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Nevada's Treatment of the Mentally Ill, 1882-1961

ELLEN PILLARD

FOR YEARS CONCERNED CITIZENS and mental health professionals have argued that Nevada should have the best quality mental health services available. But Nevada officials continually have had to struggle with limited resources, relatively small numbers of people who need mental health services, inordinately expensive transportation costs (it has historically been the responsibility of the state to transport the mentally ill in need of help to the source of that help),[1] and changing standards of acceptable care for the mentally ill. A review of the history of Nevada's State Hospital will document some of these recurring problems and will raise some interesting questions. This history shows that Nevada has provided neither the best care in the country nor the worst. Although there have been at least five major investigations into the practices of the superintendents of the State Hospital for the mentally ill, none of these has documented snake-pit conditions. Rather, they have led to exoneration of the superintendents and acceptance of their practices. And although there have been times when there was little public interest in or financial support for the State Hospital, and deteriorating buildings and neglected services have resulted, these periods have coincided with periods of national disinterest in mental health care.

As one might expect, Nevada's story also differs from the national one, and certain specific characteristics stand out. For example, the state's approach to the care of the mentally ill has demonstrated genuine concern for the individuals involved, but has been neither unified nor planned. Instead, Nevada's mental health program (like Topsy) has just grown, and at times this growth has been helter-skelter. One explanation for this is that most decisions about care and treatment provided for the mentally ill have been made by one person, the superintendent of Nevada's sole institution for the mentally ill. Some interaction between the superintendent and the politically appointed Board of Commissioners-Advisory Board has occurred, but avail-

[1] See the repeated references throughout the Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of the Nevada Hospital for Mental Diseases in *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly of the Nevada State Legislature,* (Carson City: State Printing Office) from 1883 to 1967 for comments on the costs and problems of transporting the mentally ill to the State Hospital.

able records indicate that major decisions have been made by the agency head alone. These superintendents, for the most part, were neither trend setters nor completely out of touch with national mental health issues of their time. As a result, Nevada's treatment of the mentally ill has been neither highly innovative nor extremely regressive.

A second characteristic of the Nevada system is the noticeable lack of either public review or independent professional review of mental health programs. In the first eighty-four years of its operation there have been only five public inquiries and one grand jury investigation; none of these has led to major changes.[2] Considering that mental health care has been particularly subject to scandal across the United States, Nevada's history seems benign in comparison.

There are several reasons for the lack of public review, but the primary one is the interplay between politics and mental health practices. In the five formal investigations of State Hospital superintendents and their treatment of the mentally ill, public officials served as the hearing boards. Each of these hearings cleared the superintendent and supported his practices. The grand jury investigation in 1966 produced a set of recommendations, but the report is sealed and therefore not available for review at the time of this writing.

The lack of independent professional review is also chronicled in these hearings. It was not until the fifth investigation, the hearing into the practices of Dr. Sidney Tillim in 1961, that an independent medical review of the superintendent's practices was requested. Prior to that time the superintendents' own statements about acceptable practices or national standards were taken as the final authority. Of course prior to the 1950's Nevada had a very limited number of mental health professionals, and the largest employer of those professionals was the State Hospital. This fact made independent and critical review impossible.[3] It can be argued that it is difficult to develop high quality programs within state administration without a healthy, independent professional community to provide expertise, support and critical review.

Although lack of public and professional review restricted accountability to the public and to professional standards, Nevada's administrative structure in mental health guaranteed political accountability. Long after other states had changed the administration of their mental health programs

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[2] Dr. S. Bishop was investigated in November, 1883, February, 1885, and in May, 1887. Dr. H. Bergstein had charges filed against him in December, 1897. Dr. S. Tillim came under review from October to December, 1961. And in May, 1966, the Washoe County Grand Jury conducted an investigation into practices at the State Hospital.

[3] Each of the five public investigations was started by former State Hospital employees filing charges against the superintendent. The records of these hearings show that their status as "former" employees called their testimony into question.

to minimize political patronage, the Nevada system continued to have two such linkages. Most obvious is the fact that the Hospital superintendent historically has been appointed by the governor. Equally important, the original Board of Commissioners for the Care of the Indigent Insane, which ran the Hospital, consisted of political officeholders. When this Board changed and no longer had direct responsibility for the operation of the Hospital, the make-up also changed and public officeholders were replaced by citizens appointed by the governor.[4] This move can be seen as an attempt to remove politics from the operation of the State Hospital, but the Advisory Board has continued to be sensitive to the political interests of the governor.

A third characteristic of Nevada's mental health program is the lack of long range planning. Undoubtedly this is due in part to the system's close ties with the political arena. As the political leaders changed so did the Hospital superintendents, and frequent changes made planning impossible. The lack of extended scheduling is particularly evident in looking at the building program at the State Hospital. Originally there was one large structure. Over the years buildings were added, then remodeled, some were torn down, others were remodeled again.[5] Clearly, this was done without much discussion of the future needs of the state or of the mentally ill.[6] Rather, these buildings were started or remodeled to meet some immediate physical crisis such as deterioration. Such an approach to the development and maintenance of a physical plant is not unique to Nevada, for many other states have similar histories, but it is indicative of the haphazard way services to the mentally ill have been developed.

Nevada's program for the care of the mentally ill started with housing problems. After Nevada became a state, the Secretary of State was empowered to contract with California institutions so that the increasing number of insane people in Nevada might be placed in an asylum rather than in jails and poor houses within the state.[7] By the late 1870's this method of

[4] The first significant change in the Board of Commissioners occurred in 1945. See: Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, *Survey of the Nevada Hospital of Mental Diseases*, Bull. #10 (Carson City: State Printing Office, Dec. 1950), p. 13. The Board finally became advisory in 1965. See: Department of Health and Welfare, *State of Nevada Mental Health Facilities Construction Plan. 1966–67*, p. 8.

[5] For a summary of the buildings and their history see: Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, op. cit., pp. 19–36.

[6] The lack of long range planning in this area is interpreted from the lack of any planning document on Nevada's mental health needs prior to 1966 and the lack of any discussion of treatment needs of the mentally ill in the Reno area newspapers after 1882.

[7] I have chosen to use the vocabulary that was in common usage during the time period discussed. This is not meant to be pejorative. In fact, insane has become mentally ill, feebleminded has become mentally retarded, and the Nevada Insane Asylum has become the Nevada Hospital for Mental Diseases (or the Nevada State Hospital) and then the Nevada Mental Health Institute.

caring for the insane came under increasing criticism, for it was expensive and not in the best interest of the unfortunates.[8] The Board of Commissioners for the Care of the Indigent Insane was authorized to study the building of an asylum in Nevada; the research resulted in the selection of a site and the construction of an establishment. On July 1, 1882 the Nevada Insane Asylum opened and 148 inmates from the Pacific Asylum in Stockton, California were transferred there. The site for the Asylum was chosen because the state already owned the land, located to the east of Reno, adjacent to the Truckee River, and west of what was to become the town of Sparks. Originally this property had been designated as the location of the state prison, but those plans had been abandoned. As the Board pondered a location for an asylum in 1880, that spot seemed ideal. Controversy arose over costs, but eventually a three-story "F"-shaped building that could house two hundred inmates was finished. This structure was located in the center of the complex that has become the Nevada Mental Health Institute (the gym-canteen and day activity facilities occupy the site of that original building). This south-facing building remained in use until the early 1960's when it was demolished. Newspaper articles describe those original quarters in glowing terms and report that they appeared more than adequate to meet the needs of the insane.[9]

Before plans were approved there was some discussion between the Board of Commissioners for the Care of the Indigent Insane and local doctors about the type of sanitarium to be provided. Until 1974 this is the only instance in which the building plans were discussed and related to the kinds of treatment that the state might provide.[10] Dr. A. Dawson, a Reno physician, suggested in 1880 that the proposed asylum consist of several small cottages that would house two or three insane people in a family-type setting.[11] The "cottage plan" was already in use in Belgium and Scotland; its proponents argued that it was the simplest, most humane method for treating the insane. Nationally, however, Dorothea Dix had spent over forty years calling attention to the miserable conditions in which the insane were kept, and her repeated requests for states to provide hospitals for them probably influenced the Board of Commissioners to construct a large three-story hospital.

The first institution to be built on the "cottage plan" in this country was

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8 *Reno Evening Gazette,* May 8, 1878, p. 2; June 5, 1878, p. 2; Nov. 17, 1880, p. 2.

9 *Reno Weekly Gazette,* April 21, 1881, p. 6; Dec. 15, 1881, p. 1.

10 See: Division of Mental Hygiene and Mental Retardation, *Nevada Mental Health Institute Facilities Utilization Study—Long Range Report for the Development of the Nevada Mental Health Institute: Facilities and Grounds,* by Friedner D. Wittmar, (July 1, 1974), for the discussion that took place in 1974.

11 *Reno Evening Gazette,* Dec. 1, 1880, p. 2.

Letchworth Village in New York State in 1908.[12] Ninety years after the Nevada Insane Asylum opened, major construction at the Nevada Mental Health Institute converted its building to a modified cottage plan. So Nevada came full circle in the kinds of structure it built to house the mentally ill. Thus these two discussions, one in 1880 and the other in 1974, are the only two documented instances where major design was analyzed in terms of the kind of treatment the state would provide for the mentally ill. All of the other construction at the State Hospital has been to accomodate such crises as overcrowding or deterioration.

It is informative to look at other kinds of plans and decisions made in the intervening ninety years. A request was made in 1901 for the construction of a separate building at the State Hospital for the reception of new patients;[13] finally in 1902, Dr. William Patterson, the superintendent of the facility, ordered a small structure fabricated from the stones that were originally to have been used for the prison walls. This edifice, containing thirteen rooms, was to be used as the needed reception area with some additional rooms for women patients.[14] In 1978, the Stone Building remained as the oldest structure on the Institute grounds.

Although the original building was periodically remodeled and the water, sewer and heating systems were regularly overhauled, the next major construction activity took place in the 1920's under Dr. R. H. Richardson's direction. The patient population continued to grow from 148 in 1882 to a yearly average of 218 by 1920.[15] In addition, the primary facility was forty years old, and the Stone Building was needed for employees required to live on the grounds. So Dr. Richardson requested and received money to erect several new ward buildings.[16] These features were designed as a continuation of the hospital model. Then, in 1930, the original structure was remodeled extensively and changed from three stories to two.[17]

The next major period of activity did not occur until the 1960's when the

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12 Nina Ridenour, *Mental Health in the United States: A Fifty Year History* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Commonwealth Fund, 1961), pp. 3–4.

13 Nevada State Legislature, *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly of the Twentieth Session,* Biennial Report of the Superintendent of the Nevada Hospital for Mental Diseases (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1901), p. 10. Hereafter referred to as *Appendix to the Journals* and Biennial Report of the Superintendent.

14 *Appendix to the Journals of the Twenty-First Session,* Biennial Report of the Superintendent, (1903), pp. 8–9.

15 *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly of the Fifty-Third Session,* Vol. 2, pp. 48–49.

16 *Appendix to the Journals of the Thirtieth Session,* Vol. 2, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1921), pp. 5–6. *Appendix to the Journals of the Thirty-Second Session,* Vol. 1, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1925), p. 5. *Appendix to the Journals of the Thirty-Third Session,* Vol. 1, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1927), p. 3.

17 *Appendix to the Journals of the Thirty-Fifth Session,* Vol. 1, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1931), p. 3.

original building was demolished and the gym-canteen constructed on that site. The average yearly population had grown to 556 by 1960, so several new wards were added to meet the pressing population pressures. The older structures also were remodeled and expanded.[18]

Up to this point the State Hospital had housed not only the mentally ill, but also the mentally retarded and the mentally disordered offenders. For over a century the trend in the treatment of the mentally retarded had been to separate their care from that of the mentally ill. In Kentucky where the second state-operated hospital for the care of the mentally ill was established in 1824, they specifically excluded imbeciles from care.[19] In 1846 both New York and Massachusetts passed legislation setting up commissions to study the unique needs of the mentally retarded.[20] And in 1848 Massachusetts opened the first state-operated facility for the retarded.[21] But it was not until 1971 that Nevada became the last state in the United States to build separate facilities for the retarded, opening two cottages for that group of patients, one located on the State Hospital grounds, the other in Las Vegas.[22] The state then constructed separate facilities on the State Hospital grounds for the mentally disordered offenders. With the completion of these new facilities the state was responding to requests made by the State Hospital superintendent almost biennially since 1893.

Buildings exemplify the planning demonstrated by a state's leadership. A more difficult area to evaluate is the care and treatment provided for the mentally ill. Characteristically, that provided in Nevada was determined by the State Hospital superintendent with no opportunity for professional review of his orders. The superintendent was also the sole source of information on care and treatment.

When the Nevada Insane Asylum opened in 1882 the most obvious question was the kind of treatment that should be provided. American psychiatry of that day was strongly influenced by the thought of Phillipe Pinel, the French physician who revolutionized the treatment of the mentally ill in the late 1700's and the early 1800's. Pinel's ideas had begun to humanize the treatment of this group by articulating the principles of "moral treatment." The first precise definition of moral treatment in English was pro-

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[18] *Appendix to the Journals of the Forty-Ninth Session,* Vol. 2, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1959), pp. 11–12. *Appendix to the Journals of the Fifty-First Session,* Vol. 2, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1961), pp. 16–17. *Appendix to the Journals of the Fifty-Second Session,* Vol. 3, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1963), p. 9.

[19] Albert Deutsch, *The Mentally Ill in America,* 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 107.

[20] Ibid., p. 342.

[21] Ibid., p. 343.

[22] *Sparks Tribune,* Dec. 2, 1971, p. 3.

vided by Dr. T. Romeyn Beck in 1811, when he stated that moral treatment consisted of:

> removing patients from their residence to some proper asylum; and for this purpose some calm retreat in the country is to be preferred; for it is found that continuance at home aggravates the disease, as the improper association of ideas cannot be destroyed . . . ; make [the patients] rise, take exercise and food at stated times. The diet ought to be light and easy to digest, but never too low. When convalescing, allow limited liberty; introduce entertaining books and conversation, exhilarating music, employment of body in agricultural pursuits . . . ; and admit friends under proper restrictions. It will also be proper to forbid their returning home too soon. By thus acting, the patient will "minister to himself."[23]

Dr. Simeon Bishop, the first superintendent of the Nevada Insane Asylum for an extended period of time (January 1883 to March 1891), described in similar terms the treatment he provided. In biennial reports to the legislature Bishop reported that the surroundings (at the Asylum) had been made pleasing and all appearance of restraint removed.[24] Work around the grounds of the Asylum was encouraged because it was considered fortifying and calming.[25] Furthermore, during an 1887 formal investigation into his treatment of Asylum inmates, Dr. Bishop stated that he used hot and cold baths, water from a hose, tonics, stimulants and electric shock in the form of a battery-powered prod applied to various parts of the body. He insisted that these procedures were used for treatment, never for punishment, and always had beneficial results.[26] Apparently, Dr. Bishop set the standard for defining "beneficial results."

From Dr. Bishop's comments it is evident that he guardedly subscribed to the philosophy of moral treatment. Perhaps his most progressive statement was the relatively new idea of having inmates work around the grounds. In regard to the other treatments he mentioned, although twentieth-century perspective may differ, other sources have commented on the accepted use of hydrotherapy (hot and cold baths), tonics, stimulants, and laxatives in the 1880's and 1890's. In retrospect, one certainly may question the use of water from a hose and electric shock as treatment.[27] The testimony

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[23] Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 91–92.

[24] *Appendix to the Journals of the Thirteenth Session,* Report of the Commissioners for the Care of the Indigent Insane (1887), p. 8.

[25] *Appendix to the Journals of the Twelfth Session,* Report of the Commissioners (1885), p. 15.

[26] *Investigation of the Charges Preferred by William Thompson against Dr. S. Bishop* charges preferred May 3, 1887 (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1887), p. 264.

[27] The kind of electric shock Dr. Bishop used must be differentiated from electroconvulsive therapy (ECT). What Dr. Bishop did was to apply a low voltage current to specific parts of the body which he felt were diseased. This included the spine, head, shoulders, arms and genitals. Electroconvulsive therapy is an electric shock applied to the head under clinically

on Dr. Bishop's use of electric shock is the best documented example of a highly questionable treatment practice in Nevada's history. Other questionable practices may have taken place, but those practices have never been well documented.

Dr. George H. Thoma, who succeeded Dr. Bishop in March of 1891, left much more positive descriptions of the treatment provided at the Asylum. His statement of what was provided included such therapeutic agents as diet, the bath, regular rest, diversion, cheerful environment, and non-compulsory work.[28] Clearly, this description seems very much like the definition of moral treatment. Dr. Thoma also was instrumental in persuading the legislature to change the name of the Asylum, because he felt that institutions for the insane should more appropriately be called hospitals. Consequently, in 1895, the legislature changed the name to the Nevada Hospital for Mental Diseases. As Nevada's program for the insane moved toward a hospital model, other terminology also began to change; inmates became patients, paroles became convalescent leaves, furloughs became passes.

The treatment accorded the mentally ill over the centuries has been based on the attitudes and beliefs about the causes of mental illness. Some of the most interesting sources left by the early superintendents of the Nevada Insane Asylum are the records of each inmate in the Asylum showing the supposed cause of insanity, records which were filed with their biennial reports to the state legislature. They provide some insight into what these physicians in the 1880's and 1890's thought about insanity. Often when these doctors identified causes they described the treatment for that disorder.

Then, as today, there was a major controversy over whether insanity was caused by heredity or environment. Drs. Bishop and Thoma and several subsequent superintendents listed both as sources of insanity. In fact, perusal of the superintendents' biennial reports over the first twenty years of operation of the Asylum will show that heredity was reported as the leading single cause of insanity. Dr. Bergstein, who succeeded Dr. Thoma in 1895, discussed at some length a proposal to sterilize the insane where mental disease appeared in the second generation.[29] He argued that 75 per cent of all insanity was caused by heredity.

Of the non-genetic causes of insanity, masturbation was reported as

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controlled circumstances. ECT was developed in 1937, and has been used extensively until recently. Now, however, it is only used rarely. (See the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 134, No. 7 [Sept. 1977], for further discussion of *ECT*.)

28 *Appendix to the Journals of the Seventeenth Session*, Report of the Commissioners (1895), p. 8.

29 *Appendix to the Journals of the Eighteenth Session*, Report of the Commissioners (1897), pp. 13–14.

the most prevalent cause before 1900. It was followed by intemperance, epilepsy and the suffering of a personal loss such as death of a spouse or child, a business failure, mining speculation or gambling. Some of the more unusual causes appear only infrequently, but they are interesting to note. These include religion and ardent spirits, jealousy, love, indigestion, bad air and overwork. In one well reported case in 1885 guilt over running away with another woman's husband was listed as the cause of insanity.[30]

To treat the insane whose disease was caused by masturbation, Dr. Bishop developed a mechanical restraint he called iron blanks. This was a large piece of sheet iron that was strapped around the inmate's middle to prevent him from masturbating.[31] Dr. Bishop also treated masturbation by applying electric shock to the inmate's genitals.[32] This practice appears to have been very unusual and is not mentioned in other sources or by subsequent superintendents.

The fact that a majority of cases committed to the Asylum were listed as having causes unknown is reflective of the problem of designing appropriate treatment for the insane based on a diagnosis. For those people it appears that treatment meant being placed in a pleasant environment and being put on a regular schedule. In 1978 mental health professionals are faced with the same problem; specifically the causes of mental illness in many instances still remain unknown and environmental or milieu therapy is the primary prescription.

Dr. S. C. Gibson, Hospital superintendent from November, 1904 to July, 1911, was the first to report significant changes in treatment. In his report to the legislature in 1907 Dr. Gibson recounted these innovations.[33] He started a parole system for patients as a period of trial placement in the community to evaluate whether they could live successfully out of the Hospital. Gibson developed a program of taking the patients into Reno or Sparks for their entertainment, even allowing some patients to ride the trolley line alone into the city. In addition, he granted furloughs to patients so they could visit their families, and encouraged correspondence between the invalids and their families.

The basic treatment at the Hospital continued to be rest, relaxing baths, proper diet, and regular activity, but Dr. Gibson took therapy one step further. He emphasized the advantages of early diagnosis and treatment of the

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[30] See the individual reference to Mrs. Charlotte Lundholm in *Appendix to the Journals of the Twelfth Session,* Report of the Commissioners (1885), p. 24. The *Reno Evening Gazette,* June 17, 1884, also reports this commitment in great detail.

[31] *Investigation of Charges,* op. cit., p. 241.

[32] Ibid., pp. 183–185.

[33] *Appendix to the Journals of the Twenty-Third Session,* Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1907), pp. 21–40.

insane, and stressed the need to individualize each patient. He also echoed previous superintendents, stating that the feeble-minded and the criminally insane should be housed in separate facilities.

Perhaps most interesting was Dr. Gibson's discussion of the use of mechanical restraints and isolation. Over the ninety-six year history of the State Hospital, official reports on the use of such things as handcuffs, leg-locks and strait jackets primarily tended to be disclaimers. Dr. Gibson chose to be unique by describing in some detail his use of these devices. He commented that such procedures were used on patients who were homicidal, suicidal, aggressive or destructive. Dr. Gibson added that he preferred mechanical restraints over chemical ones because handcuffs or strait jackets could be lightened or removed at will while chemical doses could not.

Mechanical restraints are defined as any apparatus that interferes with free movement of the patient, and which he is unable to remove easily. Dr. Gibson's statements about these devices may have in part been prompted by the growing national controversy about treating the mentally ill without restrictive devices. Noted European doctors had debated the removal of chains and coercive instruments since the early 1800's. Various hospitals and sanitariums actually had eliminated almost every type of restraint. In 1856 Dr. John Conolly, noted English physician and hospital superintendent, published his famous book, *The Treatment of the Insane without Mechanical Restraints*. Yet until the turn of the twentieth century, American doctors and public institutions insisted that these controls were essential. Then, in 1902, Peoria State Hospital was built, the first public institution in the United States without locked doors and with a policy of non-restraint.[34] In 1911 Massachusetts became the first state to pass legislation severely restricting the use of coercive chairs, strait jackets, handcuffs and soft ties, a policy now adopted by every other state.[35] One may surmise that Dr. Gibson had some awareness of this national debate and was justifying his more conservative practice of using these devices. Gibson's more restrictive practices on controlling patients contrast sharply with the more progressive practices he initiated in allowing patients to leave the Hospital grounds and to have more freedom.

Dr. John A. Lewis, who succeeded Dr. Gibson in July, 1911, reversed his predecessor's policy on mechanical restraints. In his report to the legislature in 1915, Dr. Lewis commented that he had eliminated every form of physical restraint except locked doors. He also stated that he had done away with the use of sedative drugs such as morphine and cocaine, but he did not report on any other aspect of treatment at the State Hospital.[36]

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[34] Nina Ridenour, op. cit., pp. 12–13.

[35] Albert Deutsch, op. cit., p. 227.

[36] *Appendix to the Journals of the Twenty-Seventh Session*, Vol. 3, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1915), pp. 3–5.

Nationally, from the turn of the century until after World War II few new ideas or approaches to the care of the mentally ill came forward, although there were some significant scientific discoveries. The apparent lack of discussion in Nevada about care and treatment at the State Hospital reflects this dormancy. During this period, state hospitals became increasingly crowded, resources became restricted and public concern became practically nonexistent. Many state hospitals became solely custodial institutions; Nevada's Hospital for Mental Diseases was no different.[37] Nevada was fortunate during this period, however, for its small general population meant that the State Hospital was not stretched as thin as many other state institutions were. In fact, the State Hospital's average population grew slowly from 224 in 1911 to 336 in 1945–46.[38]

Immediately after World War II, public concern for mental hospitals reappeared. First the novel *Snake Pit* appeared describing horrible conditions in one mental hospital. In 1946 *Life Magazine* carried an exposé of similar plights entitled "Bedlam 1946." This was followed in 1949 by Albert Deutsch's book, *Shame of the States,* on the inhuman situations in several large state hospitals.

Coinciding with this national uproar, Dr. Sidney Tillim became superintendent of the Nevada State Hospital in September, 1945. Under Dr. Tillim's sixteen-year leadership the State Hospital developed in several directions. There was a move toward recruiting professionals to treat the mentally ill. Dr. Tillim started an occupational therapy department, he asked for and eventually hired the first psychologist, and he repeatedly requested the addition of social services at the State Hospital.[39] Dr. Tillim argued for a traveling mental health clinic for rural Nevada and for improved outpatient services to help in maintaining discharged patients in the community.[40] In his report to the legislature in 1951, Dr. Tillim made the first mention of psycho-therapy (i.e., therapeutic interviews between doctor and patient), another indication of his progressive views.

In 1953 tranquilizing drugs for the treatment of mental illness were developed and introduced on a widespread basis across the country. In 1959 Dr. Tillim first mentioned the use of these drugs.[41] He stated that the substances had enabled the Hospital to reduce its patient population by two percent. This time lag between the clinical introduction of a new treatment

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[37] *Appendix to the Journals of the Forty-Second Session,* Vol. 2, Report of the Senate Committee on Investigation of the Nevada Hospital for Mental Diseases (1945).

[38] *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly of the Fifty-Third Session,* Vol. 2, pp. 48–49.

[39] *Appendix to the Journals of the Forty-Third Session,* Vol. 1, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1947), p. 6.

[40] *Appendix to the Journals of the Forty-Seventh Session,* Vol. 3, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1955), pp. 8–9.

[41] *Appendix to the Journals of the Forty-Ninth Session,* Vol. 2, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1959), p. 8.

and its adoption in Nevada was not unusual. For example, although fever therapy was introduced in the United States in 1922,[42] it first was mentioned as available at the State Hospital in 1939.[43] Electroconvulsive therapy was first used clinically in 1938,[44] but the State Hospital did not purchase its first ECT machine until 1943.[45] Clearly, Nevada lagged behind other states in securing specific treatments for its mentally ill, so Dr. Tillim's delay in using the new tranquilizing drugs was not unusual.

Although Dr. Tillim and the State Hospital had avoided the scandals and public outcry of the late 1940's, the last several months of Dr. Tillim's superintendency were marked by heated debate, as evidenced by a series of articles in the *Reno Evening Gazette* from October through December of 1961, and a public hearing into practices at the State Hospital. This investigation will be discussed in some detail later on, but it is significant that shortly before the Nevada Medical Society released a study of the State Hospital exonerating him, Dr. Tillim resigned. This ending clouded some of the significant progress under Dr. Tillim. For example, he held the superintendency for the longest period of time and received recognition from national figures for the quality of the Hospital's operation;[46] he saw the Hospital grow to its largest population, and prepared the way for the important expansion of mental health services that came in the 1960's and 1970's.

Dr. Tillim was not the first State Hospital Superintendent to face public charges. State hospitals and their chiefs have historically been subject to charges of neglecting and abusing their patients. Dorothea Dix, for one, capitalized on the use of the exposé, helping to make the last century of mental health care history marked with scandal and public investigations. Nevada's open inquiries into mental health practices are interesting to examine on three counts. First, they provide the most explicit information on specific treatment practices; second, they provide valuable insight into the relationship between politics and mental health; and finally, they are informative for what they were unable to document in terms of scandalous practices.

The first public controversy about mental health care in Nevada occurred shortly after the Insane Asylum opened. Dr. Simeon Bishop, who had become superintendent in January, 1883, was accused in November of that

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42 Ridenour, op. cit., p. 32.

43 *Appendix to the Journals of the Thirty-Ninth Session,* Vol. 1, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1939), p. 5.

44 Ridenour, op. cit., p. 32.

45 *Appendix to the Journals of the Forty-First Session,* Vol. 1, Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1943), p. 5.

46 Albert Deutsch, "The Sorry State of Nevada," *Collier's,* March 18, 1955, p. 85.

year of misappropriating state money.[47] His accuser was Dr. Henry Bergstein, his assistant at the Asylum. The *Reno Weekly Gazette* aired these charges, but when the Board of Commissioners for the Care of the Indigent Insane—which by law had the responsibility for the operation of the Asylum —conducted an investigation, its decision was to dismiss the charges against Dr. Bishop.[48]

In February, 1885, Dr. Bishop was charged again, this time with incompetence and cruelty to inmates. Dr. A. Dawson, Dr. Bishop's predecessor as Asylum superintendent, and several local residents, who filed these charges with a joint legislative investigating committee, focused on two specific cases. The first involved a woman who had been committed with epilepsy. Her family reported that when they visited the Asylum, she was lying in a stupor on her bed, her body covered with bed sores. Furthermore, she had lost one hundred pounds because she would not eat what she was fed. Her family testified that all this was as a result of Dr. Bishop's mismanagement.[49] The second case involved a Carson City woman, Mrs. Charlotte Lundholm, who had been committed to the Asylum because she had "not done right by her husband." The testimony showed that Mr. Lundholm had left for a trip to Europe in 1874. Prior to that time he had owned a good deal of land in Alpine County, California, and had been quite successful as a rancher. He had not been heard from since his departure some eleven years earlier.[50] Mrs. Lundholm, with the aid of several of her husband's friends, had managed until 1884 when her moodiness and her constant pacing of the floor led these friends to have Mrs. Lundholm committed. In her insanity she kept insisting "please help me, I never killed no man; I got no blood on my hands."[51] This statement plus the unexplained disappearance of Mr. Lundholm led Dr. Bishop to comment to various people in the community and in front of Mrs. Lundholm that she was guilty of her husband's death, and therefore a hopeless case. As she regained her reason, she would only realize the enormity of what she had done, and this would drive her insane again. In addition, Dr. Bishop felt she deserved to spend the rest of her life in the Asylum as punishment for this act.[52] Mrs. Lundholm's friends insisted Dr. Bishop's statements were unfounded, and to have made these statements

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47 *Reno Weekly Gazette,* Nov. 8, 1883, p. 2; Nov. 22, 1883, p. 2.

48 Ibid., Dec. 13, 1883, p. 1. This citation contains a verbatim report of the hearing and records Dr. Bishop's exoneration.

49 *Investigation of Charges,* op. cit., pp. 204–222 and pp. 282–85.

50 Ibid., pp. 223–240 and pp. 285–290.

51 Ibid., p. 264.

52 Dr. Bishop's statement reflects the belief held in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that guilt over an immoral act caused insanity. The treatment for such insanity was punishment. This belief on Bishop's part is in sharp contrast to his earlier statements about the curability of insanity.

in front of this woman showed extreme callousness. The investigating committee disagreed, exonerating Dr. Bishop of all the charges.[53]

Two years later the superintendent came under attack again when William Thompson of Sparks filed formal charges before the Board of Commissioners (made up at this time of the governor, comptroller, and state treasurer). These statements, made in May, 1887, accused Dr. Bishop of incompetence, of cruelty to inmates and of misuse of state money.[54] This time evidence was presented concerning half a dozen cases of alleged cruelty. Once again Dr. Dawson testified against Dr. Bishop. Most of the testimony centered on Dr. Bishop's use of electric shock. Dr. Dawson explained that two or three attendants would hold an inmate while Dr. Bishop applied the shock to any part of the body. If an inmate resisted this treatment, force would be used. Dr. Bishop insisted that he never applied electricity to punish the inmates, only to treat them, and that they were always placid and quiet afterwards. Again following extensive testimony, the Board exonerated Dr. Bishop. In addition, they made the unusual statement that they would no longer inquire into any accusations brought by Dr. Dawson.[55] Whatever the merit of the complaints, it was evident that Dr. Bishop had the support and protection of the political leadership, and was therefore free to do as he pleased.

The next formal investigation occurred ten years later. In 1895 Dr. Henry Bergstein, Dr. Bishop's former assistant, became superintendent of the Hospital. Dr. Bergstein had been involved in supporting charges against Bishop in at least two of the previous investigations, but in 1897 he found himself in trouble on his own. The *Reno Evening Gazette* raised questions about expenditures made during the finishing of one portion of the Asylum building.[56] Charges and countercharges kept Bergstein's name in the paper for several months, although a formal investigation of the newspaper's story never was made.[57] Then in December, 1897, Dr. Bergstein fired the Hospital's business manager of three years, Mr. Woods.[58] Woods claimed that Dr. Bergstein was doing "questionable" things at the Hospital. The Board of Commissioners decided to hold a hearing on the Woods firing and the charges against Bergstein. In a formal complaint Woods accused Dr. Bergstein of performing unauthorized autopsies on patients, then throwing parts of their bodies in the nearby Truckee River.[59] Bergstein defended himself

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[53] *Investigation of Charges,* op. cit., pp. 291–92.

[54] Ibid., pp. 3–11.

[55] Ibid., pp. 294–99.

[56] *Reno Evening Gazette,* March 15, 1897, p. 2.

[57] Ibid., May 14, 1897, p. 3; May 18, 1897, p. 3; May 19, 1897, p. 3; May 29, 1897, p. 2; May 31, 1897, p. 2; June 3, 1897, p. 1; June 4, 1897, p. 2; June 5, 1897, p. 3; June 9, 1897, p. 3; June 14, 1897, p. 3; June 21, 1897, p. 3.

[58] Ibid., Dec. 2, 1897, p. 3.

[59] State of Nevada, *Investigation of Charges against Dr. H. Bergstein,* testimony taken

by arguing that when patients were deceased and without families, what he did with their bodies made no difference. He stated that he had only made a casual comment to the attendant about disposing of the deceased man's brain in the Truckee River. Bergstein claimed he was unaware that the attendant had taken him seriously.[60] The Board of Commissioners felt this was good enough, and they voted two to one to clear Bergstein of the charges.[61]

The next documented investigation of a superintendent was the Tillim investigation in 1961. This review dealt with some complex issues and personalities, several of which were related to internal personnel problems. Unfortunately, only limited information is available.[62] However, the public issues seem clear.

Dr. Tillim's problem became serious in August, 1961, when a group of Hospital attendants presented him with a letter charging brutality on the part of another Hospital orderly.[63] Dr. Tillim talked with the employees and supervisors involved and learned that several of the alleged instances of brutality had occurred months previously. Confronted with this, the attendants explained that they had not told of these supposed situations earlier because the supervisor to whom they would have made the report was the wife of the accused worker. This did not satisfy Dr. Tillim. He suspended or transferred all of the attendants involved, then released information about this incident to the press.[64] Subsequently, George Raby, one of the letter signers, took his case to the public by way of a television interview and Dr. Tillim fired him.[65] This interested the press, radio and television even more. They kept the headline story in the public's eye until the Hospital Advisory Board finally agreed to hold a hearing into the charges.[66] After relieving Dr. Tillim of his duties in mid-October, the Board held a formal, public hearing that lasted throughout November.[67] On the 24th they decided to request

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and proceedings held before the Board of Commissioners for the Care of the Indigent Insane, Reno, Nevada, Monday, Dec. 20, 1897 (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1898), p. 1.

[60] Ibid., p. 33.

[61] Ibid., pp. 45–6.

[62] Officials of the State of Nevada have been unable to locate any state documents pertaining to this hearing. The only sources of information, except newspaper stories, are the private papers of Leslie B. Gray, one of Dr. Tillim's attorneys during the hearing, and limited excerpts from the testimony in Dr. Tillim's papers. These latter have been made available by Mrs. Sidney Tillim, Dr. Tillim's widow. Until all the documents pertaining to this have been collected and carefully reviewed, it is impossible to evaluate fully the process and outcome.

[63] Letter from George Raby, Joe Watson, William Henderson, William O. Mitchell, and Frank N. Flores to Dr. Tillim, dated August 14, 1961, in the private papers of Leslie B. Gray, attorney, Reno, Nevada.

[64] *Reno Evening Gazette,* Aug. 23, 1961, p. 15.

[65] Ibid., Sept. 1, 1961, p. 18.

[66] See the almost daily front page stories on this issue in the *Reno Evening Gazette* from Oct. 17, 1961 to Nov. 1, 1961.

[67] Ibid., Oct. 17, 1961, p. 1 reports on Dr. Tillim's being relieved of his duties. *Reno Evening Gazette* from Nov. 2nd through Nov. 11 and from Nov. 20th through Nov. 24th carried the stories of the hearings.

that the Nevada Medical Society study the conditions at the State Hospital.[68] The Advisory Board then recessed their own investigation and postponed any decision about the charges against Tillim.[69] The request to the Nevada Medical Society from the Advisory Board asked that they conduct a study of the psychiatric and medical services at the State Hospital and, if possible, assess Dr. Tillim's physical and mental competence to continue as superintendent.[70] On December 16, 1961, before the study was released and no doubt as a result of the extreme pressure he suffered, Dr. Tillim resigned as superintendent and accepted a position as senior psychiatrist with the state.[71] Two weeks later, when the study was released, it exonerated Dr. Tillim. The report stated "psychiatric medical services [at the State Hospital] . . . must be considered as good as, or better than, such services provided in comparable hospitals," and "the committee is of the opinion, based solely upon their subjective evaluation, that Dr. Tillim is mentally and physically fit to continue as Superintendent."[72] The medical panel added that the non-psychiatric medical services could be improved. This support of Tillim and his programs at the State Hospital came too late for the former superintendent himself.

In this investigation, although the superintendent had resigned, the report basically reiterated the outcome of the four previous investigations. Nothing was found to be seriously wrong at the State Hospital; the critics of the Hospital and political opponents were quieted by the public nature of the investigation; and the public is left only with some interesting documents about specific practices at the State Hospital. Only in the Tillim investigation is it possible to get a glimpse of the personal cost of such a public inquiry. Dr. Tillim died in the spring of 1963. Ironically, the Nevada State Senate memorialized his death by adjourning early the day of the funeral.

The seventy-nine year history of Nevada's program for the mentally ill reviewed here contains repeated instances in which mental health practices and policies have been determined by their political merit rather than for their soundness. Although the kind of politics and the level of political intervention in mental health has changed over the years, the two spheres remain closely interwoven. This might explain the lack of a unified social policy in Nevada's mental health program and the lack of long range planning. Despite these omissions Nevada has provided, with moderate success,

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[68] Ibid., Nov. 24, 1961, p. 1.

[69] Ibid., Nov. 29, 1961, p. 15.

[70] Letter from Vernon Cantlon, M.D., Chairman of the Committee for the Study of the Nevada State Hospital to James Greear, M.D., dated Dec. 14, 1961 in the private papers of Leslie B. Gray, attorney, Reno, Nevada.

[71] *Reno Evening Gazette,* Dec. 16, 1961, p. 1.

[72] Letter from Vernon Cantlon, op. cit.

care and treatment to its mentally ill residents. As pervasive as the political influence on mental health has been, another significant influence is the fact that Nevada is an extremely small state. This has meant that there are chronic problems in providing adequate mental health services. There has never been the large number of distinct diagnostic groups such as the mentally retarded or the criminally insane to enable or to force Nevada to provide a wide range of mental health services. In fact, the history of mental health in Nevada can be viewed as a continuing struggle to build and staff programs for such groups as the chronically mentally ill, the acutely mentally ill, the emotionally disturbed child and adolescent, and the mentally retarded. This struggle has sometimes involved building new facilities within the state to avoid sending Nevada residents out of state for services. It has also involved serving widely diverse groups of mentally ill and handicapped individuals in the same program, often on the same ward.

In addition to these problems there have never been the large groups of mental health professionals within the state to draw leadership from and to provide some kind of peer review for Nevada's state mental health system. And finally, there has never been a natural distance between the politicians and professionals that would enable the State Hospital to have some immunity from political self-interest and the winds of political change.

Frederick Jackson Turner: A Study in Misplaced Priorities?

VERNON E. MATTSON

PROBABLY THE MOST controversial issues on the two campuses of the University of Nevada and throughout the country center around two old, much debated, and as yet unresolved questions. How shall a university professor spend his time and for what shall he be rewarded? When these crucial questions are discussed within faculty ranks, the debate seldom goes beyond an airing of subjective, personal philosophies and ideological statements at best, or tired, threadbare clichés at worst. As with other contemporary issues, an historical approach to these questions is desirable because it helps rescue the debate from the murky realm of personal theories and glib generalizations and bases it upon analogies derived from an historical case study.

The career of Frederick Jackson Turner, the popularizer of the frontier theory and probably the most famous American historian, is an especially appropriate source for such a search for historical perspective. Turner himself would have strongly supported this approach. In his monumental biography of Turner, Ray Allen Billington identifies "presentism" as one of Turner's deeply held beliefs.[1] For Turner "the past's principal importance lay in its illumination of the present;" therefore, "historical studies should concentrate on the portions of mankind's experience that shed the greatest light on current problems."[2] Professor Billington also argues that Turner's "life serves as a case study for the entire profession [college teaching]," for in his career one has a typical college professor.[3]

Billington's biography is in a class unto itself because it is not only a masterful assessment of a man, his ideas, and his environment, but also is a study in the gap between what a college professor is ideally expected to be

The author wishes to thank Joseph A. Fry and Rick Tilman for their criticisms and suggestions.

[1] Ray Allen Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 94, 98–99, 478–479, 593 (hereafter cited as *Frederick Jackson Turner*).

[2] Ibid., p. 478.

[3] Ibid., p. vii.

and what he actually may be. As Billington's account indicates, a fundamental source of tension for Turner resulted from his lifelong enthusiasm for teaching history in the classroom (as well as anywhere else that he could find an audience) and his equally strong desire to be a published scholar. Billington skillfully places this conflict between teaching and publication expectancies within the broader context of Turner's multiple career demands.

Despite the promise of the title, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher,* Billington's biography does relatively little with Turner's ability as a teacher. Less than ten percent of this six-hundred page book deals with Turner as his students knew him.[4] This is true even though Billington informs his readers in the preface that when attempting to justify "such an extravagance with words," a colleague replied: " 'Why not, just once, a realistic life of a classroom teacher? . . . We have had biographies of statesmen and politicians and athletes and rogues and preachers.' "[5] Billington implies that he considered this advice sound; what follows, however, is a story of "Turner's desperate desire to write—to popularize the historical concepts and fresh interpretations that crowded his mind," only to be "frustrated by the pressures that have afflicted the academic world from time immemorial, and that afflict it today."[6] According to Billington, the major "pressure" which prevented Turner from publishing widely was the "endless routine of classroom preparation, teaching, conferences, thesis and blue-book reading."[7] In terms of a general overview of Turner's career, Billington's interpretation closely agrees with the assessment expressed by Turner's contemporary Harvard colleague and arch-detractor, Professor Edward Channing. To a student who was singing Turner's praises, Channing responded: " 'Turner is a dear fellow . . . but he has no idea of the value of time. He has never written any big books.' "[8] Channing believed Turner spent too much time preparing for classes.

When dealing with Turner the teacher, Billington construes the very factors central to Turner's success as a teacher as having monopolized his time at the expense of a significant publication record. Thus Billington interprets Turner's career-long penchant for preparing new material for each class, for spending endless hours to upgrade the teaching of history in Wisconsin public schools, for maintaining contact with his former students via voluminous correspondence, for placing the needs of students above his own research and professional advancement, for working on behalf of his stu-

[4] Ibid., pp. 34–38, 43–46, 135–146, 248–254, 259–264, *passim.*
[5] Ibid., pp. v–vi.
[6] Ibid., p. vii.
[7] Ibid., p. vi.
[8] Ibid., p. 311.

dents' job placements, for using essay examinations, and for writing extensive commentary on each of them as significant because pedagogical practices such as these kept him from publishing.[9] This tendency to interpret Turner's dedication to teaching as a study in misplaced priorities is vividly illustrated in Billington's assessment of Turner's practice of tailor-making his summer offerings to satisfy the special needs of public school teachers. "These were no light assignments that Turner took on, and because of them he sold his soul to the classroom summer after summer, instead of pursuing research."[10] Furthermore, Billington observes, "instead of pursuing research," this "same zeal [for teaching] condemned Turner to constant experimentation, as he revised and re-revised his offerings year after year in a perpetual quest for a teaching technique that would make his students realize the importance of historical studies."[11]

From Billington's perspective, Turner's career ended characteristically: his lifelong orientation and "conscience decreed that he had to dedicate" his "last year of teaching . . . to the classroom rather than" to writing.[12] He cites Turner's refusal to use "yellowing notes" in the last year of his teaching even though the new "materials unearthed in hours of preparation would never be used again" as a dramatic indication of misplaced priorities rather than an example of Turner's characteristic dedication to excellence in the classroom.[13] Final evidence of Turner's inability to put first things first was his acceptance in his post-retirement years of an invitation to teach for one semester at the California Institute of Technology. Billington sees this endeavor not only as a detraction from the more important task of completing a book, but as a meaningless, unrewarding activity performed in the presence of "bored undergraduates."[14]

Billington's omission from his final chapter, "The Significance of Frederick Jackson Turner in American History," constitutes the most conspicuous evidence that he minimizes Turner's contribution as a teacher.[15] He fails to mention Turner's effectiveness as a teacher as one of his major contributions. In passing, Billington does understand that Turner influenced the field of immigration history more "through the students he led into the field" than through "his own sparse writings on the subject."[16] In this final chapter as throughout the volume, Billington asserts that "Turner preached" with great success a "message . . . to his students," but he fails to acknowledge expli-

9 Ibid., pp. 249–250, 253, 262, *passim.*
10 Ibid., p. 137.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., p. 387.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid., p. 407.
15 Ibid., pp. 472–497.
16 Ibid., p. 487.

citly Turner's ability to teach as even one of his minor contributions.[17] On the basis of Billington's interpretation of Turner's career, an eminent specialist in western history concluded that "Turner, for all his originality of mind and attractive personality, had not been so notable a teacher at Harvard as one might have expected."[18]

This failure to explore the possibility that Turner's profound impact upon the historical profession may have been partly due to his ability as a teacher is not limited to the work of his skillful biographer. A close study of the massive literature on Turner and his internationally famous thesis reveals a significant gap in the historiography. Among these voluminous secondary sources only one nine-page article, written before Turner's papers at the Huntington Library were opened to scholars, focuses exclusively upon Turner the teacher.[19]

The limited space given to the subject of "Turner's power and influence" as a teacher cannot be attributed to a lack of general awareness that Turner was an uncommonly effective teacher or to a dearth of primary materials on the subject.[20] In more than three hundred scholarly treatments of Turner's thesis written over four decades, one finds repetitious generalizations praising Turner's teaching ability. The secondary literature on Turner collectively conveys the impression that specialists in western history have for decades viewed Turner as this nation's most successful history teacher.[21] Indeed, Billington's biography is a study in microcosm of what is true of Turnerian studies in general. Billington acknowledges that Turner was viewed by his contemporaries as a great teacher, that he was a popular teacher who attracted outstanding students and at the same time knew how to appeal to a "wider audience," and that throughout his career he always was willing to put the welfare of his students ahead of his own research.[22] Even more significantly, Billington implies in passing that it might have been through Turner the teacher rather than through Turner the writer that his influence and fame spread.[23] Billington admits that "students who sought

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[17] Ibid., p. 494.

[18] Rodman W. Paul, "Frederick Merk, Teacher and Scholar: A Tribute," *Western Historical Quarterly* 9 (1978): 143.

[19] Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Frederick Jackson Turner—Master Teacher," *Pacific Historical Review* 23 (1954): 49–58. In the process of annotating more than 1,300 articles and books while researching a guide to the massive literature on Turner and his thesis, the present writer has discovered this gap in the historiography of Turnerian studies.

[20] Edward E. Dale, "Turner—The Man and the Teacher," *University of Kansas City Review* 18 (1951): 18.

[21] This researcher has found phrases like "Turner's power as a teacher . . . was the secret of Turner's power and influence" (Ibid., pp. 18, 25) in more than three hundred articles in the secondary literature on Turner and his ideas.

[22] Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner*, pp. 70, 84, 191, 196, 251.

[23] Ibid., p. 259.

his instruction were . . . attracted by tales of his skill as a teacher—tales that followed the academic grapevine to every corner of the land."[24]

Turner found in students his medium for communicating his ideas to a broader audience. Roy F. Nichols, although a prolific author himself, understood that the printed page was not his former mentor's best medium. So great a teacher was Turner that "his teaching at Wisconsin and later at Harvard" was the wellspring of the "frontier school of American historical thinking. During the fifty years that have elapsed, generations of Turner students have flourished in many of the country's history departments. Turner died, but his philosophy lives on" through his students.[25] "Scores of historians have written far more without being even remotely considered for either a professorship at Harvard or the presidency of the American Historical Association," Edward E. Dale reminded his fellow historians.[26] "I would, therefore, inquire as to what was the secret of Turner's power and influence. . . . What strange magic did the man possess which enabled him to become one of the most outstanding of our country's historians . . . in spite of his scanty production of published books?"[27] Dale pointed to "his influence . . . as a teacher" as the answer to his question.[28] For Turner the mark of a teacher's success was his ability to influence the minds of his students. In the opinion of Samuel E. Morison, Turner passed his own test. "He trained successive generations of scholars, who gave proof of his powers as a teacher by their contribution to the field of history."[29] As early as 1920 Carl Becker, one of Turner's former students, observed that "if the influence of Turner were to be established on the basis of his published work alone, it would be accounted for less than it has in fact been."[30] Despite Becker's preference for the printed page to communicate his ideas, he was confident Turner's medium was "an army of students" who were "now in our colleges and universities" and had been "profoundly influenced by his ideas and inspired to fruitful publication by the magic of his personality."[31]

When Turner the teacher is better understood, it may become evident that Becker came closer in 1927 than the collective attempts of scholars during the last five decades to understanding why Turner became one of the twentieth century's most influential professors of history. "Not everyone

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[24] Ibid., p. 251.

[25] Roy F. Nichols, Review of *American Historians* by George W. Pierson, and *The Development of Frederick Jackson Turner* by Fulmer Mood, *Geographical Review* 34 (1944): 510.

[26] Dale, "Turner," p. 18.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., p. 19.

[29] Samuel E. Morison, "Frederick Jackson Turner (1861–1932)," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 68 (1933): 686.

[30] Carl Becker, "The American Frontier," *The Nation CXI*, no. 2888, November 10, 1920, p. 536.

[31] Ibid.

. . . can quite understand the influence of Turner upon this generation of scholars. It is indeed not easily understood by those who know only his published work, by those who have not known the man. . . . And his pupils understand it better than any others . . . that the man is more than his [written] work."[32] Any study of Turner, Becker continued, must begin and end with the "qualities" of "that man Turner" who "laid upon all [of those who studied with him] the spell of his personality."[33] Numerous scholars have for more than five decades made passing references to the "qualities" which made Turner such an effective teacher.

Turner's indescribable ability to inspire and stimulate students to study history is a reoccurring theme in the collective attempts by his former students to explain his teaching ability. Carl Becker arrived at the University of Wisconsin with a strong bias against history. Prior to taking courses from Turner at Wisconsin, he had considered the study of history "a misdemeanor against youth."[34] Previous exposure to history had immunized Becker against the "dull subject."[35] But the combination of the enthusiastic promptings of one of Turner's former students and the "indefinable charm" of " 'old Freddie Turner' " caused Becker to do what he was certain that he would never again do voluntarily:[36] "I didn't care *what* he offered. For him I would even study history."[37] Becker not only studied history with Turner but "was infected with the desire to do so."[38] In Becker's words "Turner had a singular capacity for making you want to do and be something—to do, in short, what he was doing, and to be, if possible what he was."[39] As a result within a year Becker had decided to become a professional historian, since "Who would not like to study history as Turner studied it?"[40] Becker of course went on to become one of our nation's most well-known historians.

John D. Hicks pointed out a paradox. Although Turner was himself unable to put pen to paper, he had an uncanny "ability to inspire others to write."[41] Everett Dick concluded that "it was as a teacher and stimulator of ideas among his students that he shone."[42] Attempting to explain Turner's

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[32] Carl Becker, "Frederick Jackson Turner," in *American Masters of Social Science,* ed. Howard W. Odum (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927), pp. 317–318.

[33] Ibid., p. 318.

[34] Ibid., p. 274.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., p. 276.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 277.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] John D. Hicks, "State of Local History," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 39 (1955–56): 133.

[42] Everett N. Dick, Review of *Turner, Bolton, and Webb: Three Historians of the American Frontier* by Wilbur R. Jacobs, John W. Caughey and Joe Frantz, *Southern California Quarterly* 48 (1966): 321.

unparalleled influence upon American historiography, Max Farrand singled out his ability to draw "about him a constantly changing group of students, whom he inspired with zeal for research."[43] In Farrand's words, "stimulation and inspiration were the essence of his teaching."[44] This was not accidental, but rather resulted from Turner's conscious efforts. Farrand said that he had heard Turner repeatedly affirm "that the most any teacher could do for a student was to stimulate him."[45] Ulrich B. Phillips, a disciple and colleague, believed that Turner personified his own philosophy. " 'Turner was able to sugar the pill of the discipline he was teaching with the charm of his own personality' " because he " 'radiated a kind of eagerness which became a large element of his glorious quality as a teacher'."[46] Many of Turner's former students thought that his ability to motivate students primarily resulted from his intense belief in the ideas that he was teaching. In the words of Joseph Schafer, "the genius of this extraordinarily influential interpreter of history" lay in an evident reality: the famous frontier thesis was "Turner's 'confession of faith' as a historian" and "as a teacher he preached" with intense conviction the ideas and assumptions involved in that "confession of faith."[47] Even Billington sees "Turner's . . . students, all passionately devoted to their master, all convinced that they had heard the Word and must convert the world."[48] They constituted "a Gideon's Army" which popularized Turner and his ideas in higher education.[49] Turner's self-perception agreed with the assessment of others: "My mother's ancestors were preachers! Is it strange that I preached of the frontier!"[50]

Those who studied under Turner agreed on one point. There was something about Turner's person which was central to his success as a teacher. Richard T. Ely, who had been one of Turner's professors in graduate school at Johns Hopkins and would later be a colleague at Wisconsin, believed Turner's greatest asset was his "personal magnetism" and his ability to be more interesting than the most interesting book.[51] If one of Professor Ely's former students was correct, the quality which Ely saw as the key to Turner's success as a teacher was the very characteristic which was missing in Ely's own classroom performance. A graduate student at Wisconsin wrote that he had "not enrolled in many of Professor Ely's courses" because "a

[43] Max Farrand, "Frederick Jackson Turner: A Memoir," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* 65 (1935): 435.

[44] Ibid., p. 438.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Dick, Review of *Turner, Bolton, and Webb*, p. 321.

[47] Joseph Shafer, "Turner's Early Writings," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 23 (1938): 217, 227.

[48] Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner*, p. 283.

[49] Ibid.

[50] "Communication from Frederick Jackson Turner to Constance Lindsay Skinner," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 19 (1935): 103.

[51] Richard T. Ely, *Ground Under Our Feet, an Autobiography* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938), p. 179.

man can get more out of reading his books than hearing his lectures. In lecturing he wanders along in a disconnected sort of way for days at a time."[52] The same student quickly added that the semester was not disappointing because he was "greatly pleased with the courses from Turner for he is the idol of his classes. He is sharp and witty. His mind is synthetical."[53] Ely's best medium was books whereas Turner's was the classroom—it provided the ideal setting for his dynamic presence. Those who were unable to study with him had to settle for second best: his meager writings. And as a contemporary observed, "much was lost in the translation."[54]

A well-known historian and former student of Turner, Howard Beale, saw Turner's hallmark as his uncommon ability "to inspire students to a sense of the significance" of history.[55] Turner was a master at making the study of history "an exciting voyage of discovery."[56] As a bonus "anyone who knew . . . Turner found it impossible to dislike him. . . . He was approachable" and "his warm manner . . . conveyed the idea that teaching was a great pleasure."[57] In the words of a former student, Turner was "a teacher with unusual power to inspire devotion" not only to himself but to his profession.[58] Turner reciprocated the student's devotion. Frederick Paxson was certain that "he wrote little" largely as a result of "his endless patience with his students."[59]

Part of Turner's appeal to students can be attributed to his "belief that past and present were inseparably linked," and that the "past's principal importance lay in its illumination of the present."[60] Turner impressed his students as one who was engaged in the present. "Things palpable, real, and present overwhelmed Turner so that he always saw history in terms of current events. . . . Turner was . . . a student of his own society."[61] His belief was that "teaching . . . history" must "bear upon life." Therefore, "an historian who delights in searching some ancient ash heap for some antiquated pin head would hardly meet" Turner's expectancies.[62]

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52 Elizabeth Donnan and L. F. Stock, eds., "Letters: Charles McCarthy to J. Franklin Jameson," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 33 (1950): 71–72.

53 Ibid., p. 69.

54 Ibid.

55 Howard K. Beale, "The Professional Historian: His Theory and His Practice," *Pacific Historical Review* 22 (1953): 234.

56 Howard R. Lamar, "Frederick Jackson Turner," in *Pastmasters: Some Essays on American Historians,* eds. Marcus Cunliffe and Robin Winks (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 74.

57 Ibid.

58 Frederick L. Paxson, "Frederick Jackson Turner," in *Dictionary of American Biography,* ed. Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 19: 63.

59 Ibid.

60 Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner,* p. 478.

61 Lamar, "Frederick Jackson Turner," p. 76.

62 George A. McFarland to Turner, May 21, 1907, Frederick Jackson Turner Papers, Box 9. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Hereafter cited as HEH TU.

Turner not only possessed qualities which made him an effective teacher but was able to detect those qualities in others. When writing recommendations for students or searching for a new colleague, Turner placed a premium upon those personal characteristics which, in his opinion, were essential for success as a teacher. He argued against the hiring of an otherwise very strong candidate because he "gave me the impression of a man who knew his subject, but who would not fire the student with exceptional enthusiasm."[63] He quickly added, "We have too many colorless men in the profession already."[64] When recruiting new faculty members, Turner looked for the qualities he himself possessed. Turner's professional colleagues trusted and highly valued his ability to identify candidates who would be able to "make the chips fly," as Turner was fond of saying, in both the classroom and in print. He received hundreds of requests like the following: We have lost "a professor of history" who "has been a strong teacher. We would like someone to take his place, and prefer a man who has had your instruction . . . a man of strong, interesting personality."[65]

In Turner's opinion there was no conflict between the quest for a better understanding of American history and effective undergraduate instruction. Teaching and research were compatible because both were collective pursuits. In an ideal learning situation teacher and students, research and instruction would be mutually stimulated and reinforced. "I shall offer a seminary in northwest history this fall," Turner wrote to Woodrow Wilson, "if I can find a few good students to work under my direction I can accomplish more than I could with only myself to work at the unorganized material."[66] Turner loved to work with others because such an approach avoided making research a lonely, individualistic quest. In response to an inquiry about how he managed to combine his love for teaching and research, Turner explained: "My method is to take the student into the workshop where the chips are flying and where he can see the workman cut his finger and pain his thumb."[67] Students responded favorably to Turner's "innate modesty and complete lack of dogmatism" and his ability to convey to them that "he had something to get as well as something to give in his contact with a student."[68] Max Farrand caught the essence of this aspect of Turner's approach to learning. "His curiosity made him eager to learn from others, and the breadth of his interests led him to hope for information from everyone with whom he was associated. . . . His attitude was not that of an

63 Turner to John Franklin Jameson, Feb. 21, 1902, HEH TU Box 3.
64 Ibid. and Turner to Carl R. Fish, no month, 1907, HEH TU Box 9.
65 McFarland to Turner, May 21, 1907, HEH TU Box 9.
66 Turner to Woodrow Wilson, Aug. 18, 1889, HEH TU Box 2.
67 Turner to Becker, Nov. 7, 1898, HEH TU Box 2.
68 Dale, "Turner," p. 20.

instructor—he was himself a student among his fellows."[69] In Turner's classroom students and teacher pursued the broader significance of American history together. "Any member of the class might present some fact he had uncovered; Turner would seize upon it and show its significance in its larger relations, with the result that even the mediocre student, carried along with the leader's enthusiasm, would be encouraged to efforts beyond his ordinary capacity."[70] Stemming from his belief that students were a vital source of his own intellectual stimulation and growth, Turner developed personal relationships with his students which extended beyond the classroom. These friendships often lasted a lifetime and involved protracted intellectual dialogue via letters and professional meetings.

Students enjoyed interacting with Turner because he possessed a winsome, disarming sense of humor. In response to a former student who corresponded with Turner about a course he had taken from him, Turner quipped: "If I had fully realized the keenness of your observations, I doubt whether I should have taken chances on a 'hustle lecture' so frequently as I had to last year."[71] When asked how the extension program at Wisconsin was developing, Turner replied that although it had been a success he did not intend to continue the demanding program because "I must have some time for *untension.*"[72] In comparing notes with a colleague on the troublesome, perennial failure to complete his research projects, Turner composed a witticism: "As my uncompleted books—*unwritten* would be more to the point!—loom up before my imaginative vision, I grow more and more . . . impressed by the idea that a man ought to have either the wealth of Rhodes or Henry Adams (with their pluck in sticking to their job) . . . to enable visits to various libraries."[73] He suggested that in the absence of the inherited wealth of an Adams a financially strapped professor might "go to work on that salvation of all needy professors—a kindergarten history in words of one syllable, phonetically spelled! I am certain that it is the only way whereby the professor can be saved financially."[74] Upon hearing from a concerned colleague who had learned via the grapevine that Turner was on "his deathbed," Turner wrote: "The . . . rumors you mention . . . make one think of Mark Twain's telegram: 'Report of death much exaggerated!' "[75] During another bout with illness Turner's ready wit was evident: "My thinker has been in a state of mushy inactivity. The doctors say it is my

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69 Farrand, "Frederick Jackson Turner," p. 438.
70 Ibid.
71 Turner to Becker, Nov. 7, 1898, HEH TU Box 2.
72 Turner to Herbert Baxter Adams, Jan. 18, 1892, HEH TU Box 1.
73 Turner to Farrand, Jan. 3, 1905, HEH TU Box 5.
74 Ibid.
75 Turner to John Martin Vincent, March 19, 1907, HEH TU Box 8.

liver—not my thinker—but they (*all* doctors, liver and thinker) seem to have an offensive entangling alliance, and the result is the same."[76] At the height of his ill-fated attempt to prevent the University of Wisconsin from becoming a football power, Turner explained: "I have no quarrel with our schools in their attempt to keep a boy's muscle abreast with his brains, but football seems to have grown to such a monstrous proportion that to the average grade school boy a professor of history appears to be a man who carries water to the big-legged, shock-headed halfback, or wishes he could."[77]

Turner's commitment to excellence in the classroom was evident in his role as an administrator. Teaching was given highest priority. As a chairman of the history department from 1891–1910, he laid the foundation for a major research center. Still, when recommending department members for merit or promotion, he consistently rewarded teaching above all other activities. For example, Professor George C. Sellery, who had been with the department only four years and had, as Turner acknowledged, not yet developed any "critical and constructive scholarship" was by 1906 receiving an annual salary of $1,800.[78] This income made him the second highest paid member of the department. Sellery's level of compensation had come primarily from his great success in the lecture hall and classroom. At the time of the annual personnel evaluation of 1906, Turner designated Sellery as the department member most deserving of promotion from assistant to associate professor, and he urged the administration to sweeten this "symbolic reward" with a tangible increase in his salary to $2,500. Turner wrote a fourteen page letter in support of this recommendation which began by anticipating resistance in the dean's office because Sellery lacked a publication record. He defended the promotion solely upon Sellery's "great value among undergraduates."[79] Turner admitted that Sellery the published scholar was only a future hope: "Whether he will develop" into a "scholar is for our purposes less essential than the qualities he possesses already as a teacher of undergraduates. I expect his control of scholarly apparatus will grow. . . . So much the better; but our need is practically that of . . . a strong lecturer and teacher of undergraduates."[80] He reminded the dean that the University of California was attempting to recruit Sellery because "I have admitted that he is a good teacher, capable of handling large classes."[81] Sellery's value to California was precisely why Turner urged the dean "that we ought to hold him" even if it demanded a salary of $2,250 to do so.[82] As his final and what he con-

76 Turner to Farrand, Nov. 24, 1907, HEH TU Box 9A.
77 Turner to Milton Q. Nelson, Jan. 15, 1906, HEH TU Box 6.
78 Turner to Dana Carlton Munro, July 16, 1906, HEH TU Box 7.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.

sidered his most forceful argument on behalf of Sellery's promotion, Turner convinced the dean that Sellery and teachers like him were the primary reason that "our department in three years has grown 66⅔ percent while the college has grown less than half this percent."[83]

Turner also advocated a substantial pay raise for Carl R. Fish in 1906. As with Sellery, Turner underscored Fish's value as a teacher. "Dr. Fish has been most unselfishly devoted to his students, in and out of class," wrote Turner, and as a result, had established "intimate and friendly personal relations with them."[84] The following year Professor Fish was the department's one candidate for promotion for the same reason that he was granted merit the prior year. "There is" Turner pleaded, "no member of the staff who is doing more than Professor Fish for undergraduates on the lines of personal contact and sympathetic relations."[85] As with Sellery's recommendation for promotion a year earlier, Turner emphasized Fish's achievement as a teacher. Fish's recommendation was more significant because unlike Professor Sellery, Fish had published a number of articles in major journals. Yet because of Turner's interest in promoting and rewarding teaching in his department, he made only a passing reference to Fish's publication record. "He is a scholar whose research is recognized; but the consideration which I must urge for his promotion is *the need of recognizing his work with undergraduates,* and of giving the Associate Professorship for such success."[86] Another section of the letter of support centered upon Fish's contribution to the department. Again, the thrust of the argument rested upon his value as a teacher. "He came to us in 1900, and has effectively relieved me in the preparation of undergraduates. He is a clear and effective lecturer and handles well a large class. He is a favorite with them, while at the same time, he maintains high standards."[87] Turner's bottom line request for this "best lecturer on campus" was monetary; Professor Fish should be granted a salary increase from $1,800 to $2,250.[88]

Turner refused to reward a significant publication record in the absence of success in the classroom. In 1907, one year after Professor Sellery had been handsomely compensated for teaching and in the same year that Professor Fish was promoted largely for his prowess in the lecture hall, Ulrich B. Phillips, who had been with the department for five years, was recommended for promotion from instructor to assistant professor. Turner's letter on his behalf was brief and lacking in enthusiasm even for this late promotion to assistant professor. Turner acknowledged that Professor Phil-

83 Munro to Charles Richard Van Hise, Oct. 28, 1906, HEH TU Box 7.
84 Turner to Van Hise, Oct. 28, 1906, HEH TU Box 7.
85 Turner to Edward A. Birge, Jan. 24, 1907, HEH TU Box 8.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.

lips was the most widely published scholar in his department and that he had achieved national visibility. He had "recently published papers in the American Historical Review, . . . the Political Science Quarterly, . . . the Yale Review, . . . the Quarterly Journal of Economics, . . . the Sewanee Review, . . . the South Atlantic Quarterly. . . . These are leading scientific journals in history, economics, and politics."[89] Furthermore, Turner continued, "he has now in manuscript a fundamental study of the history of transportation in the South . . . which I shall recommend for publication in the Bulletin, and he has been selected to write the History of Georgia for the American Commonwealth series."[90] Phillips had achieved more recognition among scholars than any other member of the department: "His work has received recognition by the Carnegie Institute."[91] Turner understood that in all likelihood Phillips would become an eminent scholar in his field. Yet Phillips was not being promoted to assistant professor until his fifth year of service when Turner, with a distinct lack of enthusiasm, suggested that Phillips' salary be increased from $1,300 to $1,400. There was no word about Phillips' ability as a teacher in Turner's one-page letter of support because in his opinion Phillips had not excelled in this area. Although 1907 was one of Phillips' most productive years as a scholar, Turner refused to do more than grant him a late promotion to assistant professor combined with a minimal monetary increase. This decision made in the context of his recommendations for Professors Sellery and Fish suggests that Turner did not believe that success in scholarly publications could compensate for an average or below average performance in the classroom.

The following year, 1908, Turner identified Alfred L. P. Dennis as the member of the department most deserving of promotion and merit. Turner had recruited him in 1905 with the hope that he would make the department's offerings in British history more attractive to students. In support of his recommendation for Dennis' promotion and increase in annual salary of $500, Turner used a statistical report which showed that "his advanced electives have doubled in the two years" as had his "introductory courses."[92] Turner interpreted this student response to mean "his teaching has been remarkedly successful."[93] Turner praised him for having "instituted a thorough system of personal conferences between himself and his students."[94] Although Turner's biographer says that "Dennis published little while at Wisconsin," Turner went to great lengths to insure that he was

89 Turner to Birge, Jan. 24, 1907, HEH TU Box 8.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
92 Turner to Birge, Feb. 1, 1908, HEH TU Box 10.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.

promoted.[95] That same year Turner again showed his low regard for Phillips' teaching by refusing to recommend him even for a modest salary increase despite his continued publishing success.

During Turner's tenure as chairman of the history department at the University of Wisconsin, the institution was at a stage of development analogous to many of the nation's rapidly growing universities during the 1960's and 1970's. Turner believed that an institution of higher learning had to distinguish itself first in instructional excellence as a requisite for becoming a research center. In his mind significant research was a corollary of successful teaching, which was as true of the life cycle of a college professor as it was of an institution of higher learning. In his personal career, "teaching came first, for he had to prove himself in the classroom to assume a permanent post on the Wisconsin faculty."[96] Turner looked for the same sequential development in his faculty and in the institutional setting in which he invested so much energy.

This study has raised more questions than it has answered. Did Turner see himself as primarily a teacher? Or did he accept the dominant biases and expectancies which pervaded his profession and as a result feel guilty about publishing so little? Was his success as a teacher essentially a by-product of his personality and uncommon personal abilities, or was it a testimonial to his superior methods? Why did Turner think that there was no conflict between teaching and research when his own career appears to personify the contrary? Were the qualities and inclinations which made Turner such an effective teacher the very factors which kept him from publishing? How many of Turner's students were able to emulate his skill as a teacher and how many were like Carl Becker: able to recognize excellent teaching but unable to learn from the model?

Although scholars have written more about Turner and his ideas than any other American historian, they have not fully understood or appreciated the true genius of the man. Professor Ronald H. Carpenter was correct when he characterized Turner as "an exemplar of that historian who functions optimally as persuader" but he was incorrect when he identified one of Turner's writings as his primary way of communicating.[97] It is more plausible that it was Turner's contagious influence as a teacher which made him a "mass persuader" of the twentieth century.[98] With penetrating insight,

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[95] Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner*, p. 247.

[96] Ibid., p. 43.

[97] Ronald H. Carpenter, "Frederick Jackson Turner and the Rhetorical Impact of the Frontier Thesis," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63 (1977): 129.

[98] Ronald H. Carpenter, "The Rhetorical Genesis of Style in the 'Frontier Hypothesis' of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 37 (1972): 233–248.

Turnerian scholar Wilbur R. Jacobs observed more than two decades ago that "only by giving proper balance to Turner the teacher and Turner the writer can his correct place in American historiography be ascertained."[99] Although there are fragmentary allusions to Turner's success as a teacher scattered throughout Turnerian historiography, the secondary literature conveys the impression that Turner's emphasis upon teaching constituted a study in misplaced priorities which kept him from living up to his potential as a scholar. Because specialists in the field have embraced the traditional bias within academia that the ultimate mark of achievement for a university professor is to be "blessed with release from teaching . . . obligations" in order to be "free for research and writing," Professor Jacobs' call for balance has gone unheeded.[100]

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[99] Jacobs, "Frederick Jackson Turner," p. 49.
[100] Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner*, p. viii.

Fighting for the League: President Wilson in Nevada, 1919

LOREN B. CHAN

ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1919, the city of Reno was buzzing with activity, and there was a general air of excitement. The morning newspaper described the scene:

> The flags are out, the bunting is flying, the hotels are jammed, the streets are crowded, the people are chattering, the big search lights have been tested, the accoustics have been arranged—for it is President's Day in Reno.[1]

President Woodrow Wilson was indeed coming to town. His purpose, of course, was to present his case in favor of American ratification of the Treaty of Versailles with its Covenant of the League of Nations. The treaty would officially terminate the state of war between the United States and Germany, and would provide for American membership in Wilson's pet project for world peace, the League of Nations.

Many Americans, however, had misgivings about the treaty and the League, and opposition to the president's stand increased throughout the summer of 1919. The U.S. Senate, which had the constitutional responsibility of ratifying or rejecting the treaty, was divided into at least four identifiable factions: (1) the mild reservationists, who wanted minimum safeguards for American sovereignty added to the League Covenant; (2) the strong reservationists, who desired definite and unequivocal protection for America's freedom of action to conduct foreign relations; (3) the so-called "irreconcilables," the isolationists opposed to American ratification and entanglement in the League; and (4) the Wilson loyalists, Democrats who backed the president's positions on American ratification of the draft treaty and membership in the League of Nations without reservations of any kind.

During the summer and fall of 1919, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, chaired by Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, was considering the merits and shortcomings of the draft treaty. Neva-

[1] *Nevada State Journal*, 22 September 1919.

da was ably represented on the committee by Democratic Senator Key Pittman, who was an early and consistent supporter of President Wilson's ideas.[2] Near the end of July, Pittman spoke in the Senate on the dangers of rejecting American membership in the League:

> Let us not deceive ourselves nor the people of the country. Let us tell them the truth. Let us tell them that if this league of nations fails, that then they will be called upon and will have to support their Government in a militarism that will be the only safety of our country. . . .[3]

A few weeks later, he along with other committee members was called to the White House for a meeting with the president to discuss the draft treaty and the League.[4]

Afterwards, the president perceived that opposition to the draft treaty and the League was growing, especially in the Senate. Therefore he decided to go on an extended speaking tour to those parts of the country where anti-treaty and anti-League sentiments were strongest: the middle west and the far west. Despite the expected discomforts of traveling across the country by train, his record of poor health, and the warning of his physicians, Wilson nevertheless insisted on making his tour. During the early days of September, he spoke in places such as Columbus, St. Louis, and Des Moines. On the Pacific coast, he enthralled crowds with his brilliant oratory in Spokane, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

Upon concluding his speaking in California, the president turned his attention to Nevada. The Sagebrush State's voters had given him impressive electoral victories in 1912 and 1916. Nevada had a Democratic governor, two Democratic U.S. Senators, and its single at-large member of the House of Representatives was also a Democrat.[5] Both Senator Pittman and his colleague in the upper house, junior Senator Charles B. Henderson, consistently backed Wilson's positions on the treaty and the League. Although Reno was the smallest town on his western itinerary except for Bismarck, North Dakota, the president decided to stop and speak there out of courtesy to the two Nevada senators and to his Nevada friend Raymond T. ("Ray") Baker, director of the U.S. Mint.[6]

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[2] U.S., Congress, Senate, 65th Cong., 2d sess., 28 October 1918, *Congressional Record* 56:11492.

[3] U.S., Congress, Senate, 66th Cong., 1st sess., 25 July 1919, *Congressional Record* 58: 3134.

[4] Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Senate and the League of Nations* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), pp. 151, 297, 312, 316, 319, 324.

[5] Nevada, Secretary of State, *Political History of Nevada,* 5th ed., 1965, pp. 109–11, 190, 192.

[6] *Nevada State Journal,* 24 September 1919; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 23 September 1919. For information about the career of Raymond T. Baker, see Loren B. Chan, *Sagebrush Statesman: Tasker L. Oddie of Nevada,* Nevada Studies in History and Political Science, no. 12 (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), pp. 55, 80, 115–19, 123.

Pittman, Henderson, and Baker did the preliminary planning for the president's stop in Reno. Pittman, especially, enjoyed the confidence of Joseph P. Tumulty, the secretary to the president. In Nevada, arrangements for the presidential visit were made by Governor Emmet D. Boyle, Reno Mayor Harry E. Stewart, and the U.S. Attorney for Nevada, William Woodburn.[7] The president was to arrive in Reno during the evening of September 22. The Nevadans tried to arrange an open air meeting, but Wilson did not approve; instead, he asked to speak indoors.[8]

Reno did not then have any large auditoriums or convention facilities. Since the planners expected extremely large crowds to descend on the town to welcome and to hear the president, about the only facility even remotely suitable for such purposes was the Rialto Theater. Even after the management tore down the lobby partition, the Rialto could accommodate a maximum of only 1,900 persons.[9] Because of the limited seating available, the Reno reception committee decided beforehand to distribute tickets for the presidential address to the various counties of the state. A total of 3,000 tickets was distributed. Most were given to residents of Washoe County. Other parts of the state felt slighted. For example, Ormsby County received only 65 tickets, and many prominent state officials, including Lieutenant Governor Maurice J. Sullivan, were not favored with tickets. Churchill and Douglas counties each received 10, Pershing County was given 8, Elko County just 2, and Humboldt County, except for capitalist George Wingfield, was overlooked entirely.[10]

Those who were not fortunate enough to receive tickets could join the thousands of others who had also traveled to Reno to welcome the president. Practically all of the townsfolk from Virginia City and Carson City were in Reno on the big day. The Virginia and Truckee trains were full of passengers traveling to Reno, and delegations from as far south as Tonopah and Goldfield made the trip by rail. Hotels and rooming houses in town were full. The Golden Hotel was forced to turn away 200 guests, and the Overland and Riverside hotels reported similar experiences.[11] Nevadans were full of enthusiasm for what was to be the only visit of the nation's twenty-eighth chief executive to their state.

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[7] Emmet D. Boyle Papers, Division of Archives, Secretary of State, Carson City, Nev., S/A/J1/2/4, "Presidential Tour–1919" file: J. E. Sexton to Boyle, 12 July 1919; telegram, Boyle to Joseph P. Tumulty, 17 July 1919; telegrams, Harry E. Stewart to Boyle, 20 September 1919. Also see Louis A. Spellier, "Democratic Tank Comes into Action," *Churchill County Eagle,* 20 March 1920.

[8] *Churchill County Eagle,* 20 September 1919.

[9] *Winnemucca Silver State,* 20, 23, 27 September 1919.

[10] *Churchill County Standard,* 24 September 1919; *Ely Record,* 26 September 1919; *Gardnerville Record-Courier,* 19 September 1919; *Elko Independent,* 27 September 1919; *Winnemucca Silver State,* 25 September 1919.

[11] *Nevada State Journal,* 22–23 September 1919; *Winnemucca Silver State,* 23, 25 September 1919.

On the evening of September 22, the presidential train arrived in Reno after a difficult trip across the Sierra from California. Gas fumes filled some of the mountain tunnels. Smoke from forest fires and sudden changes in altitude also added to Wilson's discomfort. When the train arrived in Reno at 8 P.M., however, he momentarily forgot about his discomfort because he was met by joyful dignitaries and a jubilant crowd.[12]

When the presidential party alighted from the "Mayflower," the president's railroad car, rockets emitting red flares were fired from downtown rooftops. A brass band struck up a tune at the depot platform, the distinguished visitors were escorted to waiting automobiles by a reception committee consisting of Governor Boyle, Mayor Stewart, State Assemblyman Charles S. Chandler of Ely, Reno attorney Robert G. Withers, and Charles S. Knight, dean of the College of Agriculture and professor of agronomy at the University of Nevada. The motorcade consisted of a dozen automobiles.[13] It started at the railroad depot and went south on Virginia Street to First; then east on First to Center Street, north on Center to Second Street, west on Second to Sierra Street, south on Sierra to First, and finally east on First to the Rialto Theater.[14]

Governor Boyle presided at the Rialto. The meeting began with three cheers for the president, the first lady, and the League of Nations. Then the governor introduced Assemblyman Chandler,[15] who in turn introduced the president by saying:

> It is significant of the non-partisan character of the League of Nations question that a Republican has been selected to introduce the President on this occasion. The question is too vital, not only to this country but to humanity, to permit of any attempt to reject the League covenant for any merely personal or political reason. No political party has declared itself on this issue, and as a member of the Republican party I deny the right of a few prominent senators who chance to be Republicans, to commit the Republican party in advance to a policy of opposition to the League of Nations covenant. Although negotiated by a Democratic administration, the covenant contains good Republican doctrine. As the President himself has recently said, its basic principles were first promulgated by a Republican administration. But further discussion must be left to the President.
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> In this state of magnificent distances and scant population it is seldom that we have an opportunity of meeting a President, and in behalf of the people of

[12] Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson*, 2d ed. rev. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 368–69. Less reliable is Gene Smith, *When the Cheering Stopped: The Last Years of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1964), pp. 78–79.

[13] *Nevada State Journal*, 22–23 September 1919; *Reno Evening Gazette*, 22–23 September 1919. Charles S. Chandler, a Republican, represented White Pine County in the State Assembly during the 29th (1919) and 30th (1921) sessions of the legislature. He was a partner in the law firm of Chandler and Quayle of Ely. See Nevada, Secretary of State, *Political History*, pp. 159–60; and the *White Pine News*, 14 September 1919.

[14] *New York Times*, 23 September 1919; *Nevada State Journal*, 22–23 September 1919.

[15] *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 September 1919; *New York Times*, 23 September 1919.

Nevada I desire to express our delight in greeting the President tonight and in lending our ears and, I hope, our hearts to his eloquence. I desire to say also that we are all charmed to meet Mrs. Wilson here tonight.

My fellow citizens of Nevada, I esteem it a rare privilege to be able to present to you, as I now take pleasure in doing, the President of the United States.[16]

Wilson began delivering his address at 8:30 P.M., and spoke for one hour and fifteen minutes. His speech was frequently interrupted by applause.[17] For the student of American and Nevada history today, the Wilson speech represents something of an enigma. It was published in full in Nevada newspapers the following day, later as a U.S. Senate document and as part of Wilson's public papers.[18] At least four authors of Wilsonian biographies or monographs have considered his Reno address historically significant enough to warrant mention or quotation.[19] On the other hand, an eminent American historian asserts that "Nothing noteworthy happened at thinly populated Reno . . . , though the greetings were warm."[20] And several works germane to an understanding of Wilson and his era make no mention at all of his Reno address.[21] Because of this lack of agreement among historians about the importance of the speech, today's student of Nevada history might well be curious about what the chief executive actually said.

The president commenced his address with prefatory remarks meant especially for his Nevada audience:

Governor Boyle, Mr. Chairman, my fellow countrymen:

The governor and your chairman have both alluded to the fact that it does not often happen that the President comes to Nevada. Speaking for this President, I can say that it was not because he did not want to come to Nevada more than once,

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16 *White Pine News,* 28 September 1919.

17 *Elko Independent,* 23 September 1919; *New York Times,* 23 September 1919.

18 *Nevada State Journal,* 23 September 1919; *Elko Independent,* 23 September 1919; U.S., Congress, Senate, *Addresses of President Wilson: Addresses Delivered by President Wilson on His Western Tour, September 4 to September 25, 1919,* S. Doc. 120, 66th Cong., 1st sess., 1919, pp. 307–19; Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd, eds., *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson: War and Peace,* 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Bros. Publishers, 1927; reprint ed., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), 2:326–44.

19 Denna Frank Fleming, *The United States and the League of Nations, 1918–1920* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932), pp. 342, 355; Alden Hatch, *Edith Bolling Wilson: First Lady Extraordinary* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1961), p. 210; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson the Diplomatist: A Look at His Major Foreign Policies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957; 1st Quadrangle Paperback ed., Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963), pp. 140–42; idem, *Woodrow Wilson: A Brief Biography* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1963; 1st Quadrangle Paperback ed., Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1972), pp. 164–65; Smith, *When the Cheering Stopped,* p. 79.

20 Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1945; 1st Quadrangle Paperback ed., Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963), p. 112.

21 Cary T. Grayson, *Woodrow Wilson: An Intimate Memoir* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960); Edith Bolling Wilson, *My Memoir* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1938); Julius W. Pratt, *Challenge and Rejection: The United States and World Leadership, 1900–1921* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967).

because from the first, when I have studied the movements of the history of this great country, nothing has fascinated me so much or seemed so characteristic of that history as the movement to the frontier, the constant spirit of adventure, the constant action forward. A wit in the East recently said, explaining the fact that we were able to train a great army so rapidly, that it was so much easier to train an American army than any other because you had to train them to go only one way. That has been true of America and of the movement of population. It has always been one way. They have never been returning tides. They have always been advancing tides, and at the front of the advancing tide have always been the most adventurous spirits, the most originative spirits, the men who were ready to go anywhere and to take up any fortune to advance the things that they believed in and desired. Therefore, it is with a sense of exhilaration that I find myself in this community, which your governor has described as still a frontier community. You are a characteristic part of this great country which we all love.[22]

After that kind of introduction, he could not have had anything but the undivided attention of his listeners.

Wilson was at his rhetorical best in Reno. He sounded like the professor, politician, and clergyman's son that he was. Alternately he coaxed and cajoled, cited historical precedent and appealed to logic. The president expressed his views on four major topics: (1) the Covenant of the League of Nations as a worldwide expansion of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine; (2) political self-determination in Europe; (3) Article X of the Covenant of the League and the concept of collective security; and (4) the correctness of transferring Germany's economic interests in Shantung province, China, to a victorious Japan.

As soon as he had completed his introductory remarks, Wilson began to present his principal ideas. If the League Covenant were to be accepted, then the Monroe Doctrine would become a worldwide guarantee. The president explained that under the League Covenant:

> Not only may no European power impair the territorial integrity or interfere with the political independence of any State in the Americas [,] but no power anywhere may impair the territorial integrity or invade the political independence of another power.[23]

And to convince the isolationists in the audience that the Covenant would not threaten American hegemony in the Western Hemisphere as practiced under the Monroe Doctrine, he stated that "It says in plain English that nothing in that Covenant shall be interpreted as affecting the validity of the Monroe Doctrine. Could anything be plainer than that?"[24]

Plain and precise also were the president's words about the principle of

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22 Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace*, 2:326–7; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson*, p. 307.
23 Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace*, 2:331; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson*, p. 310.
24 Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace*, 2:331; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson*, p. 310.

political self-determination as expressed in the Covenant. He emphasized that under the agreement,

> . . . no Government can impose its sovereignty on unwilling people, but that Governments which have imposed their sovereignty upon unwilling people must withdraw it. All the regions that were unwillingly subject to Germany, subject to Austria-Hungry, and subject to Turkey are now released from that sovereignty, and the principle is everywhere adopted that territories belong to the people that live on them, and that they can set up any sort of government they please, and that nobody dare interfere with their self-determination and autonomy.[25]

But clearly the heart of the Covenant, by Wilson's own admission, was the controversial Article X:

> Article X is the heart of the enterprise. Article X is the test of the honor and courage and endurance of the world. Article X says that every member of the League, and that means every great fighting power in the world . . . , solemnly engages to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of other members of the League. If you do that, you have absolutely stopped ambitious and aggressive war. . . . It does not stop the right of revolution. It does not stop the choice of self-determination. No nation promises to protect any Government against the wishes and actions of its own people or of any portion of its own people. Why, how could America join in a promise like that? She threw off the yoke of a Government. Shall we prevent any other people from throwing off the yoke that they are unwilling to bear? She never will, and no other Government ever will, under this Covenant. But as against external aggression, as against ambition, as against the desire to dominate from without, we all stand together in a common pledge, and that pledge is essential to the peace of the world.[26]

These comments reinforced his previous remarks regarding the Monroe Doctrine and self-determination of subject peoples. Wilson was consistent in his argumentation, and appealed in a definite way to his audience's powers of logic.

As his speech was nearing its conclusion, the president proceeded to explain and defend his position on Shantung. He shifted his course and started to contradict his earlier statements about nonintervention and self-determination. Wilson insisted that cession of German economic interests in Shantung province, China, to Japan was a justifiable award of a spoil of war. Since the Germans had forcibly seized their economic interests there in 1898, the president believed that the Chinese no longer had valid claims to full control over the province.[27] Moreover in the Treaty of Portsmouth

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[25] Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace*, 2:332; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson*, p. 311.

[26] Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace*, 2:332–3; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson*, pp. 311–12.

[27] Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace*, 2:338; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson*, p. 315.

(1905) concluding the Russo-Japanese War, a diplomatic precedent was set by the award of Russia's economic interests in China to a militarily victorious Japan.[28]

Clearly, Wilson's remarks about Shantung contradicted his earlier comments about nonintervention and self-determination. Once on the path of contradiction, however, he remained on it! He went on to justify the German cession to Japan by citing the fact that Great Britain and France had negotiated a secret treaty with Japan by inducing the East Asian power to enter the war against Germany in the Pacific basin in exchange for the opportunity of seizing German colonies and economic interests in the region. As an ally of Britain and France, how could the United States *not* acquiesce to the existence and validity of such a secret compact?[29] But again, Wilson contradicted himself. In his message to Congress on January 8, 1918, the first of his famous Fourteen Points was "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."[30]

To soften his betrayal of China's national interests and his contradiction of previous statements about nonintervention and self-determination, Wilson voiced in his speech a few lame last remarks directed at China and the Chinese, as well as at easing his Reno audience's doubts about his sincerity: "I for one am ready to do anything or to cooperate in anything in my power to be a friend, and a helpful friend, to that great, thoughtful, ancient, interesting, helpless people. . . ."[31] Indeed was he ready. On the Shantung question, he already had compromised his most lofty international political principles and betrayed China in his attempt to win Japan's support for his League of Nations Covenant. Wilson actually expected his Reno audience to endorse such a perfidious record.[32]

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[28] Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace,* 2:340; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson,* p. 316; Woodridge Bingham, Hilary Conroy, and Frank W. Iklé, *A History of Asia,* 2d ed., 2 vols. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1974), 2:377–80.

[29] Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace,* 2:340; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson,* p. 316; also see *Nevada State Journal,* 16 July 1919, for editorial commentary about the whole Shantung issue.

[30] Quoted in Richard N. Current, John A. Garraty, and Julius Weinberg, eds., *Words That Made American History,* 3d ed., 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1972), 2:347.

[31] Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace,* 2:342; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson,* p. 318.

[32] The Fourteen Points were translated into Chinese, and inspired great hope among Chinese college and university students at home and abroad. Wilson's betrayal of China triggered the famous May 4th Movement of 1919. Young Chinese intellectuals like Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai became quite disillusioned with the West, and as a result turned to Russia and Communism for solutions to China's problems starting in the 1920s. For the Chinese reaction to Wilson's handling of the Shantung question, see Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China,* 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 595–618; Chow Ts'e-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge,

The experience of the war, however, was still fresh in the minds of most Nevadans. A lasting peace was what our troops had fought for, and the League of Nations would be the final vehicle for attaining such an end. Therefore American membership in the new international peacekeeping organization was essential. Exploiting his audience's emotions, Wilson asked, "Is it just as comfortable to die quietly in your bed, never having done anything worth anything, as to die as some of these fellows that we shall always love when we remember they died upon the field of freedom? Is there any choice?"[33]

The president concluded his speech by pointedly appealing to his Nevada audience's sense of history:

> When I think of these great frontier communities, I fancy I can hear the confident tread, tread, tread of the great hosts that crossed this continent. They were not afraid of what they were going to find in the next canyon. They were not looking over their shoulders to see if the trail was clear behind them. They were making a trail in front of them and they had not the least notion of going back.[34]

After the address, a short reception was held onstage for members of the Reno reception committee whom Wilson had not yet met. Then he immediately boarded the "Mayflower." The presidential train's locomotives and crews were changed in Reno instead of at the customary Southern Pacific Railroad facilities in Sparks. The train pulled out of Reno promptly at 10 P.M. on a nonstop run eastward across the state to Carlin. A pilot locomotive preceded the presidential train to guide it across any dangerous track, bridges, and curves.[35]

The president passed through Elko at 6:30 A.M. the next day, Tuesday, September 23, 1919, but did not stop there. At 8:10 A.M., the train made its last stop in Nevada at Wells. Wilson did not step outside of the "Mayflower."[36] Most likely he was resting and conserving his strength for the speeches he would give later that day at Ogden and Salt Lake City.

Reactions to President Wilson's Reno speech varied greatly. The city's Mayor Stewart called it "a very logical, business-like address."[37] Those who traveled to Reno from Ely to hear the speech returned to eastern Nevada with nothing but praise for the chief executive's oratorical brilliance. State

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Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960); and Li Shou-k'ung, *Chung-kuo hsien-tai shih* (Modern Chinese History), 5th ed. (Taipei: San-min Bookshop Co., Ltd., 1972), pp. 75–78.

[33] Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace*, 2:343; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson*, p. 318

[34] Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace*, 2:344; U.S., *Addresses of President Wilson*, p. 319.

[35] *Elko Independent*, 23 September 1919; H. A. Yates, "President Wilson Visited Reno Last Monday Night," *Churchill County Eagle*, 27 September 1919; *Reno Evening Gazette*, 22 September 1919.

[36] *Elko Independent*, 23 September 1919; *Nevada State Herald*, 26 September 1919.

[37] *Nevada State Journal*, 24 September 1919.

district court Judge C. J. McFadden of Ely went back to his duties in White Pine County "filled with enthusiasm for the adoption of the covenant of the League of Nations as presented by the president."[38]

Most likely, though, those who were not merely captivated by Wilson's eloquence just had their preformed opinions reinforced. Both of the Reno daily newspapers presented negative assessments, but these were to be expected. Neither paper had favored Wilson's re-election. In 1916, the *Reno Evening Gazette* and the *Nevada State Journal* endorsed the Republican candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, for the presidency.[39]

Moreover, from the time of the Armistice in November, 1918 until the commencement of Wilson's western speaking tour, the two papers competed with each other in negatively criticizing the president's conduct of domestic politics and international diplomacy. Both papers decried Wilson's tendency to surround himself with sycophants, and his penchant for attributing honest differences of opinion to base motives like political intrigue and personal vindictiveness.[40] And on the president's handling of the Shantung issue, the *Journal* denounced Wilson for his sheer hypocrisy.[41] The *Gazette*'s editor summarized Wilson's position on Shantung best: "Contradiction of deed and word, contradiction of words themselves—this explains why the sincerity of the President is doubted by the people and why his most earnest utterance finds them skeptical."[42]

There was no lull in the barrage of negative press criticism after the president's western tour began. Just four days before Wilson's arrival in Reno, the *Journal* commented "Mr. Wilson has taken an unique method to report to the people. With autocratic arrogance he assumes the position of infallibility. The League of Nations must be right because he says it is. . . ."[43]

Naturally, then, editorial comments in the Reno dailies continued to be negative after Wilson left Nevada. The *Gazette* concluded that ". . . there is scarcely anyone who will say that the President by his address altered the opinion of a single man or woman on the question of whether or not the reservations proposed in the ratification of the treaty by the United States should be made. . . ."[44] In sum, the *Gazette* called the address "interesting and entertaining, but not instructive," since he had already made basically the same points in his earlier talks at other stops in the west.[45]

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38 *White Pine News*, 28 September 1919.

39 *Reno Evening Gazette*, 1 November 1916; *Nevada State Journal*, 4 November 1916, 14 June 1919.

40 *Reno Evening Gazette*, 30 November 1918, 21 May, 8 July 1919; *Nevada State Journal*, 5 & 6 February, 6 March 1919.

41 *Nevada State Journal*, 16 July, 25 August 1919.

42 *Reno Evening Gazette*, 8 September 1919.

43 *Nevada State Journal*, 18 September 1919.

44 *Reno Evening Gazette*, 23 September 1919.

45 Ibid.

The city's morning paper, the *Journal,* was just as severe in its assessments of Wilson's address. It accused the president of conducting a propaganda tour and of trying to bypass the Senate. His purpose was to force America's entry into the League, just as Wilson had been forced to yield on most of the Fourteen Points in Paris. The paper labeled Wilson as "a poor prophet and a man of extremely bad judgment."[46]

Such types of criticism, however, did not discourage the president from continuing his western tour. On September 23 he spoke from the rear platform of the "Mayflower" in Ogden, and later at the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. The next day he was in Cheyenne; and on September 25 he delivered rousing addresses at Denver and Pueblo.

But the rigors of daily speechmaking and of living almost a month aboard a railroad car proved to be too much for Wilson's frail health. After the Pueblo speech he was close to collapse from physical exhaustion and mental fatigue. Against his protests, his physician ordered him to terminate his tour immediately and to return to Washington. Later on October 2, he suffered a stroke that crippled the entire left side of his body including his facial muscles.[47]

With Wilson's tour suddenly cut short, the impetus of American political activity regarding the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations shifted from the executive to the legislative branch. In the upper house, Senator Lodge proposed a series of reservations including several designed to: (1) safeguard America's rights under the Constitution and the Monroe Doctrine; (2) require congressional approval for American intervention in foreign disputes under Article X of the League Covenant; and (3) prohibit League interference in America's domestic affairs.[48] The fact that Lodge proposed the reservations toughened Wilson's resolve to oppose them. The enmity between the two men was of long standing. Wilson advised the Democratic senators to vote against the whole treaty if any of the Lodge reservations were attached.[49]

Voting on the treaty and League Covenant took place on November 19. On the first vote, the Lodge reservations were defeated by a vote of thirty-nine in favor to fifty-five opposed. Forty-two Democratic senators, including Key Pittman and Charles Henderson, joined thirteen Republican "irreconcilables" in blocking passage.[50] A second vote on the reservations pro-

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[46] *Nevada State Journal,* 23 September 1919.

[47] In sum, Wilson traveled more than 8,000 miles on his western tour in a period of three weeks, and gave thirty-seven speeches. See Arthur S. Link and William B. Catton, *American Epoch: A History of the United States since 1900,* 4th ed., 3 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 1:215.

[48] Ibid., pp. 215–16.

[49] Dexter Perkins, "Woodrow Wilson's Tour," in *America in Crisis,* ed. Daniel Aaron (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 249.

[50] U.S., Congress, Senate, 66th Cong., 1st sess., 19 November 1919, *Congressional Record*

duced a vote of forty-one in favor and fifty-one opposed, with both of Nevada's senators again on the opposing side. When the Democrats tested the waters of possible ratification of the draft treaty and covenant without any reservations (as Wilson desired), the vote was thirty-eight in favor (including Pittman and Henderson), and fifty-three opposed.[51] For the time being, the treaty was a dead letter. With or without the Lodge reservations, the needed two-thirds majority could not be secured.

Nevada's responses to the treaty deadlock were predictable enough. Those who were already hostile to Wilson's ideas became even more bitter in their denunciations. The *Reno Evening Gazette* thought that "Mr. Wilson assumed the attitude, not of the leading citizen in a nation of fellow citizens, not that of the elected leader of a democratic republic, but that of a dictator, a ruler from whose mandates there could be no appeal. . . ."[52] Not to be outdone, the *Nevada State Journal* roundly condemned Pittman and Henderson for following Wilson's dictates irrespective of the wishes of the Nevada electorate and the state Democratic party organization. Even Humboldt County's *Winnemucca Silver State* joined the fray by reprimanding Senator Henderson for his political hypocrisy and opportunism.[53]

Both senators had to live with their votes for a while even after Congress reconvened the following year, for it was not until March 19, 1920 that the treaty and its League Covenant would be voted on again. In that final, decisive vote in the Senate, twenty-one Democrats (including Pittman and Henderson) broke ranks with their party comrades and voted in favor of ratification with the Lodge reservations. The final tally was forty-nine in favor and thirty-five opposed—seven votes short of the needed two-thirds majority. Twenty-three Democrats, loyal to Wilson to the end, joined a dozen Republican "irreconcilables" in killing American ratification of the treaty and membership in the League of Nations.[54]

Before the crucial vote was taken, Nevada's senior senator had conferred with President Wilson. At that meeting, Pittman indicated his personal opposition to the Lodge reservations, but exhibited a willingness to compromise based on what he felt were the best interests of the United States and the cause of world peace. Wilson remained steadfast in his opposition. Thus the two men differed over means rather than ends.[55]

58:8786; Oscar Theodore Barck, Jr., and Nelson Manfred Blake, *Since 1900: A History of the United States in Our Times*, 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), p. 190.

[51] U.S., Congress, Senate, 66th Cong., 1st sess., 19 November 1919, *Congressional Record* 58:8802–3; Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 9th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 621.

[52] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 20 November 1919.

[53] *Nevada State Journal*, 21 November 1919; *Winnemucca Silver State*, 2 December 1919.

[54] U.S., Congress, Senate, 66th Cong., 2d sess., 19 March 1920, *Congressional Record* 59:4599; James T. Patterson, *America in the Twentieth Century: A History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), p. 153.

[55] Fred L. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), pp. 40–41.

Senator Henderson, on the other hand, may have been concerned more with his own re-election prospects in 1920. Most of the Democratic senators who deserted Wilson's hard-line opposition to the Lodge reservations were facing re-election that year, and Henderson was in good company. His political about-face, however, did more to damage his chances than to enhance them.[56] In November he was defeated by Republican challenger Tasker L. Oddie, who had the backing of George Wingfield's bipartisan political machine.[57]

By 1920 the Treaty of Versailles and its Covenant of the League of Nations were dead politically in Nevada as elsewhere in the United States. President Wilson's only visit to Nevada, which had won for him a warm welcome and the immediate loyalty of the state's two senators, in the long run proved to be not enough. After he left the state, his visit became but a dim and hazy memory. The afterglow of his stop in Reno was short-lived. Honoring a wartime president in a time of victory was the natural, patriotic thing to do; but following his leadership blindly in the postwar period was a course that most Nevadans were unwilling to choose.

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[56] Richard W. Leopold, *Elihu Root and the Conservative Tradition* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1954), p. 143; *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 22 March 1920.

[57] Chan, *Sagebrush Statesman*, p. 99.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Black Experience in Southern Nevada

ELIZABETH NELSON PATRICK

BLACKS HAVE BEEN RESIDENTS of Southern Nevada since the earliest development and organization of Las Vegas and Clark County. For many years, they were relatively few in number; it has been estimated that there were only 50 or 60 Blacks in the city during most of the 1920s, with perhaps 150 by 1930—this out of a total population in Las Vegas of 2,304 in 1920, and 5,165 in 1930. Their numbers significantly increased in the early 1930s as they sought employment opportunities at Hoover Dam, and, a decade later, at the magnesium plant at Henderson during World War II. While many Blacks came on a temporary basis and planned to return eventually to their native states, some remained as permanent residents of the area, despite the continuation of some of the aspects of the segregated life styles they had experienced in their former homes.

There is some evidence that indicates segregation actually became more rigid as the number of Blacks increased in Las Vegas. Times changed in the 1930s and 1940s, and not for the better. In the teens and 1920s, there seems to have been more of an unsegregated life style, more of an easiness in race relations. Although much more research is necessary in this and related topics, it is evident that population growth, a more complex economic life, and larger numbers of Blacks led increasingly to racial tension and discrimination in a number of areas.

Although Black people have been a part of the history of Southern Nevada since the early part of this century, little has been written or recorded about their presence until very recently. For example, in the Special Collections Department of the James R. Dickinson Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, there were only a few oral history tapes identified as recordings of Black people, and an unpublished paper or two by students on Black history; the photo archive of some 10,000 pictures contained only about half a dozen pictures in which there were Black persons and in none was the Black the central figure. Indeed, from the documentary evidence it almost seemed as if there had been few Blacks in Southern Nevada and that they had little influence in the development of the area.

In January, 1978, a project was begun to transcribe, edit, and publish some of the existing tapes in the Donated Tapes Collection in the Special Collections Department, and provision was made to distribute the printed interviews and abstracts to various other repositories. The Department also began a positive and aggressive campaign for the acquisition of other source materials, particularly for photos for a pictorial history of Black activities, and the Special Collections Department provided a repository for the preservation of materials acquired.

The "Black Experience in Southern Nevada" is a collection of eleven transcripts of oral history interviews of twelve Black people residing in the Las Vegas metropolitan area of Southern Nevada. These interviews of six women and six men between the ages of forty-four and seventy-two document life in the community from 1933 to 1978. Of the twelve narrators, one was born in Nevada, four in Louisiana, two each in Oklahoma and Mississippi, and one each in Alabama and Arkansas. The birthplace of one narrator is unknown.

Because all the narrators were ambitious and had been active in community life, they represent a wide range of work and professional experiences such as day laborer, porter, maid, warehouseman, teacher, minister, mortician, entertainer, maid supervisor, banker, politician, casino worker, casino owner, recreation director, state employee, administrator of federal programs, and beautician. Their social and economic mobility indicates opportunity for Blacks in Southern Nevada was at times considerable; several of the narrators specifically discuss the advantages and opportunities Blacks had.

The eleven oral history tapes for "Black Experience in Southern Nevada" were selected from approximately twenty tapes identified as Black oral histories in the eight hundred Donated Tapes Collection in the Special Collections Department of the James R. Dickinson Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Students conducted the interviews as class projects in all but one case. There is wide variety in the quality of the interviews; however since there is a lack of published or source material on Black people in Southern Nevada, these interviews constitute an important documentary contribution.

A verbatim transcript was made of each tape. This transcript then was audited and edited and from the edited transcript a second transcript was prepared and presented to the narrator for approval. Narrators were asked for correct spellings of names and places and to clarify statements. They were advised of the informal nature of the interview but told they could make changes or deletions in the transcript. Several narrators made changes in grammar and sentence structure and the final transcript incorporated these

corrections and changes. Other differences in the tapes and final transcripts of the interview occur because the printed version was edited for easier reading, and false starts and repetitions were eliminated. In some instances, a word or phrase was added by the editors for clarity and enclosed in brackets. There are omissions in the transcripts which occurred when the speaker turned from the microphone, was interrupted, or had a lapse of memory. No attempt was made to transcribe dialect, and standard English forms were used. All tapes and transcripts are available for research in the Special Collections Department of the Dickinson Library.

Abstracts of the "Black Experience in Southern Nevada" will be distributed to the Nevada State Library at Carson City, all public libraries in the state of Nevada, the libraries in the university system, and to the Schomburg Center for Black Culture, New York, New York. Copies of the transcripts will be available at the West Las Vegas Branch of the Clark County Library District; the University of Nevada, Reno; and the Schomburg Center.

In the campaign to acquire documentation, memorabilia, and photos a number of stories concerning the project were published in local newspapers and the writer spoke to several organizations explaining the aims and needs of the project. As a result of the publicity, the Special Collections Department acquired a sizeable and significant collection of letters, notes, documents, clippings, and photos from Rev. Donald M. Clark. Reverend Clark has been very active in the West Las Vegas community in the ministry, NAACP, Economic Opportunity Board, and Operation Independence.

The photo archive greatly increased its holdings of pictures depicting Black history by the acquisition of forty-three stills from the photo collection of Lloyd Gill. Mr. Gill had read a newspaper article on the project and was attracted by the project's interest in old photos. He loaned his original prints for copying and retained the originals. Unfortunately, many of the original prints were Polaroid and had deteriorated to such an extent that they could not be reproduced.

Mr. Gill said that he had acquired his first camera in 1917 or 1918 and that he had been taking pictures ever since of whatever interested him without any concern of making an historical record. His collection, however, documents clubs, casinos, liquor stores, and food operations in West Las Vegas. A number of well-known Westside residents are pictured. His pictures are the first deposit in Special Collections of visual materials on the Carver House, now the Cove. Mr. Gill also has been interested in moving pictures; when asked about what kind of movies he made, he responded, "Mostly kids, girls, fires, and wrecks." Indeed, that was how he classified his still collections in numerous neat stacks held together by rubber bands and filed away in several large brown paper bags salvaged from shopping trips

to the grocery store. In addition, Woodrow Wilson, a Black business and political leader, contributed several pictures and memorabilia from his political campaigns.

The project was supported in part by a grant to the Dickinson Library administered by the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, through the Nevada State Library. The Project Director was Harold H. J. Erickson, the UNLV Director of Libraries; the project's Assistant Director, Anna Dean Kepper, is the Special Collections Curator. Rita O'Brien served as editor until April, 1978, when Elizabeth Nelson Patrick assumed that post. Both editors did field work when necessary. Because the project had no funds for a paid typist, typing of transcripts was done by volunteer typists: Linda W. Compton, Susan Miller, Coleen L. Reed, and Barbara E. Stevenson, University of Nevada, Las Vegas; Dorothy Fisher, Nevada Humanities Committee; and Cynthia Scott, Kerri Spillane, and Claudette Witson, Rancho High School, Las Vegas.

The interviews of Sarah Ann Knight and Arlone Scott which follow have been edited extensively. Mrs. Scott, a career woman, has not been politically active nor has she been connected directly with Las Vegas' gaming industry; however, she has been involved in housekeeping positions in the hotel industry. Sarah Ann Knight, in contrast, has long been a political activist and in 1979 ran for a seat on the City Commission. Mrs. Knight has been both a worker in the casinos and a club and casino owner.

INTERVIEW OF SARAH ANN KNIGHT

Collector: Could you please give me your place of birth?
Knight: I was born in Eufula, Oklahoma.
Collector: And how many members of your family came with you to Nevada?
Knight: I came to Nevada in 1942, [with] my mother, my father, and brother; my husband and I had two kids with me.
Collector: What did your father do?
Knight: My father came here to work at Henderson at the magnesium plant.[1]
Collector: What was his work before he came to Las Vegas?

[1] A $150 million complex was built by Basic Magnesium in 1941 in the desert about twenty miles south of Las Vegas. B. M. I., as the plant was familiarly called, became a major employer of migrating Blacks looking for jobs. By the time production began on August 31, 1942, a townsite named Henderson was laid out at the base of Black Mountain. Stanley W. Paher, *Las Vegas, As It Began—As It Grew* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, c. 1971), p. 120.

Knight: He was a brick mason or a rock mason in a rock quarry building. He also was in business. A meat market. He also did some farming.

Collector: Were both of your parents Black?

Knight: They were both Black. My mother is part Indian; she is a native of Oklahoma. She is on the Indian rolls and my father is part White and Spanish.

Collector: When you first came here, did you live in the Las Vegas area?

Knight: Yes, I lived on the Westside when I first came here.[2] There were very few houses. Matter of fact, it would be less than maybe ten or twelve houses; it was mostly tents and shacks and this type of thing. Of course, the population of Las Vegas was less than ten thousand, so people was coming here from everywhere. They were just throwing up tents and a lot of people was sleeping on lawns.

During that time, where the Union Plaza is now, there was a railroad station and people was sleeping there.[3] A block from the Post Office down to the corner was just like a lawn and people were sleeping out there. They'd get in their cars and go to work right out at Henderson.

Collector: Did your family have a place of residence, or did they have to go sleep on lawns?

Knight: No, we were very fortunate. When we came here, we had a small house. Then we were here about six months and my father built a house. We lived there about two or three years; and then we bought another place and built a house. They still live in the same house. They have been living in this house about twenty-nine years.

Collector: How old were you when you first came to Las Vegas?

Knight: When I first came here, about seventeen.

Collector: Were you through with your high school education?

Knight: Yes, I had finished high school in Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

Collector: Where else have you lived in the state besides the Las Vegas area?

Knight: I lived in Hawthorne, Nevada[4] for seven years from 1950 to '57. My

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[2] Blacks had lived in Las Vegas from the very beginning of the community and older Black residents moved about freely in the town. In the 1930s Blacks lived among Whites in the center of the downtown district in an eight block area extending from First Street to Fifth Street and from Stewart to Ogden with a few more scattered about in the surrounding neighborhoods. There was no predominately Black community. With the construction of Hoover Dam, both Blacks and Whites were attracted to the area seeking jobs. Many of the White workers brought with them social mores that brought about a hardening of race relations. Blacks who were ultimately hired at the dam worked as segregated crews and lived in segregated quarters. It was during the late 1930s that Blacks began a movement to settle in another section of the city which had been built by the railroad for railroad employees. One of the oldest sections of the town, it was known as the Westside. Economic reasons had caused the move from the downtown area to the old section of town west of the railroad tracks because rents there were the lowest in the entire town. See Perry Kaufman, "The Mississippi of the West: The Growth of the Black Community in Las Vegas 1930–1960," paper deposited in Special Collections, Dickinson Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, pp. 1–6.

[3] The Union Plaza Hotel is a modern hotel-casino complex built in 1971. It occupies the spot where the old Union Pacific Depot stood. Paher, p. 121.

[4] Hawthorne is the county seat of Mineral County in western Navada and the site of the

husband and I went there in 1950 to open up a club in Hawthorne, Nevada, for Blacks because there was no place for Blacks to go, and that was the big ammunition depot at that time. We went there and opened up a club, The Lincoln Bar, and it was very successful for about four or five years. Business was real good, and they had another big club there—White club—that they didn't allow Blacks to go in.

So, our business being so good, I remember this fellow built a little small room on back of this place, and he named it Behind the Eight Ball. This was for the Negroes to come in. When they would go in the place, they had like a window and they could play their keno tickets through the window, but they couldn't go inside the club.

During that time I was working with the NAACP, and we had a big banquet there. We brought Tarea Pittman in from San Francisco.[5] Matter of fact, I think I still have the clippings that she blasted Hawthorne away for really treating the Blacks this way. Of course, it was really the Blacks' fault because they didn't have to go in this place. Had they not gone to these places, this would have stopped sooner.

We had a large place there and the same facilities this White place had. It really hurt our business because the Blacks wanted to go in this place, I guess to see what it was like. So, they would go there and this went on for maybe a couple of years. But they would go there and lose the biggest portion of their money. When they would do this, they would wind up back at our place with the pennies, you know, and then beg for credit and favors until the next week-end.

Collector: You mentioned you had gambling; did you also have liquor?

Knight: Yes, we had a bar, a dice table, a twenty-one table, a poker table, slot machines, juke box, and a restaurant in this place. But they wanted to go up to this El Capitan. It's a famous place and it's well known in Hawthorne. Many people who were in the area at that time remember when all this was going on, because our place was the only place that Blacks could stop in Hawthorne. If you ordered any food in any other places, you had to take it out.

Collector: Did you live anywhere else besides Hawthorne?

Knight: Well, in '47 I lived in Los Angeles for a short while. I attended business school down there in '47. But it was for only about a year that I lived there.

Collector: What jobs have you had besides the restaurant business? What else have you done?

Knight: Well, mostly in the gaming business. Before I went to Hawthorne—when I came back from Los Angeles—well, I wasn't working between '42 because this is when I had my children. I had two other children

U.S. Naval Ammunition Depot. That installation brought an economic boom to the area and attracted Blacks. Hawthorne became a center of unrest in the civil rights struggle in Nevada.

[5] She was attached to the regional office of the NAACP in San Francisco and came to help the Black community organize its protest.

after I came here. So, about 1948 after I came back from Los Angeles, I started working in the clubs on the Westside. They had clubs on the Westside and I was a keno writer.

Collector: What were some of these clubs? Can you name them?

Knight: The Cotton Club and the Ebony Club. I worked in both of them as a keno writer. Then I dealt a little twenty-one. But I didn't really go into dealing twenty-one until we opened the club up in Hawthorne. I worked for myself for about seven years in Hawthorne.

Then after business got bad and I was tired of Hawthorne, we moved back to Las Vegas. We opened up a really nice, fancy club on the Westside, the Playhouse Lounge. Still it was segregated in Vegas. Blacks couldn't go elsewhere, so they did have some nice clubs on the Westside at that time because the Cove, later called the Carver House, opened up,[6] the Cotton Club was open, and the Town Tavern was a real nice place.

So, I went to work in the El Morocco but it didn't stay open very long. I worked in the Louisiana Club. Chinese people owned it, and then I was transferred across the street in the Town Tavern. I worked there and I was the last woman dealer to deal in the city of Las Vegas. They had laid off all the women Downtown and all the women on the Westside because they had passed a resolution—no more women dealers. I happened to have been working graveyard shift, so I was the very last one that they stopped working.

Collector: How many women dealers did you know working at this time?

Knight: Black women dealers? I guess it must have been maybe seven or eight Black women twenty-one dealers. This was like in '48—it must have been eight or ten keno writers in the forties.

Collector: Did they give a reason for dismissing all these dealers?

Knight: They dismissed the dealers Downtown also.[7] I think what happened was Reno was noted for women dealers, and they thought here that it would happen like in Reno, that they would use a lot of women. I think some of the men got together through politics and had this resolution passed before anyone else could do anything about it. Because they were afraid that the women was going to take over and have all the better jobs as they called them, in other words, getting all the easy jobs. So it wasn't just the Blacks; they stopped them Downtown also.

I know we formed a little organization. The White women and Black women formed this little organization to do something about it, but we were never able to do anything. I don't think nothing was done until 1960. Then after they stopped women from dealing, I left and went to Reno and stayed three months and worked up there at the

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[6] Mrs. Knight is confused here because the hotel/casino was originally called the Carver House and then the name was changed to the Cove.

[7] There are two main gaming centers in Las Vegas. The one radiating out from Fremont Street and Casino Boulevard is called "Downtown" or "Casino Center," while the hotel-casino development along Las Vegas Boulevard is referred to as "The Strip."

China Mint Club as a dealer. By me having lived here, my kids were here; I worked here and I was buying a home here, I came back here. That's when I went into business for myself.

Collector: What positions as far as clubs and community things like that did you hold?

Knight: Well, when I was in Hawthorne, I was real active with the NAACP. I was president for two years with the NAACP; and then after I moved to Las Vegas, I was active in Gamma Phi Delta sorority, Afro Chapter, for two terms. Each term was for two years. I was president of that for two years. I've worked with the Nevada Voters' League; I was vice president of that. I am a member of Second Baptist Church. I am still affiliated with the NAACP, and I am Ways and Means Chairperson now of Freedom Fund Chairman of the NAACP.

Collector: Do you remember any significant Blacks that were running for office, the earliest time Blacks were running for office?

Knight: Well, during those days they weren't running for offices. There were very few Blacks that was participating politically that I can remember. I know Woodrow Wilson was working in politics during that time because we all worked under him registering people and trying to educate the Blacks to vote. It was a very hard job to do. Then it was in the sixties before any Blacks were motivated to really run. The first Black person that I can remember that ran and was elected was Helen Lamb Crozier. She ran for the school board, I believe, and she was elected. Woodrow Wilson was the first Black assemblyman. After that we had several others.

Blacks came from the Deep South and weren't used to being in politics. They didn't know anything about it, and it was very hard to get them involved. Only the few people that had been involved, a few people that had been living here; so it was very few, and it wasn't that many in the first place. Most people were like transient.

They were here working, but lot of people were here not to stay long. I remember the year we came here my father wasn't going to stay but two or three years and then move back. We have been here thirty-three years. So a lot of people, you know, they weren't interested. They just came here to work, and they intended to make some money and go elsewhere and wound up staying here.

Collector: As far as how the Westside was, as far as the streets, sewers and buildings were concerned?

Knight: I would like to start off with the whole city. It wasn't built up like it is now. I can remember down Fremont Street[8] there were houses and trees, and people would walk from one store maybe to the next block;

[8] From the teens into the 1930s, Fremont Street led to the Union Pacific Depot, and some of the finest homes in the city were located there. All the fine old homes and the great trees that lined the street are gone and the street near the railroad now is the center of the Downtown gaming district. Paher, pp. 134–135 has a picture of Fremont Street in its heydey as a residential area.

it would be houses, and people would be sitting on their porches on Fremont Street. After you left the Post Office,[9] all that was desert—walk across the desert under the underpass.[10]

Across to the Westside there was no streets on the Westside. It was very sandy, as I said before, the sand would be up to your ankles. Whenever it would rain, the cars would be stuck in the mud; and it would just be muddy, and water would be flowing everywhere. Of course, it didn't take it long to dry because it was so dry here, and hot. The next day it would be sandy.

Of course, people were making money, but you couldn't buy material, and the Blacks couldn't get any money to do any building. Very few people were building because they had no money to build. They were working, but there were no banks Downtown that would loan anyone past the underpass any money. Until 1955, I believe, some company out of Utah came in and started lending money on the Westside.[11] Of course, the Whites woke up that if [Blacks] could make this money, then they could; and they started loaning Blacks money to build houses. It still isn't too good now for getting loans.

And then Blacks started building nicer homes and apartments. This is really how it got started. The first nice homes they had over here was Berkeley Square Homes and Cadillac Arms.[12] They've been building ever since. Matter of fact, they over-built, and that's what caused some of this ghetto over here now. They just stuck apartments up over here, and after it was integrated, when Blacks started moving all over, well, then we had nobody to fill all these places. People built too many.

Collector: Did [banks] welcome Black business, as far as investing and things . . . ?

Knight: They welcomed you depositing your money in, but as far as getting loans and things, well, you couldn't. During those times it was very hard to buy anything. A lot of things wasn't even available, like furniture, stoves and iceboxes—if you could find a good used one. Of course, that was out of the question asking for money to build a house or do any remodeling or of this type.

Many of the Blacks that came here then did not have a place to

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9 The main post office in the city. It formerly had a large lawn and many shade trees; it still stands on Stewart Street and serves as the Downtown district post office.

10 For the Union Pacific Railroad.

11 Savings and Loan Associations established in the 1950s made the difference. Earlier banks had denied Westside residents loans because the banks judged property assessments in the area too low to protect the banks' investments. A study (Karen Orren, *Corporate Power and Social Change* [Baltimore, 1974]) has shown that loan denials in the past had a strong racist tone. Kaufman, p. 27.

12 Berkeley Square consisted of 148 units and Cadillac Arms had 80 duplexes. In 1952 the first federal housing project, Marble Manor, was built for the benefit of low income families, but the 100 units did little to relieve the housing pinch on the Westside. In 1955 approximately 16,000 people, mostly Blacks, lived in the 160 acre Westside section of the city. Kaufman, pp. 22, 29.

stay—like entertainers during the years that they came here. They used to stay right on the Westside. There were no busses. They weren't making much money so they'd have to catch a ride. Some of the people were very friendly on the Westside, and a lot of people used to take them out on the Strip to their jobs. Or they'd get there the best way they could.

I can remember during that time the war was going on they were hauling a bunch of Japanese people out of the East to some concentration camp in California. They were like prisoners and they had Blacks driving all these trucks and cargo. When they came through here, they fixed a place for these prisoners to eat, but they didn't have no place for the Blacks to eat. They were American soldiers. The other prisoners were the enemy. And they didn't even have no place for [the Blacks] to stay.

INTERVIEW OF ARLONE SCOTT

Collector: Mrs. Scott, were you born in Southern Nevada?

Scott: No, I was born and raised in Delhi, Louisiana; I lived there from birth to high school. I completed high school there in 1947, and after that I worked there as a substitute teacher. In 19 and 50 I left Louisiana looking for a better job, because at that time doing substitute work I only made just a little, bare amount which amounted to not much.

I left there and went to Los Angeles, California, to visit my aunt. I lived there for about three years and I moved here in November 19 and 51. The way I got to come to Las Vegas was I met a man and we decided to get married. I came here in October; we was married in October, and I've been here since that time.

Collector: How many times have you moved in Southern Nevada?

Scott: Oh, I moved about four or five times. When I first came to Las Vegas, there wasn't too many places to live; people were living in little boarded up houses that they had put together with just board and plywood and stuff like that. It wasn't too many places to live over here on the Westside, and that was practically the only place where the Blacks lived at that time. That's the situation—a poor place to live. And I didn't think much of the place because I really wanted to get away from here, but I was stuck here with my husband and we started a family. During that time it wasn't too much environment here. It was just a lot of sand and gravel and the roads were kind of bad; so we just drifted around from place to place and moved around quite a bit.

Collector: Now you moved to the Black side of Las Vegas. Was it divided? Did they have a Black side and a White side—like the Westside—was that in existence when you first moved here?

Scott: Yes, it was. All the Blacks lived on the Westside, on this side of the

railroad tracks. In other words, on this side of Bonanza Road.[1] During that time, the Blacks just had little shacks over here that they lived in. It was very hot at that time and they had little water coolers on top to kind of keep them cool. And they had wood heaters in the winter to keep them warm. And we were living in that kind of environment at that time. Like I said, it cost us quite a bit to move about trying to locate a decent place to live.

Collector: What about on the White side of town—could you, do you remember how their houses were? Were they any better?

Scott: At that time there wasn't much to Las Vegas. You know what I mean; it wasn't a big place like it is now. It hadn't grown like it has now, and a lot of Whites was living in the same predicament as we were living in over here. It was just about the same all over. There was a few nice houses on the other side but not very many.

Collector: What type of jobs did you and your husband have when you first moved here?

Scott: When I came to Las Vegas, I washed dishes at McCarran[2] and worked at Desert Drug. I just usually stocked the shelves and cleaned, kept the stock in place, and priced different things. After that I went into hotel work. At that time the only thing you could do was maid work. They would almost tell you you're just qualified to be a maid. And we were all just maids. But afterwards, for the last eight or nine years it's been quite a change, because now I hold a job as a supervisor; I've only held that job for seven years. Now we have Blacks that are supervisors. We've got Blacks that are stewards. We have Blacks that are housekeepers. We have Blacks that are holding most all the higher jobs. We have Black dealers. We have Black maitre d's. We have Blacks in all departments now in the hotels. And we can give the Culinary Union quite a bit of credit for this, because they fought for it so hard for us. They did achieve this and it has went over pretty good. I can honestly say that Blacks do have a chance at most any type job there is in the hotel field. Not only in the hotel field, but in the labor industry I noticed that they have Black foremen. I believe they now have a Black man that's over the labor union in the person of Mr. [George] Osley. He is president of the labor union now. Those type of jobs just wasn't held by Blacks when I came to Las Vegas.

And my husband did construction work. That was very good at that time because they was beginning to try to build Las Vegas and a job was very easy to find. You could walk out and people would ask you if you wanted to work; and if you really wanted to work, you could work. They were trying to build the town and they really needed people to work.

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[1] Bonanza Road was the southernmost street in the McWilliams townsite, the area across the tracks from the Clark townsite where Las Vegas began. Bonanza Road is considered the southern boundary of the Black ghetto.

[2] McCarran Airport.

When I first came here, the highest position some of the men held was just a plain carpenter's helper, hod carriers, or something like that trashier, dirty jobs.

And at that time, men have to take a dirty job. Hod carriers would have to carry the mud on their shoulder up a ladder to a bricklayer or whatever; the bricklayer was White because he made the most money.

Collector: What changes in the economy have you noticed in Southern Nevada since you first arrived?

Scott: In the economy I noticed quite a bit of changes. In West Las Vegas we used to have to go to get our groceries from Community Grocery, from Gilbert Brothers Market, or from the Dollar Market. It wasn't too many people here but it was enough to be crowded on Friday evenings. People would get paid; it would be very crowded. Those stores had to accommodate most all the people over here, because it just wasn't anywhere to shop but those stores. It's just so much better because you have a wide variety of stores that we can go to, and it makes the economy much better for the people living here.

Collector: What about any social changes? Do you notice more people of different kinds? Has that changed in the community?

Scott: Yes, quite a difference in social change. On jobs the social environment has really changed, because we have maids of all colors, not like it used to be with all Colored maids—all Whites working in the linen rooms and in the uniform rooms and the Coloreds just maids. Now we have Coloreds in the uniform rooms, we have Coloreds in all departments of those hotels. That brings about a better relationship between people, socially and morally. It brings about quite a difference. We have Spanish people who are working all these different types of jobs. Now we have Blacks and Mexicans and we have White inspectors and Spanish inspectors. That's brought about quite a change and it makes it much better, because a lot of times we get together. On our jobs we have little clubs—like birthday clubs—and we have little birthday parties. If somebody is leaving that has worked with us for some time, we have a little get-together. It just don't be among the Blacks or among the Spanish or among the Whites, but it's all of us mixed together. That makes social life quite different.

And there has been quite a change among the churches. Back when I first came here, churches didn't unite together too much. Blacks mostly held their services, but now we're beginning to unite religiously. I am very happy for that because that brings about a better relationship between Blacks and Whites. For instance, we visited First Baptist Church on Charleston and some of the Baptist churches downtown; we went to programs there when I was a member of Second Baptist Church. We used to travel around to White churches quite a bit and they would come over. And sometimes we would take our young group over to those churches to render a program. I can remember when I visited on West Charleston at First Baptist. We took a young adult

choir and rendered the program out there. The following Sunday they came over and brought their young and they rendered a program with us at Second Baptist. We just had a wonderful time.

I think it's beginning now that the churches are beginning to unite; it will bring about quite a bit of relationship between people—a better relationship. They can begin to know each other, to know that Blacks are not so bad, that Whites are not so bad, and that united, we get along and do better things for the community.

Collector: Did you notice a great deal of racial tension here? Did they have special places for the Blacks? Were you allowed in the casinos and the hotels like they are now?

Scott: Yes, in the casinos that was downtown during that time, Blacks could enter them only if they worked there. You could work in them, but you couldn't attend there; you couldn't gamble or go in for a meal or anything like that. The only place we had was on Jackson Street.[3] On Jackson Street at that time was quite a few clubs: the Cotton Club, the El Morocco, and the Elks Lodge, and places like that. And that is where most of the social life came for the Blacks—there on Jackson Street. But the Downtown area—you wasn't allowed into those casinos. What few was down there at that time, I think, was the Horseshoe, the Golden Nugget, and the Golden Gate. On the Strip there was the Flamingo, the Thunderbird, El Rancho Vegas, and the Old Frontier —that was practically all the Strip at that time. There just wasn't much to it. But those places Negroes weren't allowed to go into and gamble and mix among the other people as they are today.

Collector: Was gambling an important recreation for you or people that you were associated with when you first came here? Was it as exciting as it is now?

Scott: Well, according to my statutes and my teaching and bringing up, I never was interested in gambling. But it really was kind of an excitement to stand around and just watch people gamble when I first came here, because I wasn't used to that type of thing. I did get quite an enjoyment out of watching other people gamble, but I never was a gambler myself. If we would have out-of-town guests, we would take them out and we would have a little fun gambling and playing machines and so forth with them, but as for gambling being a part of my social life, no.

Collector: When you first came here, were you active in any type of political activities?

Scott: No, I've never been too active in no type of political group. I didn't pay any attention to that type of thing; I was just a registered voter and left it at that.

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[3] Jackson Street was the business center of the Westside.

Book Reviews

The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West. Edited by Howard R. Lamar. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1977. xii + 1306 pages. Illustrations. $24.95)

THIS IS A HANDY REFERENCE WORK for Western history buffs, students and scholars alike. At the same time, a number of imperfections prevent it from being even more useful.

The book is obviously an ambitious undertaking, surveying in some 2,400 entries the events, personalities and concepts associated with the American frontier experience and the modern West. The list of contributors to it reads almost like a *Who's Who* of contemporary Western historiography. Just a few of those included are Richard A. Bartlett, Rodman W. Paul, W. Eugene Hollon, Leonard J. Arrington, Odie B. Faulk, Clark C. Spence, W. Turrentine Jackson, Arrell M. Gibson, Earl Pomeroy and Howard Lamar.

Among the generally well-written and authoritative articles can be found not only ones dealing with Far Western topics, such as reclamation and irrigation, mining booms, outlaws and Indian wars, but also many related to earlier frontier periods. In the latter group are such items as colonial wars, the East and West Florida question, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington and the Battle of Fallen Timbers.

A reader will find entries on traditional, expected subjects such as land policy, exploration, Indian-white relations, Indian tribes, states and cities, mining booms, the cattle industry, "law and order," and such personalities as George Armstrong Custer, John C. Frémont, Francis Parkman, Sacagawea and Brigham Young, but he will also encounter others dealing with topics that may be as unexpected as they are interesting and valuable. Some of these more unusual entries are those on collectors and collections of Western Americana, the aerospace industry, Indian and white diseases, Western films, Westerns on radio and television, The Westerners, cartography, fisheries, music, photography, humor, Indian languages, Negroes in the Far West, Sasquatch, and the Chicano liberation movement. There are numerous entries on present-day Western novelists and historians, as well as on Western painters of this and the last century.

A considerable proportion of the entries, particularly biographical ones, are local in nature, having significance only to state history. But portraits of

personalities such as Utah's Orson Pratt, Arizona's Martha Summerhayes, New Mexico's Soloman Luna, Texas's Carl Lungkwitz, and Nevada's George Wingfield do not detract from the quality of the encyclopedia. On the contrary, they reflect a recognition that the history of the American West, especially before the twentieth century, is local as well as regional and national in character.

Of course, not all of the local history entries are of uniform high quality, and the same is true of the other articles in the volume. While there are good essays on gold and silver rushes, the cattle, lumber and oil industries, the fur trade, Protestant churches, the Latter-day Saints and stagecoaches, others, for example that on Western novels, which mentions specifically only one novel since Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902), leave something to be desired.

The entries on ghost towns and mining camps constitute one of the book's least satisfactory groups of articles. Statements therein are frequently incorrect or misleading, as in the cases of Tonopah and Aurora, Nevada, and Bodie, California, and the bibliographic entries tend to be less than adequate. For instance, the only sources given in the articles on Bodie, Tonopah, Goldfield (Nevada), and Jerome, Arizona (and apparently the only ones used in preparing the articles), are two or three popular, but aging, ghost town surveys—even though significant monographic studies exist.

Minor inaccuracies, as well as bibliographical weaknesses, abound—something which probably should be expected in a first edition of any work of this type. In noting mistakes, one could mention the incorrect form of rancher Nathaniel Hockett Allan Mason's name; Wallace Stegner's *Angel of Repose* (an unrecognized theological work?); Virginia City, Nevada's, designation as a ghost town; W. Turrentine Jackson's study of Hamilton, "Arizona"; "H." E. Glass's writings pertaining to William M. Stewart, and James G. Fair's quartz mill on Nevada's "Washoe River." Among bibliographical inadequacies might be mentioned the absence of Gloria Griffen Cline's biography from the entry on Peter Skene Ogden; of David Lavender's biography from that on William C. Ralston; of Justin Kaplin's *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain*; and of Ronald Dean Miller's *Shady Ladies of the West* from the entry on prostitution.

The most serious defects of the encyclopedia, though, are not the shortcomings of what it contains, but what it does not contain. A very serious structural problem in the work is its lack of adequate cross-referencing. Any reader who does not closely examine the book from cover to cover cannot be sure of just what it encompasses. While some subjects, such as hotels, Paiute Indians, and the Homestake Mine, which are discussed in articles under different headings, have references to the pertinent entries, other topics may be found only after a trial and error search. There appears, for

instance, to be nothing on Ned Buntline (E.Z.C. Judson), but one can eventually locate him in the article on dime novels; information on the Anasazi peoples seems absent, but will be found in the entry on Pueblo Indians; general discussion of crime and outlaws is, at first glance, lacking, but can be discovered under "law and order." The addition of more cross-references, or even possibly an index, ought to be considered in subsequent editions.

There are no entries in the book for such noted figures as Israel C. Russell, Alfred Packer, Jim Thorpe, Edward D. Baker and Sarah Winnemucca. Neither are there ones for skiing and the important recreational industry that revolves around it, or Hoover (Boulder) Dam, which has figured so prominently in the recent economic life of the Southwest.

In connection with the matter of omissions, it also should be remarked that consistency is not one of the virtues of the encyclopedia. Among frontier journalists, Bill Nye and Dan DeQuille are included, but Josh Billings and Joe Goodman are not; Pyramid Lake and Lake Bonneville have entries, but not Lake Tahoe and Lake Lahontan; many writers of popular Western novels are included, such as Eugene Manlove Rhodes, Max Brand and Louis L'Amour, but not Luke Short or the once widely-read B. M. Bower; sculptor Solon Borglum finds a niche, but his brother Gutzon, the carver on Mount Rushmore, does not; Howard Hughes (described, somewhat oddly, as a "Nevada businessman") is sketched, but Del Webb is not.

Readers from any locality, and also those with particular interests or areas of expertise, will find occasion to both praise and criticize the book. Californians will commend it for containing good articles on such things as the 1849 gold rush, the motion picture industry, San Francisco, and the early Spanish missions; they may criticize the omission of William Mulholland, Jack London and George Wharton James, and a lack of color in the essays on Los Angeles.

Nevada readers can fault the book for its shabby treatment of Tonopah, Goldfield and Hoover Dam, for its slighting of Hamilton, and its ignoring of Sarah Winnemucca, Lost City (Pueblo Grande de Nevada), Austin and Eureka. However, Nevadans, along with Californians and readers from any other region, undoubtedly will be more pleased than dissatisfied with the work as a whole. Entries pertaining to the Silver State, most of which were written by its leading historian, Russell R. Elliott, range from James W. Nye, William M. Stewart and Lewis Rice Bradley to George Wingfield, Francis G. Newlands and Patrick McCarran; from Virginia City and Aurora to Tonopah (the article, not composed by Elliott, at least recognizes the camp), Reno and Las Vegas; and from a concise history of the state to an essay on legal gambling. There are entries for historian Jeanne Wier, suffragette Anne H. Martin, Comstock figures John W. Mackay and Adolph Sutro, stockmen

Pedro Altube and Henry Cazier, businessman Norman Biltz, Novelist Walter Van Tilburg Clark, the Humboldt River, Pyramid Lake, Indians of the Great Basin, and most of the important political figures since territorial days.

In summary, *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West* is an impressive and significant, if somewhat flawed, accomplishment. Hopefully, its shortcomings will be corrected in future editions. Indeed, a revision of the work is already overdue: most of the entries appear, some all too obviously, to have been written four or five years before their publication.

ERIC N. MOODY
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Carson City

Candelaria and Its Neighbors. By Hugh A. Shamberger. (Carson City: Nevada Historical Press, 1978. 199 pp., foreword, introduction, notes, maps, photographs, index)

HUGH A. SHAMBERGER's latest chronicle of historic Nevada mining camps, *Candelaria and Its Neighbors,* has at last been published and it is by far his most extraordinary effort to date. *Candelaria* will be a welcome addition to any public and private library and a fitting companion to the author's previous efforts. No reader will be disappointed in the contents for here are disclosed nearly all the facets of the Columbus Mining District—the Esmeralda mining region once considered "terra incognito" by the early prospectors.

Within the 199 pages of Mr. Shamberger's paperback, there is compiled "a bit of the long and interesting history of the Columbus Mining District and its nearby neighbors" of Metallic City, Belleville, Marietta, Sodaville, and Coaldale. To repeat the author's own words, he has recorded the district's "people, its towns, its mines and mills, its quest for water, the railroad to Candelaria, the early salt and borax industry, the routes of the horse drawn stage and freighting lines, the many homicides and holdups, and biographical sketches of some of the outstanding men who made the district one of Nevada's greatest mineral producing areas."

This lengthy account certainly does not leave any doubt about its extent, but we would dispute his last point regarding the greatness of the region. No doubt the historical scholars of the Comstock, Tonopah, and Goldfield mining districts, as well as Pioche, Aurora, White Pine, and Searchlight will frown at Mr. Shamberger's accolade for the Columbus Mining District.

This voluminous work, containing over 130 photographs and 11 maps, not only recapitulates the region's history, but sets forth in considerable

detail the numerous mining companies and their ventures. The author pays particular attention, and rightly so considering his expertise on the subject, to the chore of bringing water via a twenty-two mile pipeline from the White Mountains to Candelaria. In addition, Belleville's water source is discussed with a remarkable degree of knowledge. To enlighten the reader further the author has brought together for the first time a verbal picture of the principal alkali ladened dry lake beds, i.e., Rhodes, Teels, Columbus and Fish Lake, whose production of borax supplied nearly all this country's needs during the 1870's and 1880's.

The numberless stage and freighting concerns and their routes between the northern Nevada railroad points of Carson City and Wadsworth and the Columbus district are told in detail. In addition the narrow gauge Carson & Colorado Railroad is well chronicled. The latter's appearance at Candelaria in early 1882 spelled the finale for almost all the teamsters in the territory. The author tells of Candelaria's second boom, when it became the shipping point for freight to the fledgling mining town of Tonopah. Sodaville later eclipsed Candelaria in popularity as the supply center for central Nevada's new boom camps. Mr. Shamberger also records the origins of Coaldale and its nearby coal fields whose proprietors promoted their product to the fullest degree. However, the coal failed to live up to the owner's claims.

As an added insight to the chapter on Coaldale, but contrary to the author's opinion (p. 185) that "very little work was done in the way of development until after the turn of the century," we shall relate some interesting words from an 1895 report of the coal deposits by M. A. Knapp, M.E., to H. M. Yerington, President and General Superintendent of the Carson & Colorado Railroad, found in NC 71, Carson & Colorado Railroad Collection, Special Collections, University of Nevada, Reno. Mr. Knapp wrote that "there was considerable work done on these coal mines, but most of it in a very careless manner." Some of the coal seams were found "badly crushed and broken and at a depth of 60 feet are cut off by the fault fissure." Knapp reported the coal to be a bituminous type of "good coking quality, but with a very high ash percentage, being full of rock or bone. . . ." Were it not for the sand and clay the deposits could have been considered "fair quality." In Mr. Knapp's opinion the mines were of little value, and this was in 1895!

Mr. Shamberger spent two years in assembling the data for *Candelaria and Its Neighbors,* and the book is indeed a monument to this gentleman's position as a recognized authority on Nevada's ghost towns. But in many well-documented and written histories there are, unfortunately, inaccuracies which sometimes elude the unerring eye of the author, and this book is no exception. Glaring mistakes, at least to this reviewer, are the several references to B. G. Smith, a Candelaria merchant, as a brother of F. M. "Borax"

Smith (pp. 53, 109, 113, 140 & 148). In all of the biographies written about the renowned "Borax King," Francis had only *one* brother and he was named Julius. During the early days of the Columbus district, the two brothers were associated in several mining endeavors, but Julius soon departed leaving the business of harvesting borax to Francis. It appears that Mr. Shamberger accepted a statement made by Wells Drury (p. 53) that B. G. Smith "had more money than his brother Borax," and from this untruth concluded that the Candelaria store owner was a blood relative of "Borax." Although a colorful writer, Mr. Drury was not well versed in facts. This reviewer considers the Comstock journalist totally irresponsible concerning at least two subjects in his book *An Editor on the Comstock Lode* (Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., N.Y., 1936).

Briefly, when Drury chronicled the reason for the demise of Alf Doten's *Gold Hill News*, namely when the price for a drink dropped to ten cents, thus "the old *News* might as well suspend," Doten was not even connected with the newspaper, nor was he in Gold Hill or on the Comstock when it quit. The former editor and proprietor was residing in Austin at the time and from that point Doten wrote a touching obituary to his former paper upon its expiration. The other untruths concern Drury's "revelations" about the life and times of "Lying Jim" Townsend, which are too protracted to discuss here, but suffice to say they are bold misconceptions of the first order.

Mr. Shamberger describes both of Belleville's mills (p. 23), but he fails to convince this reviewer that the lower works were the oldest. As an avid student of the region's history, it has always been my understanding that the upper mill was the initial one constructed by the Northern Belle Mining Company. Furthermore, the description of the works seems to bear this out. While on the subject of the mill town, Mr. Shamberger failed to mention two other newspapers that were published at Belleville in addition to the *Times* (p. 22). They were the *Self-Cocker* and the *Tarantula*, both issued in 1877 by Ramon Montenegro, a local saloon owner.

There is additional information available concerning Rhodes Salt Marsh. Developed by Messrs. Rhodes and Wasson, the lake bed was an important salt and borax producer for many years. Although its mineral production record does not compare with those of Teels or Columbus, nevertheless the marsh did occupy a more prominent position than one might gather from the meagre account in this book. When the Nevada Salt & Borax Company was organized it became the chief supplier of salt to the mining industry along the route of the Carson & Colorado, but this is not surprising when one considers that Mr. Yerington had a personal interest in the salt enterprise. For the reader's benefit, the reference to Rhodes & Wasson's plant in the caption under picture No. 101, p. 134, should be changed to Nevada Salt & Borax Company, especially since the date is 1902, some thirty years after the original locators relinquished their claim to the lands.

Mr. Shamberger devotes a considerable number of paragraphs to the namesake of Teel Marsh (p. 149), Captain H. J. Teel, and it should be added that the Captain was the commander of a military company, the Esmeralda Rifles, at Aurora.

In the author's account of the stage and freighting routes he does not mention the "Columbus Wagon Road" by name. This is unexpected considering his extended research and sources for the chapter on freight roads. It was generally known that the Virginia & Truckee Railroad contributed to the construction of the toll road, which passed into the hands of Julius J. Holmes, civil engineer and railroad builder, after its original owners failed to complete the project. Numerous Carson City businessmen also came forth with funds to extend the freight route to the capital. By doing this they hoped to turn the tide of freight traffic away from Wadsworth to Carson and enhance their revenue as well as the coffers of the V&T. Even the good people of Dayton subscribed $2,000 to aid in Holmes' toll road. It was the wagon road's popularity with the teamsters that eventually caused the V&T to go ahead with its plans to construct a railroad, the Carson & Colorado, to the Columbus/Candelaria mining region.

Perhaps the most grevious error is made in the chapter about the Carson & Colorado Railroad, where it is stated that the "71 mile segment (of the C&C) between Laws and Keeler in California's Owens Valley is still in operation." By April 30, 1960, the Southern Pacific's Owens Valley line was no longer in existence. The last run of the "Slim Princess" occurred April 29, and by the end of the year only a few scattered spikes and ties along the vacant right of way marked the historic narrow gauge line.

Despite a few errors and omissions, plus a number of "typos" and a rather limited index, *Candelaria and Its Neighbors* remains a delightful and rewarding treat for Nevada's history buffs. The excellent maps and photographs certainly add much to the completeness of his work. With an unbounded eagerness the reviewer awaits Mr. Shamberger's next epic—the history of Goldfield.

RICHARD C. DATIN
Reno, Nevada

The Black Rock Desert. By Sessions S. Wheeler. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1978. 187 pp., maps, illustrations, notes)

ONE EVENING NOT LONG AGO, I had a memorable experience driving across the Black Rock Desert on the route from Gerlach to Soldier Meadow. Night had just fallen, but a pale, pink light coming out of a cloudladen western sky silhouetted the rugged outlines of the Calico Mountains. Wind had been gusting across the playa most of the day. Fine dust filled the air; not really

heavy, but just enough to be quite noticeable. The smooth lake bed sped by at sixty miles per hour. The vision ahead was ethereal. There was no sky, no earth. Even the Black Rock Range and Jackson Mountains, which I knew lie to the north and east, just didn't exist. The sky and earth merged into a visionless unit. My lifeline to earth had been cut—I was floating into eternity, to infinity, to be lost alone, forever.

Sessions Wheeler has written his third Nevada book with "Desert" in its title. The study is not so much about the desert itself, but concerns events that have taken place on and near it, and the people who have lived or are now living in the region. Wheeler dispenses with the natural history of the Black Rock Desert in four short pages.

John C. Fremont's trip across the desert is well described in the text, but the "Early Routes" map shows his trail turning southwest at Quinn River, not just off the playa on the southeast side of the desert as clearly indicated on Fremont's journal and map.

Alonzo Delano and J. Bruff's account of crossing the Black Rock Desert portion of the Applegate Trail in 1849 is recounted. Wheeler notes that the trail went across the northwest arm of the desert from Black Rock Spring to Donnelly Creek. The Bruff party and others probably made this detour. However, the main trail was on the east side of the arm where the deep, weather-worn road may be seen today. Bruff describes in his journal that the main trail was on the east side of the valley (from Donnelly Creek).

The "lost" Hardin silver lode is retold and the author's longest chapter is on the early Indian wars. The reading becomes a bit tedious, however—there are thirteen straight pages of quotation, much of which had appeared in the previous title *The Nevada Desert.*

The most useful topic in the book concerns the ranchers. Little has been written about this phase of the area's history, and Wheeler spent considerable time and effort interviewing older residents of the area who had lived there for some time.

Illustrations are supposed to enhance a book. The publisher included photographs that totally lack imagination, and some are produced so badly as to be worthless. About a dozen illustrations are identical to ones that appeared in Wheeler's previous books published by Caxton Printers. In one instance, a photograph in a former book identifies an ox shoe on the east side of Humboldt Lake, while in the current work the same photo is turned upside down. From the caption, one would assume that it was from the Applegate Trail. Caxton Printers, Ltd. is known as one of the West's most prestigious publishers, but this kind of foolery can quickly weaken that status. The most interesting photos are those that are historic and obtained from various institutions and loaned by local residents.

The late Craig Sheppard painted "to add visual dimensions to historic

events," according to the statement on the back cover. Unfortunately most of the paintings are reproduced in black and white and are so small (ca. 3″ × 4″) that any "visual dimensions" that they may have had are lost. The paintings are not quite abstract, nor are they geographically authentic. For instance, the colored cover illustration representing an immigrant train crossing the Black Rock Desert is disturbing in terms of its perspective. Anyone who has been in the region knows that the distance across the playa to Black Rock is not nearly as short as the sketch makes it out to be. The Calico Mountains and Black Rock Range do not actually look the way the painting makes them appear, and the foreground vegetation is not nearly that sparse.

Sessions Wheeler told this reviewer, after his book was written but not yet published, that much more could be written about the desert. He was quite correct. The book contains little or no information on the following phases of the area's history: E. G. Beckwith's 1854 Pacific Railroad Survey with artist F. W. Egloffstein's powerful panoramas of the region; the George M. Wheeler Survey; the building of the Western Pacific Railroad; mineral resources and mining; and some of the wagon roads along the desert. In addition, a treatment of natural history and a selection of striking photographs also would have made major contributions to a book dealing with this dramatic land.

ALVIN MCLANE
Reno, Nevada

Henry Farny. By Denny Carter. (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1978. 208 pages; illustrations, plates, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00)

A FEW YEARS AGO, this reviewer attended an exhibit of the art of the American West at San Francisco's deYoung Museum. He entered the exhibit area expecting to be thrilled with the original works of Charles M. Russell and Frederic Remington. The paintings of those men were there all right, but the visitor walked past them with barely a glance, having been drawn instead to an unpretentious work entitled *Indian Camp,* painted in 1890 by a man whose name was new to the visitor: Henry Farny. The Indians shown were either sitting in or moving slowly through the village—no wild goings-on in the Russell-Remington manner.

Hundreds of other gallery visitors must have shared this experience in recent years, each "discovering" Farny, and then eagerly searching for further examples of his work and for biographical data. In fact, for the past few years there has been a small but appreciable Farny revival. Until the publication of Ms. Carter's volume, the most accessible and satisfactory account

of Farny's life was a chapter in Robert Taft's *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West* (1953).

Farny was born in France in 1847. Shortly thereafter his parents migrated to rural Pennsylvania and later, in 1859, to Cincinnati. In the post-Civil War era he began his long and successful career as an illustrator for such publications as *Harper's, Century,* and the *McGuffey Readers.* Meanwhile, he traveled and studied art in Europe intermittently between 1867 and 1876. In the 1880s he developed into a painter rather than an illustrator, choosing the American Indian as his special subject. The Native American and his culture were threatened with extinction and Farny was determined to capture as much of both on canvas as possible.

He made at least four trips to the West in search of Indian themes: Fort Yates, Dakota Territory, 1881; Helena, Montana, 1883; down the Missouri River by boat, 1884; and Fort Sill, Indian Territory, 1894. Although he may have made other such journeys, his western travels were few and brief. By taking photographs and making sketches there, he could do most of the actual painting in his Cincinnati studio. His favorite media were oils, water colors, and gouache.

The word "quiet" is invariably used to describe his work. The typical Farny painting will show an Indian camp situated by a stream or trail, with the inhabitants gathered about a fire at dusk. Other common scenes include Indians watching a passing train (symbolic of the end of their way of life) and lone hunters on the trail. Only occasionally did Farny portray violent action: *Got Him* (1891), *Rounded-up, by God* (1906), and *In Pursuit* (1891). Even his most dramatic and famous depiction of hostilities between Indians and whites, *The Captive* (1885), implies no motion. In his last years he tired of painting Indians and attempted, without notable success, to work with historical themes, e.g., *Into the Unknown* (1910).

Farny's abilities were such that he can stand on his own, without comparison with Russell and Remington. Yet such comparisons are inevitable and Carter supplies some succinct ones (page 29):

> Stability and harmony are characteristics that distinguish Farny's painting from those of his contemporaries. Remington and Russell portrayed the West as a place of violent, baroque action. Most often their subjects were cowboys in conflict with their horses, their herds, the Indians, or even their environment. Remington's and Russell's palettes were much lighter than Farny's [owing in part to the latter's training in Germany] and neither artist had the technical command that Farny had. Today, Farny's work is considered to be the most painterly of the three.

Farny was well known in his day. His paintings of Indians were appreciated for their authenticity and they sold well. The "quiet" nature of his work helps to explain the eclipse of his reputation after his death in

1916. The public has preferred the often boistrous works of Russell and Remington. Also, by living a calm, middle-class life in Cincinnati, he lacked Russell's appealing credentials as a genuine westerner and Remington's helpful connections with the eastern establishment.

The current resurgence of interest in Farny makes the Carter book most welcome. The bulk of this sturdily handsome volume consists of 166 plates, 48 of them in color. The written portion does not purport to be a full biography; the main text covers only twenty pages. Yet Carter, the Associate Curator of Painting at the Cincinnati Art Museum, did uncover facts from newspaper and manuscript sources that add substantially to the Taft account. Of the most value is her authoritative discussion of Farny's techniques and his place in nineteenth-century American art. The author concludes with the surprising and provocative suggestion that ultimately Farny may be honored more as a painter of western landscapes than of Indians.

MICHAEL J. BRODHEAD
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Indian Life: Transforming an American Myth. Edited by William W. Savage, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977. xii + 286 pp., illustrated, $9.95)

WILLIAM SAVAGE'S *Indian Life: Transforming an American Myth* provides the reader with numerous informative accounts concerning nineteenth century perceptions of the American Indian. It is Savage's intent to introduce the impressions, both romantic and negative, that were recorded by those who had contact with the Indian during their travels in frontier areas. Through personal accounts, chapters from dime novels, and bureaucratic reports, Savage allows the reader to share the open bigotry, naive assumptions and the frequently good, but misguided intentions that characterized early relations with the Indian.

The history of Indian-White relations on the frontier was frequently paradoxical. At times the settlers appear to have had great difficulty in deciding whether to admire or to alter aboriginal culture. In the end it is obvious that the prevailing sentiment was to alter rather than accommodate to Native American culture, but as Savage points out the dilemma was never clearly resolved. In motion pictures, books—indeed in all forms of popular media—we are still exposed to the contradictory images of nobility and treachery. Savage's main purpose is to try and elucidate some of the factors that created this confusing imagery. The problem with the book is that what is so clearly stated in the introduction isn't tied together in the following

chapters. Savage has a fine writing style and a command of his material; but he should have provided the reader with a more developed theme as the book progressed. Instead, following his introduction, we are given thirteen chapters with only brief paragraphs to indicate what the author really has in mind. Because of Savage's lack of involvement in the text of the book, the volume does not appear to be structured very well. It gives the impression of a random group of chapters without a guiding theme. Given Savage's obvious writing talent it is unfortunate that more time was not spent on the book's organization. Still, the book has many fine points, and the author's argument is eventually established.

Overall, the accounts presented by Savage do not appear to be deliberately negative, but rather reveal the type of romantic stereotype that eventually results in neglect and contempt. The Indian is continually portrayed in these accounts as less than human, occasionally more than human, but rarely ever simply human. With the notable exception of an excerpt from Helen Hunt Jackson's classic work *A Century of Dishonor,* the chapters reveal an almost nonstop attempt to judge the Indian by standards that were of little if any meaning in his own world.

For many frontiersmen, the West was a place where one could improve his social position. Whether it was running a ranch, owning a silver mine or fighting Indians, social advancement was viewed as obtainable. This is clearly in evidence in several of the passages that Savage has selected. Rather than being statements of fact, many of the comments demonstrate a conscious desire to please an audience hungry for information about Indians and willing to provide the writer who offered it with status and wealth. Consider Savage's choice of a story by E. L. Wheeler about Sitting Bull. Wheeler's presentation of Sitting Bull in his first Deadwood Dick novel is hardly flattering; indeed, Sitting Bull is presented as vicious and dangerous. At the time it appears to have mattered little that Deadwood Dick was a creation of Wheeler's mind, or that Wheeler had never met Sitting Bull. The fact was that Wheeler could "inform" Americans about the West. It was of little consequence that he had no knowledge of Indians. What did count, however, was his style of presentation, and that provided Wheeler with a very lucrative career.

Consider, too, that sensationalized stories about the Indian were also written for foreign consumption. Savage introduces the reader to an account by one Charles Alston Meisster, an Englishman, who joined an expedition crossing the plains. Meisster and his party battled with a group of Indians, and one of the Indians lost his scalp. This type of adventure of course provided Meisster's audience with some exciting reading. But what is especially intriguing about this account is that Meisster and his party were hoping to scalp an Indian for the "fun" of it. It is obvious that to this Victorian gentleman fighting Indians was both a challenge and a sport.

Savage provides the reader with a rather interesting War Department report concerning how one bureaucrat handled, as he put it, "the Ghost Dance Craze." To have called the Ghost Dance a religion would have hardly provided grounds for government intervention at Wounded Knee Creek. However, by calling the Ghost Dance a "craze" an implicit meaning was created that allowed for government intervention at that fateful place. That clever Washington bureaucrat, although 2,000 miles from the frontier, could still advance himself at the expense of aboriginal culture. Be it novel writing, bureaucratic jargon or military exploit, stereotyped images of the Indian generated social and economic opportunity for many who exploited his situation.

If, after reading this book, the reader still has doubts concerning the meaning of the material presented by Savage, one need only again consider the illustrations, which have great value. What may at the time have been taken to be pictures of "wild Indians" can only now be viewed as the last attempt of a vanquished people to maintain a final shred of dignity. Pictures of Indians all dressed up and sitting in a Buick, the cover of a program from one of Pawnee Bill's wild west shows, the group picture from the 101 Ranch Show posing cowboys and Indians with Cossacks, all give clear evidence that traditional Indian America had ceased to exist.

Probably the true value of Savage's book is that he has brought such a variety of material together. Had he included a stronger guiding theme the value of the material would have been enhanced, but the book still has a power of its own. *Indian Life: Transforming an American Myth* deserves the attention of both scholars and laymen.

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NHS ARCHIVAL ACQUISITIONS

Costmor Harris Clark Emigrant Journal

The Society extends its thanks to Noel and Ruth Danner of Reno for allowing the photocopying of the emigrant journal of Costmor Harris Clark (1810–1905). The journal, which covers the period June 20–September 4, 1850, describes Clark's trek to California beginning at the Sweetwater River in present-day Wyoming and ending at Hangtown (Placerville). A considerable portion of the journal is devoted to his journey across the western Great Basin; he followed, for the most part, the California Trail and the Carson River Route across the Sierra Nevada. Of special importance is Clark's noting the discovery of gold in Gold Canyon while travelling along the Carson River. "New mines have been discovered here," he wrote, "and a number of miners from the other side of the mountain are 'prospecting' in the ravines which open into the valley from the mountains." The California-bound emigrant also mentioned "Mormon Station," which had been established by the Hampton Sidney Beatie-Joseph DeMont party in Carson Valley only months before Clark's passage through the area. Unquestionably, the journal is a valuable addition to our early Nevada materials.

Index to the 1875 Nevada Census

Thanks to the efforts of Robert Anderl of the Dickinson Library, UNLV, computer analyst Ron Kendall and his CETA assistant Steve Weiss, and Joan Kerschner, Susan Southwick, and a diligent CETA worker at the Nevada State Library, the invaluable 1875 Nevada Census has now been indexed. The county enumerations are listed alphabetically by name, age, occupation, race, and sex. The output was placed on 4×6 48x microfiche and required seventy sheets for the fourteen counties. Robert Anderl was instrumental in providing the Society with a copy of the census index, and to him we offer a special thanks. In the future perhaps more cooperative projects of this type can be facilitated with the aid of computer technology.

Zebenizer Kendall Collection

Born in St. John, Kansas, on November 8, 1875, young Zeb spent his boyhood in Utah and Nevada. As a young man bent on making his fortune in the

world, he travelled to Delamar during the gold rush in the late 1890s. He would make his fortune in Nevada, but not in Lincoln County.

Arriving in Tonopah in April of 1901, Kendall found himself on the ground floor of a silver boom. James L. "Jim" Butler had made the rich discovery only a year before, and after filing his claim late in 1900, he leased out his mining property to Kendall and a score of other fortune seekers. By the time the Tonopah Mining Company bought out Butler and took over his property on January 1, 1902, Kendall was a man of some means.

Kendall, while still earning a considerable livelihood from his many subsequent mining ventures, turned to other types of endeavors as well. He built (1902) and operated Tonopah's famous Palace Hotel located on Erie and Main Streets. Well-known and well-liked throughout central Nevada, Nye County's "tallest" citizen served as State Senator from 1909 to 1917.

But by the second decade of its existence Tonopah had seen better days. Kendall recognized that stark economic reality, and moved to San Francisco.

In 1919, the enterprising mining entrepreneur decided that there was still money to be made from the Comstock mines. He purchased the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company and adjacent properties, and with his associates operated the Nevada corporation through the early 1950s. In 1932, Zeb moved to Virginia City and spent his final years there. He died February 24, 1954.

The collection consists of Comstock mining records kept and collected by Kendall. Included in the one box and nine volumes of materials are records for the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company, Ophir Mining Company, the Mexican Gold & Silver Mining Company, Dayton Mining Company, and the Mexican Mine.

Our thanks to Becky Sue Weimer and John Schilling of the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology for making the Kendall collection available to the Society.

Mineral County Maps

Our Mineral County map collection has grown by eight maps thanks to Mrs. Franklin E. English of Hawthorne. Included in the donation are twentieth-century maps and plats of Aurora, Hawthorne, Mina, and adjacent areas in Mineral County. Hugh Shamberger played an instrumental role in acquiring the materials, and the Society owes him a debt of gratitude.

Nevada Photographs

Photographer James E. Smith of Washoe Valley has recently donated over eighty glass plate negatives to the Society. Prints made from the negatives

are amazingly vivid and sharp, and depict numerous areas throughout the state in the 1920s and early 1930s. Included in the acquisition are exquisite shots of Austin, Caliente, Carson City, Eureka, Goldfield, McGill, Sparks, and Winnemucca. Pastoral scenes abound as well. Among these photos are views of Carson Valley from Kingsbury Grade, the Muddy River, Wilson Canyon, the Truckee River east of Reno, Lake Tahoe, and Walker Lake. We wish to thank Mr. Smith, who has been associated with the Society for some twenty years, for significantly enhancing our photograph collection with his gift.

William M. Stewart Letters

The manuscript collection of United States Senator William Morris Stewart, which includes twenty boxes and seven volumes of material, is now two letters richer. William H. Robinson, Jr., of Denver, Colorado was kind enough to give the rare correspondence to the Society. The letters, dated August 15 and 16, 1902, were sent to George T. Mills and Judge Thomas Porter Hawley, and discuss the resurrection of the Republican Party in Nevada after ten years of Silver Party dominance in the state. Mr. Robinson, a retired attorney, is currently writing a study of Stewart's legal career.

NHS NEWS AND DEVELOPMENTS

Territorial Enterprise Index

The Washoe County CETA organization has recently authorized the Society to conduct a project to index the *Territorial Enterprise* from its initial publication in 1859 to its suspension in 1915. The project will be headed by Victor Schliebs, MLS, who has been contracted for a term of one year. Up to sixteen positions are authorized and at the present time four CETA trainees have been employed, with recruiting under way for the balance of the positions. Each trainee will be taught indexing skills and methods, using the indexes to the *Pioche Weekly Record* and *Las Vegas Age* as guides. The indexing group will work in the Reno museum initially, since many of the early issues exist only on microfilm. The group later will move to a room provided by the Washoe County School District at Grace Warner School. It is hoped to have the index completed in a year. This index is potentially one of the most valuable sources for primary data on nineteenth century Nevada.

Territorial Papers Finding Aid and the Clark County Historic Sites Inventory

Our readers are urged to notice the announcements in the closing pages of this issue of the publication of the *Territorial Papers* and Clark County *Historic Sites Inventory*. They are the most recent publications of the Society and reflect our interests in stimulating research into the territorial period, 1850–1864, and preservation activities throughout the state.

Nevada Humanities Committee Exhibits Grant

This organization has awarded the Society approximately $8,000 to fabricate two exhibits explaining the historic development of Clark and Lincoln counties. Kathy Tipton, who has been earlier associated with the Fussell Lecture and Clark County historic sites inventory, will design and construct the displays. Designed to be easily transportable, the exhibits will tour cultural and educational institutions in both counties before being placed permanently in the two courthouses. This is a pilot project; ultimately the Society plans to complete historic exhibits for each Nevada county.

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOUNDED IN 1904, the Nevada Historical Society seeks to advance the study of the heritage of Nevada. The Society publishes scholarly studies, indexes, guidebooks, bibliographies, and the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*; it collects manuscripts, rare books, artifacts, and historical photographs and maps, and makes its collections available for research; it maintains a museum at its Reno facility; and it is engaged in the development and publication of educational materials for use in the public schools.