

# Nevada Historical Society Quarterly



Winter • 1978

# Nevada Historical Society

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The *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* publishes articles, interpretive essays, and documents which deal with the history of Nevada and of the Great Basin area. Particularly welcome are manuscripts which examine the political, economic, cultural, and constitutional aspects of the history of this region. Material submitted for publication should be sent to the *N.H.S. Quarterly*, 1555 E. Flamingo, 253, Las Vegas, Nevada 89109. Footnotes should be placed at the end of the manuscript, which should be typed double spaced. The evaluation process will take approximately six to ten weeks.

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### THE COVER

Roulette at The Willows, a famous resort for the divorce crowd located just west of Reno during the Twenties. See "Gambling and Society," by Jerome E. Edwards, pp. 259-262.







# ***From Pottage to Portage: A Perspective on Aboriginal Horse Use in the Northern Great Basin Prior to 1850***

by Thomas N. Layton

ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND HISTORIANS have given scant attention to aboriginal horse use in the Great Basin. Although the northward spread of the horse following its reintroduction into the New World by the Spanish has been described in detail by Haines<sup>1</sup> and Driver and Massey,<sup>2</sup> these authors were concerned with the broad picture of horse dispersal. Little attention was paid to the northern Great Basin, as it was judged to be an area particularly remote from the changes that affected the tribes of the Columbia River Basin and the northern Rockies following their acquisition of the horse. There are, however, a fairly large number of early explorers' journals and diaries of westward-bound emigrants which definitely show that there were horses in much of northern Nevada by the 1820s. The record of horse use contained in this literature is the subject of this article.

Columbus brought the first modern horses to the New World in 1493. Spaniards soon established horse farms to breed mounts, first for conquest and then for transportation in the vast new lands. In 1609, with the establishment of the Spanish colony at Sante Fe, horses became permanent residents of what is now the American Southwest. The value of horses was not lost on the local Indians, who rapidly acquired them, generally by theft. Horses were disseminated northward over two routes, one east and the other west of the Continental Divide. Receiving horses by way of the western route, the Shoshone of the Upper Snake River were mounted by 1690 and the Cayuse by 1700.<sup>3</sup>

Peter Ogden's Snake Country Journals are the earliest written accounts of the northwestern Great Basin and also comprise our earliest record of aboriginal horse use in that region. Ogden, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company and the leader of a brigade of fur trappers, entered Nevada near the present town of Denio on October 29, 1828 (Fig. 1:4). The horse must have preceded him into the area, since we learn from his journal that on that day he discovered and captured three horses which had apparently been abandoned by Indians in their haste to hide from his advancing expedition. Two weeks later (Nov. 16, 1828) on the Humboldt River, approximately sixteen miles upstream from present-day Golconda, he again recorded evidence of horses:

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The research reported herein is a contribution of the Nevada-High Rock Ecological Project, a multidisciplinary effort funded by the Max C. Fleischmann Foundation and administered by the Nevada State Museum. The author wishes to thank J.S. Holliday, Director of the California State Historical Society and Kenneth Carpenter, Director of Special Collections at the University of Nevada Library in Reno for their assistance in securing information. This paper has benefited from critical comments by Martin A. Baumhoff, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis; Mary Rusco, Nevada State Museum; and Doctors Polly Pope, Melody Trott, Dale Givens and Phillip Rasch, all of the Department of Anthropology, California State University, Dominguez Hills.

... I fell on a long Indian track and not long since a number of horses have travelled in this quarter, probably not less than four hundred, and if I may judge from appearances in one of their camps there could not have been less than three hundred Indians. In the afternoon eight paid us a visit. An elderly man of the party who understands the lower Snake language, informed me that the distance was great to the sources [of the Humboldt River], not less than ten days march — there we shall find five forks, on three of these beaver, that the river discharges in a large lake, and that salmon does not ascend this stream and consequently has no communication with the waters of the ocean.<sup>4</sup>

Two days later he was still on the Humboldt River, and six Indians visited his camp with a horse they would not sell but which they traded for another. Finally on November 28, on the Humboldt and approximately six miles east of present-day Dunphy, Nevada, Ogden noted that "Three Snake Indians with their horses arrived and informed us they were from the Main Falls of the Snake River . . ."<sup>5</sup>

Ogden's journal entries following his return to Nevada in the spring of 1829 are again rich in information. On May 2, 1829, on a side trip from the Humboldt due north of Dunphy, and approximately 15 miles south of the Nevada-Idaho border (Fig. 1:17), his men encountered and pursued two Indians and recovered from one of them a horse that had been stolen from one of his winter camps on the Malad River (Fig. 1:16) on the northeastern side of the Great Salt Lake in Utah. This horse was recovered 225 miles west of where it had been stolen. Four days later, while returning to the Humboldt and roughly 30 miles north of Valmy, Nevada, his men again surprised two "Snake Indians" with six horses. Pursued, the Indians abandoned four of the horses, three of which had been stolen earlier from Ogden on the Upper Humboldt. The remaining horse had presumably belonged to the two Indians.<sup>6</sup> Near this location, on the previous evening, two Indians from the Columbia River, who were attached to his camp, discovered tracks of horses and proceeded on a private horse-thieving expedition. Five days later the two returned and told of finding a camp of Indians with horses but of failing in their attempt to steal five of them.<sup>7</sup>

Back on the Humboldt, slightly west of present-day Imlay, Indians made an attempt to steal Ogden's horses on the night of May 21, and five days later, slightly north of the Humboldt Sink, the horse of one of his trappers was stolen by Indians while he tended his traps. The climax to these incidents occurred two days later at the Humboldt Sink (Fig. 1:12). The incident is best described in Ogden's own words:

... the man who had gone towards the lake [Humboldt Sink] arrived and gave the alarm of enemies. By his account he had a most narrow escape, to the fleetness of his horse has his life been preserved. He reports as follows. When rounding a point nearly within sight of the lake, twenty men on horseback came in sight and on seeing him gave the war cry. He lost no time in retreating; one of the Indians had nearly overtaken him, and would had he not discharged his gun at him. He also informed us that the hills were covered with Indians. Strongly suspecting from their conduct on the 26th instant, added to this day, I gave orders to secure the horses and having made all as secure as possible and the place would admit of, ten men, two thirds of my forces, started in advance to ascertain what the Indians were doing, and not to risk a battle with

them as we are already too weak. An hour after they arrived and reported the Indians, upwards of two hundred, were coming to the camp and were within a short distance and it was not their opinion they were well inclined towards us. Shortly after they arrived having selected a spot for them about five hundred yards from our camp I desired them to be seated, this order was obeyed . . . Their language was different from any I have yet heard, but one of them understanding a few words of Snake we received the following information. This river discharges in the lake which has no outlet, in eight days' march there is a large river but no beaver, salmon most abundant, a convincing proof they traded two, which were still tolerably fresh. To the northward of us there is also another river which from the description he gives must be Pit River. On examining these Indians we saw pieces of rifles, ammunition, arms and other articles. This I am of opinion must be some of the plunder of Smith's party of ten men who were murdered in the fall and from native to native has reached this. They would not inform me from whom they had received these articles from, this looks suspicious, on enquiring the cause of their visit the chief answered to make peace which was soon effected.<sup>8</sup>

What generalizations can we draw from these incidents? First, we learn that in 1828-29 horses are present in Nevada from Denio south to the Humboldt Sink and from the Humboldt Sink northeastward along much of the Humboldt River. Secondly, we learn that the Humboldt is a highway, well traveled by horsemen, some of whom are returning to their winter homes at the Main Falls of the Snake River. From the 225 mile displacement of Ogden's stolen horse from northeastern Utah westward to its recovery point near the headwaters of the Owyhee River, we learn that Indians wintering in the Rockies are either themselves moving or passing horses by trade or thievery westward during the spring. From the multiple attempts to steal Ogden's horses, it appears that horse thievery is already a developed art along the Humboldt River.

Finally, there is the curious incident at the Humboldt Sink where 20 mounted Indians pursued one of Ogden's men and shortly thereafter appeared at Ogden's camp armed and with reinforcements totaling 200 men. The fact that neither Ogden nor his men, who were well acquainted with the languages of the Basin, the Plateau, and the Pacific Northwest, had ever heard the language spoken by the leaders of the visitors suggests that they were from California. Moreover, their possession of two "tolerably fresh salmon" from a river they described as eight days march west of the Humboldt Sink strongly suggests that they had come by way of the Truckee River. The Truckee, because of its large trout, was later to be named the Salmon-Trout River by John Fremont. The "pieces of rifles, ammunition arms and other articles" Ogden suspected to be the plunder from Jedediah Smith's party which was ambushed on the Umpqua River near the Oregon Coast in the summer of 1828. This seems to be a wild guess on Ogden's part; however, the Indians' knowledge of what Ogden thought to be the Pit River probably places them in a central or northern California homeland. Their route to the Humboldt Sink must have carried them eastward through one of the Sierra Passes to the Truckee River, where they acquired their "salmon," and then on to the Humboldt Sink.

Although an absolute identification is presently impossible, these mounted Indians may have been Sierra Miwok. Mission records demonstrate that Califor-



nia Indians were sporadically stealing horses prior to the 1820s. During that period horse thefts may have been limited because of the easy availability of herds of escaped animals gone wild. By the 1830s the situation had changed, and systematic, large-scale horse raids by Indians had become a major problem. The available documents make it difficult to pinpoint the specific groups responsible for the thievery; however, Broadbent, who has thoroughly researched the topic, cites evidence that the Sierra Miwok were at least involved in the raiding and may, in fact, have been the principal raiders.<sup>9</sup> She notes that when the California-bound Bidwell Party passed through Sierra Miwok territory in 1841, a number of their horses were stolen by Indians. Of this incident Bidwell recorded that:

They were known as the Horse Thief Indians, and lived chiefly on horse flesh; they had been in the habit of raiding the ranches even to the very coast, driving away horses by the hundreds into the mountains to eat.<sup>10</sup>

As for Ogden, neither the presence of horses nor his encounters with both California and Idaho Indians along the Humboldt River seem to have surprised him. He had seen horses in the Great Basin two summers earlier, in 1827, during a journey northward through the Warner Valley in south central Oregon (Fig. 1:25). On May 23rd of that year, near the present town of Plush, one of Ogden's men saw an Indian on horseback, and three days later when he reached the northern end of the valley, Ogden had to send thirteen men in pursuit of Indians who had stolen fifty-six of his horses. The Indians escaped after a long pursuit in which they abandoned all but two of the animals. Ogden's men, however, discovered the hidden abandoned camp of the Indians which he described as "... consisting of 14 tents but all abandoned and secreted in the mountains, from the number of Bones and Skins it is evident that these villians support themselves entirely on Horse Flesh . . ." <sup>11</sup> Even after recovering his horses Ogden's worries were not over, for less than a week later, and still near the northern end of Warner Valley, he again found fresh tracks of Indians and horses. Finally, on June 4, thirty-five miles southwest of Harney Lake, four Indians stole two more of Ogden's horses.

Ogden's journal raises as many questions as it answers. What, he might ask, could possibly draw mounted Indians from both California and the Great Falls of the Snake River to the lower Humboldt in 1828 and 1829? Were California Indians trading with the Snake River Indians at a central place? Were both groups trading with the indigenous Paiutes? Or were these groups simply passing along a well-established highway across the Great Basin and only coincidentally coming in contact with local Paiutes?

Evidence of travel to California by Columbia River Indians for the purpose of trading and horse stealing may be traced back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Heizer describes a well-documented trading expedition of forty Nez Perce, Cayuse and Walla Walla Indians under the leadership of Yellow Serpent, who traveled from the Columbia River to Sutter's Fort in California's Sacramento Valley in 1844, but intermittent visits by Columbia River peoples to California for trade and securing horses probably occurred much earlier.<sup>12</sup> The same scholar cites evidence that Yellow Serpent himself may have witnessed California horse raids organized by his father as early as 1800.<sup>13</sup> These long distance expeditions by Columbia River Indians passed south through Oregon

and California, thereby avoiding most of the Great Basin. Ogden's journal entries for 1828 suggest that similar expeditions to California may have been carried out by Snake River Indians via the Humboldt River route.

Another unanswered question is the identity of Ogden's continual plague of horse thieves. Although throughout his travels in the northern Great Basin Ogden reports repeated attempts to steal his horses, and frequent sightings of horse tracks and mounted Indians, he generally beclouds the identity of these horsemen under the umbrella term "Snakes". In his usage this term refers to the "Snake Language" and the "Snake Country" and generally seems to designate Numic Speakers occupying the northern Great Basin, the southern Plateau, and the Snake River Plain of southern Idaho. He does not, however, distinguish Shoshone from Paiute nor any other linguistic or cultural division among the Numa. For this reason we cannot determine from Ogden whether local Indians are achieving a mounted lifestyle, or the degree to which the northern Great Basin is becoming a part of an expanded, seasonally visited territory of mounted Indians from the Snake River and the Columbia Plateau.

Evidence from the Great Plains demonstrates that acquisition of the horse allows a people to occupy and exploit a vastly expanded territory, often at the expense of that territory's unmounted former residents.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, the sparsely settled Great Basin appears to have provided territory for expansion to groups made mobile by the horse, and a vast refuge for predatory groups engaged in large scale horse raiding. Our earliest evidence for a predatory band in the northern Great basin is Ogden's above described 1827 account of his loss and recovery of fifty-six horses in Warner Valley. His remark that "from the number of bones and skins it is evident these villians support themselves entirely on Horse Flesh" is a statement of major importance because any horses eaten in the Warner Valley had to have been brought in from elsewhere. Moreover, his count of "14 tents" suggests a fairly large group of people.

Horses for this predatory band may have been available in very limited numbers from the Klamath to the west, and they evidently were receiving some animals in trade from the tribes of the Columbia River. These horses were obtained in exchange for Pit River (Achomawi and Atsugewi) slaves which the Klamath traded north to the Dallas through intermediaries<sup>15</sup> Since Klamath holdings of horses were minimal, it seems likely that Ogden's Warner Valley "horse flesh eaters" were securing animals not from the Klamath, but by raiding the better endowed mounted tribes to the north.

To summarize this 1827-29 picture of horse use in the northern Great Basin, we may conclude, first, that during the protohistoric period the Humboldt River was a highway across Nevada, well used by mounted Indians from the Snake River. Mounted Indians from California likewise penetrated the Basin, at least as far east as the Humboldt Sink, and quite possibly proceeded farther eastward along the river. Second, Ogden's spring recovery of a horse on the northern Nevada headwater of the Owyhee River, 225 miles west of the Utah winter camp from which it was stolen, suggests a developing pattern in which increasingly mobile, mounted Indians from the Snake River Plain were expanding their seasonal round to include penetration of the northern Great Basin. Third, the Warner Valley episode with the "horse flesh eaters" demonstrates that the pattern of the Great Basin predatory bands of the 1860s was already established in 1827. And, finally, the numerous attempts by Indians along the Humboldt

River to steal Ogden's horses suggests that some utility in horses was apparent to Indians in the area. However, we do not know to what extent these animals were destined for the stew pot, and to what extent as transportation. Moreover, we do not know to what extent these thefts were performed by horse-wise Snake River Shoshone temporarily visiting the Humboldt or by Indians indigenous to the area.

Accounts by travelers following Ogden into the northern Great Basin during the 1830's and early 1840's are scarce and they add little to our knowledge of aboriginal horse use. John Bidwell, writing much later of his 1841 passage across the Great Basin, noted having seen a wild horse at the Humboldt Sink; however, his attribution of the animal to earlier fur trappers was pure speculation.<sup>16</sup>

The frequency of travelers' accounts containing information on aboriginal horse use increases after 1845 when overland emigrants to Oregon and California begin to follow the Humboldt River route across Nevada. These accounts reach a peak in 1849 with the rush of humanity to the California gold fields. This gap of twenty years from Ogden's records of 1827-29 to the abundant records of 1846-49 presents an opportunity to measure changes in the quality and quantity of horse use among Indians resident in northern Nevada.

The structure of the mid-nineteenth century overland emigration to California and the Oregon Territory contributed to the production and preservation of contemporary documents recording this massive population shift. Groups of westward-bound emigrants organized into companies for security and mutual aid. In addition to writing rules of association and electing officers, diarists were appointed to record the progress and events of the trip in daily journal entries. The journals of company diarists, together with those of literate fellow travelers, constitute a large and scattered literature, most of which is unpublished. Fortunately, a number of recent bibliographies of this material are available.<sup>17</sup>

Most California-bound diarists crossed the Great Basin by following the Humboldt River westward across Nevada to its Sink, and then passed over the Sierras into California by one of several routes near present-day Reno. A lesser number followed the Humboldt River to its Great Bend near present-day Imlay, Nevada (Fig. 1:13) and took a detour leading towards the northeastern corner of California along a trail pioneered by Jesse Applegate in 1846.

A small number of Oregon-bound emigrants followed this route in 1846 and 1847, and the road became heavily travelled in 1849 after Peter Lassen extended it southward into central California and actively encouraged California-bound gold seekers to take what became known as Lassen's Cutoff. The Lassen (nee Applegate) Cutoff proceeded northwest from the Great Bend of the Humboldt, across the Black Rock Desert to Soldier Meadow, thence through High Rock Canyon to 49 Pass into Surprise Valley, California, thence across the Warner Mountains to Goose Lake via Fandango Pass, and finally south along the Pit River to the California gold fields.

Morgan lists thirty-nine diarists who followed Lassen's Cutoff in 1849. These documents from 1849, taken together, with additional diaries from 1846 and 1847, provide a potentially useful source of data to compare with the 1827-29 picture of Great Basin aboriginal horse use presented by Ogden. Although not



all of these emigrant journals refer to aboriginal horse use, many of them provide information on the numbers of cows, horses and mules shot or stolen from a named wagon company on a specific night. The body count is often followed by a description of attempts made to recover the stolen animals.

The journals of emigrants who followed the Humboldt River halfway across Nevada and then took Lassen's Cutoff to complete their journey to California constitute a series of descriptive transects along a single route spanning most of the northern Great Basin. In addition to providing a descriptive cross-section of the northern Great Basin for comparison with Ogden's record of twenty years before, they allow us to compare the incidents along the Humboldt River with those occurring along the Lassen Cutoff leading away from the river towards northeastern California. We are thereby able to isolate and measure the contribution of the Humboldt River highway in the spread of the horse complex.

My approach to the literature has been to read only those diaries of emigrants who followed the Humboldt River road to the Great Bend and then followed the Lassen Cutoff to northeastern California. From these diaries I have recorded all incidents involving the shooting or stealing of emigrants' animals by Indians, all records of emigrants and Indians shooting at each other, and all records of sightings of mounted Indians. Incidents occurring along the Humboldt River and those occurring along the Lassen Cutoff are tabulated separately to facilitate comparison.

The sample of emigrant journals providing information for the present study of the 1846-1849 period includes one journal from 1846, one from 1847 and seventeen from 1849. A small number of unpublished diaries unavailable in the western United States have not been examined and are therefore absent from the present sample, but it is believed that sufficient information has been collected to provide a reliable measure of the quality of horse use for the period in question.

It should be noted that the Humboldt River tabulations include only those incidents occurring along the river between its confluence with Mary's River near present-day Deeth (Fig. 1:3) and the Great Bend near present-day Imlay (Fig 1:13). For the Lassen Cutoff, incidents are tabulated from the Great Bend of the Humboldt River to the Fandango Pass summit in the Warner Mountains of northeastern California (Fig. 1:17). Fandango Pass is an appropriate termination point because it marks the western rim of the Great Basin along the Lassen Trail as well as the western boundary of Paiute territory. The Humboldt River and Lassen Cutoff units of comparison are separate and distinct because the first fifty miles of the Lassen Cutoff involve a crossing of the sparsely-populated Black Rock Desert in which no incidents are recorded. Plotting of the specific locations of incidents along the Humboldt River has not been attempted because of the lack of readily identifiable landmarks along the river. Conversely, the determination of locations of incidents along the Lassen Cutoff is a relatively easy matter because of the numerous distinctive landmarks referred to by the diarists. In the following discussion, locations of specific incidents along the Lassen Cutoff will be presented where relevant.

Incidents occurring along the Humboldt River between Deeth and the Great Bend are tabulated in Table #1. Incidents occurring on the Lassen Cutoff between the Great Bend and Fandango Pass are tabulated in Table #2.

TABLE 1\*

Humboldt River, Tabulation of Incidents: 1846-1849

	Horse	Cow		
Stolen	7	17	Indians Shot at by Emigrants	1
			Emigrants Shot at by Indians	4
Shot	0	4	Emigrants and Indians Exchange Shots	2
			Sightings of Mounted Indians	2

TABLE 2\*

Lassen Cutoff, Tabulation of Incidents: 1846-1849

	Horse	Cow		
Stolen	3	3	Indians Shot at by Emigrants	3
			Emigrants Shot at by Indians	1
Shot	2	3	Emigrants and Indians Exchange Shots	2
			Sightings of Mounted Indians	0

\*Note that these statistics refer to individual incidents recorded in nineteen emigrant journals. They do not refer to absolute numbers of animals shot or stolen. Duplicate recordings of incidents have been deleted.

For the purpose of tabulation horses and mules are grouped together as horses. The stolen category generally refers to animals driven away from emigrants' herds put out to graze at night. The "shot" category generally refers to animals found in the morning killed or wounded by arrows but still within their proper herds. It is assumed that all stolen cattle were eventually shot and even eaten by Indians. In fact, emigrants often tracked their stolen cattle and found the animals shot and butchered along the trail. However, if these animals were originally stolen, they are tabulated as stolen in Tables #1 and #2. The evidence in Tables #1 and #2 suggests that although cows were being stolen and shot along both the Humboldt River and the Lassen Cutoff, horses received a notably different treatment. Our diarists note seven separate incidents of Indians stealing horses along the Humboldt, but none of Indians shooting horses. Conversely, along Lassen's Cutoff the writers record three incidents in which horses are stolen and two in which horses are shot. At first glance it appears that Indians along the Humboldt River steal but never shoot them, whereas Indians along Lassen's Cutoff are about as likely to shoot a horse as to steal one. However, these apparent differences in horse-directed behavior between the Indians of the Humboldt River and those living along Lassen's Cutoff are made clearer when

the details of the three horse thefts occurring along Lassen's Cutoff are examined.

First-person accounts by emigrants on the Lassen Cutoff support the view that in one of the three cases of stolen horses, non-local Indians were penetrating the area on a long-distance raid, and in the other two cases, local Indians were stealing horses for the stew pot rather than transportation. For example, Alonzo Delano's August 19, 1849, account of his arrival at Soldier Meadow (Fig. 1:20) also includes a reference to the first of the "stolen" horse incidents listed in Table 2:

The first agreeable news we heard on getting in, was, that the Indians were very bold and troublesome, having succeeded the night before in killing a horse and mule in the camp, and driving off several head of cattle. The horse lay near the road, and the gentlemen Digger epicures had cut off his head, and taken a large steak from a hind quarter — generously leaving the remainder of the poor, raw-boned carcass for the maws of the white devils who had brought it so far to grace an Indian board . . .

We kept a strict guard during the night, and all the companies were on the alert; yet, notwithstanding our caution, the Indians came down from the hills and drove off one cow and horse, and badly wounded two more horses . . . One of the horses was shot in the side, and died during the day; in the other, the stone-pointed arrow had completely perforated the back bone, and protruded six inches beyond — with such amazing force do they shoot these arrows.<sup>18</sup>

The horse stolen from Delano's party was obviously taken by Indians who were regularly eating horses; and his animal almost certainly faced a similar fate. It seems that the primary reason that Indians made nocturnal forays to shoot at emigrants' domestic animals was to injure the beasts sufficiently that they would be abandoned along the road the following day for subsequent recovery and butchering by the Indians.

Analysis of the second Lassen Cutoff horse stealing incident listed in Table #2 likewise suggests that the horse was not stolen for riding. This incident, occurring in High Rock Canyon (Fig. 1:11) on September 15, 1849, is described in P.F. Castleman's diary. A number of animals driven away from the herd during the night were later recovered at some distance, but, one horse had been driven away from this already stolen group of animals by an Indian following barefoot. That the animal was not mounted even after having been driven to a safe location suggests transportation was not the motive of the theft.<sup>19</sup>

The third incident of horse theft on the Lassen Cutoff is far different in character from the preceding two, for it was apparently a well-planned, long distance and large scale effort by non-local Indians. Details come from Alonzo Delano who on August 30, 1849, recorded meeting an emigrant party, all of whose horses and mules had been stolen by Indians approximately seven days earlier at 49 Lake (Fig. 1:8). The emigrants had been able to track the animals twenty-five miles north to a freshwater lake where they lost the trail. The identity of this body of water is uncertain, as there are a number of permanent and seasonal lakes of varying freshness between New Years Lake at twelve miles and Crump Lake in Warner Valley forty miles north of 49 Lake. What is notable is that the animals were driven northward towards Warner Valley and the trail was



lost near that valley's southern tip. It was at Warner Valley's northern end, twenty years earlier, that Ogden came upon the abandoned camp of the predatory "horse flesh eaters" who had stolen fifty-six of his horses. It appears that with the summer of 1849 a predatory band, again of unknown cultural affiliation but from the same area, and following a similar subsistence strategy, was turning south to raid emigrants on the Lassen Cutoff.

This circumstantial evidence for the presence of aggressive and predatory Indians in the Warner Valley in August 1849 is strengthened by an event occurring one month later. On September 26, Captain William H. Warner of the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers was ambushed by hostile Indians while leading an exploring expedition south through Warner Valley. In the official report, Williamson states that "a party of about twenty-five Indians, who had been lying in ambush behind some large rocks . . . suddenly sprang up and shot a volley of arrows into the party." Captain Warner and his guide were killed and two soldiers wounded, one of whom eventually died of his injury.<sup>20</sup> This incident is unusual because the general pattern of behavior for northern Basin Indians during this period was to keep a low profile and to avoid direct confrontation with Caucasians. Why, then, would Indians risk an attack on an Army patrol when confrontation could have been avoided? The circumstantial evidence suggests that Captain Warner's exploring party unintentionally surprised Warner Valley's long-resident predatory band which only a month before had executed the successful horse raid against emigrants at 49 Lake on the Lassen Cutoff. It may be conjectured that the Indians met what they mistakenly thought to be a punitive expedition with a preemptive strike of their own.

J. Goldsborough Bruff, who met and spoke with one of the wounded men three weeks after the ambush, throws more light on the Warner Valley situation. On October 16, 1849, Bruff examined a small obsidian arrow tip removed from the man's back, but went on to note that most of the arrows fired into the Warner Party were iron pointed. Since this is surprising information, it is important to note that Bruff, a former student at West Point, has a record for accuracy of detail in his daily journal. In September of the following year, Bruff spent an afternoon with Captain Lyon, commander of an expedition just returning from seeking Captain Warner's remains in Warner Valley. Lyon told Bruff that while camped near where Warner was ambushed "a band of about 50 Indians came down from the opposite range of high hills, and formed a line, flanked by two horsemen. One of them fired a rifle several times, with some precision and in good time." This incident led Bruff to write rhetorically, "How can a wild Indian, unacquainted with firearms, correctly charge and fire a rifle? Who instructs them? May not some rascally white men be among them?"<sup>22</sup>

It is highly unlikely that white men were directing the aggressive actions of Warner Valley Indians. It is far more probable that by 1850 the area was refuge for one or more mobile, mounted predatory bands with more than twenty years of accumulated raiding experience, dating back to Ogden's visit to the valley in 1827. At the same time it appears that other Indians continued to live in the Warner Valley area following a completely traditional subsistence strategy. Evidence from John Fremont's journal of his passage south from Warner Valley (Oregon) into Long Valley (Nevada) and eventually into High Rock Canyon during December 1843, strongly supports this interpretation. In the southern Warner Valley, Fremont recorded the loss of one horse to Indians on the night of

December 25, and another (belonging to his associate, Kit Carson) the following night. Unfortunately, the absence of details concerning these thefts precludes identification of the lifestyle of the culprits; however, on December 27, while passing from Warner Valley into Long Valley, Fremont came upon Indians following a fully traditional lifestyle. Fremont described the incident as follows:

Riding quietly along over the snow, we came suddenly upon smokes rising among these bushes; and, galloping up, we found two huts, open at the top, and loosely built of sage, which appeared to have been deserted at the instant; and, looking hastily around, we saw several Indians on the crest of the ridge nearby, and several others scrambling up the side. We had come upon them so suddenly, that they had been well-nigh surprised in their lodges. A sage fire was burning in the middle; a few baskets made of straw were lying about, with one or two rabbit skins; and there was a little grass scattered about, on which they had been lying . . . we found that they belonged to the Snake nation, speaking the language of that people. Eight or ten appeared to live together, under the same little shelter; and they seemed to have no other subsistence than the roots or seeds they might have stored up, and the hares which live in the sage, and which they are enabled to track through the snow, and are very skillful in killing. Their skins afford them a little scanty covering. Herding together among bushes, and crouching almost naked over a little sage fire, using their instinct only to procure food, these may be considered, among human beings, the nearest approach to the animal creation. We have reason to believe that these had never before seen the face of a white man.<sup>23</sup>

Only two days later as he approached High Rock Canyon (Nevada) from the northwest, Fremont found irrefutable evidence of Indians following an altogether different lifestyle. He noted that a broad trail "entered the valley from the right [south] and a short distance below the camp were the tracks where a considerable party of Indians had passed on horseback, who had turned out to the left [north], apparently with the view of crossing the mountains to the eastward."<sup>24</sup>

Margaret Weide has postulated the development of a dual occupation of Warner Valley during the contact period, but she has suggested that the apparent differences in lifestyle could have resulted, in part, from the differences in the seasons of the observations.<sup>25</sup> Fremont's record of both lifestyles is strong evidence that the apparent dual occupation in the greater Warner Valley area was a real phenomenon and not the result of different seasons of observation.

At this point, I shall summarize what the nineteen emigrant journals of 1846-49 record on aboriginal horse use along the Humboldt River and along the Lassen Cutoff. First, the statistics on horse stealing and horse shooting confirm that by 1846-49 Indians resident along the Humboldt River were actively stealing horses for their transportation value. They were not shooting horses for food. Conversely, away from the Humboldt River along the Lassen Cutoff wagon road local Indians shoot and eat horses, but do not steal them for transportation. Apparently, regular travel by mounted Snake River Indians along the Humboldt River introduced the horse complex to Indians living along its banks, whereas Indians living along the Lassen Cutoff and not exposed to this regular traffic remained provincial and pedestrian.

The theft of horses along the Humboldt River by local Indians in 1846-49 would suggest that Ogden's losses of horses in this area twenty years earlier were also to local Indians. In reviewing his Great Basin experiences, I noted that in May of 1829, some thirty miles north of present-day Valmy, Nevada, he recovered three horses which had earlier been stolen from him on the upper Humboldt River. The 1846-49 statistics on horse stealing by Humboldt River locals would suggest that the horses recovered by Ogden in 1829 were stolen by local Indians rather than by Snake River Shoshone passing through the area. These statistics demonstrate a degree of sophistication in horse use by Indians along the Humboldt, and it might well be assumed that the Indians of this river were similarly sophisticated when he visited there in 1828-29. In addition to a dramatically asymmetrical pattern of horse use by Indians living along the Humboldt River as compared to Indians living along the Lassen Cutoff, the diaries from 1846-49 have reintroduced Warner Valley's mobile, mounted, predatory band last seen in Ogden's journal entries of 1827. This is strong confirmation of a dual occupation in the Warner Valley area by both mounted predatory raiders and traditional pedestrian hunter/gatherers.

The larger picture of horse use in the northern Great Basin may now be summarized. First, it would appear that acquisition of the horse by the Idaho Shoshone resulted not only in a well-documented eastward expansion into the Great Plains, but also in a significant but poorly-documented westward expansion into the northern Great Basin, probably for seasonal foraging and trade. The 225 mile displacement of Ogden's stolen horse from northeast of the Great Salt Lake to its recovery point on the headwaters of the Owyhee River may be an aspect of this pattern. Circumstantial evidence would likewise suggest that the three horses abandoned by Indians and captured by Ogden's party near Denio, Nevada, in 1828, were Shoshone owned. The horse shooting/eating statistics from Lassen Cutoff emigrant journals would suggest that Indians local to the Denio area did not keep horses, and Shoshone ownership of these three animals is a strong possibility. Again, the mounted parties from the Snake River which Ogden met along the Humboldt may be another aspect of Great Basin expansion by mounted Idaho Shoshone.

Second, the evidence suggests that predatory bands developed early among horsemen in the northern Great Basin. The Warner Valley band, which appears in Ogden's journal of 1827 and then again twenty-two years later to raid emigrants on the Lassen Cutoff wagon road and to ambush a U.S. Army patrol, documents this pattern. The origin and composition of this group, situated in a remote corner of the Great Basin, and far from major centers of horse use, is difficult to explain. It may have been composed of warriors originally from the southern periphery of the Columbia River Basin who chose the Warner Valley as a refuge or hiding place between raids on their wealthy northern neighbors. Whether Warner Valley's predatory band was an established kin group made mobile by the horse, or a composite band comprised of the flotsam and jetsam of a variety of groups is not discernible. It is tempting to infer both stability and continuity over twenty-two years for a single predatory band in the Warner Valley; however, the area may have sheltered several such groups during this period. We cannot know, but it is interesting to note that fifteen years later, in 1864, a predatory band again surfaced in Warner Valley. The composition of this group is better documented. It was apparently led by Paulini, a Paviotso from the



Silver Lake (Oregon) area.<sup>26</sup> Col. C.S. Drew's 1864 description of one of Paulini's abandoned camps in Warner Valley is more than a little reminiscent of Ogden's 1827 description of "horse flesh eaters" from the same area. Drew wrote that when he reached the north pass up Warner's Mountain he:

... found about sixty new and deserted lodges, evidently left not more than three days before, and in and around them fragments of beeves that their occupants had feasted upon. The tracks of American horses, ponies, mules and cattle, all coming in from the northward, and passing up into the mountain, were numerous and but recently made.<sup>27</sup>

Third, in regard to the Humboldt River, it would appear that following horse acquisition by the Idaho Shoshone, the river, already a trading route from the prehistoric period, was transformed to a trans-Basin highway. As a highway well traveled by horsemen, the Humboldt became a conduit of the horse complex to the Indians living along its banks. The Lassen Cutoff horse shooting/eating statistics confirm that Indians living away from the river highway were far slower to utilize the horse for transportation.

Before concluding this review of aboriginal horse use in the northern Great Basin, it is necessary to refer to a poorly described and poorly understood class of artifacts found sporadically in the northwestern Great Basin. Fragments of allegedly Shoshonean pottery have been recovered at a number of archaeological sites far from the southern Idaho and northeastern Nevada centers of this tradition. Sites from which these ceramics have been recovered include Catlow Cave in south-central Oregon<sup>28</sup> and Hanging Rock Shelter in the northwestern corner of Nevada.<sup>29</sup> At Hanging Rock Shelter there is strong evidence that a good quality pottery was manufactured on the site one time only and in a late context. There are, however, no antecedents for a pottery making tradition anywhere in the area. I have argued elsewhere that the Hanging Rock Shelter ceramics may document the visit of a mounted group of Idaho Shoshone.<sup>30</sup> More detailed study of isolated finds of Shoshonean ceramics in the northwestern Great Basin may eventually enable us to date it, to identify its fabricators, and possibly thereby learn more about the patterns of Great Basin travel by mounted Idaho Shoshone.

In Great Basin studies, there has been an unfortunate stress on "timelessness." The Desert Culture, characterized by small hunting and gathering bands, is often seen as a "living fossil" form of economic and social adaptation, having existed relatively unchanged from early post-Pleistocene times to the arrival of the ethnographers. In a like manner, the northern Great Basin has been viewed as a province particularly distant and remote from changes affecting the tribes of the northern Rockies and the Columbia River Basin following the introduction of the horse. Yet on the eve of the historic period these changes were felt by the peoples of the northern Great Basin.

This review of aboriginal horse use in the northern Great Basin prior to 1850 is an introduction to the subject which raises as many questions as its answers. For example, we cannot explain why the Warner Valley was repeatedly the refuge of predatory bands in 1827, 1849, and again in 1864. Nor have we explained why Idaho Shoshone were apparently expanding westward into the Great Basin during this period. Again, the elements of Snake River-Great Basin-California trade suggested by the Humboldt River highway remain unstudied. Such ques-

tions will not be answered by plotting dates and numbers of horses on maps. They can only be answered through examination of underlying economic systems. Now that we are drawing away from a static conception of Great Basin lifeways, elucidation of these emergent patterns of the late prehistoric period would seem to be an increasingly appropriate and potentially fruitful field of study for the archaeologist.

### Notes

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*Scene at a Faro Bank in Reno on the last night of legalized gambling, September 30, 1910.*



*Taking a turn at the roulette wheel, Reno, September, 1910, shortly before the new anti-gambling law came into effect.*



# **Gambling and Society: A Review Essay**

By Jerome E. Edwards

*Gambling and Society: Interdisciplinary Studies on the Subject of Gambling.* Edited by William R. Eadington. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1976; 466 pages; \$34.75).

THIS VOLUME is a welcome addition to the growing, but still incomplete, bibliography of gambling. Professor William R. Eadington, the book's editor, is an Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada in Reno. Most of the twenty-six articles in the work were initially presented at the First Annual Conference on Gambling held in Las Vegas in June, 1974, which the editor helped organize. The book attempts an interdisciplinary approach to its subject, and is divided into five sections: the legislation, the economics, the sociology, the psychology, and the mathematics, of gambling. Although its focus is on gambling in general, many of the articles concentrate on the industry in Nevada. Of the thirty-three contributors (some of the articles have more than one author), eleven are Nevadans representing the state's universities, its government, and the gambling industry itself.

Not surprisingly, considering the newness of the topic to scholarly research, the articles are decidedly a mixed bag and their quality widely variant. One does not expect, however, the editor of a compilation like this to warn the reader that such is the case. In his preface Eadington serves notice that "the reader must be somewhat careful in what he accepts as 'true' " in this book. "Statistics cited in these studies are usually about as reliable as the sources from which they are drawn. Since many of the included studies were not professionally reviewed or refereed, there may be instances where arguments are based on relatively weak statistical claims." (p. xiii) Eadington furnishes no guidance as to which articles are more "reliable" than others, so the reader is forced to rely on his own judgment.

To give some idea of the book's scope, it is desirable to go over some of the arguments presented by the various authors. Leading off is "The Legalization of Gambling" section which contains four articles. The first, "Gambling: Historical Highlights and Trends and their Implications for Contemporary Society" is written, unfortunately, not by an historian as one might hope, but by a psychiatrist, Darrell W. Bolen, and is filled with undocumented gossip ("George Washington gambled excessively . . ."). More usefully, Duane Burke, publisher of a newsletter, prognosticates that by 1980, three states will allow casino gambling (p. 45) and other forms of legalized gambling, such as lottery systems, will also be spreading. William Eadington argues, in this section's most important contribution, that what has worked so outstandingly well for Nevada might not work elsewhere. Nevada gambling caught on, according to Eadington,

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because it was accessible from large urban centers, and yet at the same time apart from them.

In the following section, "The Economics of Gambling," some of the six articles are heavily jargonized and written only for an academically specialized audience. The three discussions concerned with Nevada gambling are most informative. Professor Eadington in "Economic Aspects of Nevada's Gaming Industry" makes many acute comparisons concerning Nevada's top four gambling regions: South Shore Lake Tahoe, Reno-Sparks, downtown Las Vegas, and the Las Vegas strip. J. George Drews, treasurer and controller of Harrah's, Inc., writes knowledgeably in "The Business of Gaming — An Insider's View" of management techniques at Harrah's and the sophisticated devices used by the company to prevent skimming. Drews asserts that such management techniques help profitability. "Operating a casino is not automatically a license to make money as many think. It is true that a good operation can be very profitable, but a poor one can be a financial disaster, as many have found out" (p. 161). James J. Noel and Stuart E. Curtis, Nevada government officials, in "Profitability and Behavior of the Gaming Industry Relative to the Stock Market" investigate financial statements of some of the leading publicly traded corporations in Nevada gambling. Although the acts permitting publicly traded corporations to be registered were not passed until 1967 and 1969, by 1973 half of the top thirty casinos of the state were publicly held, and these fifteen had 45.7 per cent of the total gaming revenue in the state. The authors state that "public ownership of casinos will be the pattern of the future" (pp. 173, 177, 183).

The "Sociology of Gambling" section has four articles. Two are particularly interesting, although somewhat contradictory. Their theses are expressed in their titles. Felicia Campbell of the English Department at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, writes of "Gambling: a Positive View," and stresses how gambling can be a real tonic to aged people, and helpful to individuals who need to live out roles denied them by their private and business life. However, three authors, Ronald Smith, Frederick Preston, and Harry Humphreys, in "Alienation from Work: a Study of Casino Card Dealers" use such words as "powerlessness," "meaninglessness," "self-estrangement," and "normlessness" to describe the dealer's work life.

The "Psychology of Gambling" section consists of eight articles, mostly dealing with the types of people who gamble and its effects on them. Particularly enjoyable was Igor Kusyszyn's lighthearted article, "How Gambling Saved Me From a Misspent Sabbatical." Kusyszyn attempts to demonstrate that "even extreme gambling may be related to psychological health and not illness" (p. 262). David Campbell pursues a similar theme by arguing that gambling is not indicative of abnormal or neurotic behavior. But Thomas Martinez and William Boyd, in separate articles, study the compulsive gambler and come up with more negative conclusions. Martinez, in "Compulsive Gambling and the Conscious Mood Perspective," although stating that compulsive gambling "is not the most serious problem facing either sociology or society", (p. 347) traces the "loss of money," "self devaluation" and "rock bottom" stages of the compulsive gambler. William H. Boyd, in "Excitement: the Gambler's Drug," argues that gambling is a way "to avoid contact with another person who has a mind of his own" (p. 375).

The one section which this lay reader found totally incomprehensible was

"The Mathematics of Gambling," which Professor Eadington, with great accuracy, states is not for "the casual reader." Instead, the four authors use sophisticated mathematical techniques to describe the probabilities of various games.

This collection of articles has a laudable objective: to provide an academically oriented, interdisciplinary approach to the study of gambling. The academic orientation, particularly the heavy use of jargon by many of the social scientists writing, may restrict the book's appeal; this would be a pity since there is much of interest for the wider public. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary approach is restricted to the disciplines of psychology, economics, sociology, and mathematics. It is certainly valuable to compare the differing methodologies of these four areas, but the book, and the conference from which it was drawn, would have been improved with articles from political science, history, anthropology, and religion.

Professor Eadington is correct when he states that the "surface has only been scratched." Even in Nevada, scholars have not delved deeply into gambling, and here the expertise of the political scientist, who can tell us of the relationship between government and gambling, and the historian, who can provide background and perspective, are needed. Many ignored questions come to mind. What has been the relationship between the federal government and Nevada's chief industry? Several times in the past (for example, in 1951, as an outgrowth of the Kefauver Committee investigations, an attempt was made in the United States House of Representatives to tax Nevada's gambling right out of existence) Nevada gambling has entered dangerous shoals in its relationship to the federal government. And where is there a really detailed, systematic review of the state controls imposed by Nevada upon the gambling industry? Although Russell Elliott's *History of Nevada* has an overview of such controls, a more detailed study is needed. Have these state controls really been effective in accomplishing their aims? Even more basically, where is there a detailed, scholarly study of the history of legalized gambling in Nevada except, again, in survey form in Elliott's excellent book? And then, very enticingly, what is the true story of "Mafia" infiltration in Las Vegas? Ed Reid and Ovid Demaris in *The Green Felt Jungle* (1963), and Wallace Turner in *Gambler's Money* (1965) both deal with this question, but the Reid and Demaris book is weakened by the authors' often slipshod research methods, and Turner's by his built-in bias against gambling in general and Las Vegas in particular. Robert Laxalt's discussion in *Nevada*, although perceptive, is all too brief.

Most of the authors in *Gambling and Society* are rather sympathetic to gambling and its institutionalized forms. Yet Nevada gambling carries with it many offshoots and implications that should be evaluated in order to obtain a balanced treatment of the subject. An obvious problem is the alleged underworld infiltration into the industry which has never received serious scholarly treatment. But also, one may ask, has the state of Nevada become too reliant upon this one industry, and therefore vulnerable to economic collapse if the federal government were to take means to close it down, or if too many other states adopted legal casino gambling. As long ago as 1951, Senator Patrick McCarran wondered whether his state depended too much upon the gamblers for its livelihood. "Indeed so much so, that I'm afraid we have blinked our eyes at that

which to my mind is the stronger form of economy, namely, payrolls on legitimate business and payrolls coming from industry. . . .<sup>1</sup> Today the gambling industry is twenty-five times larger in monetary terms than it was then, and it directly contributes half of the state tax revenues. A related question is also disturbing. Can Las Vegas with all its glitter enter into the same type of decay that has typified the life-cycle of such once-profitable resort havens as Long Beach, Atlantic City, and more recently Miami Beach? Can Nevada gambling really defy the state's traditional boom-and-bust economic pattern? Then too, has the environmental impact of gambling been healthy for the state? Finally, what is the relationship between gambling and crime — not mafia-like organized crime, but individual crime? There is quite possibly some connection, since Nevada leads the nation in crime, if one accepts F.B.I. statistics which show that the state is first in total crime, first in violent crime, first in property crime, first in rape, first in burglary, and first in larceny.<sup>2</sup>

The answers to these questions need not be negative, but it would be well if they were to be objectively and seriously addressed. Professor Eadington's *Gambling and Society* has made an attempt to deal with certain aspects of gambling. We still need, however, a scholarly, disinterested look at Nevada gambling and its implications. Much material is available for such a study which has been virtually unused by researchers. One example is the oral history project at the University of Nevada. Project members are in the process of interviewing many of the leading gambling officials of the state, such as William Harrah and "Moe" Dalitz. Already available are valuable oral autobiographies of such industry and government officials as Benny Binion, Ed Olsen (closed to researchers except with Olsen's permission), Les Kofoed, and most importantly, Robbins Cahill. The material is there and the research opportunities are beckoning.

### Notes

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# ***The Silver Governors: Immigrants in Nevada Politics. Part II.***

by Mary Ellen Glass

## **IV. Silver and Politics**

THE SILVER PARTY, which elected John E. Jones and Reinhold Sadler as governor and lieutenant governor of Nevada in 1894, had its roots in the so-called "silver crime" of 1873. In that year the United States Congress passed a new mint bill. The act was called a codification of existing laws, but either by accident or by design the statute eliminated silver dollars from standard coinage and demonetized silver as a medium of international exchange. There was no special outcry from the silver mining interests at the time, but during the late 1880s, an economic depression spread over the nation and some groups began to blame their troubles on the demonetization of silver. As the price of the white metal dropped with the price of other commodities, it seemed obvious to some that a cause-and-effect relationship existed. The answer to the problem was said to lie in political action.<sup>108</sup> Colorado's politicians first agitated on the silver question, closely followed by Nevadans.

The first Nevada Silver Convention met in Carson City in January, 1885. The declared object of the convention was "to devise means to relieve the producers of silver of the onerous burden placed upon that industry . . ." The speeches at the convention demanded restoration of free coinage. By the time the convention adjourned, the members had adopted a constitution and bylaws for the "Nevada Silver Association."<sup>109</sup>

The Silver Association remained active through the next several years, fostered as it was by various public figures and a large segment of the Nevada press. Colorado continued to have the strongest movement, which also had considerable support in California and Idaho. Nevada's United States Senators, William Morris Stewart and John Percival Jones, worked as leaders of the national free silver forces.

Western representatives made several unsuccessful attempts in Congress to remonetize silver as its price continued to drop. By 1890, the national agitation had reached a peak. The first National Silver Convention met that year in St. Louis, with a second gathering in Washington, D.C. in April, 1892.<sup>110</sup> In 1892, the National Silver Convention became the American Bimetallic League, pledged to a nationwide campaign for the free coinage of silver.<sup>111</sup> This group enjoyed support mainly from westerners, including Senators Teller of Colorado and Stewart of Nevada. Teller's forces in Colorado issued an "address" to their fellow westerners suggesting the formation of "silver clubs" to encourage friendly politicians.<sup>112</sup> This "Colorado idea" struck a responsive note in Nevada, and silver clubs were organized in every county of the state during the spring of 1892.

In Eureka County, for example, "silver" became a magic word, and Reinhold Sadler helped to cast the spell. Selected as vice president of the Eureka



Silver Club, he served with Thomas Wren, a former congressman who was elected president. At a "large and enthusiastic meeting," residents and voters of Eureka endorsed the twin causes of remonetization and free coinage of silver.<sup>113</sup>

In Ormsby County, the Silver Club met at the Carson Opera House. Organizers included Secretary of State O.H. Grey, editor Sam P. Davis of the Carson City *Morning Appeal*, Attorney General James Torreyson, Lieutenant Governor Joseph Poujade, and Surveyor General John E. Jones. Outside, a mob gathered to jeer the effort. Grey, Torreyson, and Poujade were so frightened by this outburst that they were not again identified with the silver issue. Jones, on the other hand, stayed with the cause, showing his devotion to the principle of free coinage. His courage at that time remained in the minds of the voters.<sup>114</sup>

During the spring and early summer of 1892, the national political parties demonstrated that they intended to ignore the westerners' desire for the free coinage of silver. The Nevada silverites were determined to be heard, and on June 25, 1892, they met in Reno and began the organization of what became the Silver party of Nevada. Among the delegates from Eureka County, Sadler held a prominent place. He became a member of the new party's state central committee.<sup>115</sup> That year (1892) the Silver partisans nominated a slate of Presidential electors and a few other candidates, all of whom carried the state elections by large majorities.<sup>116</sup> Sadler took on heavy duties with the new party, although for the first time in more than a decade election time passed without his name on a ballot. However, as a member of the Silver party, Sadler made his first successful state canvass.

In 1894, the party dominated the political arena. The Silvermen met in Carson City, adopting a platform that demanded the free coinage of silver and a broad program that paralleled Populist proposals.<sup>117</sup> Of thirteen candidates nominated, six had been Republicans,<sup>118</sup> but the majority of nominees, and rank and file Silvermen, were former Democrats. Prominent among the former Democrats was the nominee for lieutenant governor, Reinhold Sadler. John E. Jones' nomination for the governorship by the Silverites was a foregone conclusion.<sup>119</sup>

The Democrats, the Populists, and the Republicans all nominated candidates to oppose the Silvermen. All three state parties endorsed free coinage, but the national organizations of the major parties had left their constituents without support on this issue. Abner C. Cleveland, a Republican, a former Washoe County official and a prominent White Pine County rancher, led the opposition for governor against Jones. Trenmor Coffin, the state Republican chairman and a Carson City attorney, directed Cleveland's campaign. Coffin and his cohorts fought to win for Cleveland in the fashion of the time.

A week after Jones' nomination, the *Carson Morning News* reported a rumor that "during the past few years many thousands of dollars of fees have been collected [by the surveyor general as state land register] which have not been paid into the State Treasury."<sup>120</sup> Sam Davis, editor of the Silverite *Morning Appeal*, called the *News* rumormongering "roundabout" and "underhanded." Davis asserted that the story had been started weeks before in an attempt to prevent Jones' nomination.<sup>121</sup> Annie Martin, editor of the *News*, recommended an investigation of land office accounts.<sup>122</sup> Davis responded by saying that editor Martin had a petty personal grudge against Jones, and that she had indulged in "peculiar journalism" in making the allegations.<sup>123</sup>

Coffin meanwhile directed the affair behind the scenes. He received a letter

from Allen Bragg, editor of the Republican *Reno Evening Gazette*, warning that the matter would "prove a boomerang."<sup>124</sup> Bragg subsequently wrote a cautious editorial counseling careful study of the subject.<sup>125</sup> His staunchly Republican sheet generally received a "gold bug" label from Silvermen.

The complaints advanced by the *News* and the GOP resulted in an investigation of the land office that satisfied no one, and resulted in more accusations.<sup>126</sup> Finally, Sam Davis wrote an arraignment of Miss Martin for a "cowardly attack," and of Coffin for "bungling the affair." Davis declared that the assault had assured Jones of at least a thousand votes.<sup>127</sup>

Concurrently, Trenmor Coffin engaged in a secondary plot to assure the Republican candidates of a good press. In mid-September, he received a telegram: "Can we pay Walker Lake Bulletin three hundred to stand in? The S. Party propose to nominate the editor for Senator." Coffin immediately sent a telegram to Henry M. Yerington, Nevada's railroad magnate and a Republican: "Hawthorne Walker Lake Bulletin will stand in for three hundred dollars. Otherwise editor will be Silver Party candidate for Senate. Think it a good buy, but funds in hand don't warrant it. What shall I say . . ." Yerington replied the next day, "Would accept his offer. I can furnish the funds." The *Walker Lake Bulletin* editor sent Coffin a receipted bill for \$300, marked "for services during campaign of 1894."<sup>128</sup> N.P. Dooley, owner of the *Pioche Lode*, wrote to Coffin wishing the Republicans well in the campaign; he indicated that he was helping the GOP by charging other parties higher rates for advertising.<sup>129</sup>

Meanwhile, Jones quietly pursued his campaign. He toured the state, making few speeches and meeting people personally.<sup>130</sup> When the votes were counted, Jones had defeated all three of his opponents, lacking only twenty-seven votes for an absolute majority. His running mate, Reinhold Sadler, decisively defeated his only opponent, and garnered 744 more votes than Jones.<sup>131</sup>

Governor Jones' inauguration took place in an informal ceremony at the capitol. The retiring governor, Roswell Colcord, wished the new governor a successful term, and Jones responded by promising an attempt to "promote the industry and general prosperity of the State." He added that he would try to emulate the "successful" administration of his predecessor.<sup>132</sup>

The new governor of Nevada prepared to fulfill his promises to renew the state's prosperity. He had left Montgomeryshire some thirty-eight years and more than 6,000 miles behind. The lieutenant governor was nearly as far from his native Prussia.

## V. The Silver Party's Governors

In the Nevada election of 1894, every state office changed hands. Not one incumbent returned to his post as the Silver party captured the state. John E. Jones, who moved from surveyor general to governor, was the only state official who stayed in a state position that year. None of the other newly-elected officers had elective state jobs before, although some had held county or local posts. Most observers regarded the new governor as honest and independent as his term began.<sup>133</sup>

### *Governor Jones*

The eighth governor of Nevada delivered his inaugural address at the opening

of the legislature in January, 1895. In this speech, the only state paper he wrote as governor, Jones had an opportunity to expound his philosophy of government and his plans for the state. After beginning the address with the customary amenities, he discussed his political theories. Jones blamed the "greatest business and financial depression that the people of this country have ever known" on "the fact that the money of the nation is apparently under the control of the banking corporations and the corporate money powers." These entities, said the governor, had "almost absorbed the prosperity of the country." The people were in danger of enslavement because the few controlled production, while the producers needed to work ever harder "to meet the demands of the creditor." In this year of great labor strife in the United States, Jones praised the workers for their efforts to organize unions in the name of "mutual and peaceful defense." The workers, he said, were "actuated by the purest motives, and the highest behests of judgement and conscience." The "vital and paramount question of the hour" was whether "the voice of the people [would] be heard in time to prevent total destruction of their inherent rights . . . [by] the money powers still controlling our National administration." The governor of Nevada had obviously absorbed the ideas of the Populists.

Having delivered the philosophical portion of his speech, Jones touched lightly on state needs, saying that Governor Colcord had recommended a good program. He discussed briefly the need to promote home industries, and the need to keep adulterated food and diseased animals out of the state — a problem that remained to haunt his successor. Educational opportunities were to be expanded at both the public school and university levels, said the governor. The project in which he had the most interest, irrigation and reclamation, was deferred for a promised special message. As he concluded, the new governor charged the legislators to "remember that we are citizens of a great commonwealth, the promotion of whose morals and material interests should be the first object of public welfare."<sup>134</sup>

The legislature that met that year paid little attention to Jones' argument for reclamation. The lawmakers did, however, become embroiled in an interesting controversy that dramatized one of the supposed causes of the state's depression.

The Reilly Funding Bill was introduced in Congress during the winter of 1894. This proposed act provided for the funding of the indebtedness of federally subsidized Pacific Coast railroads, through issuance of fifty-year bonds at two percent per annum. In Nevada, opposition to the bill rested upon the fact that Interstate Commerce Commission regulations prohibiting larger fees for short hauls than long were suspended in the state. The solution, as many Nevadans saw it, involved government ownership of the railroads. Silverites opposed the Reilly Bill and favored foreclosure of government liens against the subsidized roads, and ownership or management of the roads by the government.<sup>135</sup> These opponents suggested that the legislators memorialize the state's congressional delegation to vote against the Reilly Bill.

The memorial was introduced as Senate Concurrent Resolution 3. It demanded that the indebtedness of the railroads be paid and that the ICC regulations be enforced everywhere in the nation. The resolution passed the state senate with only one negative vote. SCR 3 received a favorable report from the Assembly Committee on Federal Relations, but failed to pass the assembly on its first test.<sup>136</sup> Jones received a telegram from the *Chicago Tribune* inquiring,

"What is the most important measure now before your Legislature and the chances for it passing . . ." The governor replied, "Resolution against the passage of the Reilly Funding Bill. Result doubtful."<sup>137</sup> The legislature finally passed the resolution, but not before it had become obvious to observers that the railroads employed a number of powerful and persuasive advocates.<sup>138</sup>

The chief executive found busy times through the next few months. The state's economic condition continued to deteriorate in 1895, and the Silver partisans became more vehement in their condemnation of the "silver crime." In April, Governor Jones gave a statement to the *St. Louis Chronicle* which stated their case:

This is the issue — Gold standard versus bimetallism, — insatiate greed versus progress and prosperity. — Moneyed oligarchy versus independence, freedom, peace, happiness and plenty. — Treason versus loyalty and patriotism.<sup>139</sup>

The same week, he wrote to Governor James H. Budd of California, declaring that he had permanently given up membership in his former political party. He considered himself firmly committed to the "Silver Party Banner."<sup>140</sup> At mid-year, the governor dispatched a telegram to the *Chicago Tribune*: "Condition of business in Nevada shows no mark'd improvement, the general belief is: that no real prosperity will be enjoyed until Silver shall be fully restored."<sup>141</sup>

Despite the depression and the agitation on the silver question, however, Jones pursued his interest in reclamation. While he was governor-elect, Jones had received a letter from William Smythe, editor of the magazine *Irrigation Age*, asking for the governor's cooperation in obtaining national aid for reclamation projects.<sup>142</sup> Early in the spring of 1895, Smythe visited Nevada, with Governor Jones his willing host. During the visit, the governor's secretary wrote that Jones was absent from the office "almost entirely."<sup>143</sup>

Governor Jones also continued his interest in settling the state's empty acres with agricultural colonies. Certain problems needed to be solved, however, before disposal of land could be effected. The governor wrote that although many people wanted Nevada land, much of it was inadequately surveyed. Nonetheless, he believed a number of plots were suitable for colonies, and asserted that some relatively unknown areas were irrigable and adaptable for cultivation. He declared that proper instruction would bring about the desired results.<sup>144</sup>

As the year wore on, Jones became increasingly incapacitated because of a stomach ailment. After mid-October, he was seldom in the office. Finally, on November 12, the governor went to his office for the last time, stayed briefly to take care of small items of official business, and announced his plan to go to California to try to recover his health.<sup>145</sup> Five months later he died of cancer in a San Francisco hospital.

The state funeral for the chief executive featured a procession of people representing his major interests: the University of Nevada cadet corps and faculty, Masonic dignitaries, and a detachment of the state militia. The president of the University of Nevada conducted the rites. In Eureka County, the flags of John Edward Jones' adopted country hung at half-staff.<sup>146</sup>

### *Acting Governor Sadler*

When Jones' health failed and he left the state, Reinhold Sadler took over the

duties, but not the title of the governor. After Jones died, the constitutional question was raised whether Sadler was governor, or only "acting governor." A further problem involved the question of the status of the office of lieutenant governor. Attorney General Beatty wrote an opinion declaring that the lieutenant governor could assume the duties and powers of the governor, but that he was only the *acting* governor; thus there was no vacancy in the lieutenant governor's office. It seemed then that the lieutenant governor could not legally be compensated for his duties as acting governor. Sadler sued in the state Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus, and was awarded the salary due the governor.<sup>147</sup> Although he was indeed only *acting* governor, Sadler signed documents "Governor of Nevada" on numerous occasions before he was elected to the office.<sup>148</sup>

In his first formal message to the legislature, Sadler paid tribute to the deceased Governor Jones, and expressed admiration for him. The first message left no doubt, however, that Sadler intended to make the position, if not the title, his own. Pointing out that the state debt amounted to \$607,000, of which \$380,000 was unrecoverable, Sadler recommended reduction of expenditures and called for changes in methods of tax assessment, asserting that wealthy property owners paid less in taxes than their poorer neighbors. Nevertheless, he blamed the continuing depression not on the evils of capitalism, as Jones had done, but on the demonetization of silver. He declared that when silver was "restored to its historic place as a money metal" Nevada would "again assume its former position as the greatest silver-producing State in the Union." In the meantime, economy in government was to be the keynote. Sadler showed no enthusiasm for continuing a number of programs already begun, and suggested outright abandonment of the state Weather Service and the state Board of Health. The Weather Service, he said, duplicated a federal operation, and the Board of Health faced no problem that warranted expenditures. He concluded his remarks with a demand for the "most rigid economy" in government, and suggested that the legislators discover ways of reducing expenses even further.<sup>149</sup>

Reinhold Sadler conducted an honest, businesslike, and graft-free administration. In Nevada's depression days, he had time to devote to his own affairs and to promote his opinions on a variety of topics. Although he felt little need to encourage government intervention in irrigation and reclamation, he became interested in the challenge of reclamation from an individual viewpoint. His company, the Alpine Land and Reservoir Company, had holdings and projects in Douglas County, Nevada, and Alpine County, California. As an example of private enterprise, the company remained active for many years.<sup>150</sup>

Although he opposed using government resources for irrigation and reclamation, Sadler favored state promotion of settlement. He attempted to spur the legislature's interest in the state's Bureau of Immigration, sending to home-seekers the bureau's publication, a pamphlet entitled "Nevada and Her Resources . . ." <sup>151</sup> This project interested Sadler both as an important landowner in Nevada and as a politician who won or lost elections by close tallies. It certainly was important to a governor who wished to see his state prosper.

The politician in Reinhold Sadler demanded that he express his views on political topics when the opportunity arose. The first years of his administration were marked by United States involvement in the Cuban revolt and the Spanish-American War. Sadler, like other state governors, received a barrage of requests from New York's "yellow press" for decisions of world-shaking



importance. Should the United States recognize Cuban belligerency? What was the governor's opinion of the treatment of Cuban prisoners by the Spanish? Would Mrs. Sadler express her emotions on the rescue of Evangelina Cisneros? "Wire at our expense . . ." the telegrams began.<sup>152</sup>

The *Chicago Tribune* asked for Sadler's thoughts on the silver question in 1897. He placed his views firmly on record in a telegram:

In my opinion the way to make the nation strong and the best is to open the mines to silver equally with gold. Stop striving for the impossible, the universal gold standard. The efforts to reach that standard has already paralyzed enterprise and impoverished the masses . . . The hope of prosperity under the gold oligarchy which now holds sway is idle. The opinions of men to the contrary is chaff.<sup>153</sup>

Other solicitations, less noteworthy, but not less important to the individuals involved, caused the governor to deal constantly with prisoners' pleas for pardon, requests for endorsements of products, and demands that he "use his influence" to promote various projects. Sadler received a share of scurrilous letters which his secretary dutifully filed along with other official papers.<sup>154</sup> The variety of affairs was sufficient to occupy the time and thoughts of almost any man. However, a most interesting and vital long-range discussion erupted involving the quarantine from Nevada of cattle from California districts infected with "Texas fever."

Early in 1898, cattle in some areas of California, and especially in the southern part of that state, became infected with "Texas" or "tick" fever. The Secretary of Agriculture imposed a quarantine against the "infected districts," with the boundary for the restriction being the Nevada state line. The Secretary could declare extensions of the border, but only the governor of Nevada could lift the ban. The decision imposed a bar against any cattle — sick or healthy — crossing the state of Nevada from the infected districts, even in railroad cars; any conveyance would need to stop to transfer cargo or to water the stock.

The cattle owners in the infected districts were frantic with worry, for if they could not ship their stock, they could not sell, and thus faced economic distress. Furthermore, a drought in California had ruined grazing land, and cattle there were starving.

On the other hand, Nevada cattlemen were equally panic-stricken at the thought of cattle from the infected districts entering Nevada, where the animals were healthy. If Nevada animals contracted the fever, the cattlemen confronted economic problems no less severe than those of their California neighbors, for infected cows had to be destroyed.

Only Sadler's proclamation could end the quarantine. The governor had to deal with pressure from both sides. Some of the California owners, like Miller and Lux, were also Nevada businessmen, and could urge their views with equal vehemence upon Sadler in Nevada and Governor James Budd in California. Early in March, 1898, the stress became evident. The first indications came from Senator William Stewart of Nevada, who sent a telegram to the governor: "Cattlemen of California want quarantine removed so that they can drive cattle to Nevada to save them from starvation. What do the cattlemen of Nevada say about it. Answer as soon as possible." The next day, Stewart sent Sadler another telegram. Was this a veiled threat to use his influence in Washington and with the

Secretary of Agriculture to have the district boundaries extended? "Secretary Agriculture will include Nevada in infected territory proper and remove quarantine if the people of Nevada desire it. What would . . . cattle men say to that".<sup>155</sup> Sadler drafted a reply to Stewart indicating that he would conduct no opinion poll among the Nevada cattlemen, because, obviously, cancelling the quarantine would "put Nevada under interdiction."<sup>156</sup> Sadler's secretary sent a telegram to the senator declaring the opposition of the cattle owners to the revocation of the quarantine. George S. Nixon, an important founder of the Silver party and a future Senator from Nevada, wired Stewart sternly, "Under no circumstances allow Nevada included in quarantine district." Stewart also received a number of letters from cattle barons of northern Nevada asserting their opposition to tampering with the ban.<sup>157</sup> The Senator nevertheless gave the matter somewhat less than enthusiastic attention, perhaps basing his action on a letter from his mentor and campaign manager, C.C. "Black" Wallace. Wallace proposed abolishing the quarantine in order to develop more business for the Southern Pacific railroad, of which he was an officer. He pointed out to Stewart, "These men are all factors in Nevada and will vote on our lines."<sup>158</sup> Lack of support from the Senator, while serious, constituted only one of Sadler's problems in the crisis.

Miller and Lux, one of the West's important cattle firms, besieged the Nevada governor with requests to allow them to ship their animals across the state; the governor of California tried to intercede in their behalf.<sup>159</sup> Sadler also was reportedly offered a bribe of \$100,000 by "big beef interests" who called at the executive office to ply the governor with liquor in an attempt to coerce his signature on the necessary proclamation. "But the more he drank the more obstinate he became, and finally, when they offered him a bribe . . . he ordered them out of his office with an avalanche of Dutch profanity."<sup>160</sup>

Governor Sadler received dozens of letters and petitions from cattle owners in northern counties, demanding that cattle from the California districts be kept out of the state. Some of the letters might have seemed somewhat menacing; other writers tried to flatter the executive into standing firm. An Elko County resident displayed some knowledge of the situation when he wrote, "We expect you to stand by Nevada. We can not help being represented in Washington by Californians, But for God Sake let us have a Nevadan for Governor." And Sadler did stand by the cattlemen. He sent a telegram to the Secretary of Agriculture stating that Nevada authorities would "use all means at their command" to prevent the shipment of cattle from the infected districts. At a meeting of interested livestock owners at the governor's office in April, the cattlemen passed a number of resolutions against lifting the quarantine and forwarded them to the Secretary of Agriculture.<sup>161</sup> Sadler had done what he could, but it was several years before such matters were controlled by statute.

Sadler's term as acting governor drew to a close, and he had to choose between retirement and another campaign. That hardly represented a choice to a man who had run in nearly every election year since he was old enough to vote.

The election of 1898 in Nevada was among the most interesting and complex contests in state history. It featured a split between major factions of the Silver party, represented by Senator William M. Stewart and Congressman Francis G. Newlands, individuals locked in a struggle for the Senate seat then held by Stewart. Spokesmen for all sides traded accusations of treachery, with some adding assertions that the Silvermen bought votes for their slate.

Although the national elections had supposedly settled the question of free coinage for the nation, the Nevada Silvermen remained active. The Silver party held its convention in 1898, enthusiastically damning all "gold bugs." The Silvermen continued as the state's majority party, adopting a full platform, commending officials for faithfulness to bimetallism, and reaffirming devotion to the cause of the white metal.<sup>162</sup> Silverites and Democrats resisted all attempts to merge the two parties (although they had "fused" in 1896), and nominated full slates of candidates.

The Nevada Populists also held a convention in 1898. A speaker at the People's party gathering declared that most of the Silver party's nominees were under the influence of the Southern Pacific railroad.<sup>163</sup> This allegation was probably at least partly true; it gained further currency when the *Reno Evening Gazette's* editor — surely unaware of the details of the cattle quarantine controversy — wrote that Sadler's sponsor was Black Wallace.<sup>164</sup> Despite this suspicion, the Silvermen nominated Sadler for governor.

The state's newspapers gave full coverage to the issues as election day approached in 1898. The silver issue, many said, had supposedly been interred in 1896, and now it was alive again. Four political parties offered candidates, and all endorsed the cause of free silver. The *Elko Independent's* editor deplored the continuing split between the Democrats and the Silverites, and called for reunion.<sup>165</sup> Some leading newspapers so strongly supported fusion that they failed even to print a list of Silver candidates, although they gave full display to the Democrats, the Republicans, and the Populists.<sup>166</sup> The editor of the Democratic *Elko Independent* asserted that the Silver party had simply "outlived its usefulness," while the Republican *Reno Evening Gazette's* scribe declared the party "as dead as Julius Caesar."<sup>167</sup> Both papers tried to defeat the Silvermen.

The *Gazette's* editor announced that Sadler was "the man who, more than anybody else, helped to heap odium on the State of Nevada" in having signed a bill to legalize prize fighting in the state, and "whose face is familiar from east to west as Nevada's 'curio' Governor."<sup>168</sup> The same editor continued the attack through October, adding insults.<sup>169</sup>

While the Reno writer spared little, neither did the Elko scribe. An *Elko Independent* column read: "A letter received from Reno today says that Governor Sadler is losing strength everyday . . . Who can point with any pride to the Governor 'full of booze?'"<sup>170</sup> The campaign finally ended on a similar note, and counting of the votes began.

As the first returns from the election came in, Sadler appeared to be far behind. In Reno, The *Gazette's* writer claimed "overwhelming Republican victories," and a few days later decided that the election had indeed gone narrowly to the Republican candidate for governor. Some days afterward, recognizing at last that Reinhold Sadler had won a close race but still refusing to congratulate him, the *Gazette's* editor expressed some fear for the state's future and especially for the future of Washoe County (Reno), which the governor had failed to carry. The counting of the votes continued for many days, and it finally became apparent that a recount would be demanded. Scandalous and open buying of votes had marked the balloting in Carson City, while some forty-six absentee ballots from soldiers remained uncounted. Nevertheless, "official" returns continued to appear in the newspapers, showing first Sadler and then the Republican William

McMillan as having a plurality of a mere handful of votes. A tiny margin of twenty-two ended up in the Sadler column.<sup>171</sup>

William McMillan contested the election in quo warranto proceedings in the state Supreme Court. He charged various frauds and acts of misbehavior in at least seven of the state's fourteen counties. The *Gazette* and the *Independent* had presented accusations which were about as scurrilous during the campaign.<sup>172</sup> When the court's decision was announced, Sadler was declared the governor, and he thus was able to continue his programs for the state.

### *Nevada's Ninth Governor*

At the legislative session of 1899, Governor Sadler announced that the debt of the state had been substantially reduced. He nevertheless complained throughout his message about deficiencies in various departments, asking for appropriations to cover the shortages. In the interest of bringing in more settlers, the governor also requested more money for the state Land Office. He refused (as he had in 1897) to do more than briefly mention the problem of irrigating arid lands.<sup>173</sup> The legislature, unable to cure the ills of a state in depression, left unsolved most of the problems Sadler discussed.

When the legislature met again in 1901, the governor's remarks at the opening session reflected the state's continued distress. He called attention to the drop in population — more than thirty percent over the two decades from 1880 to 1900 — and blamed the decrease on "unfriendly" congressional legislation. Congressional actions, he said, discriminated against silver as a money metal. Nevertheless, Sadler declared that the state was in sound financial condition, with the debt further reduced. Taxes were sufficient to meet appropriations, unless expenditures materially increased. While more population was vital to the welfare of the state, Sadler denied that new action by the federal government was needed. The undeveloped resources of the state would not justify "encumbering ourselves with heavy debt obligations," he believed. Sadler thought instead that the state should give information about the state's natural resources to prospective homeseekers, hoping to induce them to settle in Nevada. The governor begged the legislators not to "Overlook anything that promises relief" from the depression, but failed to put forward any new ideas.<sup>174</sup>

Sadler might have proposed a number of sources for new revenue in 1901. Sam Davis, the state controller, complained that some of the state's major industries avoided equitable taxation. He named the Southern Pacific railroad, the Western Union Telegraph Company, Wells Fargo, the Pullman Car Company, and the "livestock interests" in his arraignment. Davis suggested that the legislators study the George "Single tax" theory for information on the solution to financial problems.<sup>175</sup>

Surveyor General E.D. Kelley reported the need for clarifying acts to implement the provisions of the Carey Act of 1897. He also recommended that national legislation for irrigation and reclamation of arid lands be urged upon Congress. In support of reclamation legislation, Kelley inserted in his report a speech on the subject by Francis G. Newlands.<sup>176</sup>

Problems of trying to increase the population and to spur recovery from the depression plagued Sadler's administration until the turn of the century. At that time, with Nevada again seemingly destined to become a mining state, optimism

for recovery from the depression bloomed everywhere. Sadler's last message to the legislature in 1903 reflected the prevailing attitude.

The retiring governor said that the depression was finished because of the renewal of the mining industry. Nevertheless, he welcomed other capital that might develop agriculture and encourage a "general prosperity." He pointed with pride to the fact that during his administration the state's debt had been retired, and that Nevada enjoyed a surplus of three to four million dollars in interest-bearing bonds. In concluding his remarks to the legislature, Sadler said:

In retiring from this position without regret as I do, and with full assurance that the burden laid down by me has been taken up by firm and resolute hands, I tender to my successor and to his administration faithful allegiance, support, and good will.<sup>177</sup>

The incoming governor, John Sparks, expressed his own thoughts concerning Sadler's departure in his inaugural address:

In his retirement from the position of Governor of Nevada the State has lost one of the most efficient, faithful, and honest officers its history has recorded.<sup>178</sup>

It was not evident from this exchange of compliments that the two had recently come through a bitter contest that effectively ended both Sadler's political career and the independent life of the Silver party.

## **VI. Stalwart for Silver**

In the summer of 1902, as Sadler's term drew to a close, the political parties held their biennial contests for delegates to the state conventions. The governor appealed to those who would support his bid for a second full term, and he was expected to win easily.<sup>179</sup> With the selections made, Sadler reportedly had won a "sweeping victory" among the delegates.<sup>180</sup> The hopeful candidate continued to work through the summer to ensure the nomination. However, he had lost support from an important ruling clique within the Silver and Democratic parties.

The chief of the predominant group was Francis G. Newlands, whose zeal for irrigation and reclamation had recently culminated in congressional passage of the act that bore his name. Sadler's apathy toward Newlands' prime interest may have offended the congressman. There could have been other reasons for Newlands' opposition to Sadler, although they were not apparent: the two men were Silver-Democrats, activists in the Silver party, important office holders, and wealthy land owners.<sup>181</sup> Newlands' indifference to Sadler's candidacy loomed as a key factor in the days ahead.

Speculation prior to the Silver party convention suggested that Sadler would propose a ticket led by himself for governor and W. D. Jones of Austin for Congress. Rumors circulated that the Newlands group would propose John Sparks for governor and Clarence C. Van Duzer for Congress. The Sparks ticket lacked unanimous support; one editor called it "as wild as a March hare." The Silver convention assembled at Reno amid rumors that Sadler's ticket had been dropped from consideration. The governor served as permanent chairman, and began to conduct the meeting. A message came to the hall that Congressman Newlands invited all delegates to "visit" him at his Reno home. The Democrats, meeting the same day in the same city, received an identical invitation. The next day, "fusion" was the political word; when the convention assembled for nominations, John Sparks headed the list of nominees of the merged Silver and



Democratic parties. Sadler's name did not appear on any list.<sup>182</sup> The Newlands faction also controlled the rest of the nominations: Van Duzer was selected for Congress, with W. D. Jones bypassed. Sparks' election was assured with the unification of the two major parties; he won the governorship, leading a successful Silver-Democrat ticket. Francis G. Newlands won election as Senator when the legislature met in 1903.<sup>183</sup>

Sadler, however, declined to "fuse," remaining staunchly loyal to the Silver cause. And he fought the political wars to the end. He returned to Eureka County and attempted to reenter politics there. When the county's Silvermen met in the summer of 1904, however, Sadler was ejected from membership in the county organization on the peculiar grounds that he no longer had legal residence in the county.<sup>184</sup> The regulars of the county party then failed to schedule primary elections in 1904, giving the excuse that the busy haying and mining seasons prevented people from getting to the polls. However, by a strange set of circumstances, the primary election of the Silver party did take place in Eureka County, with delegates selected for the county convention. Sadler became a delegate; he also signed the certificates of election.<sup>185</sup> Two Silver parties then existed in Eureka County.

As in Eureka County, two Silver parties qualified statewide. The secretary of state certified both the Democratic-Silver party (the fusionists) and the Stalwart Silver party.<sup>186</sup> The Stalwarts offered the voters a slate of presidential electors and the candidacy of Reinhold Sadler for Congress. Some of the local candidates of the nonfused Silverites perforce endorsed candidates among the fusionists because the Stalwarts could not fill their slate. The voters surely perceived the significance of the decline.

For his part, Sadler failed to make his usual sturdy and contentious campaign. He did not appear on the speaking circuit with the other Stalwarts. An acrimonious controversy erupted between the other two candidates for Congress, but Sadler did not join it, nor did the newswriters mention him as actively being in the contest.<sup>187</sup> After the balloting, it was obvious from the first fragmentary returns that Sadler had failed to gain even token support from the electorate. He garnered only 572 votes in a total of more than 11,000 cast.<sup>188</sup>

Shortly after the 1904 election, Sadler's health began to fail. Formerly large, energetic, and robust, he rapidly lost strength through 1905. He spent most of his energy on extensive commercial interests, but still tried to find time to give to his family at Eureka. Nearing the end, on a business trip to Ely, Sadler became ill and insisted upon being taken home to Eureka by sleigh on a cold day in January, 1906. His son granted the request and made the journey with his dying father. Reinhold Sadler died at his home in Eureka at the end of January.

Sadler's old enemy, the editor of the *Reno Evening Gazette*, devoted several columns of the newspaper to eulogizing the dead politician, describing him as "one of the ablest" governors of Nevada, an "energetic worker," "devoted to the interests of the State," and "a successful campaigner." The scribe took a charitable view of Sadler's political activities:

In the days when the Democratic party was without power in this state he was one man who helped hold the organization together, accepting nominations which were but empty honors, and then going out to stump the state for his party. Several times he was nominated for state offices when there was not the remotest chance

of election, his acceptance being a mark of devotion to his principles.<sup>189</sup>

At Eureka, the *Sentinel's* editor wrote in similar terms, declaring that Sadler had had "remarkable mental powers." Again, the flags at Eureka flew at half-staff for a celebrated adopted citizen.<sup>190</sup>

## Conclusion

The foremost scholar of Nevada immigration notes that, since the state had a heavy proportion of foreigners in the population, the natives of Europe became integrated into the life of the state even more readily than those native to America did. Moreover, owing to this assimilation, it may be impossible to discern a definite ethnic contribution from any particular group.<sup>191</sup> This seems especially true in the cases of people like John Edward Jones and Reinhold Sadler. The two men, in spite of widely differing backgrounds, and diverse interests and motivations involved in their immigration, exemplify more than anything else at least a partial realization of the so-called "American dream."

Before modern scholars began to discuss "ethnicity" apart from individuality or personality, Americans and foreigners alike believed that in America, a "poor boy" could have interesting adventures, amass a fortune, and attain political office; it mattered little or not at all whether his status derived from national origin or simply from "luck." The American dream allowed anyone to assume that "luck" could change from bad to good, and that an "American," in effect, was a person who called himself one.

On the other hand, one might wish to call John Jones and Reinhold Sadler exemplars of immigrant life. Jones was perhaps a typical Welsh-American: practical, hard-working, devoted to educational advancement, and shrewd enough to grasp opportunities to enhance his position. His wanderings across the West as farmer, railroad laborer, miner, and as a public official in Nevada may show aspects of his nativity rather than simply Americanization. Similarly, Sadler might have symbolized the popular conception of the German-American: thrifty, stubbornly pursuing his desires, working successfully to gain money and influence in his adopted surroundings. Yet the fact that both of these men, with different backgrounds and with various motives for leaving their native lands, became governors of a single western state during a period of crisis illustrates, more than place of birth, the *individualism* that pervades the history not only of immigrants but of all Americans.

So in the case of the Silver Governors, at least, the immigrant was a person first, a native of some European country only secondarily. Their successes and failures, their triumphs and defeats, derived from personal characteristics and the general environment, not from nativity. Their story shows that place of birth is only one aspect of a range of human experience. And in personal life — as in history — the whole is more than merely the sum of its parts.

## Notes

108. A history of the "silver crime" and the Nevada Silver party is in Mary Ellen Glass, *Silver and Politics in Nevada, 1892-1902* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969).

109. *Proceedings of the Nevada Silver Convention Held at Carson City, Nevada, January 31, 1885* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1885).

110. *Silver State* (Winnemucca), April 6, 1892, p. 2. The *Silver State* was the first and most

consistent advocate of the silver cause in Nevada. After about 1890, every issue carried a story or editorial promoting remonetization and free coinage.

111. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1892, p. 3.
112. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1892, p. 2.
113. *Weekly Sentinel*, April 16, 1892, p. 2.
114. *Morning Appeal*, September 7, 1894, p. 2.
115. *Silver State*, May — June, 1892, *passim*.
116. *Political History of Nevada, 1973*, p. 184. Silver electors were pledged to the People's Party (Populists).
117. *Silver State*, September 6, 1894, p. 3.
118. *Nevada State Journal* (Reno), January 8, 1895, p. 2.
119. *Silver State*, September 6, 1894, p. 3. At this time, the *Silver State* had become the Silver party's semiofficial spokesman.
120. *Carson Morning News* (Carson City), September 13, 1894, p. 3.
121. *Morning Appeal*, September 14, 1894, p. 2.
122. *Carson Morning News*, September 16, 1894, p. 2.
123. *Morning Appeal*, September 16, 1894, p. 2.
124. Allen Bragg to Trenmor Coffin, September 17, 1894. Coffin papers, University of Nevada, Reno, Library.
125. *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 6, 1894, p. 2.
126. *Carson Morning News* and *Morning Appeal*, September 28 through October 11, 1894, *passim*.
127. *Morning Appeal*, October 11, 1894, p. 2.
128. All documents cited and quoted are in the Coffin papers, University of Nevada Reno Library.
129. N. P. Dooley to Trenmor Coffin, October 31, 1894. Coffin papers.
130. W. N. McGill, Ely, to Trenmor Coffin, October 9, 1894. Coffin papers. See also: *Weekly Sentinel*, October 13, 1894, p. 3.
131. *Political History of Nevada, 1973*, pp. 184-185.
132. *Nevada State Journal*, January 9-10, 1895, *passim*.
133. *Nevada State Journal*, January 8, 1895, p. 2.
134. Scrugham, I, 382; Governor Jones's inaugural address, 1895.
135. *Nevada State Journal*, January 18, 1895, p. 2.
136. *Ibid.*, January 24 — 29, 1895 *passim*; Nevada State Legislature, *Journal of the Assembly*, Seventeenth Session (1895).
137. *Chicago Tribune* to Governor Jones, January 28, 1895; Jones' reply drafted on reverse side. Letter box, "Letters to the Governor's Office, 1893-1898," Nevada Historical Society, Reno.
138. *Nevada State Journal*, January 30 — February 1, 1895, *passim*. As a general rule, the railroad's political chiefs allowed the legislators under their control to say whatever they pleased about the corporations; the test came in concrete actions that harmed or benefited the railroad.
139. Governor Jones to *St. Louis Chronicle*, April 15, 1895. "Governor's Office Letter Book (Jones, Sadler, Allen, Sparks)," Nevada Historical Society, Reno.
140. Jones to James H. Budd (Governor of California), April 18, 1895. "Governor's Office Letter Book . . .," Nevada Historical Society.
141. Jones to *Chicago Tribune*, July 5, 1895. "Governor's Office Letter Book . . .," Nevada Historical Society.
142. William Smythe to Jones, December 11, 1894. "Letters to the Governor's Office . . .," Nevada Historical Society.
143. W. T. Hanford (Governor Jones' secretary) to H. F. Bartine, May 9, 1895. "Governor's Office Letter Book . . ."
144. Draft of letter, Jones to Clayton Belknap, June 14, 1895. "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."

145. W. T. Hanford to C. D. Van Duzer, November 12, 1895. "Governor's Office Letter Book . . ."
146. *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 10, 1896, p. 1; April 13, 1896, p. 1; April 16, 1896, p. 1; *Weekly Sentinel*, April 18, 1896, p. 2; Ross, p. 21.
147. Scrugham, I, 381-383.
148. Documents in letter box, "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
149. Acting Governor Sadler's message to the Eighteenth Session of the Nevada Legislature (1897).
150. Scrugham, I, 389. The Alpine Company's assets were later acquired by the Dangberg Land and Livestock Company of Minden. The company held so many water rights on the Carson River that the adjudication in federal court (still pending in the 1970s) was entitled *U. S. vs. Alpine Land and Reservoir Company*.
151. See "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
152. New York *World* and New York *Journal* to Sadler, various dates, in "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
153. Sadler to *Chicago Tribune*, undated draft. In "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
154. See "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
155. Telegrams, William M. Stewart to Reinhold Sadler, March 10 and March 11, 1898. In "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
156. Sadler's pencilled draft in "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
157. Telegrams: E.D. Kelley to William M. Stewart, March 14, 1898; John Sparks to Stewart, March 14, 1898; George Nixon to Stewart, March 23, 1898. Letters: John S. Mayhugh to Stewart, March 31, 1898; Tracy Fairchild to Stewart, March 22, 1898; Elko County Cattle Association to Stewart, March 13, 1898. William Morris Stewart papers, Nevada Historical Society, Reno.
158. C. C. Wallace to William Stewart, (March, 1898). Stewart papers.
159. Telegrams: Miller and Lux to Sadler, March 25 and March 28, 1898. Letters: James H. Budd to Sadler, April 5, 1898; Sadler to Budd, April 5, 1898. In "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
160. Davis, *The History of Nevada*, I, 436-437.
161. See "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
162. *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 9, 1898, p. 1.
163. *Ibid.*, September 17, 1898, p. 1.
164. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1899, p. 2.
165. *Elko Independent*, September 7, 1898, p. 2.
166. The *Independent* and the *Gazette* had not supported the Silver party, but they had accepted advertising for the party until 1898.
167. *Elko Independent*, September 15, 1898, p. 2; *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 14, 1898, p. 2.
168. *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 27, 1898, p. 2. Sadler signed the act legalizing prize fighting in 1897, reasoning that strict provisions of the statute would drive all but the best devotees of the sport out of the state.
169. *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 16, 1898, p. 1.
170. *Elko Independent*, November 5, 1898, p. 3.
171. *Reno Evening Gazette*, November 9 to December 21, 1898, *passim*. See, for example, the editorial of November 15, p. 3.
172. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1899, p. 3. See also the assertion that the Republican McMillan should be elected to save Nevada from a governor who "has to be helped to bed early in the day," *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 25, 1898, p. 2.
173. Governor Sadler's message to the Nineteenth Session of the Nevada Legislature (1899).
174. *Ibid.*, Twentieth Session (1901).
175. Nevada State Controller, Report, 1901.
176. Nevada State Surveyor General, Report, 1901.
177. Governor Sadler's message to the Twenty-first Session of the Nevada Legislature (1903).

178. Inaugural Address of Governor John Sparks, 1903.
179. *Nevada State Journal*, January 27, 1902, p. 1.
180. *Reno Evening Gazette*, July 28, 1902, p. 2.
181. Newlands had previously been in other political parties. He was a delegate to the Anti-Chinese party convention in California before coming to Nevada. He had also participated in Republican politics in California. He first ran for office in Nevada as a Republican, joined the Silver party in 1892 with apparent reluctance, and ended his life as a Democrat. See Glass, *Silver and Politics*.
182. *Reno Evening Gazette*, August 22-28, 1902, *passim*. See especially the issue of August 25.
183. *Political History of Nevada*, 1973, pp. 109, 187.
184. There was no basis for the assertion that Sadler was not a resident of Eureka County. He and his family lived at the ranch in Diamond Valley or in the house in Eureka during the years he was governor. While he was governor, Sadler frequently visited Eureka on business, keeping in touch with his Carson City office through telegrams to E. D. Kelley, his secretary. See "Letters to the Governor's Office . . ."
185. *Reno Evening Gazette*, August 2, 1904, p. 2.
186. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1904, p. 2.
187. *Ibid.*, October 29 to November 4, 1904, *passim*.
188. *Political History of Nevada*, 1973, p. 187.
189. *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 29, 1906, p. 1.
190. *Weekly Sentinel*, February 3, 1906, p. 3.
191. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers*, pp. 6-7.



## Notes and Documents

### *Meandering Along the Line of the Central Pacific Railroad, 1868*

by Phillip I. Earl

IT WAS ONCE the custom of enterprising editors to send their young reporters "out to the country" to describe the lay of the land and the doings of the inhabitants. The reports which subsequently came across their desks were often sprightly, insightful and full of local color. The following account of the travels of a young newsman first appeared in the *San Francisco Times* in mid-August of 1868 and was reprinted by Henry R. Mighels, editor of the *Carson Daily Appeal*, on August 27 and 28, 1868.

At that time, grading and tracking on the Central Pacific was still going forward and Reno was less than four months old. Reports on the progress of the railroad were almost daily fare in California newspapers of the day, but accounts of what was to be seen along the way and the look of the fledgling communities being created were relatively rare. The identity of the writer is unknown, but his short essay is worth reprinting for the picture it paints of western Nevada and its communities at a moment in time long since passed.

#### DONNER LAKE

ON LEAVING THE Summit tunnel the steam is almost shut off, and the train glides gently and smoothly down the Eastern slope. On emerging from the tunnel the line bears to the right, skirting the terraced slope of Donner Mountain, and in a few moments bringing into view a scene, the beauty of which is almost beyond description. A thousand feet beneath us, on our left hand, lies Donner Lake, hemmed in by mighty hills on every side. Immediately below us is a small area of level plain, dotted with buildings, which seem in the distance, no larger than tiny models of Swiss cottages sold for mantel ornaments. The level sheet of water lies beyond, reflecting in its unruffled surface the huge trees which cover the mountain sides down to its very brink, and through the pure air white columns of steam arise, from a dozen busy saw mills, buried in the dense forest far away. Here and there upon the lake a little boat is seen, but these small craft are almost lost in the extent of the view, and appear no larger than chips, floating lazily. The road here is cut out of the mountain side, and it has been necessary to tunnel the hill extensively. Between the Summit and Coldstream we pass seven tunnels, the shortest of which is 100 feet, and the longest 863 feet in extent. We are descending at the rate of ninety feet the mile, at this time. Now we pass around the mountain, and run along the length of Donner Lake, still far above it. On our right hand the hill rises abruptly, the unmelted snows showing near and clear along its sides. Beautiful cascades leap and dash from the summit, flinging their spray almost into the windows of the cars as we glide past them. At times we come upon the remnants of a great drift, in some hollow below the road. In one place the remains of an avalanche may still be seen. A huge mass of snow, many feet in thickness, buried under a superincumbent stratum of earth and trees.

Protected thus from the sun's heat, it has not melted, nor will it melt, but there remain until next winter's snow arrive, to refresh and restore its purity. On the lower side of the hill we pass many huts and shanties; rude structures, built of boughs and fern branches, and loosely covered in with thin boards. These are the camps of the loggers and working parties, who swarm along this portion of the road, and whose axes are busy from dawn to sunset, cutting ties for the line that is rushing eastward far in advance. Still descending, we pass Coldstream, 6,260 feet above the sea, and presently arrive at Truckee on the river of that name, at the foot of Donner Valley, 119 miles from Sacramento, and 5,860 feet high.

### *THE TRUCKEE VALLEY*

The village of Truckee is most charmingly situated at the eastern end of Donner Lake, on a comparatively level space, amid heavy timber. A large number of sawmills are in full work in the neighborhood, and the warm air vibrates with the slumberous hum of the machinery. The Truckee river here comes into view, and it is through the gorge in the mountains which it has worn that the road passes, thus escaping the second summit of the Sierras. The Truckee, from the time where we make its acquaintance first is a turbulent little river, and bears no affinity to its muddy brethren on the western side of the mountains. The American river, seen from a distance, resembles a yellow snake, winding its way through the green meadows; but the Truckee's waters are pure and limpid, and it dashes sparkling over a rocky bed, breaking ever and anon into flashes of white foam, and eddying and circling in hot haste about the black rocks that obstruct its course.

We follow the Truckee now into its Meadows, an extensive plain, abounding in good pasturage and verdant with tall grasses. After passing a small station called Boca, we enter two more tunnels; the last on the line. These are respectively 168 and 92 feet in length. As we proceed, the country, which has for a short distance been almost agricultural in its aspect, begins to change again, and gradually assumes a rockier and more sterile appearance. Still, in the immediate vicinity of the river it is pleasant enough, and at times we come upon parties of loggers endeavoring to raft timber down the rapid stream. This, with such a river as the Truckee, is no easy task, and the hardy men who attempt it risk, and sometimes lose, their lives, being carried from their footing whirled away, and sucked under by the swift current.

### *THE SAGE BRUSH*

We have passed, in company with the brawling, rushing, fuming Truckee, through pleasant meadows, where the heavy grass grows green and thick; over rocky passes, between which the stream dashed noisily, hurling its waters angrily against the craggy sides; by the margin of barren places where the trees grow dwarfed and stunted, as if depressed too much by the melancholy silence and dreariness of their surroundings, to take root heartily, or push their branches forth with any life or vigor. We have glided through long lines of low rolling hills, on the sides of which no green thing shows itself, and upon which no human habitation can be seen. And so we come to Verdi, 143 miles from Sacramento, and the last station whereat we shall descry anything pleasant or beautiful. Thence we roll onward through a country that becomes drearier and more

depressing at every mile. The river itself, so sparkling and brilliant, so erratic and lively, but now, has caught the tone of gloom which pervades the district, and moves sullenly between low and marshy banks. The bright and variously hued flowers which erstwhile decked its margin, and lent a charm to the picturesque scenery which its waters enlivened, have given place to beds of tall rushes, which spot the banks like leprous blotches, and waving slowly in the lazy air, seem to add to the despondency of the region. Soon we arrive upon a level plain, extending far away to where the Washoe hills rear their gray altitude in somber solitude, and bearing no trace of vegetation other than the dusty blue sage brush, whose monotonous bunches alone hide the sterile sands. Sage brush to the right, sage brush to the left, sage brush to the front, sage brush to the rear. Land and rocks and sage brush and water make up the landscape. The river, it is true, still rolls beside the road, but it is the only moving feature in the desolate landscape. No hut of workman, no ranch or farmer, no browsing cattle, no cultivated fields; nothing but the burning sun and the burning sand; the slowly rolling river, reft of its every beauty, and the distant, barren hills. Through such a region we pass on, none too quickly, though the engineer should pile every available pound of fuel upon the engine fires, and arrive presently at Reno, distance from Sacramento 154 miles, and 4,530 feet above the tide level.

### RENO

Reno is situated in the middle of a frightful plain, destitute of any feature of beauty or picturesqueness. It is one of those mushroom towns that seem to spring up in a single night, like Aladdin's Palace, and from the nature of its elements its sudden evanishment would be scarcely matter for surprise. In the language of its inhabitants, it is "quite a place," and if it lacks age and stability, it makes up for them in exuberant vitality. Its streets are composed of frame buildings, knocked together for the most part as hastily as though they were accompaniments to a traveling circus. It has more than a fair proportion of grogeries, and dance-houses; and it drives a very lively business in the gambling way. Its population comprises an immoderate share of "sports," from the suave and "high toned" gambler, airily lounging in snow white trousers and coat, and spotless, delicately plaited shirt front, with broad-brimmed Panama hat and fragrant cigar, to the disreputable and hangdog looking sharper, beneath whose short and frayed coat tails the muzzle of a revolver protrudes threateningly, and whose fierce eyes and bloated face proclaim that he is either ready to take a drink or cut a throat. Women, whose gay dresses are not needed to designate their shameful business, stroll through the sandy streets with an abandon which is only to be met within such semi-civilized places; Piute Indians loaf about, accompanied by their heavy and degraded looking squaws, who carry their juvenile incumbrances packed neatly in small parcels and slung upon their broad backs, whence they can form their own opinions of society. Expressmen hurry up and down in the broiling sun, and fling packages, trunks and boxes about, with feverish energy, and the engines and trains of the Company glide back and forth upon the sidings in apparently inextricable confusion, while the station master screams himself hoarse, and perspires himself thin. There is no such thing as rest to be had in Reno. The tavern keepers do not think it worth their while to provide anything like decent sleeping accomodation for travelers, for nobody comes there save to

make money, and when a man is bent upon business, what does it signify where he sleeps? So people rush into Reno and gobble up whatever fuel in the shape of meals they can get; and never grumble, and drink bad whisky without a murmur; and doze on chairs, or make their bones ache by lying on boards, and rush away again, by rail or stage, and Reno cares nothing, but swelters on in the broiling sun, while all the day the sharp tapping of hammers and grating of saws accompanies the erection of new buildings and all the night the fiddles go, and the glasses clink, and the general hurry and bustle is brought to a climax now and then by a lively shooting affray. Somebody, perhaps, is killed or maimed in the row. Well, it is only "Four-ace Dick," or "Jack the Sweater," or somebody else with a nick-name that has taken the place of a patronymic. Only some adventurer, not too particular as to the character of his ventures, who has "pegged out." It may be that, a couple of thousand miles away, some weary heart is waiting anxiously for news of him, or that some home is being prepared for his anticipated return. No matter! Busy Reno has no concern with the fate, present, past or future, of any one of her motley population. She is on the railroad, and has a "big thing;" and she is bent upon making her pile with what speed she can command; and the pace of Reno is by no means contemptible.

### TO WADSWORTH

Away from Reno, and out again into the sage brush, past a long line of low hills and into another dreary plain — a plain so monotonous and hot, so sandy and so silent, that but for the deeply dispirited Truckee, rolling in melancholy sullenness at our left, we might become the victims of hypochondria. A few changes in the line of the road are pleasant, even though it be only from sand and sage brush to red rock and burnt clay, the variety is agreeable. But there are not many such changes, and after thirty miles of misery we stop at Wadsworth, which is the furthest station to which, as yet, passenger trains have been run. Wadsworth is 187 miles from Sacramento, and it never could have had an existence but for the railroad. Whether it should have had one at all, may be disputed, for it is the ugliest place in the whole line. It consists of three streets of wooden houses, built on the circumference of a circle. It has several taverns, an express office, and any quantity of sand all round it. But even here, buildings are being erected with a rapidity which looks as if the carpenters were afraid that, before they got the roof on, the railroad would have left them so far behind that they would lose the fruits of their labor. There is a tremendous bustle of trains, loaded with freight, leaving for the front, and empty cars returning to be filled, and engines shrieking, and backing here, and hauling there, until one is deafened with the clamor. As we have said, the passenger trains go no further than Wadsworth. But we intend to go to "the front" which is fifty miles ahead, beyond the Humboldt Desert, and we must watch our chance to get a passage upon one of the construction trains. Everybody at Wadsworth calls going to the end of the line going to the front, and what with the noise and bustle, the hurry, the apparent confusion, the masses of material that are constantly passing to and fro, the energy and activity that appear on every hand, it certainly does seem as if a campaign were being conducted in the vicinity, and this was the base of operations. How that campaign is carried on, and in what manner the army "at the front" is comporting itself, we will relate in our next article.

## ACROSS THE HUMBOLDT DESERT

It is by no means an easy matter to get to the front from Wadsworth, for it is next to impossible to tell to what point any train leaving the station may stop. There being but one line of rail, the company are compelled to exercise their utmost ingenuity to accomodate the traffic, and though sidings are constructed at intervals of eight miles, along the road, much precious time is lost through the lack of transportation facilities. However, we succeed in finding a train that was going as far as Brown Station, a distance of forty miles from Wadsworth, and were content to take our chances of getting on to the end of the line from that point. On leaving Wadsworth the road traverses a few miles of the barren and uninteresting country previously described, and then strikes into the Humboldt Desert, which is forty miles across. However depressing the sage brush plains may be, they rise into positive beauty and fertility when contrasted with the desert. Imagine a vast plain stretching East, West, North and South, almost to the horizon, where on the right hand a range of hills bound the view, and near which the Sink of Carson is situated. No trace of cultivation, or vegetation of any kind meets the eye. Even the hardy sage brush refuses to grow upon this sterile soil, which is apparently devoted to the propagation of alkali. At intervals along the road great patches of alkali appear, white and shining, and may be easily mistaken for pools of water at a short distance. Although the desert presents no features of natural beauty or interest, it is often the scene of remarkable atmospheric phenomena, some of which we were fortunate enough to witness. In crossing this section of the country the Railroad Company has experienced much difficulty in procuring water for the engines. The water of Humboldt Lake, along which the road runs for some five-and-twenty miles, striking it near the eastern end of the desert is full of alkali, and it causes the boilers to foam so badly that it is almost impossible to use it. It has, therefore, been found necessary to sink artesian wells in this neighborhood, though, as in one or two experiments, the engineers struck, first salt water, and then hot water, the men on the road do not place much confidence in this resource, being inclined to believe that Humboldt Desert is too near the infernal regions to supply anything good in the form of water. In the meantime tank trains are employed to fetch water from the Truckee, and it has been found necessary to discard the Humboldt Lake water altogether, as, when mixed with that of the Truckee, it makes the boilers foam worse than when it is used alone. The water of the Humboldt River, which has now been struck, is comparatively good, though at the point where the line crosses the stream it is not altogether free from alkali.

## BROWN'S STATION

After leaving the desert, which we quit without regret, we enter upon a country just a shade more pleasant to look upon and travel over, but only a shade better. We have here no lack of alkali, as the white dust rises in clouds whenever a horse-man or team is passing, testifies; but the sage brush grows again here, and though ugly enough in itself, serves to hide somewhat the dreary surface of the hot, bare plain. Presently we arrive at Brown's about 40 miles beyond Wadsworth, and 227 miles from Sacramento. Brown's is a small place which has been for many years a stage station. The building is of adobe, and stands close to the brink of Humboldt Lake. It must have been a horribly desolate place before the advent of the railroad, but old Brown informs us that he never felt lonely,



there being always someone in the house from the stages. Our readers will not care to know how we passed the night at Brown's, nor with what difficulty we found a train to take us to the front. Let it suffice to say that a night at Brown's is an experience to remember with a shudder in after years, and that alkali water is by no means a pleasant beverage. In due time we found ourselves again on the road, and after some fifteen or twenty miles through the sage brush plains, which extend for hundreds of miles from the desert, we arrive at our destination, the end of the line, some 250 miles from Sacramento.

### *AT THE FRONT*

As we approached our destination we passed several white tents, in one or two of which some enterprising sutler had set out his motley wares, just disembarked from a wagon which stood close at hand, ready to move his perambulatory store as soon as the line advanced. Further on was a camp of Chinamen, who were at this time employed in cooking their mid-day meal. All along the road were scattered heaps of ties, fish plates, spikes and other material. Still more white tents, and then numbers of heavy wagons, prairie schooners in fact, which are employed in hauling the ties, and then a strange looking affair which resembles a good-sized street upon wheels. This is the Boarding Train. It consists of some six or eight huge cars, or rather houses built upon car trucks. Four of these are dormitories for the white laborers; others are used as eating houses; others again as kitchens; one is appropriated to the family of Mr. Strowbridge, the engineer in charge of construction, and another is occupied by Mr. Menkier, the General Superintendent, Mr. Vandenburg, the Telegraph Superintendent, and some of the overseers and other officers in charge of the works. In this train they live, eat, and sleep, and it is moved forward day by day as the road advances. The Chinese laborers, who have superintendents of their own, of course under the general supervision of the white officers, reside in camps by themselves, and being divided into two shifts, or gangs, are moved alternately every other day. The scene at the front is almost as exciting as a battle. Trains are continually arriving, loaded with wooden ties and iron rails, and being unloaded with marvelous rapidity, are sent back to Wadsworth for fresh supplies. Heretofore the difficulties in the way of transportation have been so great that it has been impossible to supply the tracklayers with sufficient material, and their powers of work have really never been fairly tested, until last week, when they laid six miles and eight hundred feet in one day.

The first thing that strikes the visitor on arriving at the front is the amazing energy and activity displayed by every one connected with the road. It is not only in the superintendents and engineers that this feature is noticeable. It pervades the whole army of workmen, from the wiry foreman, whose intelligent features have been tanned nearly black by the burning sun, to the swarthy Chinaman, who speaks no word of the language of his employers. There is no such thing as shirking or grumbling known among these men. Instead of their motto being "Every man for himself," it seems to be "Every man for the road." They recognize the importance of the enterprise they are engaged in, and work like men who feel that they are making history. Of the white laborers we may say that we never saw a finer body of their class. They are all picked men-hale, strong and sober. There are now about four thousand men employed in grading the road, and this party is more than fifty miles ahead of the tracklayers. They have smooth and

easy ground to work upon at present, and being subjected to no delays from the lack of material, are enabled to push forward at a rate of from three to five miles a day.



*Construction of the Central Pacific Railroad between Wadsworth and Brown's.*

## Book Reviews

*The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and Business Behavior of Western Mining Entrepreneurs, 1870-1900.* By Richard H. Peterson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977. xvi, 143 pp., appendix and index, \$9.95)

TODAY THE STUDY of elites, whether they be in mining or in other industries, is not a popular approach for historians. The concern is for histories of forgotten and unseen faces such as women, workers, and minority groups. Because of its subject and its methodology of asking standard questions of secondary sources, this book will receive criticism from the history guild. It attempts in a general manner to demonstrate why the bonanza kings of far western mining achieved success. Principally the answer is that they were resourceful men who appeared at the right place and at the right time. Many were from humble beginnings and many were not. The old question raised indirectly by Frederick Jackson Turner many years ago is asked: Did the frontier offer more opportunity for men of poor beginnings? The answer is generally "yes" in the case of mining entrepreneurs. Still this is, perhaps, a weak question and answer around which to build a book on western mining at a time when more salient questions abound. It is worthy to note, however, that the author concludes with good evidence that, "A comparison of the social origins of western mining magnates with those of eastern industrial elites suggests that the frontier provided more vertical social mobility for aspiring businessmen than did the older, more settled areas of the nation." (pp. 140-141)

Since the scope of the book is the entire mining west, it must move at a fast pace dealing quickly with various personalities and success stories. The careers of John Mackay, George Hearst, David Moffat appear and disappear as the discussion moves on to other success stories. Generally the text concludes that these men were interested in sound investments, efficiency in their operations, aid from scientists and government, labor dependability, and in selling out their interest prior to a fall in the market. All represent marks of good businessmen in the resource extraction industry. The author attributes a more sympathetic attitude toward labor to the generally lower social origins of the mining entrepreneurs. But this is a generalization based entirely upon secondary sources, especially in Nevada where the accepted thesis about stable labor relations on the Comstock is beginning to be seriously revised. Beyond the inevitable problems of a short book on a large subject, the work offers a lively survey of the mining elite in the West and the bibliographical notes are exhaustive and important for anyone doing research in these areas.

William D. Rowley  
University of Nevada, Reno

*A Clash of Interests: Interior Department and Mountain West, 1863-1896.* By Thomas G. Alexander. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1977. xii + 256., notes, bibliography, appendices, index, \$11.95)

IN SOME WAYS the United States government seemed to deal generously with the

territories of the Mountain West. Each year the government spent far more money in the territories than it extracted from them in taxes. Why then, asks Alexander, were westerners so often critical of federal administration? The reason, he writes, was that the government's disruptive, misguided meddling in territorial affairs nullified any good will that might have resulted from the expenditure of federal dollars.

The author evaluates the effects of federal policy by focusing on the activities of the Department of the Interior in the territories of Arizona, Utah, and Idaho. Nevada he excludes from consideration because of its short tenure as a territory, but much of the governmental policy discussed in relation to the territories applied also to the states of the Mountain West.

The body of the text divides chronologically into three parts, within each of which are chapters on territorial governments, public lands, and Indian affairs. During the first period, from 1863 to 1876, Republican congresses and administrators made honest attempts to balance considerations of economy against standards of effectiveness. Throughout the second, 1877 to 1886, conservatives in Congress choked territorial interests with cruel economy. In the third, 1887 to 1896, Congress and the Department of the Interior smothered the territories with attempts to centralize administration.

Citizens of the territories would have been more than willing to control their own affairs and pay their own expenses, Alexander maintains, but instead the federal government assumed responsibility, only to ignore western needs. Policy for the Department of the Interior originated not with its own officials, who might have come to understand conditions in the West, but with eastern congressmen. Secretaries of the Interior became "merely high-paid errand boys for congressional leaders" (p. 176). Congress crippled territorial governments by cutting officials' salaries, shortening legislative sessions, and requiring too much red tape in making purchases. Representatives from the humid East also foisted ill-adapted land policies on the West, in discussion of which, surprisingly enough, Alexander spatters mud on the sainted image of John Wesley Powell (a few drops also striking Powell's biographer, Wallace Stegner). Finally, in Indian affairs Congress pursued an ambivalent policy of assimilation, demanding that Indians acculturate to white society, but at the same time isolating them on reservations.

Alexander attributes these abuses to the mistaken prejudices of eastern congressmen. Political leaders regarded the institutions of the East and the Midwest as superior and forced them onto the West; they projected fears of monopoly into land policy, thus tying up resources with restrictions; worst of all, they practiced cultural imperialism, attempting to force conformity on those who differed from the ideal of the white, Protestant, small farmer — be they Mormons, Indians, cattlemen, or lumbermen.

*A Clash of Interests* is an administrative history, which constitutes both its strength and its weakness. It is a valuable and authoritative reference for the details of administrative organization and financial transactions, and Alexander evaluates the bureaucracy of the Department of the Interior fairly. His research utilizes all the proper public documents and official correspondence. Conclusions are sound, but incomplete. For instance, Alexander argues that poor administration for the territories resulted from geographic and cultural prejudices on the part of congressmen as a group. However, as his research shows, certain

individuals such as Representative William S. Holman of Indiana, the parsimonious chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, held great sway over policy. Key figures like Holman deserve more personal attention to discover whether they acted with closed minds or just with calculated priorities.

Thomas D. Isern  
Sam Houston State University  
Huntsville, Texas

*Democrats, Delegates, and Politics in Nevada: A Grassroots Chronicle of 1972.* By Joseph N. Crowley. (Reno: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Nevada, 1976, 190 pages)

A REASONABLE initial reaction to this book might be: Why didn't the Bureau of Governmental Research refer its author to a vanity press? Further reflection, however, would lead most readers to the conclusion that the work is a political document of some significance.

Joseph Crowley's *Democrats, Delegates, and Politics* is comprised of two distinct segments, the first being an account by the author of his participation in the Democratic party's presidential nominating process in 1972, and the second an analysis of George McGovern's nomination and the effects, short term and long term, that that event had upon the Democratic party and national politics. The second part, consisting of only a dozen pages, is presented as an afterword.

Crowley declares at the outset that his work hasn't much of substance to add to the well-told story of McGovern's nomination; that it has little "inside-dopester stuff." Rather, it is a personal memoir by one Democratic delegate in the "year of the delegate," when, at a significant level, "one delegate was as good as another." It is a portrayal of the American political game in its ultimate form, as seen from the perspective of an average delegate from a small and relatively insignificant state. The value of the memoir, the author suggests, is that it offers a view of the electoral process from the grassroots, tracing one individual's passage from precinct meetings, through county and state conventions, to the national convention. Along the way the intricacies and absurdities of local politics are described, a description not particularly edifying to those who have actively participated in party affairs, but undoubtedly enlightening (or dismaying) to the vast majority of citizens who have not.

The 1972 Democratic national convention, Crowley states, was either a watershed event or a phenomenon so out of keeping with tradition that it will not soon, if ever, be repeated. Regardless of which it was, it was extremely important, and those who were involved in it, "those who did so much from below to move it and shake it and shape it," should set down their own records.

Crowley, who believes that the convention was, if not itself a major dividing point, at least "part of a watershed period for the electoral system," makes his case for its importance in his concluding pages, where he examines the events of the conclave and analyzes their impact. He contends that McGovern's nomination was not an aberration, not the result of a radical takeover of the Democratic party. The senator's supporters typically may have been idealistic and zealous,



as well as politically inexperienced, but their victory was nothing more nor less than "just another in a long line of takeovers." The victory may have been unusual, but it was not against tradition and it did not radicalize the party; it was a successful uprising by rank and file Democrats against the party establishment, and its effect was to redress an imbalance which existed between those who constituted a majority of the party and those who wielded power within it. The most important result of McGovern's brief ascendancy was that it further liberalized the Democratic party, and in the process had the effect of making the Republicans and Democrats, respectively, "more conservative and more liberal."

So it seems that a "grassroots chronicle of 1972" has more significance than first meets the eye. Historians of the future will undoubtedly find it and similar personal records valuable in interpreting the McGovern episode. It is unlikely, however, that those impending scholars will discover many of the accounts to be as well organized, stylishly written, and entertaining as *Democrats, Delegates, and Politics in Nevada*, a work that deserves a wider audience than it will probably attract.

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Chapman College  
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*Elegance on C Street: Virginia City's International Hotel.* By Richard C. Datin, Jr. (Comstock Papers, No. 1. Reno, Nevada: Privately Printed. 51 pp., \$3.25)

THE AUTHOR has chosen one of Virginia City's most colorful former buildings as the subject of a journey into Comstock history — the International Hotel, meeting place of the famous, the influential, the wealthy, the planners and the schemers.

He traces the history, ownership and financial problems of three successive hotels bearing the name "International" that stood on Union Street between B and C. The story runs from "the rough hewn hotel" that opened in the spring of 1860 with a dozen sleeping rooms, through the remodeled, refurbished brick building that flourished until the disastrous Virginia City fire of 1875, and, finally, to the elegant six-story hotel with luxurious public rooms and 144 sleeping rooms, that was built in 1876-77 on the ruins of the old.

This third International, built in the hope that the Great Bonanza would go on forever, was by far the most grand, and compared favorably at the time with the finest hotels west of the Alleghenies. It was built by skilled artisans from brick and mortar, with steel columns and reinforced interior walls. There were cut stone arches over the windows and a Mansard roof that towered six stories (100 feet) above C Street, five above B Street.

Its accommodations were light and airy, with gas and hot and cold water in every room, steam heat, electric call bells, speaking tubes and an elevator. The entire hotel was furnished with mahogany furniture; there were ceiling high mirrors and magnificent chandeliers.

The author interestingly blends his account of its construction with other civic

building projects of the day — St. Paul's Church, the Sutro Tunnel, the new Fourth Ward School, and the galvanized siding for the steeple of St. Mary's.

But the author tells of much more, bringing the place alive with stories of those who passed through the International's doors — not only the famous, but ordinary people, merchants and artisans. These people wrote the real story of Virginia City. Many a stock transaction and business deal was concluded within the hotel's walls.

Mr. Datin's treatment affords the reader an opportunity to walk among the historic characters of Virginia City in its halcyon days. Among the familiar Comstock names mentioned as habitués are James G. Fair, John Mackay, attorney Billy Wood, Judge Mesick, Judge Rising, Dr. Bronson, William Sharon, Rollin Daggett, and many another. Mackay is said to have "retained rooms on the B Street side, invariably using that entrance. He was very punctual, and every night at nine o'clock sharp could be seen going to his room after spending the evening with personal friends." Other sidelights are given, such as the visit of President Rutherford B. Hayes and his party in 1880, a noteworthy event in the history of the city. His visit followed by a little less than a year the visit of General (and ex-President) Ulysses S. Grant.

One of the interesting features of *Elegance on C Street* is its collection of reproductions of old photographs and woodcuts, newspaper excerpts, bills of fare, advertisements and the like.

The International was built to last, but fate had other plans in store. The reader shares the author's sense of loss in his "Farewell to a Legend," describing the fateful morning of December 12, 1914, when, starting at 5 A.M., fire swept through the palatial building. Arising from the ashes of its predecessor, it succumbed to the same fate some thirty-nine years later, having presided over the city's declining glory. The description of this fire and its aftermath is memorable.

The *Reno Evening Gazette*, on the afternoon of that doleful day when the great International lay in smoldering ruins, had this to say in mourning its loss: "Some day the history of the International and its influence upon the destinies of the Republic will be written." Mr. Datin has done a commendable job in writing its history, but, as he states in his Introduction, he leaves the question of its influence on the Republic to someone else. One hopes that such a someone will yet come along, with the necessary source material, skill and perseverance, to fulfill the second part of the *Gazette's* prophecy made nearly two-thirds of a century ago.

Frank C. Griffin, Jr.  
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*First Majority – Last Minority: The Transforming of Rural Life in America.* By John L. Shover. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976. 338 pages; illustrations, appendix, bibliographic note, index. \$12.50)

THE TITLE AND SUBTITLE of this work give the impression that it is a social history of the American farmer. The impression is further strengthened by the fact that it is part of a series on Minorities in American History. Actually, the late Professor Shover's book is an economic history of farming in the United States,

with emphasis on the period since World War II. Part 1 ("Tradition and Transition: Before 1945") begins with a broad historical survey of American agriculture and of the types of farming found in the various geographical areas of the country. Next the reader is quickly led to case studies of farming in two communities, Bedford County, Pennsylvania, and the author's own native heath, Scioto Township, Ohio. The final chapter of Part 1 studies two representative family farms of the pre-World War II era, one in Iowa, the other in Michigan. Although Shover allows himself to express some nostalgia for the rural past — both his own and America's — he is basically presenting a level-headed look at traditional family farming, an enterprise that brought little wealth and much heartbreak to those who engaged in it.

If Part 1 is unsentimental, Part 2 ("The Great Disjuncture: Since 1945") is downright pessimistic, even frightening. Here Shover examines the recent, revolutionary changes in farming, stressing the role of technology, the predominance of agribusiness, and the decline of the family farm. He convincingly demonstrates that the vast bureaucratic machinery of the Department of Agriculture functions largely to serve farming's Big Business elements, not the family farmer and the consumer. An appendix devoted to the grain sales to the Soviet Union in the early 1970s underscores this point.

The author's criticism of this state of affairs is never polemical, but he can inspire readers to share his deep concern. He is especially effective in pointing out that the Green Revolution in world agriculture has not, and probably cannot, solve the tragedy of mass hunger.

The strength of this book is the use of statistical evidence. Shover unearthed a great many statistics, interpreted them thoughtfully, and presented them forcefully. *First Majority—Last Minority* is a splendid capstone to the career of one of America's finest agricultural historians.

Michael J. Brodhead  
University of Nevada, Reno

*Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins.* By Stephen G. Taggart. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1976. 76 pp., \$3.00). Third edition.\*

AS A MISSIONARY to Germany for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the early 1960s, Stephen Taggart was often asked to explain why the church denies blacks the priesthood, a privilege shared by all male members over twelve years of age. The official policy of the church is that this practice is an expression of divine will, but in recent years a number of concerned church members have questioned it, asking for historical evidence either upholding or refuting its alleged doctrinal origins. Determined to resolve his own doubts, Taggart entered the University of Utah, gathered information at the L.D.S. Church archives, and wrote up a preliminary draft of his findings. But a fatal illness struck him before he had a chance to completely revise his manuscript. In 1970 the University of Utah Press published his work despite its less than complete form.

\*Ms. Casterline's review was written in March, 1978.

That *Mormonism's Negro Policy* is now in its third printing reflects the anxieties of the Mormon community over an issue that has stirred widespread publicity and comment among outside critics. While many Latter-day Saints accept the practice as a tenet of Mormon doctrine, the implications of the current movement for black rights disturb those who, like Taggart, have difficulty reconciling their belief in Christian brotherhood with a practice of racial exclusion. Today the issue is of major importance to the future of Mormonism as the church hierarchy continues to call for an expansion of proselyting efforts outside the United States, transforming what has been a regional sect into a world religion.

Taggart attempts to prove that Mormonism's anti-black policies originated with Joseph Smith during the Latter-day Saint's settlement of Missouri in the 1830s. There is some evidence that makes this seem plausible. Since a majority of the Saints came from non-slaveholding New England and the Northeast, many proslavery Missourians questioned Mormon attitudes toward their peculiar institution. This situation, coupled with the threat of non-Mormon violence, forced the church to disavow any intent of encouraging free blacks to migrate to Missouri, and by 1836 Smith issued a statement that defended slavery by citing the Biblical curse of Canaan.

But Taggart's reconstruction of the events that followed is highly speculative. He claims that Smith began advising his followers that blacks were not to be admitted to the priesthood as "a precautionary expedient" suggested "without envisioning the initiation of a doctrine or even a Church-wide policy." Taggart then argues that these anti-black and proslavery practices were given theological backing by the Book of Abraham, allegedly translated by Smith from a set of Egyptian papyrus rolls obtained in 1835. This work, eventually canonized as holy scripture by the Saints, contained a passage (1:26) that was later used as justification for denying the priesthood to blacks.

By the time the Book of Abraham was published in 1842, the Saints had been expelled from Missouri and were then in Illinois, a free state. It was here that Smith abandoned his earlier proslavery views and condemned slavery as a social evil. Taggart wonders whether Smith "would have extricated the Church from the historical trap into which it had fallen" had he not died a martyr soon thereafter. He contends that Smith's successors inherited several temporary provisos designed by the prophet to avoid further persecution of the Saints, then forgot the circumstances under which they had been formulated and codified them as doctrine.

This theory is at once comforting and disturbing. It neatly exonerates all parties from blame, putting the burden on impersonal forces of history, and supplies a rationale for having the practice done away with. On the other hand, Smith emerges as a pliable opportunist whose motives in other areas of leadership might well be questioned. By what criteria is one to determine whether his actions were divinely inspired or whether they were merely practical expediciencies? And Taggart's theory does not square with the Mormon concept of revelation: what keeps the Lord from revealing the truth if His mortal followers are in error? Are these not the larger issues at stake? By neglecting to subject his own assumptions to close scrutiny, Taggart misleads the reader into thinking that the problem is simpler than it is.

Moreover, he does not present enough documentation to prove his case. That

Smith taught priesthood denial for blacks is suggested by only two accounts, those of Zebedee Coltrin and Abraham Smoot recorded nearly fifty years after their alleged discussion with Smith on the subject. The validity of these two accounts is dubious. On a theological plane, there is nothing in the Coltrin/Smoot testimonies or in any account contemporary with Smith's lifetime to suggest that the Mormon prophet used the Book of Abraham as an instrument to enforce black priesthood denial.

Since 1970 others have studied the subject in more depth. Lester E. Bush, Jr.'s "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview" (*Dialogue*, Spring 1973) systematically demolishes Taggart's thesis by showing that Mormonism's black priesthood denial was instituted not by Joseph Smith in Missouri but by Brigham Young following the Mormons' settlement in Utah. Bush has found nothing concrete to indicate that Joseph Smith denied or intended to deny blacks the priesthood. In fact, at least one black *was* ordained to the Mormon priesthood during Smith's lifetime. In contrast to Smith, Brigham Young made numerous statements upholding black priesthood denial, often bolstering his declarations with prevalent Biblical beliefs that blacks were the cursed descendants of Cain, Ham, and Canaan.

Newell G. Bringhurst in his doctoral dissertation, "A Servant of Servants . . . Cursed as Pertaining to the Priesthood: Mormon Attitudes toward Slavery and the Black Man, 1830-80" (University of California, Davis, 1975) points out the error of separating priesthood denial from larger millennialistic concepts of race that appear in *The Book of Mormon* (1830) and elsewhere in Mormon theology. As Bringhurst demonstrates, *The Book of Mormon* frequently identifies wicked and decadent civilizations as being dark skinned. To assume that anti-black policies were foisted upon the Mormons by external circumstances denies the possibilities of an organic development within the faith.

Because Taggart was not a trained historian, it is not entirely fair to fault him in his writing of what amounts to a polemic. But in light of the serious criticisms raised by Bush, Bringhurst, and others, it is disconcerting to find a university press continuing to reprint his work without offering some explanation — particularly when the book is a handy little paperback that concerned Latter-day Saints will buy because they are uneasy in having doubts about the practice. Such doubts are compounded by the failure of church leaders to supply satisfactory answers, and by the fact that the more reliable studies prepared since Taggart's offer no simple explanation and are not readily accessible to the general reader. Many of those who approach Taggart's book lacking additional background information will surely be misled by its semblance of an historical account, and the partial disclaimer by Pamela Taggart, the author's widow, that appears at the beginning is not enough to forewarn them of the book's inadequacies. Why the University of Utah Press did not use the opportunity of a third printing to add a critical, scholarly introduction or to develop an anthology that would invite comparative analysis is a mystery.

It is unlikely that any amount of historical barnstorming will change a practice that by now has been theologized by the weight of precedent and, despite the wishes of church members, constantly reappears as a secular challenge to Mormon growth and acceptance. But historians possess the analytical skills to help others distinguish between fact, rhetoric, and myth. This being the case,



perhaps we will someday have an explanation that satisfies the mind as well as the individual conscience.

Gail Farr Casterline  
Chicago Historical Society

*Spokesman for the Kingdom: Early Mormon Journalism and the Deseret News, 1830-1898.* By Monte Burr McLaws. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977. 254 pages, appendix, index, illustrated, bibliography.)

FOR NEARLY a century and a half, leaders of the Mormon Church have recognized the vital role communication must play in its growth and survival — communication within its ranks to promote faith and solidarity, and outside its membership to lessen hostility and build a favorable public image. These have not always been easy roles to fill.

The story of the Church's efforts at public communication up to the turn of the century is well told in a slim volume by Monte Burr McLaws, *Spokesman for the Kingdom*. The subtitle, *Early Mormon Journalism and the Deseret News, 1830-1898* makes it clear that this is much more than a chronicle of the life and times of the Church's newspaper, the *Deseret News*. It traces the history of Mormon journalism from the first journal in Missouri in 1831 through the struggles over polygamy and theocracy in the territorial and early statehood years in Utah.

The *Deseret News* was not the only journalistic voice of the Saints (as Church members often referred to themselves). After the public announcement that polygamy was being practiced and sanctioned within the Church in 1850, Church leaders were so concerned about unfavorable opinion in the nation's major cities that they founded a monthly periodical in Washington, D.C. and weekly newspapers in New York City, St. Louis and San Francisco to expose the favorable side of Mormonism. However, a major burden of internal and external communication still rested with the *Deseret News*, founded in 1850.

In scholarly fashion, Dr. McLaws analyzes the varied missions of the *News* as a family newspaper, as a defender of the Church and its leaders from internal and external criticism, and as a promoter of economic, political, and spiritual solidarity among the Mormons. Since its missions were considered so vital by Church leaders, extraordinary efforts were made by Brigham Young and later leaders to provide the equipment, newsprint and financial sustenance needed from time to time. However, it was expected that every effort would be made for the paper to be self-supporting, and Church members in the early years were constantly exhorted to support the paper with subscriptions. Since money on the frontier was scarce, butter, cheese, molasses, lumber, and even labor on the Big Cottonwood Canal were accepted as payment.

Financial exigencies probably account for the chasm between the paper's editorial line and its advertising policies. For example, in 1867 the *News* described some non-Mormon merchants as "enemies of the Church" and asked the Saints not to do business with them. Although this attempted boycott was promoted in a series of editorials, the paper continued to accept advertisements from the blacklisted businessmen. The paper accepted advertising for a host of

patent medicines, such as "Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Purgative Pellets" (although not for medicinal products for birth control or abortion), while warning its readers editorially against the dangers of such remedies.

Such inconsistencies may not be nearly so unsettling to the present-day faithful as the fact that advertising for tea, coffee, liquor and tobacco were regularly found in the *News*. Dr. McLaws notes that even the Church-owned ZCMI department store advertised fine brandy, wine and whiskey — particularly during the October and April gatherings of the faithful in Salt Lake City for Church conferences; at the same time, use of liquor and tobacco was vigorously assailed in the editorial columns. Only at the end of the century, Dr. McLaws notes, did the *News* bring its tobacco and alcohol advertisement policy into closer harmony with its editorials.

The role of the paper in promoting harmony among the Saints and presenting a favorable image to the outside world created some problems for the paper in trying to live up to its motto of "Truth and Liberty." Dr. McLaws observes that "for the sake of the Kingdom the whole truth was not always printed." For example, sermons of Church leaders were carefully edited before printing because, as Brigham Young explained it, they were read by tens of thousands outside Utah and it was necessary to omit the "sharp words." The apologetic explanation for these practices by the author is that the *News* operated in a theo-democratic system. He concludes that "Even though there was some suppression and shaping of news, in the Mormon theocratic Kingdom few felt themselves unjustly coerced." Such a sweeping statement would be hard to document.

As a kingdom-builder, the *News* did its bit to discourage emigration of non-Mormons to Utah by decrying the attractions of the territory. At the same time, it tried to help build the local economy for the benefit of Church members and to encourage them not to abandon their farms for the gold fields of California or the metal mines of Utah.

As a defender of the faith, the *News* was a vigorous apologist for the practice of polygamy. Contending not only that polygamy was divinely sanctioned and morally justified, the *News* presented it as a positive social good that would prevent the evil of prostitution and produce a stronger breed. Monogamy, it maintained, "increased the incidence of venereal disease, enfeebled the race physiologically, and shortened the life span."

The book is tightly written, but the reader is aided in pursuing further information by an excellent introduction, endnotes to each chapter and an extensive bibliography. The organization of the book leaves something to be desired, probably due to the fact that it involved revision of a doctoral dissertation.

The book is disappointing in its scanty coverage of the delicate political role of the *News* in the 1890s. The role of the *News* in promoting the unity of the Saints, at some cost to the image of non-involvement in politics the Church leaders wished to project, is not covered. Dr. McLaws' considerable analytical ability could be brought to bear on the role played by the *News* in the Moses Thatcher and Brigham Roberts cases, for example. Nevertheless, this is a worthwhile book for any student of Mormon history or Western journalism and is considerably superior in scholarship to the previous books on Utah newspapers, Wendell Ashton's *Voice in the West*, a centennial history of the *Deseret News*

published in 1950, and O. N. Malmquist's *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871-1971*. Published by the Brigham Young University Press as part of the Studies in Mormon History, the book could be expected to be somewhat apologetic for Church leaders' actions. That it offers few apologies and does bring up some embarrassing subjects is both surprising and creditable.

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Weber State College

*The Cowboy: Six-Shooters, Songs and Sex*. Edited by Charles W. Harris and Buck Rainey. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. vii, 167 pp., notes, illus., photographs, index, \$9.95)

THE AMERICAN COWBOY is a unique historical character, and has carved his niche in the framework of American culture. In an attempt to bring the reading public to a closer appreciation and understanding of the cowboy, Charles Harris and Buck Rainey have collected and edited a number of essays by noted Western writers who have dealt with many facets of the cowboy's image. The authors have tried to differentiate between myth and reality regarding certain aspects of this myth-making process. No attempt was made by the editors to select essays on one topic, era, or characteristic; instead, they let the contributors write on matters relating to their particular interests and areas of expertise.

Don Russell, in the first of the eight essays, briefly narrates the history of the cowboy's image and how it has changed from that of a hired hand to that of a romantic frontier hero. Novels, films, and television have contributed to the fictional cowboy image until real cowboys became outnumbered by their fictional counterparts. Nevertheless, the cowboy developed into a folk hero; and his image, which was created by numerous media forms, successfully captivated the imagination of fans throughout the world.

Buck Rainey also writes about the development of the cowboy's image in his discussion of the "reel" cowboy, claiming that the cinema cowboy has provided a substantial basis for misconceptions about the actual cowboy. B-Western movies have played a significant part in the molding of the cowboy image, and Rainey tells how the "well-lodged" hats and "unerring" marksmanship of the movie cowboys supplemented the myth.

Writing in a lively and colorful style, Philip D. Jordan attempts to clear up misconceptions about the cowboy's use of weapons. Jordan discusses the number of cowboys who actually carried firearms; moreover, he reminds the reader of the scarcity of expert marksmen in the West. Clifford Westermeier adds a pinch of spice to the collection of essays with his contribution on the cowboy and sex. He claims that the cowboy's sexual activities have become the object of numerous and diverse interpretations. The image of the forceful, moral, and virile cowboy has changed, and Westermeier presents some of the existing psychological explanations of this altering image.

Lawrence Borne depicts the history of dude ranching, and he hypothesizes that it was the development of that industry that helped keep the cowboy image alive. He pictures the dude ranch as somewhat like a rodeo in that it presented the cowboy in the image of a folk hero. Although declining in popularity and

numbers today, the dude ranch has become a permanent American institution.

Guy Logsdon discusses the bawdy music of the cowboy, and he rectifies some misconceptions. The fiddle, not the guitar, was the favorite musical instrument of the cowboy; and although cowboys loved to dance, they seldom simultaneously played the guitar, sang, and rode their horses while on the long drive. Logsdon claims that the cowboy's music has been altered from a bawdy to a more sedate musical form for public acceptance.

The Indian Territory was the stage where the cowboy acted out many scenes in the drama of the developing American West. Arrell M. Gibson relates the story of the cowboy in this area, and he portrays the cowboy's role in the growth of the long drive and the range cattle industry. Gibson points out that the ultimate tribute to the cowboy of the Indian Territory and the American West is the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center in Oklahoma City.

William Savage concludes the volume with his selection on the cowboy myth, and emphasizes that it has been difficult to define, and probably has been blended with reality. Savage states that the myth has been important to American society in the fulfillment of societal needs. Savage believes that it is the duty of responsible writers, producers, and promoters to salvage a meaningful image of the cowboy.

Harris and Rainey have collected an impressive body of essays which reveal the differing aspects of the cowboy in American culture. Each writer does commendable work on his subject, and the resulting book is a blend of writing and research that will appeal to both scholar and layman. Scholars and buffs interested in the cowboy of the American West will find perusing the pages of this book both worthwhile and pleasurable.

Timothy A. Zwink  
Oklahoma State University

# ***NHS Archival Acquisitions***

## ***Dayton Consolidated Mines Company. Silver City***

THIS COLLECTION consists of records from 1933 to 1949 of the "Nevada corporation organized in 1933 to acquire and operate the property known as the Dayton group, which is located on the Silver City branch of the Comstock Lode." The company later acquired the nearby Oest, Woodville-Justice, and Keystone-New York groups. According to Couch and Carpenter, *Nevada's Metal and Mineral Production* (1943), the gross yield of the operation amounted to \$2,160,819.00 between 1934 and 1940. Included in the materials are employee records, assay reports, and records of expenditures. Also included in the collection are records dated 1937 and 1938 which are related to the United Western Mine, San Francisco Mining District, Oatman, Mojave County, Arizona, which the Dayton Consolidated Mines Company operated. The NHS thanks Walt Daniels of Virginia City for this donation.

## ***William Kennett Sr. Collection***

A NATIVE of Camden, Indiana, where he was born on September 18, 1882, William Kennett came to Elko with his new bride Katharine in late 1907. Kennett relinquished his job as fourth district court reporter when he was elected Clerk of the Nevada Supreme Court in 1916. The new position brought the Kennetts to Carson City where their only child, William Jr., was born in 1918. The Kennett family by 1930 had moved to Tonopah where William and Katharine operated the Mizpah Hotel. Kennett served as Nye County Assemblyman in the 1935, 1937, and 1939 legislatures, and was elected speaker for the 1935 and 1937 sessions. In 1943, the Kennetts moved to Reno where William died on January 17, 1947.

Included in the collection is a small amount of correspondence from, and related to, Patrick A. McCarran. McCarran, a close friend, was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court when Kennett, a life-long Democrat, was elected Clerk. Also there are papers associated with the sale of property on Idaho Street in Elko to the Elko County Telephone and Telegraph Company. The company erected an office on the site. The collection contains business records and ledgers which concern the operation and ownership of the Mizpah in Tonopah.

The NHS wishes to thank Carol Douglas of Reno for the donation of this collection of her grandfather's papers.

## ***Nevada Hotel Ledger. Gold Hill***

THE SOCIETY recently received the Nevada Hotel Ledger from the Sharlot Hall Historical Society in Prescott, Arizona. Originally owned by Jacob W. Kelsey, the ledger records the boarders of the lower Gold Hill establishment between November 24, 1866 to July 2, 1867 and January 7, 1871 to February 10, 1871. According to Alfred Doten in his *Journals*, Kelsey arrived in Virginia City from Meadow Lake, California on November 2, 1866, and on the 23rd of the month travelled to Gold Hill to take charge of the Nevada Hotel. Interestingly enough, Doten, who was not married at the time, referred to Jacob's daughter, Cora, as



“one of my ‘weaknesses.’ ” The November 27, 1866 edition of the *Gold Hill News* announced that Mr. Kelsey “formerly of Excelsior, where he has been keeping Hotel for a year past,” will take over the management of the “Nevada House.” “Kelsey knows how to keep a Hotel.”

A special thanks to Sue Chamberlain, Sharlot Hall Historical Society Archivist for her role in transferring the Nevada Hotel ledger to the NHS.

### *Dr. Amos Cameron Olmstead Collection*

DR. NOAH SMERNOFF of Reno recently donated a Record of Births kept by Dr. Amos C. Olmstead, a Wells physician. Dr. Olmstead first came to Wells on February 8, 1897, after graduating from Cooper Medical College in San Francisco; he practiced in the Elko County community until his death on June 14, 1943.

The birth records cover the years 1897 to 1914 and include over one hundred and twenty-five entries. Since the state did not keep vital statistics until 1911, and county birth records between 1887 and 1911 were at best sporadically kept, Dr. Olmstead's Record of Births is an important and valuable addition not only to our manuscript collections, but to the state's vital records as well.

The Society is grateful to Dr. Smernoff for this donation.

# **NHS News and Developments**

## *Newspaper Indexing Work*

AS INCREASING AMOUNTS of staff time are placed in indexing tasks, the numbers of years completed and available to researchers grows in proportion. At this time, the Las Vegas office has the *Pioche Weekly Record*, 1872-1905, and the *Las Vegas Age*, 1905-1930, ready and open to the public. The CETA project to continue the *Age* to 1940 goes forward with David Millman managing the effort. Two new indexers have been employed, Alan Cummings and Gary Leeth. The project is intended to cover the years to 1972, with the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* superseding the *Age* in 1940. In Reno, Phillip Earl and RSVP volunteer John Humphreys have completed the *Nevada State Journal*, 1863-1874 and 1880-1884. In the past year, over 100,000 cards have been added to the newspaper index files.

## *Help for Nevada History Classes*

THE FIRST UNIT of teaching aids for state history classes has been distributed to educators. Angela Brooker, our Curator of Education (Las Vegas), completed the initial set entitled "Nevada's Symbols: Reflections of the Past." The materials are packaged attractively and include a sixty-page student's text, teacher's guide, filmstrip and script, bulletin board materials and a multi-color time line showing Nevada and the Great Basin over the past 15,000 years. The unit was designed for the 7th and 8th grade level and has been well received. Ms. Brooker is currently compiling the second and third units, which will consider the topics of Nevada geography, and the Native Americans of the Nevada area. Ultimately, the Society intends to complete some twelve to fifteen units of instructional aids which will form the basis for a one-semester course in Nevada history at the 7th grade level.

## *A Challenge Grant*

THE LATEST MAJOR grant awarded the Society has come from the National Endowment for the Humanities' Challenge Grant Program. Intended to stimulate the development of new sources of financial support, the NEH has provided \$150,000 which the Society will match with \$450,000 over the coming three years. This program is the nucleus of a two million dollar endowment drive to establish support for scholarships, fellowships, publishing and research into long-neglected areas of Nevada history.

## *Continuing Projects*

A NUMBER OF interesting and rewarding research projects are underway in Las Vegas and Reno. The Desert Research Institute has again supported Robert Nylen's work into the relationships between major Nevada rivers, irrigation and politics. This project will continue throughout fiscal 1979. The Society has joined the Nevada Archeological Survey in compiling a study of the history and prehistory of the Sheldon Antelope Refuge (Humboldt County) for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Other projects completed in the past months have been a series of studies on proposed state wilderness areas for the U.S. Bureau of Land Management in conjunction with the Nevada State Museum.

## **Books on Nevada**

### **A GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS AT THE NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

L. James Higgins

After more than seventy years of collecting, the Society has published its first guide to the non-print collections. An alphabetical list of the individual holdings occupies over 200 pages. A unique "name, place and thing" index guides the reader to collections containing items on a particular person or place. For the convenience of researchers interested in a specific chronological range, collections are indexed by five-year periods in the concluding section of the book. \$8 postpaid.

### **YOUR GUIDE TO WESTERN NEVADA**

Al and Mary Ellen Glass

This first of a series of guidebooks to major sections of Nevada offers five self-guiding tours of the most fascinating portions of the Comstock country. Maps and detailed instructions guide the reader to Virginia City, Lake Tahoe, Alpine County, CA, Carson Valley, the Newlands Project and Humboldt Sink. Historic sites, mining districts and ghost towns abound as well as an opportunity to join in the Pyramid Lake Indian War of 1860. \$2.50 postpaid.

### **YOUR GUIDE TO SOUTHERN NEVADA**

Maryellen V. Sadovich

Take six self-guiding tours in your own automobile. Simple directions to southern Nevada's back country and historic sites. Explore the Colorado River, Muddy Valley, Eldorado Canyon, Goodsprings and Searchlight. Search for Breyfogle's lost gold in the valleys where near-pure gold lay exposed. Follow detailed maps and enjoy the old photographs of Nevada's picturesque southern bonanza camps. \$2.50 postpaid.

### **TURN THIS WATER INTO GOLD: THE STORY OF THE NEWLANDS PROJECT**

John M. Townley

The fascinating heritage of Churchill and its Newlands Project, the nation's first federal reclamation system, is the subject of this richly illustrated narrative history. It treats the prehistoric occupants of Carson Sink, the pioneer years of the 19th Century, then details the development of irrigated agriculture and the contemporary water controversy over the Carson and Truckee rivers. \$12.50 postpaid. Hardbound.

### **AN INDEX TO THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1907-1972**

Eric N. Moody

This long-needed finding aid to more than sixty years of Society publications will greatly simplify reference inquiries into the various *Papers*, *Reports* and the *Quarterly*. A must for any western library. \$12.50 postpaid. Hardbound.

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