of the lake [Walker Lake, level 4082 in 1845, 3976 in 1957], we make our camp among some low sand-hills [T10 ½N R30E, south of Wildhorse Canyon]. A range of burnt rock hills [Gillis Range] extends a few miles further back, while on the opposite [west] side of the lake the dark mountains [Wassuk Range] come bluff to the water's edge. No fuel but greasewood and grass. We longed heartily for the fires of our last ten-days' camp, the weather being excessively cold [CAMP: WALKER LAKE NO. 1. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 15 MILES]

December 9.-Camped near the head of the lake [south end of Walker's Lake at the mouth of Soda Spring Valley, SE¼ of NW¼ T8N R30E]. No grass; the water exceedingly bad and salty. Charley, [our cook] to improve the already horrid taste given to our coffee by the bad water, added some greasewood or other noxious weed, giving it a flavor too unsavory even for appetites as keen-set as ours. This lake is about twenty-two miles in length, and eleven or twelve [no greater than eight] in the widest part. To the eastward of our camp runs a valley [Soda Spring Valley]. About twelve miles down it Walker says he found springs of good water and an abundance of good grass, the springs forming a small lake. To-night the horses, driven to desperation by their bad fare, a large number of them eluding the vigilance of the guard escaped to the other side of the lake, where they were found in the morning, having discovered somewhat better grass when we had at our camp. [CAMP: WALKER LAKE, NO. 2. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 12 MILES]

December 10.-Leaving camp we traveled up a valley leading from the southern end of Walker's Lake [near the present site of Hawthorne and

Babbit, NV], a little east of south; at about eight miles we crossed a low ridge [Sec 20 and 29 T7N R31E], heavy sand and scattering bunch-grass. Traveling up the general direction of a ravine, in a southeasterly course for about six [nine] miles, we made camp late at some springs [Rattlesnake Well, Sec 1 T5N R31E] near the foot of a basaltic rock ridge. [CAMP: RATTLESNAKE WELL. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 17 MILES]

December 11.-Continued our route [south] down the valley in a southerly direction. Walker's trail of two years ago passed to the left [southeast] of our camp three or four miles [toward Marietta]. Passed several wells dug by the Indians, but they were dry. Also, a large corral or pen made of sage and cedars for the purpose of ensnaring deer. Continued about six miles into the mountains [Excelsior Mountains] by a rough and broken road [E½ T5N R31E]. Were unable to find water. In the evening we encamped [NE¼ Sec 26 T5N R31E] among some of the largest sage I have ever seen. This gave us an abundance of fuel, and also served us in constructing pens about our different campfires as a protection from the cold. We soon forgot in slumber our lack of water. Here we killed our last beef, if what was left of the animal could be dignified by such a name. [CAMP: EXCELSIOR MTN., NORTH SLOPE. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 4 MILES]

December 12.-To-day we obtained a fine view of the great Sierra Nevada from the far north till it faded on the distant horizon far to the south of us. This bold and rocky barrier, with its rugged peaks, separates us from the valley of California. We are to travel along its base till by its lessening height it will offer but a slight obstacle to our passage across it. To the southeast and east of us mountain rises beyond mountain as far as the eye can see. Descending by a break-neck road [NE¼ T4N R31E] we reached, toward evening, a small valley [Huntoon Valley], where we made camp [SW¼ Sec 15, T4N R31E]. We found a portion of the sand leveled very smooth and some willow hoops lying about, with fresh signs to convince us that the place had not long been vacated by a party of Indians. [CAMP: HUNTOON VALLEY, DISTANCE TRAVELED: 5¼ MILES]

December 13.-Still among the burnt rock hills [Adobe Hills], interspersed with grassy valleys. Descending into a large, open, grassy valley [Adobe Valley], we fed upon the dry bed of a stream that has both wood and water six or seven miles farther up. Camped at a large spring [River Spring Lakes, NE portion of Adobe Valley, NE¼ Sec 24, T1N R30E] that spreads into a marsh. [CAMP: RIVER SPRING LAKES. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 24 MILES]

December 14.-Traveled down the same valley [Adobe Valley]. Water rises and sinks [River Spring Lakes], breaking through a rocky ridge to the east; rising again in several cold springs at the entrance of the gap, runs a short distance and forms a stinking lake [Black Lake]. Crossing the ridge [in the Benton Range, Sec 4 T2S R31E] by an Indian trail, we came into another valley [north end of Blind Springs Valley, near the present site of Benton Hot Springs] watered by a fine warm stream, in which I took a delightful bath. Good grass and plenty—quite a treat for our tired animals. The boys brought in some roots they had found near a couple of Indian huts, the inmates having fled at their approach. The root was of some waterplant of good flavor. They were plaited together in ropes, something after the manner of doing up onions at home. Our old cook at fault again to-day, boiling a large piece of rosin soap in our coffee. Rather unlucky just now, when coffee is coffee. [CAMP: BENTON HOT SPRINGS, DISTANCE TRAVELED: 16 MILES]

December 15.-The same water of yesterday still finds its way into another valley more to the east [Benton Valley]. We crossed into this. Its greatest length is from north to south. On the eastern side is a high chain of mountains [White Mountains], about the height of those on eastern side of Utah Lake [Timpanogos, 11,000 feet]. The mountains throw out some small streams, which sink before they fairly reach the valley [Hammil Valley]. The road in the forenoon of to-day broken and sandy. We have gained four days on Walker's route of 1843, from camp of December 10 to this place. A better route lies to the right of our road [traveling south down the east side of Hammil Valley]. [CAMP: VICINITY OF MILLNER CREEK. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 20 MILES]

December 16.-To-day struck Owen's River [near US 6 bridge, just west of the present town of Laws, Sec 28, T6S R33E]. It is a fine, bold stream, larger than Walker's. The same chain of mountains bounds it on the east, while on the western side rises, like a wall, the main chain of the California Mountains [Sierra Nevada]. Our rations are becoming extremely scant. The men being all on foot, they feel their appetites much quickened by the additional exercise of walking. A few more days we hope will bring us to the land of plenty. [CAMP: MOUTH OF BLACK CANYON. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 20 MILES]

December 17 and 18.-Still on the river; obliged to keep some distance from it on account of a large marsh. Wild-fowl in abundance. Walker went in search of some salt, which he found, incrustated to the thickness of a quarter of an inch on the surface of the earth. The Indians are numerous here, though they keep out of sight. They are badly disposed. Colonel Childs [Joseph B. Childs] had trouble with them here. They shot one of

his men. Walker's party killed some twenty-five of them, while on his side some of his men were wounded and eight or nine horses killed. [CAMP: DEC. 17 CANNOT BE DETERMINED; DEC. 18, NORTH OWENS LAKE. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 52 MILES].

December 19.-Camped on [Owens] lake near the mouth of river [Sec 18, T16S R37E]. Grass poor. Ducks and geese plentiful. [CAMP: NORTH OWENS LAKE]

December 20.-Traveling down the lake [west side]. Main California Mountains [Sierra Nevada] close on our right within half a mile of us. This lake is somewhat irregular in its shape, lying north and south; is about fifteen miles long, the widest part about seven miles. On the western side, there are several capes. It is surrounded by high mountains. Water strong, disagreeable, salty, nauseous taste. There are Indian fires among the rocks within half a mile of us. None ventured nearer. They appear to be well supplied with horses, judging from the quantity of sign. Along the route of to-day we crossed several streams coming from the mountains, some of them dry; all slightly timbered with cottonwood. [CAMP: SOUTH OWENS LAKE. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 20 MILES]

December 21.-Leaving lower end of lake, we passed among some sandy hollows, falling into a larger ravine leading south [canyon is now filled by the waters of Haiwee Reservoir]. Passing a good camp for grass and water, the hollow narrowed [Sec 21, 22, 28, 27, 33, 34, T20S R37E], bounded by hills of minutely broken black rock, opening afterward into a large plain [Rose Valley]; camped at some springs on the slope of the main California Mountains [present day Lewis Ranch, Cow Springs-Wheeler, Sec 3 T22S R37E]; grass, fresh and green, owing to the late rains. Today we met for the first time the yuca[Joshua] tree, nicknamed by the men "Jeremiah," in lieu of some better title. These trees have a grotesque appearance, a straight trunk, guarded about its vase by long bayonet-shaped leaves; its irregular and fantastically shaped limbs give to it the appearance of an ancient candelabra. It bears a beautiful white flower. We passed to-day Child's [Walker's] cache, where, on account of his animals failing, he was obliged to bury the contents of his wagons, among which was a complete set of millirons. [CAMP: ROSE VALLEY. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 17½ MILES]

December 22.-Passed to-day a salt-lake, half a mile long and about 200 yards wide [Little Lake]; leaving this, we turned up a large hollow, for about four miles, to find a camp. At this point there may be a pass over the mountains [mouth of Five Mile Canyon], judging from the number of Indian trails joining together here. The ascent, however, is very steep, and it was judged advisable not to attempt it, our animals not being in a

condition to undergo any such experiments. So we continued our route in a southerly direction, among the foot-hills of the mountains. [CAMP: FIVE MILE CANYON. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 13 MILES]

December 23 and 24.-Still among the hills. On the 23d, a mule was lost, with its pack. Archambeau, Stradspeth [Benjamin M. Hudspeth], and [James T.] White were sent back in search of it; returned on the evening of the 24th with the animal. The mule was loaded with, to us, a very valuable cargo, sugar and coffee, with some of the "possibles," of Stradspeth and White. The mule had wandered up one of the many ravines in the hillsides. When the Indians were discovered, they were sitting very coolly among the rocks, where they had driven the mule, dividing the spoils; there were three of them. Of the sugar they had made a just division, but the coffee was to them perfectly useless. They had already charred and pounded it, without coming to any satisfactory conclusion as to its use. The "possibles" shared the same fate as the eatables. Among the articles a blanket and an overcoat. Being three in their party, and being unable to divide these things equally in any other way, one had taken the blanket, and tearing the coat in two, gave a half of it to each of the others. On our men showing themselves, they fled precipitately, leaving the property behind. Collecting and re-arranging the pack, the men started for camp, bringing with them, as proof of their victory, some bows and arrows, a large sack of sageseed, about as digestible as sand, and a small sack of some compound, which we could not make out; it was very palatable with coffee, of a dark chocolate color.

Our Christmas was spent in a most unchristmas-like manner. Our camp was made on the slope of the mountain, at some Indian wells of good water [mouth of Indian Wells Canyon, Sec 15, T26S R38E]. The yuca tree is here in great abundance, furnishing us a plentiful supply of fuel. The camp-fires blazed and cracked joyously, the only merry things about us, and all that had any resemblance to that merry time at home. The animals, on account of grass, were guarded about a quarter of a mile from camp, higher up the mountain. [CAMP: INDIAN WELLS. DISTANCE TRAVELED: 15 MILES]

December 25.-Christmas day opened clear and warm. We made our camp to-day at some springs among the rocks [mouth of Freeman Canyon; Soldier's Well-Wheeler]; but little grass for our animals. Dined to-day, by way of a change, on one of our tired, worn mules, instead of a horse.

Turning from our camp of the 25th into the mountain by an easy ascent [Freeman Canyon-Walker Pass], and over a somewhat broken road, arriving on the 27th, on the head-waters of a river [Kern River]. Continuing down this stream, on the 28th we made camp at its forks [Lake Isabella]. This is the appointed place of rendezvous. There are no signs yet of the Captain.

Book Reviews

Nevada, A History, By Robert Laxalt. (Norton: New York, 1977)

IN A BRIEF and warmly enjoyable survey of the Sagebrush State in history, Robert Laxalt depicts Nevada as a Desert of Eden. Throughout his recitation, there seldom is heard a discouraging word. The only notable exception to this is in the case of the eastern mobster, Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel, who does come in for severely adverse criticism. Otherwise, nearly everyone who is mentioned wins a prize, from Territorial Governor James Nye to Territorial Potentate Howard Hughes.

Among the heroes of Nevada's political history, Laxalt singles out Senators Key Pittman and Pat McCarran for special consideration and commendation. No reader would get any idea from Laxalt on Pittman and McCarran of the virulent hatred that these two men felt for each other in the nastily incestuous context of Nevada politics, nor of the pitiable inadequacy of each to fulfill his responsibilities of high national office. No mention is made of Charles "Black" Wallace, who dominated Nevada politics throughout the late nineteenth century for the Central Pacific Railroad, and only passing mention is made of George Wingfield, who appears to have similarly run the place during most of the first third of the twentieth.

But it is not politics, nor the business interests connected with politics, that mainly interests Laxalt. If he is rather weak on the political history of the state, he does a better than adequate job—in fact, quite a good job—of tracing the rise of gambling in the state and the rise of Las Vegas and Tahoe, mainly on the economic basis of the resulting "tourism." What Laxalt evidently most enjoys writing about, however, and what he does best, is the land of Nevada and the Nevadans who populate the land.

Laxalt begins his book, perhaps unfairly, with his feelings about the scent of sagebrush. As a man who grew up in sagebrush country, in San Diego and Ramona, California, I was so overwhelmed by those opening pages that I kind of distrust my judgement of the rest of the book, which is—with the exceptions already noted—very high. Most of this book I did not so much read as savour. Nevada *is* an astonishingly beautiful state, for anybody who pauses long enough to notice it, and Laxalt does wonderfully evoke this beauty. Laxalt is of the opinion that Nevada has a population (referring mainly to those outside of Clark and Washoe counties) to match its landscape, and he does a good, though inevitably not conclusive, job of supporting this contention as well.

Most of this book is beautifully written, and it is filled with many of the most expressive unattributed quotations you have ever read. I would unreservedly recommend it to anyone who enjoys reading books and who likes to hold to the faith that somewhere in the world, or beyond, there actually is an Oz or a Shangri-la or a Never-Never Land or a Nevada.

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Wa She Shu: A Washo Tribal History. No author given. Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Printing Service, 1976. 120 pp. \$7.00)

SINCE THE PUBLICATION of Vine Deloria's *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* in 1969, a continuing trend in Native American Studies has been the production of works by Native Americans themselves. *Wa She Shu* is the third monograph in a series of four Nevada Indian Tribal histories prepared and published by the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada. The book is a history of the Washo tribe, which prior to white settlement, was centered around Lake Tahoe and the adjacent valleys of the eastern Sierra slope. They numbered perhaps 3000 and were linguistically and culturally distinct from their neighbors. The first three chapters of this monograph describe the pre-white culture and life of the Washo, dealing respectively with their land use, the life cycle, and folk tales and myths. These chapters rely heavily on interviews with Washo tribal members, although most of the same material can also be found in anthropological literature. The remaining four chapters describe the rising incidence and power of white settlement in Washo country and the changes forced upon the tribe. Chapter 4 contains reports of the first parties of explorers and trappers who saw the Washo, and Washo stories about the presence and activities of these strange intruders. The next chapter documents the destruction of Washo lands and the resulting tribal dependence on white settlers as ranch hands, seasonal labor and even beggars. The final two chapters describe attempts by tribal members to improve their position vis-a-vis white society, regaining their sacred pine-nut groves, securing federal and state recognition of the injustices perpetrated upon them, acquiring a land base, prosecuting their Claims Case (the settlement of which was woefully inadequate) and reviving interest in Washo culture and history.

Although the narrative and content of *Wa She Shu* is competent, lucid, well documented and impressively original in places, there are a number of problems that may not be readily apparent to most readers. The transcriptions of native words are inconsistent and apparently reflect a

lack of linguistic training on the part of the book's compilers. For example, the title *Wa She Shu* rendered in phonemic form is waši':šiw. There are nearly 90 separate Washo terms in the monograph, all of which are in some fashion misleadingly transcribed. Another error is that approximately twenty percent of the references were either misread by the compilers or do not support the use ascribed to them in the text. These mistakes include: misdating major events in Nevada history, the use of secondary sources to support major facts (using James Down's *The Two Worlds of the Washo* to reference population growth around Virginia City and destruction of local resources), and twisting the sense of quotations to reflect *Wa She Shu's* prejudices. One example of this fault is *Wa She Shu's* use of Thompson and West's report on Colonel Warren Wasson's purchase of Long Valley. Wasson first purchased part of the valley from Numaga, a Paiute chief, and then in the following month, repurchased it from Deer Dick, a Washo chief, who denied the Paiutes any rights to the valley. *Wa She Shu* states that this sequence was a case of the white's presence provoking conflict between the Washo and their Indian neighbors although there is no such conflict mentioned or suggested in Thompson and West's account. This is symptomatic of another of the monograph's problems, the slanting of facts in order to present a Washo view of their own culture and experience. Often this takes the form of presenting the emotional feeling of the people, part of their lives which the monograph has fairly criticized anthropologists for neglecting. But the distortion of sources to conform to an idealized view of Washo life and culture (and white destructiveness) does not serve either the book's or the reader's purpose. Alternatives might have been to include statistics on resource use (essentially destruction) by whites or to extensively comment on contemporary white misconceptions of the Washo.

One other error that should be mentioned is the lack of references for maps included in the text. There are four of these, apparently copied from previously published maps and showing Washo boundaries, place names and modern land holdings. To find out how closely they agree with other views on Washo territory the reader would have to search through much literature, a fault which should have been corrected by proper references.

This discussion should not lead one to believe that *Wa She Shu* is so full of problems and errors as to be worthless. It is a valuable addition to our understanding of the Indians of Nevada, precisely because it (and the other histories in the series) offers an Indian viewpoint of their own history. The choice of topics, the emphasis on the peacefulness and traditional harmonious lives of the Washo, and the destruction by an insensitive white society, remind us of how terrible the white settlement of the Americas was for the native inhabitants. Regardless of the misuse of sources, the reader will find that an impressive bibliography has been consulted and used, including a large number of hard to locate documents, showing the seriousness of the book's compilers. *Wa She Shu* is a

positive addition to Washo bibliography and also an indication of the depth of resources on western Indian history which have yet to be examined by scholars. Finally, although the book suffers from the mistakes and prejudices of the compilers, it is a work which must be consulted by future workers on the Washo and northern Nevada history.

BARRIK VAN WINKLE
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Present and Extinct Lakes of Nevada. By Israel C. Russell. (Camp Nevada, P.O. Box 13798, Reno, Nevada, 1976; 36 pages, \$2.25)

THIS THIRD MONOGRAPH in Alvin McLane's Camp Nevada series is a facsimile reprint of the 1895 title by Russell. It offers not only an elegant and inexpensive introduction to Russell's work, but also valuable hindsight into the availability of water in Nevada. Russell was the first scientist to thoroughly investigate Great Basin lakes from the Pleistocene onward, a history of enormous fluctuations in geographic water levels and boundaries.

Russell begins by describing the topography of Nevada. It becomes apparent to the reader that, given enough precipitation, most of the state could be a series of interconnected lakes running northeast and southwest, broken only by gravel bars and parallel mountain ranges. He compares the aridity of the region with other areas of the country, and briefly outlines the various mechanisms of groundwater springs. Even in these first pages the reader is struck by Russell's economical but evocative descriptions of the desert, his ability to transport you to the scene of his study:

The traveler who visits Nevada will be impressed also with the arid and frequently decidedly desert character of the country. Forests are absent, except in a few limited areas of the higher mountains. One may ride for hundreds of miles through the valleys without finding a tree to shelter him from the intense heat of the summer sun. The prevailing vegetation is the sagebrush (*Artemisia*). This, with other desert shrubs, imparts a gray tint to the russet brown of the naked land. For months together not a drop of rain falls, and for weeks in succession the sky is without clouds.

No doubt this literary style owes much of its detail to Russell's role as a field geologist. And like John Muir, he was able to correctly deduce the character of his subject through patient years of foot-and-horse travel.

After his introduction Russell immediately proceeds to a consideration of the present lakes of Nevada, classifying them into ephemeral and perennial lakes. Ephemerals (eg. Black Rock, Smoke Creek and Carson Desert playas) are defined in terms of hours or days of existence, their

cycles formed almost exclusively by precipitation and evaporation. Perennials are termed in years, and further classed into normal and enclosed bodies. Normal lakes are "commonly expansions of rivers, and overflow." Russell states that Tahoe and Humboldt are the only two lakes of this sort in Nevada. Enclosed lakes are described as those "which, next to the playa lakes, best illustrate the climatic conditions there prevailing...perennial lakes that do not overflow." He lists Pyramid, Winnemucca and Walker Lakes. The discussion of these three lead to the major portion of his report, the Pleistocene Lake Lahontan, which at its largest was 886 feet deep, covered 8422 square miles and drained the rainfall of over 40,000 square miles. That is, one could have at that time traveled by boat over most of northwestern Nevada!

Lahontan, along with Lake Bonneville in Utah, was a major event in the hydrography of the United States. Unlike Bonneville, Lahontan had no outlet, and therefore "underwent many fluctuations in volume and composition, and left the most interesting and instructive records of any lake known." Russell proceeds to analyze both the physical and chemical records left by the Lahontan, skillfully guiding the reader through mounds of data about gravel bars and embankments, tufa deposits, saline solutions, terraces and sea cliffs, sediments and even fossils.

His summary of the history of the Lake Lahontan is eloquent and brief. Its relevance to our present-day water usage cannot be overstated:

Lake Lahontan began with the expansion of several playa lakes in the lowest depressions of its composite basin. These rose, with many fluctuations, until they became united, and continued to increase in depth and extent until the full expansion of the first maximum was reached. This growth was due to a climatic change which caused an increase in the precipitation and an accompanying decrease in evaporation. Glaciers existed on the higher portion of the Sierra Nevada and on some of the basin ranges to the east, and by their melting assisted in the flooding of adjacent valleys. Then came a time of aridity. The previously flooded valleys became as waterless as at present, and possibly were completely dessicated.

It is fortunate for us that a few scientists such as Russell were capable of exploring time as well as space. Russell's multi-dimensional travels are related to us in such a confident and modest manner, based on such clear and concrete observations, that we cannot avoid their meaning. And it is a shame that most current scientific reporting isn't written as well as that of a century ago.

Alvin McLane provides a short note inside the front cover on Russell's other explorations, and includes (inside the back cover) a bibliography of his writings pertinent to the Great Basin. This is far and away the most handsome of the Camp Nevada Monographs, and the most generous with plates and reproductions. It is hoped that this series of "geographic and

natural history information relative to Nevada" (back cover) will continue with increased frequency and sophistication.

WILLIAM L. FOX
Reno, Nevada

Humboldt County, 1905. By Allen C. Bragg. (Winnemucca, Nevada: North Central Nevada Historical Society, 1976. xii, 149p., maps, photographs and index.)

IT IS REFRESHING to find books on neglected areas of Nevada. *Humboldt County, 1905* is taken from a series of newspaper articles published in *The Silver State* at Winnemucca, Nevada. Allen Charles Bragg was the editor. He journeyed with Humboldt County Assessor Joseph W. Guthrie on a 1,200 mile trip visiting numerous ranches and other private holdings in the county (which at that time included the present-day county of Pershing).

The men made their five trips around the county during the spring and summer. Bragg presents much information about the early ranching families, mining properties, and stage stations.

This reviewer is interested in Nevada place-names, and many place-name origins can be gleaned from *Humboldt County*. For instance, Regan (or Regans) Creek has been on maps since information that the stream was named for a freighter named Regan who was killed by Indians near the head of the creek.

Besides providing statistics on Humboldt County, Bragg gives us glimpses of the appearance of the country. He describes a mirage on Humboldt Salt Marsh in Dixie Valley. Ships under full sail were before his eyes and the writer quickly added that he hadn't been drinking either. Another Bragg digression: "...the meadow larks are singing their praises to an all-wise Providence and the coo of the pretty little morning dove is occasionally heard while the howl of the coyote echoes from the brush-covered plains and the 'spit' of the wild cat comes from yonder rocky gulch."

A serious defect of this book is that the map of Humboldt County is reproduced so small (6¼x5½) that it is practically worthless. The Black Rock Desert is the only feature that clearly stands out. However, five maps that precede each section define the field trip routes taken by Bragg and Guthrie. They are clear and concise and appear to be based on modern maps prepared by the Army Map Service. Several early photographs showing people, places and buildings are an added bonus.

Ruth Tipton, Icy C. Tingley and other members of North Central

Nevada Historical Society are to be congratulated for presenting this professional quality work. Humboldt Printers of Winnemucca did a nice job of printing this local history.

ALVIN R. McLANE
Camp Nevada
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The California Gold Rush Overland Diary of Byron N. McKinstry 1850-1852. Edited by Bruce L. McKinstry, with a Foreword by Ray Allen Billington. American Trails Series, Vol. X. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1975; 401 pages; illustrations, index.)

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON in his Foreword anticipates the inevitable question: "Why another gold rush diary?" Are there not enough chronicles of the overland migration to give the detail and flavor of the trek of 1849 and the 1850s? The answer is "no," not if the latest is one of the best.

This book has something for both the library scholar of western trails and the enthusiast who is thrilled at the sign of wheel ruts. It is a first-hand account of the 1850 overland crossing by Byron N. McKinstry, a literate, careful observer. It is also a compound of twenty-four trips made by the editor to trace his grandfather's trail from Illinois to the California diggings.

Bruce McKinstry acquired Byron's diary in 1948 and decided almost immediately that he would publish it. But first he wanted to see the trail that Byron had followed and try to capture a feeling for the journey as Byron had experienced it. Not until 1975 was he satisfied. During the intervening twenty-seven years, Bruce and other equally-dedicated trail-buffs largely located Byron's trail and most of his camps. The reader will share Bruce's excitement when he says of his ancestor: "This is the view he saw," "He might have stood here," "This might have been his cabin." Byron's story is about an unspectacular man who became historically notable by taking part in the great adventure. Bruce's story is a sentimental, nostalgic pilgrimage. His editorial comments are skillfully woven throughout the diary.

Byron McKinstry and his companions left Illinois in March, 1850. They followed the well-traveled Platte-Humboldt-Carson Pass route. Byron's party was a hardy or foolhardy lot, occasionally neglecting to post night guards in Indian country. They were sufficiently confident or foolish to ignore the warnings of Kit Carson and army officers at Fort Laramie and pioneer a new trail on the north bank of the Platte west of the fort.

Byron seems to have been more even-tempered than most overlanders. He also appears to have managed his resources more efficiently than most. Near the end of the trip, the time of reckoning, he poignantly describes the sufferings of others, particularly those unfortunates who were reduced to backpacking and begging, while not suffering greatly himself.

Byron arrived at California's Mother Lode in September, 1850. For the next twenty-one months, he was engaged in placer mining, sometimes alone, at other times with partners. By the summer of 1852, though moderately successful, he had had enough and returned to Illinois. His journal concludes with a brief account of the voyage homeward via Panama and New York.

Among gold rush diarists, Byron had an unusual gift for description. He identifies trees, grasses and flowers and gives names to some he did not recognize. He describes the terrain and weather phenomena in considerable detail and comments frequently and sensitively on the beauty of the country.

Like most overland diarists, Byron's journal is filled mostly with what was new to him. This is understandable, but for twentieth-century readers, unfortunate. As fascinated as we might be with his descriptions and impressions of the new country, we long to read about what was commonplace to him: the people he met and talked with during the trek, their outfits and the daily routine. A feel for the country can be captured by trail-following, but the aura of the wagon train cannot.

A valuable segment of the book is the editor's biographical sketch of his grandfather. The sketch will serve both to enrich McKinstry family history and to answer the question, too often to the anguish of readers left unanswered in published journals: "Where did he come from and what happened to him?"

There is little to fault in the book. Bruce McKinstry called it a labor of love. It seems to me more a celebration than a labor. That this was a most enjoyable task is evident. His book reflects his devotion. Yet I must add one very sour note. In a volume which carefully details an overland journey in 1850, a journey which indeed included the pioneering of a new stretch of trail, and which traces the trek through the mid-twentieth century landscape, the absence of maps is perfectly baffling. Without maps, showing Byron's route, contemporary landmarks and modern roads, towns and reservoirs, the book is distressingly unfinished.

The omission, though serious, is not disabling. Bruce McKinstry and The Arthur H. Clark Company have succeeded admirably in adding an important volume in the history of overland migration and the gold rush.

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Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846-1851. By Robert A. Trennert, Jr. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975. ix, 263 pages, bibliography, index, \$15.00).

HISTORIANS ARE RAPIDLY filling the gaps in our detailed knowledge of federal Indian policy making in the nineteenth century. Within the past three years, for example, Herman J. Viola has published a biography of Thomas McKenney, first head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Ronald N. Satz and Michael Paul Rogin have contributed new interpretations of the much debated Jacksonian era; Edmund J. Danziger has studied the Civil War period; and Robert Winston Mardock has reexamined the postwar reform movement. Now Robert A. Trennert, assistant professor of history at Arizona State University, has brought forth his account of the years between 1846 and 1851, a period in which he claims the "philosophical origins" of the modern reservation system were established as an "alternative to extinction."

In covering this relatively brief but hitherto unexamined era, Trennert maintains that the vital ideas which eventually led to full implementation of a federal reservation system in the years following the Civil War were germinated during the three year period which followed the war with Mexico. Having acquired a giant expanse of new territory as a result of this earlier conflict, government officials were faced with the dual problem of providing for the safety of those Americans who desired to emigrate to new homes in the Far West, and, at the same time, preventing the decimation of the native tribes who occupied these lands. The eventual solution led to the abandonment of the permanent Trans-Mississippi barrier idea implemented during the Jacksonian period, in favor of a policy aimed at concentrating Indian groups behind specific and ever-smaller boundaries.

As Trennert is so anxious to point out, the idealistic federal officials who envisioned both the removal and reservation policies, imbued as they were with a kind of "benevolent paternalism," were genuinely concerned about protecting the Indians from white encroachment until such time as they could be more readily assimilated. Unfortunately, as the author also demonstrates, their humanitarian solutions happened to fit as well the needs and demands of the most belligerent, land-grabbing advocates of Manifest Destiny.

In tracing the formulation of the reservation idea, Trennert begins the volume with a brief discussion of the barrier system which culminated in the policy of removal during Jackson's presidency and after. He then focuses on the roles played by Indian Commissioners William Medill, Orlando Brown, and Luke Lea in trying to solve frontier problems which confronted the Polk and Taylor-Fillmore Administrations. By describing in detail the evolution of federal policy in response to particular Indian

problems in four separate geographic areas (Texas, New Mexico, the lower Missouri borderland, and the Central Plains), the author is able to show how these men gradually became convinced of the wisdom of a reservation system. Though each of these officials played a part in bringing about this idea, it was Lea who first put the plan in motion with the famous Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. Trennert concludes by showing how the paternalism of this period gave way to the tremendous white pressures for more and more settlement and exploitation and made the use of force a necessary part of the reservation policy.

This volume accomplishes much, but is not without its faults. As in many works which treat such a short time span, the author has a tendency to overstate his case. In doing so, he fails to acknowledge the reservation experiments which preceded this period as well as earlier criticism of the barrier system. He is likewise often ambiguous about the concept of Manifest Destiny and the precise role it had in all of this, and he certainly will not fail to offend many by his reference, without quotation marks, to the Mormons as "polygamistic religious fanatics." There are also a number of typographical errors.

On balance, however, this volume makes an important contribution to the history of federal Indian policy. It is perceptive, informative, and exceedingly well documented. In addition, it has the virtue of being highly readable. For those primarily interested in the government side of Indian affairs, Trennert has performed a valuable service in bringing to light the previously obscure activities of Commissioners Medill, Brown, and Lea and their subordinates. For those mainly concerned with the Indian side of things, he has also clearly demonstrated the relative powerlessness which native tribes experienced as a result of being systematically removed from the decision-making process. In sum, his work is a welcome addition to the growing bibliography of Indian-white relations in America.

MICHAEL L. LAWSON
Valley Forge National Historical Park

NHS News and Developments

Operation Catchup

THE NEVADA STATE LIBRARY has recently renewed our proposal for recataloging the Society's library holdings. The NHS Librarian, Lee Mortensen, and her temporary assistant, Nadine Phinney, are deep in inspecting, re-marking, and updating the catalog cards for each item in the printed materials.

New Security Measures For Use of Our Collections

BEGINNING IN NOVEMBER, 1977 the research area has been made subject to more stringent materials-use regulations. As a result of exposure to recommendations made at the 1977 convention of the Society of American Archivists for protection of archival materials, patrons will now register prior to being given research items. The number and variety of materials to be used by patrons at any given time are limited, and the research area is constantly monitored by staff. Increased thefts of collections nationwide are prompting many institutions to review their security procedures, although the additional burden on patrons is lamented.

Our New Curator of Education

IT IS A DISTINCT pleasure to report that Mrs. Angela Brooker, a former teacher of Nevada history in the Las Vegas schools, will join Assistant Director Gary Roberts in the Southern Nevada Office as Curator of Education. Mrs. Brooker will work toward the preparation of a complete series of teaching aids for Nevada history classes, participate in training sessions with state history educators, and use every bit of her considerable training and ability to make Nevada history one of the most popular courses among students statewide. The appointment of Mrs. Brooker fills a long-needed niche in the Society's functions and great results are foreseen for the program.

New Location for Southern Nevada Office

THE SOUTHERN NEVADA OFFICE of the NHS, which for over a year was located in space provided by the Desert Research Institute, has recently

been relocated. The new address is 1555 E. Flamingo Road, Suite 253. Recent additions to the research materials available at this office include back issues of the *Las Vegas Age*, and the index to the *Pioche Weekly Record* which was compiled in 1977 by Richard Datin.

Truckee River Basin Study

THE DESERT RESEARCH INSTITUTE has funded the Society's proposal to investigate the historic roots of litigation over use of water from the Truckee. Legal entitlements to the Truckee are the subject of current suits to overturn the landmark Orr Ditch decision of 1944, with resulting changes in present allocations of water for irrigation, urban use and recreation. UNR graduate student Robert Nylen will continue with this project.

Central Nevada Historical Society

THE NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY welcomes the Central Nevada Historical Society to the state's growing community of regional museums and historical societies. William J. Metscher, president of the CNHS, reports that their organization is in the last stages of incorporation, has a full slate of officers, and is currently conducting a membership drive which is doing very well. Donations for the museum are already arriving. The Nye County Commissioners have promised land to the fledgling historical society in Tonopah, and the major project ahead is acquiring funding for a building. The CNHS is off to a solid start and encourages all interested persons to join in the effort to bring a museum and historical society to central Nevada. All inquiries should be directed to the Central Nevada Historical Society, P. O. Box 551, Tonopah, Nevada 89049.

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