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Nevada Turning Points: The State Legislature of 1955

MARY ELLEN GLASS

THE NEVADA STATE CONSTITUTION provided for a two-house legislature, composed of a senate, or upper house, and an assembly. For nearly a hundred years, each senator represented a county; the assemblymen represented districts within counties in numbers roughly proportional to the population. Like the legislators of other states, the members usually came from Democratic or Republican party backgrounds, and from widely diverse economic, social, and ethnic settings. Like the lawmakers of other commonwealths, the legislators of Nevada attended to the budgetary concerns and the general operation of state government. The Constitution set periods for meetings at two-year intervals, beginning on the third Monday of January in odd-numbered years; until 1958, a regular session could not extend for more than sixty days.[1]

From the beginning of state government, Nevada legislators gave varying attention to state needs, often making marked changes in the ways of doing the people's business. Notable legislatures have included the meetings of 1864–65, which essentially organized the state government; the session of 1931, which set Nevada permanently in pursuit of tourism as a major endeavor when it legalized casino gambling; and the session of 1955. The last made perhaps the most important and longest-lasting contributions to government in the history of Nevada, other than the first meeting of the state's lawmakers, for the members of 1955 recognized and realistically met Nevada's needs for the modern era, altering irrevocably many functions of the state government.

As the 1955 legislature convened, Nevadans faced several crises. An exploding school population made education a focus for discussion by government officers and private citizens alike. An antiquated tax structure had proved inadequate to finance educational improvements, or indeed, to support many governmental functions considered routine in other states. Nevada's casino gambling industry found itself under attack in the wake of revel-

[1] *Constitution of Nevada*, Art. 4. The sixty-day limit was often exceeded, but the constitutional provision was observed by covering clocks and calendars, pretending that the time had not run out, and putting the last day's date on all documents completed after that time.

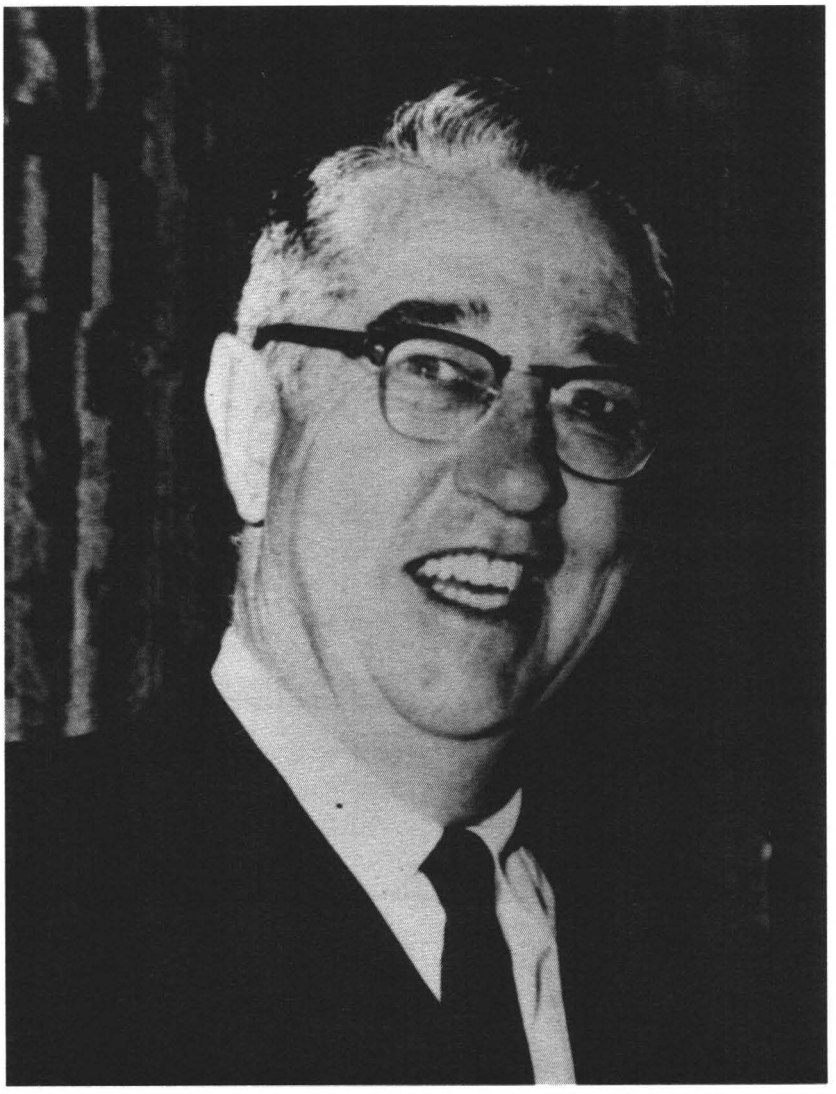
ations that racketeers held hidden interests in a major hotel-casino in Las Vegas. The Nevada health and welfare agencies came under criticism in a national magazine. The University of Nevada, suffering one of its periodic imbroglios, spurred widespread demands around the state to settle the institution's political and educational difficulties, once and for all.[2] The governor had advanced plans for a couple of new agencies, a situation that needed intensive study before approval. Even the legislature's own documents and procedures seemed out of date or otherwise inadequate.

Many of these problems and critical issues had roots in the post-World War II westward movement in the United States. Until the war, the state's population had grown slowly or remained relatively static, but after the end of the conflict, the West as a whole attracted millions of new residents. Nevada itself became the fastest-growing state in the Union in percentage of population. Thus every private and public facility or agency found expanded clientele, and correspondingly increased problems.

The education crisis particularly symbolized the difficulties in population growth. The predicaments had already affected thousands of people in the year or so prior to the meeting of the legislature in January, 1955. A special session of the legislature in 1954 had recognized the imminent failure of the public educational system; it provided emergency funding, and ordered a professional study of the shortcomings. Post-war population growth had overloaded classrooms and created chaos in financing arrangements for the more than 230 separate school districts in the state. Parents and citizens' lobbying groups mounted an intensive campaign to gain funding for the hard-pressed system, and also for a program which would put education on a foundation that would not collapse in the future. The lawmakers and a committee appointed by Governor Charles Russell found that a total reorganization and vastly increased tax monies would provide the only good remedies.

The professional study undertaken by a team from the George Peabody College for Teachers in Tennessee affirmed the Nevada school crisis and suggested solutions: reduction of the number of school districts from over 200 to 17, the boundaries of the school districts to conform to the boundaries of the counties—and the administration to reflect that consolidation; a support formula for state appropriations that recognized a "basic educational unit" comprising teacher-student-classroom ratios; other formulas to reflect needs for support items such as transportation and school libraries; and a uniform salary scale for teachers so that both rural and urban areas could attract equally qualified instructors. All of these suggestions showed the depth of an investigation which revealed important weaknesses in the Neva-

[2] *Reno Evening Gazette,* April 5, 1955, p. 22; James Hulse, *The University of Nevada, A Centennial History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1974), pp. 57–59.



Governor Charles H. Russell
(Nevada Historical Society)

da public education system. Hodge-podge and patchy planning and finance systems were obsolete, and needed revision to take care of modern needs for facilities and the accoutrements of quality education. The proposals of the Peabody team met wide approval among educators, parents, and other citizens, but also caused concern among knowledgeable people who understood the exigencies of state finance.[3]

[3] George Peabody College for Teachers, *Education in Nevada* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1955); *Reno Evening Gazette,* April 12, 1955, p. 13.

When the legislators began the session in January, 1955, Governor Russell's message addressed the state's problems straightforwardly. Concerning the school systems, he reported that Nevada education could break down if relief did not come. Russell supported the recommendations of the Peabody survey team. On the other hand, he made no definite suggestions for added taxation, although adoption of the new plan would require about six to eight million dollars in new money. The governor did say that he would sign any new tax measure that the lawmakers approved, for he recognized the need even while declining to offer a specific tax measure. The governor also requested an extensive overhaul of gambling control laws and agency structure, asked for the creation of an economic development office for the promotion of business and tourism, pointed to acute difficulties with the health and welfare agencies, suggested appropriations for the revitalization of the state park system, and noted a need for revision of certain other laws.[4]

Senators and assemblymen went diligently to work on the proposed legislation, first on the school reorganization measure, while they discussed at length most of the feasible taxation possibilities that were advanced. Because so many people felt vitally affected, education bills seemed to take precedence. Moreover, mass lobbying efforts by parents, teachers, and others interested in the schools made that bloc the most visible and therefore the most effective in pressing its case.[5]

After the legislative session was three quarters into its constitutional time allotment, apparently no firm decisions had yet been made on the most pressing issues; no legislation on new taxes or on school problems had passed. Still, most observers believed that at least the so-called Peabody formula bill would become law in due course. The Speaker of the Assembly, Cyril Bastian, representative from Lincoln County, decided that he had lost patience with his colleagues and their supposed dilatory course, and announced that he would deliver a speech on March 11, in which he would tell them "the facts of life."

Bastian did as he promised, and his speech was designated a "special order of business" on a Saturday morning. Opening with the observation that the legislature had "already practically adopted the Peabody report," Bastian's "plain-spoken" discussion aimed to tell his colleagues "where we are." The adoption of the education bill, the Speaker reminded the assembly, would require some $18.6 million for the biennium, and he added, "We might just as well face up to the fact that that's the amount of money we are going to have to pay." Speaker Bastian praised the taxation committees for trying to avoid enacting a comprehensive measure like a sales tax, but ob-

[4] Charles H. Russell, *Message to the 1955 Session of the Nevada Legislature.*

[5] *Reno Evening Gazette,* April 7, 1955, p. 17; also, author's recollection of activities as an education lobbyist at the 1955 session.

served that the efforts had resulted mainly in a "five and dime," "patchwork" program. The committees had put out bills raising taxes on gambling, cigarettes, liquor, insurance, real estate transactions, and hotel and motel rooms, while still falling short of meeting impending needs. Even if the new levies came close, Bastian declared, the requirement for some $35 million worth of new buildings would erase the increment. "If we are going to compete with [surrounding states] for school teachers, if our children are going to have the same advantages as those in our neighboring states—it's just as simple as two and two," the Speaker warned. A new and comprehensive system was required: "We are going to have to tax as other states tax."[6]

If Bastian prevailed, no longer would the state take pride in its status as a "cyclone cellar for the tax weary," with no so-called "nuisance" taxes. For decades, Nevada had bragged that it imposed no such annoyances upon residents, and had attracted a substantial number of affluent refugees from states that did so. Bastian's exhortation thus required considerable courage, as well as a deep understanding of the history of his native state.

Now, the Speaker informed the assemblage, "We have a sinking ship," and the ship had been "sinking at the rate of $2,000,000 a year." Soon the burden would amount to $20 million, and then $27 million by 1957–59. "That's too much money for any segment, for any minority, or even any majority of our people to raise. Everybody is going to have to carry his proportionate share." Not merely education would suffer, but, Bastian affirmed, "every service our people require" was deficient; "Our schools aren't any worse off than are the other things we should be doing." Bastian urged his listeners: "We'd better get something concrete and recognize that we are placing too big a burden on a few people. I believe right now is the time to shift the burden from a few to everybody in the state." He pleaded with the lawmakers to enact the sales tax then, to take care of the pressing problems and to get on with their study of others, which he named as gambling control and equalization of property taxes.[7] Speaker Bastian's respected position, sincerity, and deep knowledge proved to be the catalyst for the education and taxation issues.

Within days following the "facts of life" speech, a school reorganization plan that has endured (with only minor tinkering) for more than a quarter century had become law, and the state had a sales tax—two percent on most tangible commodities—to support the system. Moreover, the provisions of the school formula forced the equalization of property taxes statewide. A county assessor who failed to meet the standard imposed a penalty on his county's school district.[8]

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[6] *Nevada State Journal*, March 12, 1955, p. 14.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *Statutes of Nevada, 1955*, Chapters 402 and 397. The sales tax was later affirmed by the voters making it a permanent fixture in the state's financial structure.

Still, Bastian's pessimism masked the fact that the lawmakers had engaged in strenuous activity throughout the session. The education system was important indeed, and taxation to finance a full range of services was vital. Yet, the studiousness and genuine productivity of these same lawmakers whom Bastian had castigated for inadequacies and shortcomings brought Nevada into the modern era of state government activity.

During the session, copies of a current *Collier's* magazine appeared on every legislator's desk; the cover story headlined, "The Sorry State of Nevada." Author Albert Deutsch wrote that he admired much about the state, but found a great deal to deplore: the nation's highest crime and suicide rates, health and welfare services at "a primitive level," infant and tuberculosis death rates "among the nation's highest," and poor people dying "for want of hospital facilities." The state Children's Home, Deutsch said, was "grossly overcrowded"; a venereal disease rate of serious proportions threatened the population; and the welfare department, while staffed by "a handful of earnest, conscientious . . . people" was impotent because of penurious legislators. Similarly, the health department's condition made "a mockery of the state sanitary and other anti-disease regulations." Most important, even in this sordid calendar of derelictions and near-criminality, Deutsch found the state's failure to pass the model Aid to Dependent Children Act a detriment to needy and neglected youngsters. In short, Nevada's lack of adequate taxing ability made for "a deplorable neglect of child and adult unfortunates." Gambling taxes, even relatively high ones, Deutsch pointed out, had failed to serve the people of Nevada with agencies considered essential to forty-seven other states.[9]

Even allowing for an author's hyperbole, legislators and agency heads in Nevada, though stung, recognized the problems raised in the magazine article. Governor Russell had repeatedly asked for funds for the various humanitarian service agencies, only to be turned back by the supposed lack of funds from taxation. In 1955, however, the lawmakers not only affirmed the problems existed; they also studied them and acted. The sales tax measure and added gambling taxes, along with some of the "five and dime" levies to which Speaker Bastian had referred, provided sufficient money for a beginning program in fields other than education. Moreover, the education lobbyists, while interested primarily in the schools, were for the most part parents with concerns for all children. By the end of the session, the Nevada legislature became the forty-eighth in the nation to pass the Aid to Dependent Children law, which was modeled on a federal statute and designed to take advantage of federal aid in this field.[10]

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[9] Albert Deutsch, "The Sorry State of Nevada," *Collier's* (March 18, 1955).

[10] *Statutes of Nevada, 1955,* Chapter 409; also, author's recollection.

The "ADC" law, as it was popularly called, provided an initial appropriation from the state and put Nevada in line for federal grants to assist the program. Included were funds to help children of disabled or deserting fathers and widowed mothers. Other bills passed at the same time to improve the conditions of which author Deutsch had complained included increased aid to the blind, and the creation of a silicosis fund in the workmen's compensation law—important in a mining state.[11] The legislators did not address all of Nevada's problems in crime, delinquency, and disease, but they had made genuine progress where little movement had occurred before. Moreover, the changes in direction became permanent.

Just as many groups of people had focused attention on education and child welfare proposals, others found the basic tourist industry—gambling—in trouble and needing important attention. In the months just preceding the legislature's opening, the Nevada Tax Commission, which had responsibility for regulating the gambling industry, had become involved in charges against the Thunderbird Hotel in Las Vegas. Claims that George Sadlo, or perhaps Jake and Meyer Lansky, all notorious underworld figures, held hidden interests in the operation were advanced by the *Las Vegas Sun*.[12] The Tax Commission conducted an investigation and held hearings; it was expected the result would be an order to close the Thunderbird and revoke its license. However, the owners, Marion Hicks and Clifford A. Jones, were politically powerful, and appeared able to stall or prevent such an order. It seemed that Nevada could not keep its gambling "clean," and the specter of federal intervention loomed.

Only a few years before, Estes Kefauver, chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Organized Crime, had made a well-publicized foray into the state, charging that gangsters, mobsters, and racketeers had taken over Nevada gaming, and suggesting stringent laws to tax the business out of existence. Nevada's senior Senator Patrick A. McCarran worked to have Kefauver's bills (and others like them) killed, but the idea remained, both in Congress and elsewhere, that the "Mob" ran Nevada gambling.[13] The people of the state, while admitting that some unsavory characters had entered the industry, declined to submit to Kefauver's solutions to the prob-

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11 *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 8, 1955, p. 13.

12 *Las Vegas Sun*, October–December, 1954. See also: Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), pp. 328–333; Robbins E. Cahill, *Recollections of Work in State Politics, Government, Taxation, Gaming Control, Clark County Administration, and the Nevada Resort Association* (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Project, 1966), pp. 991–1073.

13 Ed Reid and Ovid Demaris, *The Green Felt Jungle* (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1964); U.S. Senate, Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce, *Senate Report 307*, 82nd Cong., 1st sess., May, 1951, pp. 90–94; Patrick McCarran to Joseph F. McDonald, July 3, 1951, and to Pete Petersen, June 23, 1951, in McCarran papers, Nevada State Archives, Carson City.

Clifford A. Jones
(Cashman Collection, University of Nevada, Las Vegas Library)

lems. Instead, the Tax Commission and its operatives tried to police the industry and to keep it clean of cheaters and hidden investors. From 1945, when the state assumed control, until 1954, the Commission had done a fair job, mainly because the industry accepted its authority. But the Thunderbird owners changed the rules: they decided to fight for their license. If the license could not be revoked, or a gambling casino closed for illegal or unsuitable activities, the state was helpless.[14]

With the Thunderbird matter in the foreground, Governor Charles Russell ran for reelection in 1954—the fall prior to the legislative meeting—on a platform of clearing the state of unsavory people in the gambling busi-

[14] Cahill, *loc. cit.*

[15] Ibid., pp. 1011–1020; *Reno Evening Gazette,* October 10, 1954, and *Nevada State Journal,* October 15, 1954, clippings in the scrapbook of Charles H. Russell, University of Nevada, Reno Library.

ness.[15] He was successful in promoting the view that he could do so, or at least that he could do better than his opponent; and thus he faced an enormous challenge to propose legislation that would accomplish his goals. The bills introduced and passed by the 1955 legislature reflected Russell's ideas, as well as the need to deal with the Thunderbird problem, and the desire to create a professional agency to take care of enforcement. The result set the pattern for regulation of gambling in Nevada for at least the next quarter century.

National and local criticism clearly also affected the content of the new law. The legislative session, wrote an analyst, had "convened in an air of uneasiness," owing to attacks in the press on this "haven for hoodlums." The old law had specified that a gambling license could be revoked for "just cause," and lawyers for the Thunderbird owners believed that they could convince a judge that this legalism had not been observed, although the Tax Commission's investigators viewed their evidence as being firm. The Tax Commission itself had only a few professional investigators, and lacked the organization and enforcement techniques and experience needed for a typical police agency; despite these handicaps, the agency had made considerable progress.

In anticipation of the legal maneuvers of the Thunderbird's attorneys, and recognizing the need for a more professional operation in the Commission, the legislators of 1955 wrote a new gambling control law for Nevada. Ownership of a gambling casino was declared a revocable privilege, and the requirement of "just cause" for taking away a gaming license was removed from the statute. The Tax Commission expanded; a gaming control agency was created within its confines. The new Gaming Control Board had three highly-paid, professional supervisors with experience in the fields that the bureau needed, especially in accounting and law enforcement. The Board had more extensive powers, and could deny, revoke, or suspend a gambling license for "any cause deemed reasonable." The procedures allowed the Control Board to conduct original investigations on license applications, to initiate revocation proceedings against casino owners they regarded as unsuitable, and to hold hearings and present findings to the full Tax Commission, which had the final authority. Taxes on gambling in the state were increased in order to support the activities of the new Board and its staff; a sliding-scale levy on gross receipts increased the funds available to the police agency for its work.[16]

The importance of the 1955 gambling control law to Nevada could hardly be exaggerated. The broad enforcement powers acquired by the Gaming Control Board and the designation of the casino gambling business

[16] *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 6, 1955, pp. 13–14; *Statutes of Nevada, 1955*, Chapter 429.

as a "revocable privilege" quite likely saved the state from significant federal interference in the tourist industry. Although national politicians and various moralistic campaigners kept trying to put Nevada out of the gambling business, the state had shown—and continued to demonstrate—that it could police the industry satisfactorily. The Gaming Control Board of 1955 later evolved into an independent agency, but the procedures and basic legal concepts remained as the 1955 legislature wrote them. The Thunderbird matter, although it plagued the courts for some time, was eventually settled along the legal lines devised in 1955: the state would decide what constituted suitable activity in the operation of a gambling casino, and also who would be allowed to engage in that business.[17]

Changing the makeup of the state's school systems, revising the tax structure, making important improvements in the welfare agencies, and creating a new organization for gambling control would have marked the 1955 legislature as exceedingly productive in any analysis of Nevada's legal history. Each of those laws changed the state's way of doing business in vital ways, and made records for durability over the next decades. But a special energy apparently infused these mid-century legislators; they studied and enacted other statutes that imposed radical changes in additional areas.

Two important agencies, one new and the other revived, came out of the 1955 legislative session. Beginning with E. P. Carville, governors of Nevada had for some years suggested that the state should have some way of assisting and promoting business other than tourism. Governor Carville created a committee to study the proposition and to plan ways of accomplishing the goals. His successor, Vail Pittman, allowed the committee—and its program—to die. When Charles Russell came to office, he renewed the ideas for promoting economic development. The "Governor's Economic Conference" of the Carville era became Russell's "Governor's Small Business Commission." After a couple of years of operation, the commission took the title of the State Coordinating Committee for Economic Development. The aim of this group was to foster business in Nevada by attracting private investment capital and by publicizing the state's beneficial economic climate. A planned presentation to the 1953 legislature by the Economic Development group failed, but the committee gained the attention of the lawmakers in 1955.

The 1955 legislature created the state Department of Economic Development after hearing Governor Russell's message and the committee's presentation. The lawmakers made an appropriation that allowed the agency's

[17] For an evaluation of the evolution of the Gaming Control Board, see Jerome H. Skolnick, *House of Cards: Legalization and Control of Casino Gambling* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1978).

first chief, Peter Kelley, to begin a program of promoting both tourism and industrial expansion. The fruition of several years of work for economic advancement thus came in the busy and productive atmosphere at the capital.[18]

The Department of Economic Development promoted tourism along with advancing business. The state park system, however, cultivated another sort of recreation and for different purposes. The Park department was created in the 1930s, with the support of former Governor James G. Scrugham. The most important goal at that time involved the preservation of the artifacts at the "Lost City," a Pueblo culture settlement soon to be inundated by Lake Mead as the waters rose behind Hoover Dam. With the cooperation of local citizens and the National Park Service, among others, the state acquired ownership of the Lost City Museum at Overton, and then over the years, a few other locations like Fort Churchill and Fort Genoa, installations dating from Territorial days. During World War II, however, the vestiges of a park system fell apart, with no appropriations made even for maintenance of the sites. Vandals, collectors of artifacts, and casual tourists took over the parks and historic places. By the early 1950s, concerned state residents became aware that Nevada's geologic, historic, and prehistoric treasures were disappearing literally by the truckload. From northern Washoe County, for example, commercial collectors of petrified wood carried away tons of the material, and the law officers in the area were helpless to stop them.[19]

Thomas W. Miller, former chairman of the Park System, began an energetic campaign to reactivate the agency in the early 1950s. Governor Russell responded to Miller's petitions to remedy the situation by naming Miller again to organize the Park Commission. In 1953, the legislature declined to appropriate any money for the overall operation; only Fort Genoa and the Overton Museum received financing, and that minimal. Miller and the other Park Commissioners, more determined than ever to stop the depredations of historic sites, engaged in an active speaking schedule and gained the renewed cooperation of the National Park Service. The NPS prepared a report and outlined a plan for the reorganization of the agency; Chairman Miller presented the report along with a strong plea for the Park System to the 1955 legislature.[20] The discovery in Churchill County in the summer of 1954 of a fossil site containing remains of an ichthyosaur (a prehistoric sea creature) helped to point up the need for preservation of similar treasures throughout the state.

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[18] Records showing the evolution of the Department of Economic Development are in the Charles H. Russell papers, Nevada State Archives, S/A/A5/2/3; cf. *Statutes of Nevada, 1955*, Chapter 322.

[19] See many letters and complaints about the commercial exploitation of petrified wood in the papers of Thomas W. Miller, 1952–1954, in University of Nevada, Reno Library.

[20] Thomas W. Miller, *The Memoirs of Thomas Woodnutt Miller, a Public-Spirited Citizen of Delaware and Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Oral History Project, 1967), pp. 186–187; see copy of the National Park Service report and recommendations in Miller papers.

The lawmakers responded in 1955 with the creation of the Nevada State Park System; after over a decade of neglect, the agency began to revive. The appropriations granted made it possible to employ a professional staff, to plan for the acquisition of new parks, and to upgrade former state parks to a status of which Nevadans could be proud. The foresight of the governor, the chairman of the Park System, and most of all, the legislators of 1955, helped to assure that Nevada's geological, archeological, and historic sites would be preserved and maintained. At the same time, it became clear that tourism depending on features other than gambling had received genuine encouragement. The Nevada outdoor recreation program began in a real sense with the legislators of 1955.[21]

The constructive advance of the 1955 legislature did not cease even with the creation of the Department of Economic Development and the revival of the Park System. Although some of their work did not affect large numbers of people, certain measures were important in modernizing state government. For example, an old scandal-ridden practice of district judges performing marriages for fees that reached huge sums—to the detriment of their ordinary work, it was said—ended with a statute that raised salaries of the judges and prohibited them from collecting money for conducting wedding ceremonies. The state joined in reciprocal agreements regarding the trucking industry, and engaged in numerous cooperative programs with the Highway Department of California. After hearing from what seemed like hordes of advocates from the University of Nevada, then embroiled in a controversy involving the dismissal of several faculty members, the legislators ordered a professional survey of the institution that led at the next session to a reorganization and expansion of the Board of Regents and a calming of the atmosphere at the school. With the Statute Revision Division nearing the end of its work, the 1955 legislature put the finishing touches on arrangements for the documents that in 1957 became the *Nevada Revised Statutes.* Realizing the strictures of the sixty-day time limit on their deliberations, and with the knowledge that the provision was often breached, the lawmakers of 1955 began a constitutional amendment to repeal that restriction.

The legislators managed, along with outstanding work on issues not addressed by their predecessors, to accomplish their routine work as well. In doing so, they spent a total of just over $32.6 million—almost double the appropriations of the previous session's $19 million.[22] The session lasted sixty-eight days, during which 280 Senate Bills and 500 Assembly Bills were considered. The men and women who had been elected to represent their various districts or counties as Assemblymen and Senators included 29 Republicans

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[21] Minutes of the Nevada State Park Commission, June 15, 1955, in Miller papers.

[22] *Reno Evening Gazette,* April 9, 1955, p. 9; April 11, 1955, p. 11; Hulse, *op. cit.*

and 35 Democrats, Republicans outnumbering Democrats by 13 to 4 in the upper house, Democrats exceeding Republicans by 31 to 16 in the Assembly. There were no Blacks, Indians, or Orientals. Three women—two Democrats and one Republican—sat in the house; none were in the Senate. Fourteen of the 17 Senators had prior experience in the legislature, while 24 of the 47 Assemblymen had served at least one term in the lower house. Their occupations ranged from miner and rancher to businessman, teacher, attorney, and housewife. Fourteen of the 17 Senators of 1955 also served in the 1957 session; 20 of the 47 Assembly members were holdovers in that year.[23]

Early in April, 1955, Bryn Armstrong, a leading newsman and legislative observer, wrote a series of seven analytical articles on the 1955 session for the *Reno Evening Gazette*. Armstrong's chapters dealt with education, gambling, health and welfare, election laws, new taxes on motorists, and the sales tax. In the introductory piece he noted: "Although many will disagree with the way the problems were met, few can accuse the 1955 legislature with an unwillingness to face a fact."[24] In fact, Armstrong understated the case. In almost every field in which it had faced "a fact," the Nevada legislature had shifted the direction of state government. Not only did the lawmakers change orientation, they often revolutionized the substance of governmental entities as well. Moreover, the alterations made in 1955 endured, due perhaps to good planning on the part of the legislators, but perhaps owing primarily to the crises that demanded solutions. For whatever cause, the legislators of 1955 deserved the attention of Nevadans, for the work that year determined the course of education, finance, gambling control, the courts, the welfare department, outdoor recreation, tourism, and business for uncounted decades to come.

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[23] Nevada Secretary of State, *Political History of Nevada* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1973), pp. 169–171; Nevada State Legislature, *Handbook of the Nevada Legislature, 1955*; Nevada State Legislature, *Journal of the Senate, 1955, Journal of the Assembly, 1955.*

[24] *Reno Evening Gazette,* April 5, 1955, p. 22; cf.: April 6, 1955, p. 13; April 7, 1955, p. 17; April 8, 1955, p. 13; April 9, 1955, p. 9; April 11, 1955, p. 11; April 12, 1955, p. 13.

Great Basin Occurrence of a Southwestern Dental Trait: The Uto-Aztecan Premolar

LARRY S. KOBORI, ROBERT J. MILLER, CARY STEVENS,
MELODYE GALLIHER, SHEILAGH T. BROOKS, and DONALD H. MORRIS

Introduction

DETERMINATION OF THE EXACT RELATIONSHIP of the aboriginal peoples of the Great Basin and Southwestern United States is an ongoing problem that integrates archaeological, linguistic and physical anthropological research. In these regions of western North America at the time of contact Europeans encountered peoples that spoke related languages, classified today as the Numic family of northern Uto-Aztecan stock (Figure 1). These peoples also shared certain cultural traits, among them the use of domesticated plants, corn, beans and squash, pottery and sedentary or semi-sedentary villages. There is archaeological evidence that these cultural traits occurred prehistorically first in the southwest and later spread into Utah and the southeastern Nevada areas of the Great Basin. The problem is whether the traits were diffused from group to group through trading contacts or whether families migrated to new areas and settled there bringing their own culture patterns. Prehistorically these cultural traits appear to have originated in Mesoamerica or further to the south. Since the Uto-Aztecan language stock extends from Mesoamerica into western North America (Figure 2) the question of diffusion through trading contacts or migration is a broader problem than the more recent archaeological distribution of these prehistoric cultural and linguistic traits from the Southwest into the Great Basin areas.

There is a potential for tracing the possibility of actual migration through those physical anthropological characteristics, found among recent and prehistoric populations of Western North America, that might be indicative of genetic ties between Great Basin and Southwestern peoples. For this purpose specific morphological traits, apparently under a relatively simplistic genetic control, are being examined and their distribution recorded among prehistoric populations in these areas.[1] Comparable research also is being

[1] Sheilagh T. Brooks, Melodye Galliher, and Richard H. Brooks, "A Proposed Model for Palaeodemography and Archaeology in the Great Basin," in *Models and Great Basin Prehistory*, Don D. Fowler, ed. (Reno: Desert Research Institute Publications in the Social Sciences, 1977), 12: 169–194.

conducted in Mesoamerica. This paper reviews the results of a brief survey of the distribution of a dental premolar trait among both living and prehistoric populations in western North America.

Recently, Morris, Hughes and Dahlberg[2] proposed that the occurrence

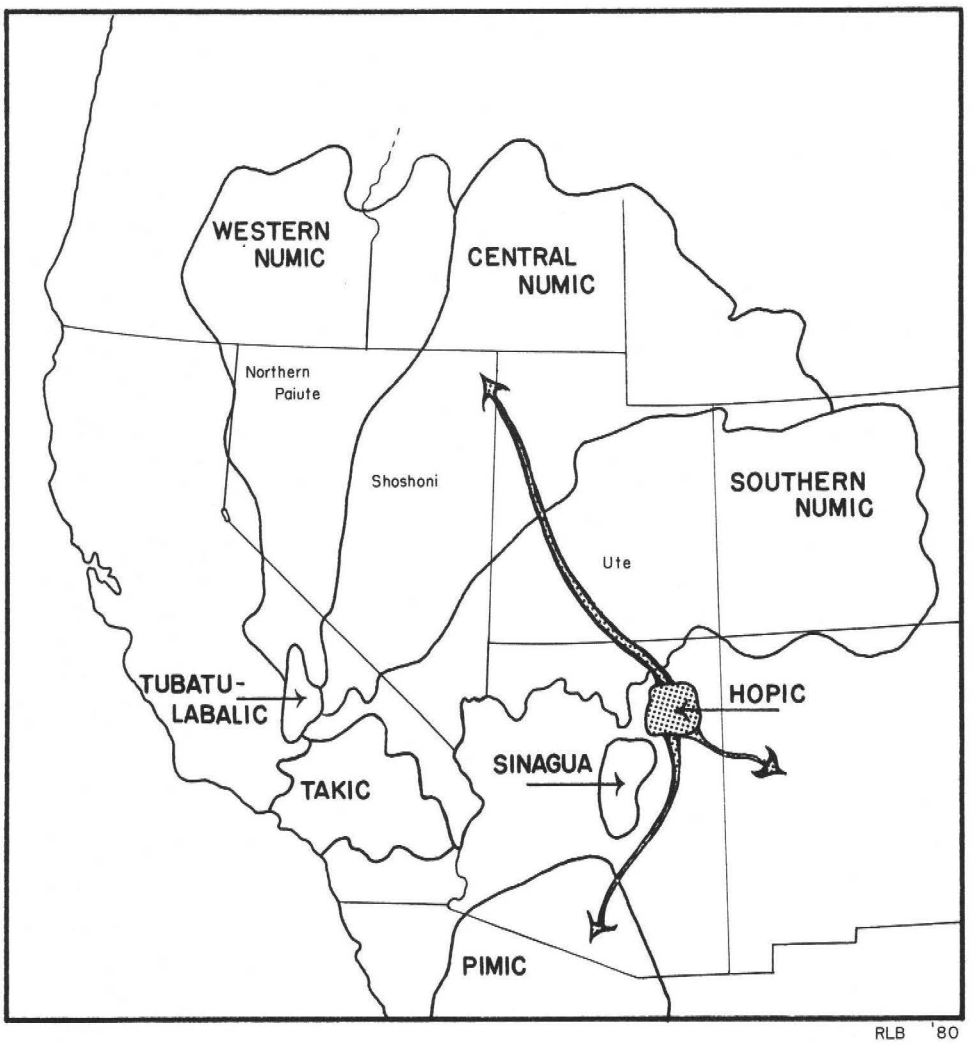

Figure 1

Distribution of the Northern Uto-Aztecan stock and some of its relevant language families. (after Fowler, 1972)

[2] D. H. Morris, S. G. Hughes, and A. A. Dahlberg, "Uto-Aztecan Premolar: The Anthropology of a Dental Trait," in *Development, Function and Evolution of Teeth,* P. Butler and K. Joysey, eds. (New York: Academic Press, 1978), 69–79.

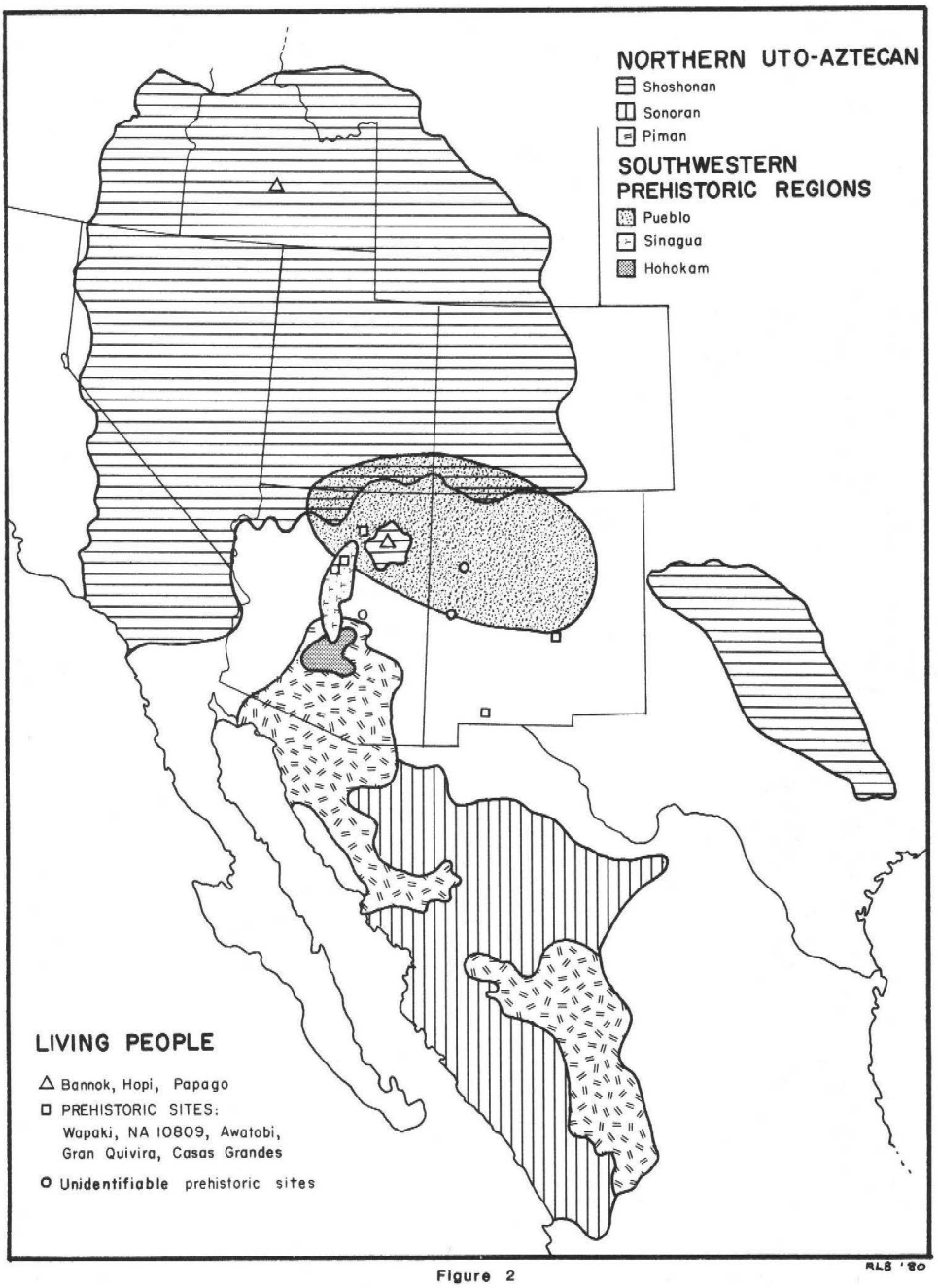

Figure 2

Distribution of Northern Uto-Aztecan languages and Southwestern Prehistoric Regions indicating the occurance of the Uto-Aztecan premolar among living peoples. (after Morris et al., 1978)

of a particular dental trait is restricted to members of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic stock. The first maxillary (upper) premolar variant was originally noted by Morris[3] among the Papago Indians of southern Arizona. This "Uto-Aztecan premolar" has been observed in prehistoric and living Southwest American Indians in low frequencies, although it is not evenly distributed. The Hopi and Papago of the modern Southwestern populations have a low frequency of trait occurrence (Table 1), but the Pima do not possess it, although all three peoples are northern Uto-Aztecan speakers (Figure 2). The highest frequencies of this trait occur in the ca. 700–800 year old Sinagua culture and in the historic Hopi site of Awatovi.

TABLE 1

Group	*N*	*Affected*	*%*
Awatovi, Arizona	21	2	9.5
N.A. 10806, Arizona	14	1	7.1
Wupatki Pueblo, Arizona	40	2	5.0
Montezuma's Castle, Arizona	12	0	0.0
Papago, Arizona*	190	3	1.6
Hopi-Tewa, Arizona*	162	1	0.6
Pima, Arizona*	200	0	0.0
Navaho, Arizona-New Mexico*	400	0	0.0
Gran Quivira, New Mexico	71	2	2.8
Pecos Pueblo, New Mexico	84	0	0.0
Zuni, New Mexico*	21	0	0.0
Casas Grandes, Chihuahua	94	1	1.06
CCo-138, S.F. Bay Area, Cal.	40	0	0.0
Kern Co., California	16	0	0.0
Bannock*	1	1	100.0
Great Basin Prehistoric	14′	0	0.0

* Living Peoples

Fifty-two Great Basin prehistoric skeletons were examined, but only fourteen of these had sufficiently unworn dentitions that observation for the trait was possible; the remaining thirty-eight skeletons of this sample showed extreme dental wear and were not included in the tabulation.

In Arizona, prehistoric and historic sites with trait occurrence are culturally affiliated to modern Uto-Aztecan speaking Western Pueblo Hopi. The Athapaskan speaking Navajo, who have migrated into the Southwest relatively recently, do not exhibit the trait. It is assumed that those prehistoric samples culturally affiliated with the modern Uto-Aztecan speakers were also part of this widespread linguistic stock. It is not absolutely certain that these prehistoric populations also were Uto-Aztecan speakers, but the

[3] D. H. Morris, "Maxillary Premolar Variation Among the Papago Indians," *Journal of Dental Research*, 46: 736–738.

wide distribution of the language stock at the time of European contact would tend to favor this assumption.

In 1921 Hrdlicka published a photograph of a Bannock Indian with the same premolar variant.[4] The Bannock are Numic Uto-Aztecan speakers. It would appear that linguistic affinities tie together these geographically diverse groups (Figure 2). The living people recorded with this dental trait have all been speakers of the Uto-Aztecan stock.

When Hrdlicka photographed the premolar variant in a Bannock Indian, the Numic family had not yet been systematically sampled for this trait. To test the hypothesis that the Uto-Aztecan premolar is limited only to that linguistic stock additional living and prehistoric samples needed to be examined. This paper adds to the information concerning the distribution of this dental trait through the testing of the Morris et al. hypothesis by observations of the dentitions of limited samples of prehistoric California, Nevada and Utah skeletal collections.

Uto-Aztecan Premolar

Prior to discussing the distribution of the Uto-Aztecan premolar among the samples tested, the appearance of this premolar variant is described. Except in the most intensively worn upper premolars, where the dentine is surrounded only by a thin "ring" of enamel, the trait's presence is easily observed. It is the perserverance of the trait in slightly worn dentitions that encouraged the survey and observation of dentitions in Great Basin and California skeletal samples. Despite cultural patterns of utilization of stone boiling and food preparation through grinding on milling stones that cause extensive wear of the dental enamel beginning at a relatively early age, i.e. 30–35 years, it was hoped that younger individuals would be found whose dentitions displayed the trait.

The trait is located on the first maxillary premolar (Figure 3). The second premolar is not affected by the presence of the trait on the first premolar. Examining the tooth from above, the buccal or cheek cusp, called the paracone, appears to be expanded in a bucco-lingual dimension (Figure 3). The distal portion of the expanded paracone is distinguished by a large, often deep fossa or depression. Separating the fossa from the crown's sagittal sulcus is a "lobular ridge, at times equal in size to the paracone's distal occlusal [chewing surface] border."[5] The ridge connects the paracone apex to the distal occlusal border thereby "isolating" the fossa to the disto-buccal aspect of the premolar (Figure 3).

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[4] Ales Hrdlicka, "Further Studies of Tooth Morphology," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 4: 141–176.

[5] Morris, Hughes, and Dahlberg, 70.

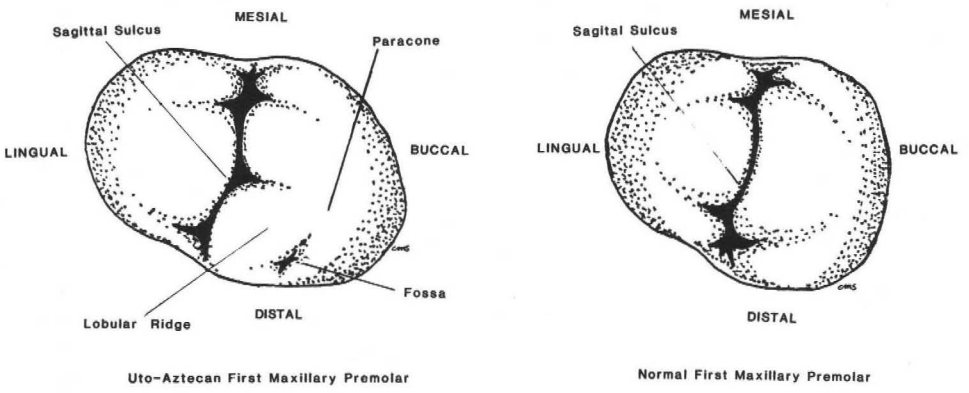

Figure 3

Viewed from the side on unworn specimens, the premolar variant is even more obvious as the height of the paracone stands out in contrast to the depth of the fossa. The results being reported stem from the observations of many different physical anthropologists.[6] Inter-observer error is normally a problem, but through the distinctive appearance of the Uto-Aztecan premolar both occlusally and from side view the possibility of this type of error is low.

Prehistoric Sample Analysis

To test the hypothesis that the premolar variant is to be found only among speakers of the Uto-Aztecan stock, late prehistoric samples from California, Nevada and Utah skeletal series were examined. Additional Southwestern samples have also been observed to clarify the frequency of the trait occurrence in Arizona. As can be seen on the map (Figure 1), the Numic family of the Uto-Aztecan stock extends from southern California along the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains and into much of the Great Basin.[7] The Nevada-Utah samples all fall within the distribution of the Numic family. The California samples include sites within the distribution of the Numic speakers, and non-Numic speakers from the San Francisco Bay Area. Additional California samples from the Kern River region of the

[6] See ibid., 69–79.

[7] S. Lamb, "Linguistic Prehistory in the Great Basin," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 24:95–100; J. A. Goss, "Culture-Historical Inference from Uto-Aztecan Linguistic Prehistory," Occasional Papers, Idaho State University Museum 22:1–42; C. S. Fowler, "Some Ecological Clues to Proto-Numic Homelands," in *Great Basin Cultural Ecology: A Symposium*, Don D. Fowler, ed. (Reno: Desert Research Institute Publications in the Social Sciences, 1972) 8: 105–121.

Tubatulabalic Uto-Aztecans and the non Uto-Aztecan speaking Yokuts[8] were also examined, although most of the Kern County sample probably represent California Yokuts. Dental findings have been recorded for samples from the following divisions of the Uto-Aztecan stock: Western, Central and Southern Numic, Hopic, Pimic and possibly the Tubatulabalic.

Results

Table 1 lists the trait frequencies in various prehistoric and living western North American samples, indicating a limited distribution for the trait. To evaluate the Great Basin populations, samples from the skeletal collections at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, the Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Lost City Museum, Overton, Nevada, were examined. A total of fifty-two specimens represent the Great Basin hunting-gathering culture, the Fremont culture, and the Lost City Pueblo (all but ten specimens are from the hunting-gathering culture).

Despite the expectation concerning the trait's ability to remain visible on a somewhat worn tooth, thirty-eight of fifty-two, or 73.1 percent of the sample could not be used in the analysis. These thirty-eight exhibited such an extreme degree of wear that any remnant of the original dental crown had been obliterated. The important factor for this survey is the absence of the trait on the fourteen Great Basin specimens which were unworn. In sixteen Kern County dentitions, the frequency of the trait also was zero. In the San Francisco Bay Area sample from Site CCo-138 the premolar variant was not observed in a sample of forty skeletons (Table 1).

Conclusion and Discussion

This preliminary study based on a limited sample series indicates that the Morris et al. hypothesis has been neither completely falsified nor substantiated. It appears that the Hopic and Pimic linguistic families of the Uto-Aztecan stock are the possessors of the highest frequencies of the premolar variant. Apparently, it is not present in the Great Basin Numic family, based on this small sample of prehistoric specimens. If all the Great Basin samples are combined (recently deceased and prehistoric) there is a 6.6 percent trait presence, 1 out of 15. This Great Basin frequency of occurrence is based on Hrdlicka's 1921 photograph of the one Bannock Indian dentition. Should the presence of this premolar variant on one individual be included as evidence of trait occurrence when the other Great Basin small samples tested lack any indication of this dental variant? Tentatively this single oc-

[8] Alfred L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925).

currence is being incorporated within the data based on the low frequencies occurring among other affected populations.

Morris, Hughes and Dahlberg have proposed that the premolar dental variant appeared as a mutation in a desert-dwelling hunting-gathering population. Because the trait did not affect occlusion, nor was susceptible to caries, it was passed on genetically at a low frequency in these populations. With the advent of agriculture and sedentary villages, the populations grew, thus enhancing the probability that the trait would not be lost from the gene pool through genetic drift of small groups.

To explain the presence of the variant in the Bannock Indian there are two alternatives: (1) the mutation may have independently occurred in a northern Great Basin group, which is at variance with estimated rates of mutation; and (2) the Bannock individual is part of a widespread Uto-Aztecan speaking population that originated further to the south. The reason the trait was not observed in the other Great Basin samples tested appears to be a function of the low frequencies of the trait and the small sample sizes derived from skeletal collections, which are scattered both geographically and temporally, and do not represent actual breeding populations.

The problem of sample size is accentuated by the foraging strategy and pattern of population dispersal of Great Basin hunters-gatherers. These people lived for much of the year in small groups consisting only of a few nuclear families. During the late summer and fall groups were able to assemble in large clusters to take advantage of particular plant resources.[9] In this small population the pattern of assembling, then dividing and separating would have been most conducive to an accidental, random, change in gene frequencies, i.e. genetic drift. Even if members of the Great Basin Numic family possessed the trait it could easily have been lost through the initial low incidence and small group size. Kroeber has estimated that Nevada's aboriginal population density was only 1 person every 15.6 square miles.[10]

Linguistic reconstructions have some interesting implications for these results. The Arizona-Sonoran border area has been proposed as the "homeland" for the early Uto-Aztecan or "Proto-Uto-Aztecan" cultural spread.[11] This is in contrast to the more recent expansion of the Numic family into the Great Basin from a southern California "Proto-Numic homeland."[12] Thus

[9] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

[10] Alfred L. Kroeber, "Native American Population, *American Anthropologist,* n.s., 36: 1–25.

[11] A. K. Romney, "The Genetic Model and Uto-Aztecan Time Perspective," *Davidson Journal of Anthropology,* 3: 35–41; W. R. Miller, "Anthropological Linguistics in the Great Basin," in *The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin,* W. L. d'Azevedo et al., eds. (Reno: Desert Research Institute Social Sciences and Humanities Publications, 1966) 1: 75–122; and the works cited above by Lamb, Goss, and Fowler.

[12] C. S. Fowler, op. cit.

there is a general division of the linguistic stock, which may help in explaining the distribution of the Uto-Aztecan premolar.

There are two alternative schemes that can explain the origin and spread of the Uto-Aztecan premolar. The first, called the Linguistic Hypothesis, is dependent upon linguistic reconstructions, as shown in Figure 1. Since the dental trait is found in recent Southwestern groups and in the one Bannock individual, for this alternative it is hypothesized: (1) the mutation which resulted in the Uto-Aztecan premolar arose in the Arizona-Sonoran border area among the Proto-Uto-Aztecans ca. 3000–5000 years ago; (2) the reason the trait is found in the Bannock Indian and the Hopic speakers is through the northern migration of the Arizona Proto-Uto-Aztecans into the southern California region. At ca. 3000–3500 years ago the Hopic speakers migrated from this southern California locale into north-eastern Arizona, already carrying the mutation. Higher population densities and additional contact with the southern Arizona Uto-Aztecans and the Sinagua culture helped to maintain the mutation in the gene pool; and (3) from the Proto-Numic homeland in southeastern California, the Numic migrated into the Great Basin around 1000 years ago. Comparably to the Hopic, the Proto-Numic would have received the genes from the Proto-Uto-Aztecans of southern Arizona. As the Numic migrated further north they spread the distribution of the mutation, but at lower frequencies since the population was scattered and composed of smaller groups.

The second alternative, the Geographical Hypothesis, is not totally dependent upon the linguistic historical reconstruction. If the Hopic family movement out of southern California into northeast Arizona occurred at ca. 3000–3500 years ago,[13] then the question is did they carry this genetic trait with them into Arizona or did they "acquire" it subsequent to their arrival in Arizona? Since there is no evidence to date that the Uto-Aztecan premolar is present in any California population, or in any prehistoric sample substantially older than about 1000 years ago, it is hypothesized: (1) that the mutation which resulted in the premolar variant arose in an Arizona population some time after the estimated 3000 year date of linguistic divergence between the Hopic and Numic families; (2) the spread of the trait into the Great Basin did not originate from the Proto-Numic homeland of southeastern California; (3) since the northeast quarter of Arizona contains the prehistoric sites with the highest frequencies of the variant, it is suggested that the mutation arose originally in a northeastern Arizona population; and (4) from the northeast quarter of Arizona, populations with the trait were introduced into the Great Basin.

Geographically, the northeast quarter of Arizona is the logical begin-

[13] See the works cited by Lamb, Goss, and Fowler.

ning point from which to spread the mutation. Figure 1 illustrates how it would be possible to introduce the trait into the eastern Great Basin, to the New Mexico site of Gran Quivira and to the Papago. In fact there is a "rough" trait continuum from the northeast to the southwestern part of Arizona. The continuum is broken by the presence of the modern day Pima Indians. The Pima are Uto-Aztecan Pimic family speakers; however, they do not possess the premolar trait. As was proposed by Morris, Hughes and Dahlberg in 1978, the Pima may be descendants of the prehistoric Hohokam of the Salt and Gila River valley. Their introduction into the Salt-Gila region was from Mexico. They would then represent an intrusive Uto-Aztecan population from further south that did not possess the dental trait.

These two alternative interpretations concerning the distinctive dental premolar variant are preliminary, based upon widely scattered small skeletal sample sizes and linguistic reconstructions. Lack of temporal control and uncertainty regarding provenience of some of the samples is a constant problem. More research is necessary and these hypotheses probably will be revised on the basis of additional data. Despite the problems encountered in this research, it is felt that the physical anthropologist can contribute actively to archaeological and linguistic reconstruction of aboriginal population movements and research on prehistoric cultural diffusion.

There is the potential in this type of approach to these research problems of coalescing information from several anthropological sub-disciplines and effectively combining data towards a solution. This is particularly true when the discussion centers on problems of diffusion of cultural characteristics through trading contacts or through migration of populations. Here the tracing of specific skeletal traits under presumably simplistic genetic control can be a positive approach to the actual movement of a group from one locale to another. The alternative hypotheses formulated from this research are the results of such a combined approach.*

* The authors wish to thank Mr. David Herod of the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for access to the collections. The assistance of Mr. Charles Utermohle, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University is gratefully acknowledged. Dr. C. G. Turner, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, provided the information on the Awatovi sample. Mr. Chick Perkins, Lost City Museum, Overton, Nevada, permitted access to the skeletal collections housed there.

Temoke Band of Shoshone and the Oasis Concept

OMER C. STEWART

ANTHROPOLOGY, defined as the "science of man," seeks to develop and test theories. The late Julian H. Steward became world famous as an anthropological theorist before his death in 1972. His thirty monographs and articles on the Great Basin, based on archaeological and ethnological fieldwork from 1926 until 1972, justify his position as a preeminent anthropological scholar of the area. Some of his basic theories dealing with bands in the Great Basin appear to have developed as a result of his research among the Shoshone. Since the conclusions reached in the present study differ in part from those of Steward, it is appropriate to note his approach in some detail:

> Other ecological factors permitted the growth of more complex sociopolitical forms in certain parts of the Basin-Plateau area. Villages amalgamated into bands when one of two conditions were present. First, they became bands when a fertile environment permitted large and closely spaced villages, obviated the necessity of extensive travel, and allowed certain people habitually to exploit a given territory and associate together in communal activities. This condition was present in Owens Valley, where named, landowning bands lived under the direction of chiefs with well-defined authority. Band unity was reinforced by communal sweat houses and mourning ceremonies.
>
> Second, bands formed when transportation was so improved that large groups could live together and either bring their foods to a central point or travel as a body in search of them. Ecology thus permitted, if it did not cause, band development. Bands were formed in late pre-Caucasian times among Northern Shoshoni and probably among Ute. They were named but not landowning. Their solidarity was reinforced by need for protection in warfare. In the remainder of the area the horse was introduced late and bands were of brief duration. Political control of mounted bands centered in chiefs whose authority varied somewhat with their personalities, but which was immeasurably increased by circumstances incident to the arrival of the white man. Control of certain activities, however, such as war and hunting, was delegated to special men.[1]

My approach can be characterized as ethnohistorical. A more intensive analysis of the historical material dealing with Ruby Valley, Nevada, coupled with the ethnographic data of the area (gleaned in the main from Steward's works) appears to justify a different conclusion regarding the Shoshone band

[1] Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 120, 1938), 257–258.

in Ruby Valley than those reached by Steward. This article will present some of the data upon which this new conclusion is based.

Geographic Setting

Ruby Valley, in south-central Elko County, is almost seventy-five miles long, from north to south, and extends about twenty miles east of the base of the Ruby Mountains (originally named the Humboldt Range) and the edge of Humboldt National Forest. The Ruby Mountain section of the Humboldt National Forest includes the uplands from about 6,200 feet elevation above sea level to include seven peaks above 10,000 feet. These mountains attract winter storms and snow which provide water for farms and ranches between the National Forest, Franklin Lake, Ruby Lake and other parts of the valley floor. Water filled the lake basins to about 5,965 feet above sea level, from which the water seeped out or was evaporated, yet the two lakes were not completely saline.

Ranches in Ruby Valley were established on the west side of the valley where waters from Ruby Mountain flowed into the lakes in over twenty creeks, the largest being Overland Creek in the north. The ranches in Ruby Valley were established on the terrain which had been most productive of Indian food in aboriginal times; as that land was taken up by white settlers, the Western Shoshone Indians of Ruby Valley were forced to accommodate to the whites or leave. They have attempted to stay and some have remained to the late 1970s.[2]

White knowledge of Ruby Valley may have started with the first white to enter northern Nevada, Jedediah Smith. In 1827, he crossed the area of Nevada from the vicinity of Carson City to the area of present-day Goshute Reservation, and travelled south of Great Salt Lake to the region where Salt Lake City was to be founded two decades later.[3] According to Cline, it is more certain that Peter Skene Ogden and a large party of trappers of the Hudson Bay Company entered Ruby Valley in 1828:

> On December 13, the party crossed the Humboldt River and left this stream. . . . On the following day, they reached the western face of Ruby Mountain, for Ogden reports, "We are now near the foot of a Mountain, which appears very high and this we are to cross tomorrow." Undoubtedly Ogden and his men crossed the Ruby Mountains via Secret Pass, which is today utilized by State Highway 11. . . .[4]

Because of the so-called "scorched earth" policy of the Hudson Bay Company in 1828, when Ogden and his brigade of trappers passed through

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[2] The record of the promises of the federal government to assist the Western Shoshone to survive in Ruby Valley will be touched upon in this report.

[3] Gloria Griffen Cline, *Exploring the Great Basin* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 112.

[4] Ibid., 118.

Ruby Valley, that single visit drastically changed the ecologic balance between Indians and wild foods which had supported a large Shoshone population in the Valley. Under ordinary circumstances all fur trappers were careful not to take all available animals. Usually an ample breeding stock was left so that the reproduction and natural replacement of animals would insure future profits. Because of the competition between American and British fur companies in 1828, the Hudson Bay trappers attempted to take every fur-bearing animal in the northern Nevada area so that American companies could not operate there.[5] The "scorched earth" policy was so successful that the aquatic fur-bearing animals of Ruby Valley and the entire length of the Humboldt River in Western Shoshone country were completely removed. The British trappers were successful in their fur war against the Americans in northern Nevada, but the Western Shoshone were the innocent victims, being ignored in the policy decisions made in London and New York City. The pattern for Indian-White relations in Nevada established in 1828 has, unfortunately, been too closely followed during the one hundred fifty years since Ogden's first disastrous visit.

The Shoshone Indians in the area of northeastern Nevada were in what anthropologists have termed the "Hunting and Gathering" stage of cultural development when they were first visited by Jedediah Smith and Ogden in 1827 and 1828. They remained hunters and gatherers until overwhelmed by white travelers, and then by settlers who expropriated the natural products upon which the Indians depended.

An examination of the geography of the region reveals the following regarding the Western Shoshone country of Nevada. The Ruby Mountains with peaks over 10,000 feet above sea level are among the highest in Nevada, and the Ruby Valley at about 6,000 feet is one of the higher valleys. Nevada itself is made up of a series of isolated mountain ranges extending north and south, which are separated by uniformly level valleys. Nevada has been designated a Basin-Range physiographic province within the Great Basin, which means that moisture falling in the area stays within it. There are a number of small basins, like the Ruby Valley, without streams draining water out. The basin valleys of Nevada do not fill up and become lakes because the total available moisture is too limited. Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake and Ruby Lake are deep enough to remain only slightly brackish so that fish and other wildlife survive there, although it is questionable whether there were fish in Ruby Lake until planted there in recent times. Humboldt River and its tributaries, South Fork and Lamoille Creek, were the fish streams easily available to the Ruby Valley Shoshone to provide fish as part of their aboriginal diet, if fish were not present in the waters of Ruby Valley.[6] Al-

[5] Ibid., 89–92.

[6] Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, 159.

though Nevada is not a complete desert, like Death Valley or the Salt Flats west of Great Salt Lake, nearly all of the valleys are classified as desert shrubland providing food for grazing animals. Northwestern Nevada has been described as a "middle latitude desert." In the valleys sagebrush is the diagnostic vegetation in a zone designated as broadleaf evergreen, dwarf shrubform. Pine-juniper is the vegetation of the ranges. The Ruby Valley has an average of less than ten inches of moisture per year. It is this small precipitation which keeps Nevada a desert, notwithstanding the extra moisture attracted by Ruby Mountain which fills the short creeks flowing into Ruby Valley, making it into an oasis in the desert.[7]

Since most of Nevada is a desert, aborigines and invaders of European ancestry have had to live in the oases and have depended on the plants and animals of the oases for their food. The mountain ranges received more rainfall, and consequently provided more trees and other vegetation for grazing animals, which were hunted. Some valleys supported such plants as sagebrush, grass and weeds which provided food for game and some seeds for Indians, but without the oases, humans could not occupy Nevada.

In 1935, ethnologist Julian H. Steward interviewed aged Shoshone Indians of Ruby Valley and vicinity and published the information in two monographs.[8] The data in the two publications are basically the same but presented in different ways. His old Indian informants tried to portray Shoshone life before it was disrupted by non-Indians. Most of the animals reportedly hunted by ancient Shoshone are still present on Ruby Mountain and in Ruby Valley. These included deer, antelope, mountain sheep, rabbits, badger, porcupine, wildcats, ground hogs, gophers, rats, mice and fish.[9] Steward's old informants told him no fish were present in Ruby Valley in pre-white times, but that Ruby Valley Shoshone ate them when visiting along the Humboldt River and its tributaries, such as Lamoille and Secret Creeks and the South Fork of the Humboldt River west of Ruby Mountain. Of vegetable foods, pine nuts were a staple and were collected only on Ruby Mountain. Other plants reported as used by Ruby Valley Shoshone are the following: grass seeds, wild onions, *atriplex* or salt brush seeds, cactus, mariposa lily bulbs, yampa or camus roots, *chenopodium* or lambs quarters, thistle, wild rye, sunflower, stickseed, mint, chokecherry, currants, wild rose seeds, elderberry, buffalo berry, bitterroot, and thirteen other plants given Shoshone names which could not be identified.[10] It is significant that the

[7] Edward B. Espenshade, Jr., ed., *Goode's World Atlas*, 11th Ed. (Chicago, Rand McNally, 1960), 8, 54–56.

[8] In addition to *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, previously cited, Steward published "Culture Element Distributions: XIII Nevada Shoshone," *University of California Anthropological Records 4* (1941).

[9] See Steward, "Culture Element Distributions," ibid.

[10] Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, 21–32.

Ruby Valley Shoshone referred to themselves as *wadaduka,* "grass seed eaters," because of the abundance of wild rye seeds which could be harvested with conical seed baskets and woven basketry seed beaters. Grass seeds would also attract birds, and both mudhens and ducks were caught in nets during communal drives; they were also trapped and were shot with arrows from blinds. Other birds captured in Ruby Valley were sage hens, bluebirds, doves, grouse, and quail. Insects were not rejected as food; Shoshone in Ruby Valley ate ants and ant eggs, cicadas, bee eggs, caterpillars and especially crickets which periodically appeared in great swarms, and became a major food to be cooked and dried and stored for winter.

Steward characterized Ruby Valley as being "exceptionally fertile" and with "an exceptionally dense population which served as the focal point for communal affairs of a considerable area."[11] His informants estimated that about 420 Shoshone lived in Ruby Valley in aboriginal times in an area of 1,200 square miles, which amounted to 2.8 square miles per person.[12] For the entire Shoshone territory in Nevada, 15.6 square miles were needed to support one Indian. In the valleys east of Ruby Valley, the population was one person to eleven square miles. Simpson estimated there were 1,500 Indians in Ruby Valley in 1859,[13] but Steward believed that was a temporary massing of the population from a considerable area. Agent Wasson reported 100 people in Ruby Valley under Chief Buck, who succeeded Chief Shoskub in 1862.[14] In 1873, Special Indian Commissioner S. W. Ingalls found 172 Western Shoshone in Ruby Valley under "Chief Tim-oak"[15] and his assistant chiefs To-sho-win-tsogo and Mose.[16] In the U.S. Census for 1880, "Chief Tomoke," age seventy, was listed as a farmer and a total of 88 Indians lived in Ruby Valley. In the U.S. Census of 1900, 71 Indians were named as living in Ruby Valley and the North Ruby precincts. On September 16, 1932, Frederick Snyder, Superintendent, testified before the U.S. Senate Committee in Elko that there were 70 Shoshone Indians living in Ruby Valley. Six families received government relief payments. A House of Representatives investigation in 1953 reported 87 Indians there as of 1940, and 65 as of

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11 Ibid., 144.

12 Ibid., 48–49.

13 J. H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin . . . in 1859* (Washington, 1876), 64.

14 Sam P. Davis, ed., *The History of Nevada, II* (Reno, Elms Publishing Co., 1913), 138.

15 The Western Shoshone band in the Ruby Valley which is the subject of this study is now officially referred to as the Te-moak band, and the family spells the name Temoke. Various historical references and spellings include Tim-oak, Tumok, Tomoke, Te-Moak, Tumoak, Timook, and others. In the present article, the various spellings are retained as in the original references.

16 John W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls, *Report on Conditions of Numic Speaking Indians of the Great Basin* (1894) in Don D. and Catherine S. Fowler, eds., *Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic Peoples of Western North America, 1868–1880* (Washington, D.C., 1971), 97–119.

1950.[17] A Department of Commerce report on Indian Reservations in 1974 cited a BIA census for 1972 which reported a population of 40 on the Ruby Valley Reservation.[18] A number of former Shoshone residents of Ruby Valley now live in other Indian communities in Elko or nearby.

The question arises whether the Ruby Valley Western Shoshone were numerous enough to require a social organization for their local internal personal relations and for external dealings with other Indians, and eventually foreign invaders, in that area of the Great Basin of Nevada with sufficient population density to justify a band organization such as was present in Owens Valley, California, according to Steward.[19] In a number of respects, Ruby Valley and Owens Valley are geographically similar. In both, high mountains to the west capture moisture which enter the valleys in numerous streams which soon end in desert lakes. According to the earliest reports and ethnographic estimates, Owens Valley had a total population of 1,000 people in 2,125 square miles of territory, for a mean of 2.1 square miles per person. In contrast, Ruby Valley supported 420 people on 1,200 acres, thus requiring 2.8 square miles per person[20] If one evaluates the two territories according to productive area, Owens Valley had a long, moist valley floor about 62 miles long (from present day Lone Pine to Bishop) which averages about 8 miles wide. The wet oasis encompassed about 500 square miles on which 1,000 people lived. In Ruby Valley, well-watered, fairly flat land between mountain slope and lake averages about two miles. Thus the Ruby Valley oasis permitting high population amounted to 150 square miles for 420 people. Calculating population density using the habitable area, but not including mountain, lakes, alkali flats, etc., Ruby Valley with less than half the total population of Owens Valley reached a greater population density. Thus, in my opinion, Ruby Valley provided the "Ecological Determinants" defined by Steward to support bands and chiefs.[21]

Ruby Valley Bands and Chiefs

As an introduction to this section on the Ruby Valley Band of Western Shoshone, a short statement of the theory of the origin and development of political organization seems called for. Whether we are talking of the far-distant past or the recent period just before the European conquests after 1500 A.D., the following appears to be correct. Groups with very small populations who survive by the hunting and gathering of natural products as

[17] U.S., Congress, House, *Investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, H. Rept. 2503, pp. 707 and 967.

[18] U.S., Dept. of Commerce, *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas*, 1974, p. 326.

[19] Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, 237.

[20] Ibid., 48–49.

[21] Ibid., 230–237.

family groups and seldom come in contact with other people, except as single families, require no political organization beyond the family. As more families meet and when food supplies allow permanent groups of families, temporary leaders arise to supervise joint endeavors. Such a situation existed in most of the Nevada Shoshone territory. The greatest stimulation to the development of a permanent complex political structure with a permanent overall chief was contact with new groups from outside the traditional territory of a group. One might say that until there were intergroup relations, permanent group leaders were not needed and did not occur. When strangers arrived regularly in numbers, chiefs developed to deal with outsiders. Chiefs were present when there were "international relations," even if the "nation" might be a band or tribe. Thus, for the Western Shoshone, with no record of strangers arriving in numbers before Europeans arrived, there was no need for permanent band chiefs. When Europeans arrived in numbers and stayed, the Western Shoshone could adjust to the political pressure and bands and chiefs arose to meet the challenge. The Ruby Valley band was one of the first and most enduring of such Shoshone bands.

The first Shoshone band of northeastern Nevada which received a name was the "White Knives" so named March 29, 1852 in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by Agent J. H. Holeman. The White Knives were located west of the Ruby Mountains and north of the Humboldt River, and later were settled on the Duck Valley Reservation along the Nevada-Oregon border in 1877; their descendants are still there and identify themselves as White Knives.[22]

The first chief clearly identified with the Ruby Valley Shoshone was Sho-Kup. In the personal treaty arranged by Agent Hurt in 1855, his name is recorded Sho-cop-it-see. On May 19, 1859, Capt. J. H. Simpson refers to "Cho-Kup, chief of the Sho-sho-nees south of Humboldt River." A copy exists of a paper declaring that Chief Cho-Kup was trustworthy. Simpson named a pass a little south and west of Ruby Valley "Cho-Kup's Pass." Simpson gives the clear implication that Cho-Kup was chief of the 1,500 Sho-sho-nees who wintered in Ruby Valley, in the vicinity of the Indian farm that "Mr. Jarvis, the Indian agent, has commenced."[23] Early traveler-reporters Remy and Benchley[24] and Burton[25] mentioned Sho-Kop. Indian Superintendent Henry Martin wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1861 that "The Indians in Ruby Valley . . . (were) quite numerous, under Chief Sho-kub."[26]

[22] Jack Harris, "The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada," in *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* edited by Ralph Linton (New York: Appleton Company, 1940), 39–87.

[23] Simpson, *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin*, 63, 67.

[24] Jules Remy and J. Benchley, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (London: W. Jeffs, 1861) I, 145.

[25] Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London: Longman, Green, 1861), 571–572.

[26] U.S., Dept. of the Interior, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1862, pp. 744–748.

It was Agent Warren Wasson, in a letter to Nevada Governor James W. Nye of June 28, 1862, who reported that Chief Shokub had died, but had designated Buck to succeed him. Wasson reported he reached Ruby Valley on January 22, 1862: "Here I found about one hundred Indians, headed by a young chief called Buck."[27]

There is no explanation from the time to enlighten us concerning the process by which Temoke became the number one chief of the Western Shoshone Indians, when Governor James W. Nye of Nevada and Governor James D. Doty of Utah negotiated a "Treaty of Peace and Friendship . . . at Ruby Valley" on October 1, 1863. Chief Buck was the eleventh chief to sign. The year before Indian Agent T. W. Hatch on September 16, 1862 wrote to Governor Doty "The Shoshones . . . of which Tomoke, Buck, and Quads are their chiefs which come within this [Salt Lake City] agency, are in and about Ruby valley, Humboldt river and mountains."[28] During his ethnographic field work in 1935, Steward was told by Bill Gibson, who had been a spokesman for the Ruby Valley Shoshone in 1912 and 1929 before talking to Steward, that Temoke became a leader because he was not afraid of whitemen and because he worked in Ruby Valley "to keep the Shoshoni . . . at peace." Steward declared: "Tumok's political and military career was . . . as brief as it was spectacular, lasting probably not more than seven years between 1854 and 1863."[29] However, other documents cast doubt upon Steward's view that Temoke's role as chief ended as soon as he had signed the Ruby Valley Treaty in 1863.

Although in July 1867, Indian Agent T. T. Dwight reported that "Capt. Buck" of Ruby Valley claimed 500 Shoshone under his control Dwight also wrote: "Capt. Buck . . . was created Chief by the officers of the Fort for meritorious conduct during the last Indian difficulty. . . ."[30] More important in the assessment of the importance of "Tumok" as chief is the investigation of Great Basin groups by Powell and Ingalls of 1873. In Elko, Ingalls was assisted by Indian Agent Levi Gheen, who spoke the Shoshone language. Ingalls designated "Tum-oak" as "Chief of Alliance" over twelve other chiefs.[31] In addition to being assigned special status by Powell and Ingalls, others honored him before he died in 1891 although as Steward reported, he remained in Ruby Valley.[32] On June 17, 1869 he signed a "consenting clause" to the 1863 Treaty before it was proclaimed by President U. S. Grant on

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[27] Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada* . . . (Oakland, Thompson and West, 1881; reprinted, Berkeley, Howell-North, 1958), 178–179.

[28] U.S., Dept. of the Interior, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior,* 1862, pp. 349–354.

[29] Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups,* 149–150.

[30] T. T. Dwight, Superintendent Indian Agency, Carson City, letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, U.S. National Archives, Record Group 75.

[31] Powell and Ingalls, op. cit.

[32] Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups,* 150.

October 21, 1869. Timook, Buck, Frank, Charley Timook and Tonag signed, all in Ruby Valley. His position as the chief was affirmed by Gheen in a report dated March 15, 1873: "Two Indians came to-day from Ruby Valley. . . . They were sent by the chief (Timoak) of the Band in Ruby Valley and vicinity." A year later Gheen wrote: "Ruby Valley is considered by the Indians their capital or center place—their great chief resides there." Then in 1878 Gheen said in his final annual report after many years as agent: "A council was held with several chiefs and leading Indians from south of the railroad, among whom was old Temoke (rope), who, before he became unable to act on account of age, was the recognized chief of all the Western Shoshone, and who even now retains great influence."[33]

Agent John How, Gheen's replacement, wrote about Temoak in one of his first communications from Elko, March 10, 1879: "Temoak their old chief was here. He is over eighty (80) years of age. In his statement made to me today he says he has a farm . . . that with him he has a brother, his sons, women and children in all sixty (60) souls. . . ."[34] How's figures were supported by the official U.S. Census of 1880 in which Ruby Valley was listed as the home of "Chief, Tomoke," age 70, and 87 other Indians.

Notwithstanding the fact that there is no evidence the Western Shoshone held in high regard the principle of heredity or direct descent in determining chieftainship, the Ruby Valley Shoshone soon practiced it. Probably the principle was imposed upon the Indians by the Ruby Valley whites and government officials as much as by the Indians themselves acquiring the concept. In the ethnohistorical data already presented heredity did not seem to play a role before 1863. At the time of Temoke's death in 1890 or 1891, according to the memory of a white woman who was a girl in Ruby Valley at the time, Ruby Jack succeeded Temoke but no other reference to Chief Ruby Jack has been discovered.[35] In 1969 Edna Patterson, an ethnohistorical researcher and writer in Elko, summarized the genealogy of the Temoke chiefs as follows: "Old Temoke was succeeded by Joe Temoke, son of Charley, a brother of Old Temoke. Old Temoke had had two daughters whom Joe Temoke took in marriage. One named Susie . . . and the other, Mary. . . . It was through the matriarchial lineage of Mary that Machach Temoke succeeded Joe Temoke and became Chief. . . . Machach served his tribe as chief until he became old and feeble, at which time his son, Frank Temoke, as-

[33] Levi Gheen was the Shoshone Indian Agent in Elko, Nevada. His letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of March 15, 1873 and Oct. 3, 1874 are in Record Group 75, U.S. National Archives; his letter of Sept. 14, 1878, is published in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878*, p. 104.

[34] Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 10, 1879; Record Group 75, U.S. National Archives.

[35] Edna Patterson, Louise A. Ulph, and Victor Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier* (Reno: Western Publishing Co., 1969), 506.

sumed title of Chief."[36] Patterson cites the *Elko Free Press,* April 28, 1960, to the effect that Machach Temoke had died.[37] The official Bureau of Indian Affairs "Census of the Ruby Valley Indians of Carson Agency" for 1938 taken by Frederic Snyder, lists Joe Timoke as "Chief"; Machach Timoke as Stepson of Joe; and Frank Machach, as son of Machach Timoke.

Evidence the white community of Elko County supported the notion the Ruby Valley Shoshone had an hereditary chieftainship comes from documents published by the U.S. Senate as "Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the U.S." resulting from a Senate hearing in Elko, Sept. 16, 1932 and from additional documents submitted by witnesses. For example, reprinted affidavits from 1927 referred to a visit to Ruby Valley of Superintendent Calvin H. Asbury from Duck Valley Reservation who was in charge of Ruby Valley. Bill Gibson testified "C. H. Asbury was here in 1912. . . . He told Machach that he had water . . . 'That your water in Ruby.' " Another witness remembered Asbury as saying: "Tell other Indians you tell Joe Temoak this water belong to Joe. He no talk to Joe." The thrust is unmistakable. Temokes were accepted as representing Indians in Ruby.[38]

The 1932 Hearing reproduced testimony taken by government engineer W. M. Reed in 1927; a major witness was Machach Temoak concerning the refusal of Ruby Valley Shoshone to move to Carlin or Duck Valley. Machach explained the motives of his grandfather.[39] For the 1932 hearing in Elko, the claims attorney for the Shoshone, Milton B. Bodt, arranged a meeting of the Indians, minutes of which start as follows: "Pursuant to the call of Machach Temoak, Billy Gibson and other acting chiefs. . . ."[40] The published Hearings included a genealogy of the Temoak family in the form of an "affidavit of Lazy Jim . . . taken in the presence of Joe Temoak, Willie Gibson [Indian interpreter] . . . and B. G. McBride [white rancher in Ruby Valley], January 17, 1927."[41] The data recorded conform to the family genealogy above from Patterson, Ulph, and Goodwin.

Concerning the Ruby Valley Shoshone Indian Chief of 1979, Patterson, Ulph, and Goodwin have stated that "Few Indians remain in Ruby Valley to-day. Of the fragments of the once great band of Temokes there remains Chief Frank Temoke, great grandson of old Chief Temoke. Chief Frank still cherishes the thought of the grant . . . [of] a reservation 6 miles square located on Overland Creek in Ruby Valley."[42] In October, 1978 when I per-

[36] Ibid., 22–23.
[37] Ibid., 66.
[38] U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States Part 28,* p. 14872. Hereafter cited as "Survey of Conditions. . . ."
[39] Ibid., 14846.
[40] Ibid., 14847.
[41] Ibid., 14855.
[42] Patterson et al., 13–14.

sonally visited Ruby Valley I received a calling card from "Chief Frank Temoke, Shoshone American Indian Tribe, Ruby Valley Indian Reservation" with his telephone number. He also presented me a copy of an undated letter from a famous claims attorney of Washington, D.C., Charles J. Kappler, to Attorney Joseph Chez of Utah. (From other sources I know both were active in the 1930s.) The letter concerned the right of Indians to hunt in Nevada without a license. An attached note said: "This letter is reprinted by Chief Frank Temoke for the use and benefit of Shoshone People. . . ."

There appears no question that the Temokes were leaders of a recognizable group which identified itself as Ruby Valley Shoshone from 1863 to 1979. A shared experience on land designated as a reservation for the Ruby Valley Indians in 1859 upon which hundreds of Indians lived and worked, served to strengthen identification with the area. The memory of the promised, but short-lived six-mile-square reservation, plus the hope that the U.S. government would eventually return that 1859 reservation may have been a strong emotional force to keep the Ruby Valley Indian community in existence. It is now appropriate to examine the history of Indian lands in Ruby Valley.

Indian Lands in Ruby Valley

The history of Indian lands in Ruby Valley is complicated by a number of circumstances. Ruby Valley was always at the fringe of administrative responsibility in terms of U.S. governmental relations with the Indians. From 1850 to 1866 it was in Utah Territory over 200 miles from Salt Lake City. After 1866 it was on the eastern edge of an administrative area over 300 miles from Carson City. Only from 1860 to 1874 was Ruby Valley a relatively important district. That was the period of the Pony Express and the overland stagecoach, and of Fort Ruby. This era ended with the establishment in 1874 of Carlin Farms Shoshone Indian Reservation, at the railroad town of Carlin on the Humboldt River, and there was great pressure (with considerable success) to attract all of the Indians away from Ruby Valley. Soon afterward the Duck Valley Reservation on the border between Nevada and Idaho was established by executive order on April 16, 1877, and pressure was exerted to have all Western Shoshone move to Duck Valley.

The order to establish a reservation for the Shoshone in Ruby Valley was issued on March 5, 1859, in Salt Lake City by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah, J. Forney, to R. B. Jarvis: "I have concluded . . . [you should] commence a Farm and make a Reservation for each of the above named bands of Indians, in Deep Creek for the Gosha Utes and in Ruby Valley for the Humboldt Sho Sho Nees . . . you will proceed without delay to Ruby Valley. . . . There you will find from 5 to 700 Indians, known

as Humboldt Sho Sho Nees."[43] In a letter of July 25, 1859, Forney reported that Jarvis had delivered cattle and farm implements but rather than remain as a farmer he returned to Salt Lake City and resigned in May 1859.[44] On January 25, 1860, S. C. Stambaugh, Surveyor General, Utah Territory, wrote to the General Land Office, Washington, D.C. after a visit to the west of Salt Lake City, that Wm. H. Rogers, Esq., recently appointed, had not yet taken possession of his post. However, he noted that " 'Ruby Valley farm" . . . has about 30 acres under cultivation. There is one agent and four laborers employed. . . ."[45]

On June 30, 1861, Superintendent Benjamin Davis, from Salt Lake City, reported on his visit to his agency, but of Ruby Valley he wrote: "No agents being in the territory (for three hundred miles west of Salt Lake City) except W. H. Rogers, esq., who lay at the point of death and could not be consulted on any subject. . . .I prepared estimates. . . ." After one year's tenure Davis was replaced by Henry Martin, who reported on October 1, 1861: "The Indians in Ruby valley, on the mail and telegraph lines, west of here [Salt Lake City], that range near the reservation there, are quite a numerous band under chief Sho-kub, and are known as the Ruby Valley Snakes."[46]

On June 28, 1862, Indian Agent Wasson reported to Nevada Territorial Governor James W. Nye about the death of Chief Sho-kub in Ruby Valley and the naming of Buck as his successor.[47] On September 16, 1862 Indian Agent T. W. Hatch reported to Governor James D. Doty of Utah Territory on the same area: "The Shoshones, or Snakes, of which Tomoke, Buck and Quads are their chiefs, . . . are in and around Ruby valley. . . ."[48]

Another notice of the establishment of the first Ruby Valley reservation is to be found in the publication of Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, No. 18 (1899) by C. C. Royce, entitled *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*. This is a compilation of all Indian Treaties and Executive Orders. Under 1859, pp. 822–23, is the following: Tribe: Western Shoshoni; Reservation: "A reserve was selected and set apart by agent Jarvis at Ruby Valley, Nevada. This reserve was 6 miles square. After being occupied and cultivated for several years it was abandoned and subsequently became a station for the Overland Stage Company." The order to abandon has not been found.

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[43] Record Group 75, U.S. National Archives.

[44] Forney to A. B. Greenwood, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Record Group 75, U.S. National Archives.

[45] Stambaugh to S. A. Smith, Commissioner, General Land Office. Record Group 75, U.S. National Archives.

[46] U.S., Dept. of the Interior, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1862, pp. 744–748.

[47] Angel, loc. cit.

[48] U.S., Dept. of Interior, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1862, pp. 349–354.

Other sources provide a better picture of the Ruby Valley Reservation than official government documents. One such source is the account of October 7, 1860, of the famous world traveler Richard F. Burton:

> Ruby Valley is a half-way house, about 300 miles from Great Salt Lake City. . . .
>
> We were received at the Ruby Valley Station by Colonel Rogers, better known as "Uncle Billy." He had served in the troublous days of California as a marshal, and has many a hairbreadth escape to relate. He is now assistant Indian agent, the superintendent of a government model farm. . . . We were introduced to the chief of the country . . . Chokop ("earth"). . . . He commands about 500 warriors. . . .
>
> Uncle Billy managed to make the post pay by peltries of the mink, wolf, woodchuck or groundhog, fox, badger, antelope, black-tailed deer, and others.[49]

Patterson et al. summarized the early period of the Ruby Reservation as follows:

> William H. Rogers, farmer agent in Ruby Valley in 1861, was retained at a salary of $1600 per annum. Because of the peculiar influence "Uncle Billy" exerted over the Indians, it was felt advisable that he be kept in the employment of the Indian Service. Benjamin Davis, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, noted that after deducted salaries of the officials and their expenses, pay of Farm Agents, other employees and incidental expenses, little was left for clothing which was more needed among the Indians than anything else.[50]

In Patterson et al., there is further discussion of the role of Colonel William Rogers:

> The first white settler in Ruby Valley, Colonel William Rogers or "Uncle Billy," served as commander-in-chief of the Indian war forces in California in 1850. He later became sheriff of El Dorado County, California, and in 1859 received the appointment as Indian agent to the Shoshones of Ruby Valley. In this capacity he settled at Overland Creek on what later became the Norman Wines Ranch. The Indian Service failed to clear lands and plant crops for themselves, and as a result Rogers, disgruntled with the Indian Service, gave up his job as Indian agent.[51]

The sequence of events in the 1860s in Ruby Valley is unclear. In the *History of Nevada* edited by Davis there is a report that Charles Stebbins ran a trading post in Ruby Valley in 1861 and that on two occasions when Indian women were in distress they appealed to him for safety.[52] Had Rogers left before 1861?

In 1862 Henry Butterfield was appointed Indian Agent in Ruby Valley

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[49] Burton, loc. cit.
[50] Patterson et al., 15.
[51] Ibid., 501.
[52] Davis, II, 153–154.

by Governor Nye and Butterfield was listed as interpreter and witness to the Nye-Doty treaty negotiated in Ruby Valley on October 1, 1863. Butterfield may not have been told that a township had been set aside for the Indians.[53]

The events surrounding the Indian farm after the departure of Agent Rogers have been summarized as follows:

> In 1863 the Overland Mail Company financially backed Chester Allen Griswold to come to Ruby Valley and put together the Overland Ranch. . . . The men took up more land and used Indian labor to raise grain. . . . The site chosen by Griswold for the farm lay some 40 miles north from the Overland Stage Station on Overland Creek which provided abundant water for irrigation. By the spring of 1865 the Overland Farm was so well developed that it employed 100 men, using 30 plows and 90 yoke of oxen to sow 90,000 pounds of grain. Overland Farm harvested 8,575 bushels of barley, 8,745 bushels of oats, 1,655 bushels of potatoes, 1,845 bushels of turnips, 1,000 bushels of carrots and 78 bushels of beets.[54]

The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 brought about the abandonment of Camp Ruby and ended the economic boom in Ruby Valley. The Pony Express, the transcontinental telegraph and the Overland Stagecoach brought great activity to Ruby Valley, and completely swamped the Indians who remained there during the boom years and after.

Colonel J. B. Moore, who had commanded Camp Ruby, left the service in early 1865, and "Settling in Ruby Valley, he engaged in farming and stock raising. . . . He raised the first grain in Elko County."[55] Other discharged soldiers from Camp Ruby to settle in Ruby Valley were John Helth, Mickey Flynn, and John Thompson. The Wines brothers, Ira, Leonard and Norman, had connections with the stagecoach companies. Thomas Short had been a successful miner. The 1870 U.S. Census listed 153 non-Indian residents in Ruby Valley.[56]

Evidence that the Indians of Ruby Valley did not forget that a township of land had been given them is found in several earlier sources which were assembled for the congressional hearing in Elko on September 16, 1932. In 1912 Superintendent C. H. Asbury declared that the water rights on Indian land they were allotted on the original township needed no further establishment.[57] In 1918 Agent Dorrington simply advised the Indians to live on their allotments. In 1919 Ruby Valley Shoshone Machach Temoak and a friend travelled to Washington, D.C. to seek clarification of the status of the original Jarvis reservation. On December 1, 1919, E. B. Meritt, the Assistant Commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs stated that there was

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53 Patterson et al., 16.
54 Ibid., 501–502.
55 Angel, 390.
56 Patterson, et al., 505.
57 "Survey of Conditions," 14872.

no record of "a tract of land 6 miles square in Ruby Valley, Nev., which is now claimed by the remaining members of the Temoak band."[58]

Machach Temoak must have been acting on the same oral tradition repeated to B. G. McBride in his January 27, 1927 interview with Joe Temoke and Lazy Jim. Patterson, et al., stress that "The determination of the Temoke band of Ruby Valley to stay in their native land was associated with a grant given Temoke by a soldier at Fort Ruby. Joe Temoke and Lazy Jim recalled:

> Captain Mench (soldier) give Chief Temoke paper for land six miles square where brick house Overland Creek is one corner. Soldier told man in cabin to give Indian one-half water. This man had first house on Overland Creek. . . . Man named Hay survey this land (Six square miles) To-so-we-su-opo say "This is your land." Remember surveyor name because "Hay" (grass) Indian call this so-nip. Hay say "One man come here from Washington. This be your reservation." Chief Temoke no go to Duck Valley. Say I can't go from here I have lots of ducks, pine nuts, deer. I can't go Duck Valley Reservation.[59]

The full history of the Indian allotments on the old Jarvis 1859 township has not been constructed but the latest 120 acres allotted to Frank Temoke, Jr., carries the note "Reserved for allotment purposes be E.O. 1606, 9–16–1912." Allotments adjoining in T 30 N, R 28 E are as follows: 40 acres to Joe Temoke, 3–21–23; 80 acres to Joe Billie Charley 6–15–26; 80 acres to Frank All or Frank Steele 4–6–20; 160 acres to Friday Bill (to heirs) 2–9–38; 40 acres to Frank Jim 4–6–20; joining but in a separate township were 70 acres to Machach Tomoque, 4–6–20. Thus seven Indian Trust allotments incorporating 590 acres of the original 1859 reservation are still carried on the books of the Elko County assessor and U.S. Bureau of Land Management.

In 1979 there were four other Indian Trust allotments in Ruby Valley far separated from the group in or near Section 25, T. 30 N, R. 58 E. One consists of eighty acres to Brownie Mose 6–16–25 in Sec. 21, T. 31 N, R. 59 E., which is about five miles from the ones previously listed. About seven miles further north in Section 14, T. 32 N., R. 59 E., George Moore was allotted 160 acres on April 6, 1920. Adjoining on the north in Section 11, T. 32 N., R. 59 E., are 160 acres allotted to Burt Moon February 9, 1922. Finally in Ruby Valley is the Indian Trust allotment of Little George of 160 acres situated in Section 6, T. 27 N. and in Section 31, T. 28 N., all in R. 58 E. This is about fifteen miles south of the main settlement on the old Jarvis reservation.

One trust patent of 80 acres issued to Frank All in 1911 was cancelled in 1929. It was situated in Sec. 25, T. 31 N., R. 59 E., about seven miles northeast from his second allotment near Temoke's in T. 30 N., R. 58 E. Other

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58 Ibid., 14859.

59 Patterson et al., 21–22.

cases of Indians in Ruby Valley losing allotments are those of Bronco Charlie losing his 79.42 acre homestead and Little George losing his of 79.62 acres; both had received patents in fee. These two fee patents adjoin the trust allotment of Little George, mentioned above, which straddle the township line between T. 27 and T. 28 N, R. 58 E.[60]

Temoke was honored by having the larger group of Shoshones in Elko County chose the name *Te-moak Bands of Western Shoshone Indians, Nevada,* when it organized under the Indian Reorganization Act. Its constitution was approved August 24, 1938, and a corporate charter was ratified December 12 of that year. The headquarters of the Te-moak bands are located in Elko, and include most of the Shoshone in northwestern Nevada except those who have settled on the Duck Valley Reservation. Members of the Temoke family live in Elko and participate in the elections of the incorporated Te-moak bands.

In Ruby Valley, Frank Temoke asserts that he is the hereditary chief of the Ruby Valley Band of Shoshone, but that the title and respect accorded are purely honorary, inasmuch as the Te-moak bands of Elko have legal authority and financial support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1974 the Department of Commerce reported 40 Ruby Valley Shoshone and more than 400 other Shoshone in Elko and its vicinity. In 1979 the present writer was informed by Chief Frank Temoke in Ruby Valley that only about "two dozen" Shoshone still survived there.

In conclusion, then, the data presented justify the view that the Ruby Valley provided the ecological requirements to support a band in aboriginal times. This is supported by the ease and rapidity with which a Shoshone chief of the Ruby Valley band was recognized by his fellow Indians and by whites who passed by or settled in the vicinity. Old Temoke (however the name was spelled) was a chief by 1860; and he remained a chief most of his life. Furthermore, Temokes have been chiefs of the Ruby Valley band of Shoshone until the present.

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[60] I have found no explanation why their two allotments, out of fourteen allotments to Indians in Ruby Valley, should have been given in fee rather than kept in trust like the others.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

An Illinoian in the Nevada Mines and Mills: The Letters of Robert Wheatley, 1865-66. Part II

LARRY D. BALL and MICHAEL J. BRODHEAD

NO. 8

Etna
Humboldt River
Oct. 8, 1865

MR. EDITOR:—We were favored with a copy of the *Recorder* of September 8th. It arrived here on the 5th of this month—being a head of almost all other news we get from the States.

I have not many items of news of importance for this letter, as I have been very close at work on the mill, which I am glad to say is getting along very well. The foundation is all dug, and a good part of the stone-wall is built—the lumber for the frame and machinery got here last week; enough men will be put on the building to put it up in a short time, and we think by the first of January, 1866, we will have the machinery all in and ready to work. The building is about 40 by 50 feet—one story on top of the bank, and the other on the lower side next to the river; the whole side of the building being deep into the bank.[71] The success of the undertaking I have no doubt —nor does any one else who is acquainted with the untiring energy of A. W. Nason and P. K. Roots. If the enterprise fails in the[ir] hands, I shall dispair [sic] of success on the Humboldt.

In regards to silver mining, I will say, however, it costs something to keep up a mill here. Lumber cost one hundred and fifty dollars per thousand; labor is high, and also all kinds of material; provision[s] cost a good deal—as we pay thirteen dollars per hundred for flour; beef 11 cents per pound; potatoes, 4 cents per pound—equal to $2.40 cents per bushel, and other vegetables in proportion. Boarding is rated at one dollar per day—each man

[71] The mills were constructed in tiers along the bank in order to take advantage of the force of gravity in the flow of the water. One wall of a mill still stood in Etna in 1967 (Basso, "The Rise and Fall of Three Nevada Towns," pp. 4–5).

furnishing his own bed. Almost all contracts for labor is so much per day and board.

I have some other matter that I wish to write about this time—leaving a further account of matters here for a future letter. I was really glad to see a communication in your paper from J. C.[72] (who I do not know by the initials) on the subject of good schools in Du Quoin. My being away hundreds of miles from Du Quoin does not lessen my interest in the welfare of the place. I regret much as any one that Mr. McNeil[73] or any one else should have to leave the place on account of not having good schools—yet I had thought of doing the same thing before leaving home, and still think when I come back, should I be permitted to do so, of selling out and going to where my little girl can have the advantage of a good school—although I should very much dislike to do so, so far as I am personally concerned, as there are many persons there for whom I have the highest regard for. To break up my associations with them would to me be very hard, yet the sacrifice I will make for my only daughter, as I deem a good education of the utmost importance to her.

There is one thing about the people of Du Quoin permit me to say in all kindness; that is, ever since I have been acquainted with the place, I have seen a lack of enmity among the people in any matter pertaining to the general welfare of the place. The difficulty seems to me to grow out of who shall take the lead, or rather a party feeling seems to exist; so what one party proposes for the good of the place, the other opposes, because it comes from the other. I hope in the future there will be a greater unity of feeling and action among the citizens in matters pertaining to the welfare of the place—especially in reference to schools.

I also notice a communication signed VERITAS on the Temperance question. I was glad to see the Editor take some interest on the same question, in a previous number of his paper. I do not propose to lecture on the subject; yet I do think it strange, [line lost] care anything about christianity (and I think we have here from Humboldt to Nevada—for I have not heard of a religious meeting of any kind being held in the country since I have been in it—nor scarcely a word said on the subject except in derision); yet we do not seem to get beyond the bounds of King Alcohohol's [sic] dominions. Everywhere along the road, over the mountains, on the desert, near the mines or mills, he has his agents busily at work dealing out the death potions to his victims.

You may be interested in knowing how they get it here. Mr. Stafford the

[72] Unidentified.
[73] Unidentified.

clerk of our County Court[74] says they make whiskey from the following receipt [recipe], which I take the liberty of giving without his permission—for the use of those who are interested: To 4 gallons of water, two and a half pounds of tobacco (if they have not leaf or plug handy, they use stumps of cigars), 4 tarantulas—as some of your readers may not know what they are; they are of the spider specie, very large, whose bite are more poisonous then [sic] the rattle-snake, and when there is a call for a brandy, they add a few scorpions, tails which are very plenty here. For fourth proof brandy, they add to the above rattle-snakes heads to suit customers. The reason I suppose they use the above is, that freights are high—consequently stricknine [sic], prussic acid, blue vitriol and such articles are scarce and costly; but the effects are very similar so far as my observation goes.[75] All is well. R. J. Wheatly [sic].

NO. 9

Etna,
Humboldt River
October 26, 1865

MR. EDITOR: I have been waiting to pick up some items of news that I supposed would be interesting to your readers, but, isolated as we are from mankind and the rest of the world generally, I find it rather a difficult task to write anything that would be worth a place in your paper. Yet I will make an attempt at a description of life in Nevada, and I suppose in order to do so it will be necessary to tell who lives here, then how they live so far as my observation goes. The oldest of the pioneer inhabitants of Nevada are Piute Indians, many of whom I see every day. So far as I have seen them, they are inferior to the Indians I have seen east of the Rocky Mountains both in stature and intellect, yet superior to the Digger Indians you meet with in California and Sierra Nevada Mountains. They, like the rest of the red men of the forest, are fast passing away. Last spring they commenced war upon the settlers by stealing horses and cattle, murdering ranch men and station-keepers along the roads, inflicting, in many cases, all the cruelties common to

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[74] Anson Peacely-Killen Safford (not Stafford) was elected county recorder of Humboldt County, 2 September 1863 and 7 September 1864. It is likely that the assessor doubled as clerk of the county court (Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 448); Safford later became governor of Arizona Territory, 1869–77; see Jay J. Wagoner, *Arizona Territory, 1863–1912: A Political History* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1970), pp. 101–23.

[75] Tarantula Juice was a widely circulated name for strong whiskey of obscure origin, especially among the frontier cowboys. According to Ramon Adams, comp., *Western Words: A Dictionary of the American West*, rev. and enl. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, paperback edition, 1968), p. 318, Muley Metcalf declared that a few drinks of Tarantula Juice would " 'have a man reelin' 'round like a pup tryin' to find a soft spot to lie down in. . . .' "

savage warfare—even on those who had treated them kindly.[76] Since the war that is known here as the Pyramid Lake War of '59, these Indians had made no attempt on the inhabitants until last spring, and only part of the tribe were engaged in that.[77] Those that are here call themselves *good Piutes,* make their homes mostly at what is called the Big Meadow or Humbol[d]t Lake.[78] They exhibit but little skill in any department. They have no regularly constructed wigwams or huts; nor do you see any specimens of beadwork, such as is common among the tribes in the States. Their physiognomy is inferior to that of the Indians I have been speaking of, yet there are some among the younger portion who are quick to learn, and under good teaching I think would make smart men. I do not know that there has ever been any effort made to educate or christienize [sic] them. In their habits they are filthy, careless in their dress, except the men, who dress pretty well. Some of them work very well—one I have noticed laboring faithfully every day for a month or more. There is one thing that I cannot help noticing, and that is, the striking likeness that exists between these Indians and the Chinese in color, size and make, showing evidently a common ancestry—the Mongolian.

The next portion of the inhabitants are those who were attracted here by the discovery of the silver-bearing quartz ledges. To locate a ledge or ledges, seemed to be all that was necessary to make a fortune; hence, many came here and spent a great deal of money in locating ledges and prospecting them, living in huts, tents, and, in many instances, living and sleeping in the open air. A more hardy set of men are hard to be found anywhere. Many of them are old California miners, who seem to think that to strike a ledge is a 'big thing,' fully expecting ere long some Eastern capitalist will come along and give them a big price, or "pile," as they express it. A few of them have got it, but many of them never will, in all probability, get what it cost them for "grub," as they term board here. A Spanish pony, a pair of California blankets, and a revolver, furnishes a complete outfit in most cases for prospecting—an additional bottle of Tarentula [sic] juice by many is thought indispensable. Over the mountains, across the Alkalie flats, sleeping on the ground, riding in dust, living on what they chance to have on hand—relishing their meals with the best appetite—is the life of the pioneers of Nevada. There is an additional element coming into this country: the capitalists building mills to crush the quartz and extract the precious metal, which, if successful, will give a new phase to the whole country.

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[76] See Angel, ed., *History of Nevada,* pp. 169–75, for a discussion of this outbreak of Indian hostilities.

[77] Actually in 1860; see Ferol Egan, *Sand in a Whirlwind: The Paiute Indian War of 1860* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972).

[78] The area around the Humboldt Sink, where shallow water nourishes a meadow and tule swamp.

Persons who have always lived at home—never having known what it is to be deprived of the luxuries common in the States, in the way of beds, sleeping in houses, and eating their meals off the table—know but little of life in Nevada; and those who appreciate female society would find it hard to be deprived the privilege of even speaking to one for months at a time. I find many here who seem to have become pretty well used to it, as they in some instances have been away from their families for three, and sometimes for twelve, years—each trying to make a "raise" before going home, but in many cases are farther from it now than they were when they came; yet those coming now, or when I did, find things much better than those who came years ago. Among those whom I am glad to see deprived of the comforts of home are the Copperhead sneaks; one instance I will give of a Mr. C——,[79] from Maine, who has been here for some two years, engaged in driving an ox-team. In conversation with him I gathered the following: He said he came out here to get clear of going to war. He said he wouldn't have minded going if he could have got an office, although he didn't like war—thought the Government was in the wrong. "Well," said I to him, "I think you are paying a good penalty for your offences against your country, for I certainly would have rather run the risk of going to war than to come out here to drive an ox-team where the sand and alkalie is from six inches to a foot deep, and often blowing like a snow storm, filling the mouth, eyes and nose almost to suffocation."

My only wish for all such is, that they could all be sent out here and set to driving oxen, for at least three years, as punishment for their opposition to the best government the world ever saw—politically speaking—and for their sneaking disposition in leaving home for fear of being compelled to go in defence of their homes.

But as I am tired I will close, with my best wishes for your welfare, and my friends in Du Quoin. This leaves all of our company well.

Respectfully, R. J. Wheatley

NO. 10

Humboldt River,
Nov. 10th, 1865

EDITOR *RECORDER*:—Your papers came to hand yesterday of Oct. 6 and 18th, containing two of my letters to the *Recorder*, in one of which I notice one or two errors, one in particular that entirely destroys the sense of the paragraph—when I am made to say limestone for brimstone; yes brimstone

[79] Unidentified; the copperheads were citizens of the Union states (many were former Democrats) who sympathized with the Confederacy. Some copperheads migrated to the Far West, in order to avoid service in the Union Army and to avoid persecution for their allegiance to the Rebels.

or sulphur is what these mountains have in them almost as pure as the brimstone of commerce.

In my last I broke off rather abruptly whilst detailing the doing of the Indians on the Humboldt. I thought I had somewhere a copy of the Humboldt *Register,* published in Unionville[80] that contained the particulars of the fighting we done during the summer. But I have failed to find it, so will have to depend upon my memory for the facts so far as I can recollect them. During the spring and early part of the summer the *Pieutes* [sic] commenced their depredations on the stock men, as they are called here, by stealing their cattle and horses, then attacking ranches murdering and horribly mutilating the men. As these ranches and stations are mostly kept by men, in very few instances are there any women in those isolated places. The citizens turned out to drive them back, until [the] government sent some soldiers to their assistance. Since then there has been several fights and quite a number of Indians killed. There are several companies of soldiers stationed along the river at Dunn Glen and Queens River;[81] so now the country is quite secure again. On last Sautrday [sic] evening they killed a wagoner named Joseph Ballou,[82] burning his wagon and mangling his body in the most shocking manner. This happened on the Honey Lake route from California to Humboldt. Mr. Nason came very near losing a load of supplies, as the team containing his goods drove up whilst the wagon was burning. This happened about forty miles from here. A company of soldiers are in pursuit. I have not heard the result of the expedition. One thing seems to be evident in reference to Indians, that is, nothing but extermination will do; no civilization can change their disposition, so extermination must. The fate of the red man is sealed.

I am pleased to see that there is still some interest manifested by the people of Du Quoin on the subject of education and school houses. There is scarcely any one thing that I feel more interested in than that we should have good schools and good school houses, or rather a good school house, with good teachers, who not only know what to teach, but how to teach.

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[80] According to Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Nevada,* pp. 263–64, Unionville had been founded by "confederates" and was originally called "Dixie." When Union sympathizers became a majority in this village, they changed the name to Unionville.

[81] In June 1865, Company B, 2d Cavalry, California Volunteers garrisoned the newly established Camp Dun(n) Glen, east of the Humboldt Mountain Range, to protect settlers from the Indians. This camp ceased to exist in the following year (George Ruhlen, "Early Nevada Forts," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* VII (1964), 23. Quinn (not Queens): Wheatley is referring to Fort McDermitt, established 14 August 1865, "on the east bank of Quinn River, near the northern boundary of Nevada" (Francis Paul Prucha, *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789–1895* [Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964], p. 88).

[82] Mark Twain prospected with a Ballou (*Roughing It,* Rinehart paperback editions, pp. 140–69 *passim*); William T. Ballou laid off the town of Elko in 1869 (Bancroft, *Nevada,* p. 276 n21); an E. Balou (spelling as given) was a cook for Trench's Mill Company in Silver City in the early 1860s, see *First Directory of Nevada Territory,* p. 203.

After all that is said on the subject of education, I have never yet seen an uneducated man or woman; not that I have not seen many thousands who had not a scientific or a literary or even a common education. But it is said that nature abhors a vacuum.—So with the human family. I have seen none but were educated; but the kind of education many, alas, too many, especially of the youths of our country are daily receiving on the streets of our cities a[n]d towns and villages, it is to be deplored by every philanthropist. I can conceive of nothing more disgusting or degrading than to hear our boys as soon as they can walk the streets, straining their throats as though they would burst them, trying to swear like men, or running to the saloons as soon as they can reach the top of the counter, calling for a glass of beer or whiskey, in order to look like men. Now the question is, who educated these boys? Surely they were not born swearing or drinking whiskey. Well not that degraded wretch who lays in the gutter with the hogs—oh, no, boys are disgusted with such a sight as well as men—they don't swear because such a worthless creature as that swears, nor do they drink because they see him drink. But they swear because Mr. A. swears, and he is considered a respectable man—a man of influence in [the] community. They hear father say, Mr. A. is one of the best men in the place, the boy wants to be like the best man and so swears because Mr. A. swears. Then there is Mr. B. a young man of respectability, nay, more a favorite in society, everybody likes him for his social qualities, a gentleman in his intercourse with his fellowmen, an agreeable companion anywhere. Father, mother, sister, speak well of him. But B. goes occasionally to the saloon to take a social glass—the boy sees him, and goes there with his associates in imitation of Mr. B., believing he is doing a *big thing*, as the people say out here in Humboldt because he is doing as Mr. B's doing. Now if any body in Du Quoin thinks I mean them, I say most emphatically yes, I mean them. I don't know but your readers will get tired of reading my letters, and you of printing them. I think it is possible at least that a few more will close them out, as it is probable that in a few months I shall be on my way back to Du Quoin. In my next I hope to be able to tell you how our mill and mines are likely to pay. All of our party are enjoying excellent health. Yours as ever, [R. J. Wheatley.]

NO. 11

Etna,
Humboldt River
Dec. 9. 1865

EDITOR DU QUOIN *RECORDER*:

In my last letter I stated that a party of soldiers in pursuit of Indians, who had committed the murder therein detailed, they returned after killing

some forty or fifty Indians, they made an indiscriminate slaughter—sparing neither sex or age; of the soldiers, one was killed and two wounded. I think there wont be any further trouble from Indians this winter.

I believe I promised your readers some idea of the process of extracting silver as practiced here in Nevada.—For crushing the Quartz, stamps[83] are used almost exclusively—some mills running as high as eighty stamps, as I noticed in a former letter, the Gould & Curry mill, near Virginia City; but usually from ten to twenty stamps is the number used; these stamps weigh about six hundred and fifty pounds, and are raised by two semicircular tappets on a shaft, and let drop on the ores, five in a group for each mortar, into this mortar there is a stream of water running and when the rock is fine enough to pass through a sieve, seventy meshes each way to the inch, it is culled out by the water into a tank where it settles after the water is drawn off. The pulp, as the crushed quartz is called is taken to the amalgamating pan, which is a large cast pan about four feet in diameter, and twenty inches through the pan with an upright shaft, on this shaft is filled a cone, to this cone is attached at the bottom a series of cast iron plates, forming a circle, with openings at about one foot at the circumference, two inches wide, running to the center, this is called the muller, which is raised and lowered, very much as common grist mills are; into these pans they put about [one] hundred pounds of pulp, which is ground about four or five hours, into these pans they put in about one hundred pounds of quick-silver, six pounds common salt, and one pound of sulphate of copper; but this adding of chemicals depend upon the kind of rock they have to work, and the base metals with which the silver is more or less alloyed. I have merely stated the above as common ingredients; from this pan it is drawn off into another made of heavy sheet iron rim attached to circular bottom, with a muller made with wooden shoes revolving much slower than the first which run about sixty to the minute, one of these settlers, as they are called, is required to every two pans.—From these settlers they collect the amalgrem [amalgam] —composed of quicksilver, silver, gold and what other minerals may be in the quartz. This amalgrem is then taken and put into a retort, which is a cast cylinder with a door in one end, and a pipe leading from the other; this retort is built into a furnace with great bars underneath, it is then heated up, when the quicksilver is evaporated and condensed through the pipe into a tub of water, that remaining in the retort is called bullion, from which is refined the silver. I have briefly given the idea to your readers of the manner by which the silver is extracted. Mr. Nason has got his mill running, although not in full operation; but in a short time it will be, yet, they do not

[83] For a brief discussion of mining technology in the mid-nineteenth century, see Rodman W. Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848–1880* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), pp. 28–33.

expect to do much business this winter. This is about all the news I have for this letter, and in all probability the last one I shall write to you from this place, as I expect to sail from San Francisco on the first of January, '66. To do so I must leave here by the 20th inst. In the mean time, on my return trip I will take notes of such matters as may be of interest to your readers; leaving it to your judgment when you see them as to their merits. I hope Mr. P. K. Roots, will succeed me as your regular correspondent from this place, who is much better qualified to do so than I am, and will have better opportunities to gather items of interest than I have had or could have. Allow me to express my thanks to you for giving my imperfect scribbling a place in your paper. I have done the best I could under the circumstances, writing most of the time when a general conversation was going on around me. Then, since I have been here in Nevada, since the first day of August, I have not lost one day from work, nor do I expect to if my health keeps good until I am ready to start for home. In conclusion, I hope before this comes to hand to be well on my road back to Du Quoin, and soon to have the privilege of a friendly conversation with you in your sanctum, and the cordial greetings of my many friends in your city, with whom I desire to spend the rest of my days. For the present, Mr. Editor, and your many readers, good bye. Hoping soon to see you all, I am, Yours respectfully, R. J. Wheatley.

NO. 12

St. Johns,
January 25, 1866

MR. EDITOR:—I believe in my last letter from Humboldt, I promised to give some sketches of travel on my homeward trip. We left Humboldt, Nevada, on the morning of December 25th, coming on horseback across the first range of mountains east of the Humboldt river,[84] to meet the hack running from Unionville to Stillwater on the Overland Stage Route.[85] On passing down this valley there is nothing to attract attention—the valley covered with sage brush, and the mountains with snow. The stations along this road are kept by men who act in the capacity of stagedriver, hostler, cook, etc. At one of these stations the traveler stops for supper, where soon our driver drops the lines, unhitches horses, and in a few minutes is acting in the capacity of cook, and in a short time you have before you a dish of broiled beefsteak, boiled potatoes, a cup of coffee, bread and butter. The cold air, and the bitter you inhale from the Sage brush, giving you an apetite [sic]

[84] *i.e.*, the Humboldt Range.

[85] A station of the Overland Stage Company was established in Stillwater, Churchill County, in July 1862 (Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 364).

such as the epicure knows nothing about, makes one relish the meal, without asking yourself whether the cook had washed his hands before he commenced cooking or not, or whether the cooking was done according to rules laid down in French cook-books or not. For the meal you pay one dollar and ask no questions for your stomach's sake. At Stillwater you take the overland stage to Virginia City, the road running along side the Great Desert[86] and up the Carson river, presented nothing different from what we have noticed in a former letter. We arrived at Virginia City on the 26th about ten o'clock in the evening, took lodgings at the International Hotel[87] where they only charge two dollars and fifty cents for your bed and breakfast, which by the way is about as poor a meal as I ever got on the Pacific coast. Being detained one day in the city on business, I determined to make the best I could of what spare time I had—so started to find Mr. John Nelson,[88] Superintendent of the confidence Mines[89] and a brother-in-law to Mr. Sanderson[90] of our town, to whom I made myself known. Mr. Nelson, I found to be a gentleman in the strict sense of the word, and in a short time we were chatting as familiar as old acquaintances, my object being to get all the information I could in reference to mills and mines, in and about Virginia city. I made free to ask a good many questions about them, which were, as freely answered by Mr. Nelson. From Mr. Nelson I learned I was not mistaken about the number of mills in and about Virginia City, Gold Hill, Silver City, all of which is under one incorporation[91] if my memory is not at fault and contain some 30,000 inhabitants; then there is Washo[e], Dayton and many other mills on the Carson river making in all, near on to three hundred mills depending on what is called the Comstock ledge for a supply of quartz.—As for the mines, I accepted an invitation from Mr. Nelson to take a short tour down into the lower regions, so I stepping on to the cage we commenced on our descent down to the first level a distance of four hundred and thirty feet,

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86 *i.e.*, the Forty-Mile Desert.

87 "The International Hotel had the usual bar-room, dining room, kitchen and twelve sleeping-rooms. The lumber of which it was built was whip-sawed in Six-mile Cañon" (Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 571); the first hotel building was destroyed by fire in 1875, and a new, "more substantial brick structure" was built in 1876; see p. 602.

88 Although a John Nelson was not listed in Collins' *Mercantile Guide and Directory for Virginia City* [for 1864–65], a J. B. Nelson was listed as a bookkeeper for the International Hotel in 1862 (*First Directory of Nevada Territory*, p. 155).

89 Staked out in 1859, this claim ran 130 feet along the Comstock Lode. The owners soon consolidated this mine with three others and became the Challenge-Confidence Mine (Carlson, *Nevada Place Names*, p. 84). According to Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 615, "The Confidence [Mine] has had a body of paying ore, and paid $78,000 in dividends. . . ." Angel was writing in 1881.

90 Unidentified.

91 The Bank of California controlled some, but not all, of the mills on the Comstock Lode. In June 1867, William Sharon and other officials of the bank formed the Union Mill and Mining Company, which would "purchase and manage the mill property held by the bank. . . ." (Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners*, pp. 246–47).

stepping off we started on the railroad some distance to another descent, which we made by the means of a ladder. From this you find railways running off into different directions, to what they call stops, the object in going down to these different levels is to enable them to run off each way on the ledge which they work up or stop it as they call it, keeping the ledge above them, thus working up from one level to another. In the meantime these tunnels and stops have to be kept timbered up, with very heavy timber, the lower timbers being fourteen inches square[92]—yet as large as these timbers are, and formed in the strongest possible manner, on the south side of the ledge next to the clay, they are broken like fence rails by the ground swell, but by working up on the ledge they are enabled to throw back the dirt and rock and all up below them and strengthen the timbers.

Along these roads, up the stops, down to lower levels, we went for several hours, stepping from timber to timber, getting at times where the climate was much hotter than was pleasant, for in a short time in these lower regions produced perspiration more profuse than the hottest weather in the summer time. There were still farther descents to be made to get down to the lower level, which I very respectfully declined to make, especially as Mr. Nelson said it would take about one week to make a full examination which my time would not admit of—and being satisfied with what I had seen, and my stay in so warm a climate I felt rather anxious to return to a cooler atmosphere, concluding that if my readers wished further information about these lower regions they could come and make the trip for themselves.

But the great question, does all this work pay? I answer as in all other business not always and perhaps only a few make their investments pay.—The mining and milling of silver ores even on the Comstock Ledge is attended with immense expense. Then as they go down on this ledge the quartz grows poorer rather than richer, which Mr. Nelson says is true of all ledges as a rule, getting richer as they go down, the exception. That many of these mines and mills have not made money, let the Legal Advertisements in the papers of Virginia tell,[93] or books of the Bank of California show how much of that kind of property they have to make their money back on. Virginia City now, and four years ago, as I got from those acquainted with the place, I will give in my next letter. For the present, yours as ever, [R. J. Wheatley.]

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[92] Wheatley is probably referring to the "cribbing" method of timbering the mines. Philip Deidesheimer, a German mining engineer, introduced this method into the Comstock (Bancroft, *Nevada*, pp. 113–15).

[93] Evidence of economic illness among the mines appeared routinely in the Nevada newspapers; see, *Virginia Daily Union*, 26 December 1865, p. 1, for notices of assessments to be levied upon the stockholders of five mining corporations, and p. 3 for notices of eight sheriff's sales; the issue for 27 December 1865, devoted an entire page to delinquent taxes for the Virginia City-Comstock area.

NO. 13

We are apt to form our opinions about places and countries, from the first information we get of them.—Hence, the accounts we got of Virginia City and California, from what we read or heard of these places years ago would not do to draw conclusions from now. At that time the excitement was at the highest pitch consequent on the discovery of the celebrated Comstock Ledge, and the rush of all classes to the place was immense. Capitalists, speculators, mechanics, miners, saloon-keepers, gambling, &c. Gambling in feet, as they call it, or mining stocks immense fortunes were made in a short time.—The demand for houses were so great for all uses, that a city sprung up as it were by magic. To see brick-layers and carpenters at work all night long by the light of fires kept burning in the streets, was common, wages were no object, so the work could be done, consequently everybody had plenty of money. The whiskey seller and gambler reaped a rich harvest, the murderer walked about with impunity. To have a dead man or two for breakfast, was as common as breakfast itself, everybody was too busy to take any thought for the welfare of others; yet the old adage, that murder will not go unpunished proved true in many cases, as I learnt from the conversation of several of my fellow-passengers in the coach that I came over the mountains in. Those having doubtful claims to *feet* resorted to might, to make right, to do so they hired a class of men called roughs, these men would fight when paid for it by their employers, or use the revolver on an important witness when he was wanted out of the way—hence so many dead men for breakfast in connection with whiskey drinking and gambling. There were five of this class of men came to Virginia City, (when I speak of Virginia City, I include Gold Hill, Silver City, and vicinity), boon companions in crime. Many were the victims, yet no notice was taken of their misdeeds, until they finally fell out among themselves, and commenced using their revolvers on each other, so in a short time they had all died with their boots on, at each others hands. The history of these five men is but the history of hundreds of such men.[94] But Virginia City now is a very different place, business of all kind has assumed the ordinary course, claims to ledges are settled in the courts of justice. Several fine church houses among the many very good buildings to be seen there, and life and property as secure there, as in most places in Nevada or California. Quite a change has come over the place, at one time, Babel could only exceed it for confusion, or Sodam [sic] and Gomor[r]ah, for wickedness. Dec. 28, [I] left Virginia City for Sacra-

[94] For some observations about lawlessness in the Nevada mining camps, see Twain, *Roughing It* (Rinehart paperback editions) pp. 249–60; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, 2 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1887), 1: 593–621.

mento in the Overland Stage,[95] among the passengers were a number of old Californians, bound for a prospecting tour in the Sierra Nevada mountains. One peculiarity of the Californians, they never travel without their bottle of whiskey, there were six passengers inside, and three bottles of whiskey, and one of brandy—yet at each stopping place they took their usual drink at the bar. Whiskey selling along all these roads is a profitable business, judging from the amount sold; until then I could not account for the number of empty bottles I saw all along the road everywhere you see them, but a few days travel in a public conveyance one can account for the bottles being there. The first thing that attracts attention after leaving Virginia City is the Steamboat Springs.[96] Those of my readers that have seen a fleet of steamboats, as we often do at Cincinnati, Pittsburg and St. Louis with steam up, puffing away as they lay these wharfs, can form some idea of these Springs. The steam escaping from perhaps some fifty places close together gives the appearance of steamboats. As we see them from the road they are interesting, but those that have examined them closely say they present one of the most singular phenomena of the country. The burnt appearance of all the country from the Sierra mountains as far as I went into Nevada, together with the frequency of these hot springs give unmistakable evidence of what the condition of the country once was, and that there still exists an immense caldron of boiling lava not very far below, the surface in many places. Least [sic] I worry your readers, I leave Donner Lake and its surroundings for my next. R. J. Wheatley.

NO. 14

Donner Lake

Soon after leaving the Hot Springs the traveler enters the Trucky [Truckee] valley, or as it is commonly called, the Trucky Meadows.[97] Here are some very nice farms or ranches, as the Trucky river affords very good irrigation for the lands along its banks.

Although these are what are called Sage Brush lands, yet when irrigated they produce good crops of vegetables, hay and barley, which always brings a good price as they have a market close at hand in Virginia City.

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95 An advertisement for the Pioneer Stage Company's Great Express and United Mail Line read (*Virginia Daily Union* (27 December 1865, p. 3): "Virginia City to Sacramento, 24 hours, via Dutch Flat, California, and Donner Lake." Stages departed Virginia City at noon and 3:00 P.M. Passengers could take the boat from Sacramento to San Francisco. Those taking the 3:00 P.M. stage from Virginia City could take the train (Central Pacific) from Shingle Springs to Sacramento. Wheatley possibly boarded the train at Shingle City, debarked at Sacramento, and took a boat to San Francisco.

96 Eleven miles south of Reno, in Washoe County, a mineral hot springs (Carlson, *Nevada Place Names*, p. 223).

97 Truckee Meadows (not Trucky), in what is now the Reno area.

Soon after leaving this valley we commenced the gradual ascent of the mountains without much to attract attention until you get into the Donner Lake valley, for valley it is although high up the mountain. This lake derives its name from the unfortunate Donner family,[98] the most of whom perished by starvation on the border of the lake some years ago. They camped there while on their journey to California, and got snowed in; the snow falling that winter some twenty-five feet in depth. Those who survived subsisted on the dead bodies of their friends, and when help reached them they had cut off the flesh of the dead and preserved it for future use.

Marysville in California took its name from one of the young ladies, a survivor of the family.[99]

Deaths in these mountains are quite common in winter by freezing. Last winter there were two men passing along the road on foot when an avalanche of snow slid down from the mountain and covered them up; it was some time before they got either of them out; one of them they did not find until the summer[']s sun melted the snow.

It is thought that there are some fifteen miles of the Pacific Railroad that will have to be covered with heavy timber in order to make it available at all in the winter.[100] The snow usually falls as early as November and lays until April or May before the road is clear.

The Lake is some three miles long and from a half to three-quarters in width[101] as near as I could judge as I was riding along its banks—the water is quite deep and as clear as crystal.—Here I beheld the most beautiful sight it has ever been my privilege to look upon. On each side of the lake was high mountains covered with snow, with a heavy growth of pine and other evergreens growing on its sides. At the time we were passing, the rays of the sun fell lengthways on the water which gave the whole lake the appearance of a highly polished mirror of magnificent proportions, in which we saw all the surrounding scenery tho[?] in an inverted form, the craggy peaks of the lofty mountains, the towering pines and the cone shaped little Firs. Then where the Pines stood some space apart it gave the appearance of a cataract plunging down into a fathomless gulf, thus outrivaling Niagara itself. So beautifully and truthfully was the grand panorama painted by nature that it will be forever unrivaled by art. So vivid was the impression on my mind that it seemed almost impossible to believe that it was a reflection and not a [fact ?]. But all attempts on my part to give anything more than a faint idea of

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98 See George R. Stewart, *Ordeal by Hunger: The Story of the Donner Party* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960).

99 Named in 1850 for Mary Murphy Covilland, a survivor of the Donner Party (Gudde, *California Place Names*, p. 194).

100 Thirty-nine miles of snowsheds were constructed.

101 Wheatley is fairly accurate here—the lake is three and one-half miles long and averages one mile in width.

the sight must prove abortive. I will therefore leave it to those gifted with better discriptive [sic] powers and have in command better language than I to finish the task.

On the west shore of the lake, stands the "Lake House"[102] where we left the coach and took the sleigh over the summit of the Sierra Nevada mountains, through which they are making the tunnel of the Pacific Railroad, employing Chinamen almost exclusively, for the work, as they hire them for thirty-five dollars per month and board themselves, which is much less than white men could be hired for and board in the bargain. But Johnny [i.e., the Chinese] is satisfied if he gets his rice and fish, with a cup of tea and small wages.—The night we crossed was clear, with the moon about half full shining down on the snow made it nearly as light as day. Although the snow was near three feet deep, yet we did not suffer from the cold, as it was calm and with a highly rarified atmosphere incident to an elevation of 7312 feet above the level of the sea.

On either side the craggy peakes [sic] raised their jagged heads above the timber line, for where the snow lays on the year round, no timber is seen growing, whilst along the road the lofty pines stand thick, even at times giving a dark and gloomy appearance to the surroundings. Our side was a pleasant one, as we had six good horses[,] a light sleigh, making as good lime [time] as we use to at our sleighing parties in the northern States.

All along the road we saw poles set like telegraph poles, with boards nailed on at a heighth [sic] of fifteen or twenty feet, to mark the road when the snow falls. The overland Stage Company gave a contract to some parties for $21,000 to keep the road in order for travel during the winter, which they are doing by dragging wide sleds drawn by oxen over the road, and keeping freight teams running as often as possible to pack down the snow. But enough for the present. "Accidents and incidents["] will be our next. R. J. Wheatley.

NO. 15

As we were leaving California we noted down our final conclusions drawn partly from our own observations, and those of others, who had better opportunities than I could have during the time I was there. First, the mines of California: The time is past for men with small means to expect to go

[102] *Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourists' Guide . . .* (New York: n. pub., 1871), 3: 158, describes the location of the Lake House, "a favorite resort of tourists," as "a low gravelly flat, shaded by giant pines" where "a small stream which tumbles down the mountain side winds its way through the dense wood, and empties its ice-cold flood in the upper [western] end or head of the lake, which rests against the foot of the 'Summit' Mountain. . . ." A stage arrived at this place twice each day from Truckee, California.

there and dig gold as they did some years ago. The Placer or Shallow diggings are about dug out, and what is called the deep diggings is done by hydraulics,[103] costing as we were told, in most places seventy-five cents per cubic inch an hour for water. The water is carried from fifty to seventy-five miles in sluices, and used with a hose and nozzle for cutting down the hills, just as it is used on a fire, consequently to engage in that kind of digging requires some capital. Gold and silver quartz mining is but in its infancy comparatively, and I have no doubt ere long California will yield larger quantities of precious metals than she has hitherto done. But California as a farming country, as a general thing, can never succeed. Whilst there are favored localities which produce large amounts of produce, the State as a general thing cannot do so for want of rain, or want of irrigation. When they fail to have the usual rains in the winter season, it makes short crops and hard times, for if the wheat and barley fail they have nothing to fall back on in the way of a corn crop.—You see as fine fruit and vegetables in the principal markets there as any where in the world, I presume, and as great a variety, but they are the products of the most favored localities, and not the general product of the State. But I will give some facts as they were told me by a Mr. D.,[104] from Ohio, who spent some time in visiting his brothers there, and traveling over the State. One of his brothers and a brother-in-law had been there quite a while and from the amount of means they had when they went there, he expected to find them in at least comfortable circumstances. But, said he, with the exception of my oldest brother, I found them about the poorest set of men I ever saw. His oldest brother had a fruit ranch, from which he sold last year $1,000 worth of fruit by peddling it from home; but said he, what does that amount to when he has to buy all his bread and meat, and the hay and feed for his horses, to do his peddling with; why he barely keeps his family. His second brother on going there some three years ago, had about two thousand dollars in cash on his arrival there, one thousand of which he invested in a gold claim, and after one year's hard work on the claim in addition to his investment, it proved worthless, and when I got there, continued he, I found him working about by the day to support his family, and all he had left was a house and a small fruit ranch a[-]coming on; paying thirty-six dollars per year for water to irrigate it. He spent some $500 for a team and wagon and other things to start him again in some other business.—His brother-in-law he found in about the same fix, with what would perhaps make a pretty good ranch some day but no means to fence it; to him he advanced the means to fence his ranch, hoping that he may yet succeed. From his observations and the experience of his brothers, he con-

[103] For some discussion of hydraulic mining see Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West,* pp. 29–30, 90–92.

[104] Unidentified.

cludes that they and every body else who have a home in Ohio or any other State this side of the Rocky Mountains had better be contented and stay where they are.—There is yet another serious drawback in California, even if there were no other, that is the insecure condition of titles to property, growing out of the old Spanish claims, which has already resulted in nearly the ruin of a great many men, in the way of property, by involving them in almost never ending lawsuits.[105] My final conclusions are much the same as those expressed in a former letter, in reference to the country.

Dec. 30, [1865], we sailed from San Francisco on board the steamer *Golden Age,*[106] with a small number of passengers and but little freight; we made good time, with scarcely anything occurring worthy of note—the weather was quite cold and disagreeable for several days, when it began to get warmer. An occasional whale rising up and spouting, on [or] a school of porpoises, or sea sheep as the sailors call them, were the only things that attracted attention through the day—and the phosphorescent sparks where the water broke off from the side of the ship or in her wake made the ocean sparkle as though we were running among the stars, was all that gave interest to the passage until we landed at Acapulco, now Maximilian's dominions,[107] where we hired a boat and went ashore to take a view of the place where they still have a gandel [gander] fight occasionally. A few nights before we were there they had one, a party of guerrillas came down out of the mountains, and killed some five or six, and wounded as many more, took what they wanted and made good their escape; and, if Maximilian's men we saw there are a fair specimen of his army, armed with a lot of old broken muskets, our Illinois boys, a few regiments strong, armed with the Spencer or Henry rifles and revolvers, would think it nothing but fun to clean out Max. and his whole army in a single campaign; but as the game is not worth the ammunition, I do not think it worth their while to do it.

To one who has never seen any town, village or city, only as we see them here, busy, bustling, live places, can never form a correct idea how

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105 For a discussion of land titles in California see Paul W. Gates, "California's Embattled Settlers," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XXXXI (June 1962); Homer Cummings and Carl McFarland, *Federal Justice: Chapters in the History of Justice and the Federal Executive* (1937; New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), pp. 128–41; and Gilbert C. Fite, *The Farmers' Frontier, 1865–1900* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), Chap. 9, pp. 156–74.

106 *Golden Age* of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was scheduled to depart Folsom Street Wharf at 11:00 A.M., 30 December 1865, E. S. Farnsworth commanding. Passengers were requested to have their baggage on board one hour before sailing (*Daily Alta California,* 30 December 1865). Built in 1852, the *Golden Age* was operated by the New York & Australia Steam Navigation Company until she was sold to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in 1854. The ship operated on the Panama run until the opening of the trans-continental railroad system in 1869. She was then used by the company's Yokohama-Shanghai branch line. In 1875 the Mitsubishi firm purchased the *Golden Age.* By 1890 none of its original tonnage existed (Heyl, *Early American Steamers,* pp. 183–84).

107 French troops had captured Acapulco in early September 1865.

such a place as Acapulco, or the towns in Central America look; their widest streets about as wide as our narrowest alleys; in the place of street cars, omnibuses, carriages, wagons, etc., a pack mule with a panier, or basket as we would call it, swung on each side filled with such things as they bring to market, then you see a pile of wood carried on a mule or on the back of a native; so with everything they bring to market. The inhabitants are perfectly listless, as you see them swinging in a blanket tied with a cord at the four corners stretched length-wise of the room, in which you see a lady reclining whilst another is keeping the swing a[-]moving, then, again you see a group of them setting under a kind of a porch smoking cigarets [sic],[108] and chatting in Spanish. But what attracts the attention most of the observing traveler is the premature development of the females; for many of those that you meet that are mothers do not appear to be more than 13 or 14 years old—and equally strange is the premature old age; for many of them that are not over 50 or 60 years, have the appearance of being 80 or 90; then the houses and everything look old and decaying, not one attractive feature in their surroundings, save now and then a graceful palm tree, in short, although in America, there is nothing about there American. From Acapulco to Aspinwall one saw nothing worthy of note, more than what we had said in former letters. Saturday, Jan. 13, [1866], we went on board of the splendid new steamer *Henry Chauncy*, commanded by Captain Gray; first mate, C. B. Hayward; chief engineer, G. K. Neathurs, who, by the way, are as gentlemanly a set of officers as has been our lot to travel with. This noble steamer is 336 ft. in length; 45 ft. beam; 28 ft. hold; 105 in. cylinder, 12 ft. stroke; substantially built, with superior accomodations for all of her passengers (of whatever class), and runs with ease 325 miles in 24 hours—this she has done for three days during the trip from Aspinwall to New York.[109] Being detained in the city until it was too late to leave for home, without laying over on Sunday on the road, I concluded to lay over in Brooklyn with my

[108] The custom of smoking among Latin females often startled American visitors in the lands to the south of the United States. Shortly after the conquest of New Mexico by American forces in 1846, William Watts Hart Davis, newly-appointed district attorney for the territory, observed that Hispanic females smoked cigarettes on all conceivable occasions—at parties, dinner, and even "indulge the luxury while they are in bed." At a wedding ceremony in a wealthy home in New Mexico, Davis recalled how attractive the ladies were until they lighted cigarettes, when "the wreathes of smoke" began to billow from their "mouths and nostrils" (William Watts Hart Davis, *El Gringo: or New Mexico and Her people, 1857* [New York: Harper, n. d.], pp. 182, 281–82).

[109] The *New York Times*, 20 January 1866, p. 8, col. 5, noted the arrival of the *Henry Chauncey*. This vessel departed Aspinwall 12 January (not the 13th), at 8:00 P.M., "with passengers, mails and treasure to F. W. G. Bellows, agent." Wheatley's name was not listed among first class passengers and was probably one of the fifty-eight in steerage. The *Henry Chauncey* was launched in October, 1864 and from her maiden voyage in November, 1865, until she was sold and scrapped in 1877, she was in continuous service on the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's New York-Aspinwall run (Heyl, *Early American Steamers*, p. 205).

friends. On Sunday, I accepted an invitation to go and hear Henry Ward Beecher[110] in company with my nephews J. Vanderbelt[111] and White;[112] I will not attempt a description of the Tabernacle,[113] as the house is called where he preaches, as I was more interested in what he had to say, than in the house. Mr. Beecher is emphatically a common sense preacher, if all his discourses are in keeping with the one I heard on that day—he was plain and pointed in his remarks, dealing more in matter of fact than in metaphysics; no one could fail to understand what he had in view, nor be troubled about what he meant; and, if his members are as practical, in their profession, as he is in preaching, they are decidedly a practical people. It is worth a trip from here to Brooklyn to hear that vast congregation sing, although the music is led by a very fine organ, and an excellent choir, yet, the music is not all made by the organ, nor all the singing done by the choir, on the contrary, nearly the entire congregation engage in singing, with a will and energy that makes one feel that they are in earnest. In the afternoon we paid a short visit to Greenwood Cemetery,[114] and, as I had but little time to spend there, I shall only give a hasty sketch of what I saw. The first thing that attracts attention is the beautiful archway and tower that spans the ingress and egress to that great city of the dead; over each archway, and on both sides, is to be seen some of the finest sculpture in the United States—the work is done in what appears to be coarse granite or sandstone. The four pieces are taken from the New Testament, descriptive of the resurrection of Lazarus from the dead. The first, represent Jesus and his disciples meeting the Sisters—and underscribed. "Weep Not:" and so on, until He is at the tomb; and Lazarus coming forth at his call[115]: the work is magnificent in design and execution, and speaks volumes in favor of the Christian Religion and our National Faith in the Bible.

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[110] (1813–1887): perhaps the best-known preacher of that day; famous for accepting the concept of evolution and for rejecting the concept of hell. He scandalized his congregation and the religious convictions of many Americans when it was alleged that he had an affair with one of his congregation (Lyman Abbott, *Henry Ward Beecher* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903]); (Paxton Hibben, *Henry Ward Beecher: An American Portrait* [New York: Press of the Readers Club, 1927]).

[111] Unidentified.

[112] Unidentified.

[113] The Plymouth Church (Congregational) where Beecher preached from 1847 until his death in 1887.

[114] *The Historical and Statistical Gazeteer of New York State* (Syracuse: R. P. Smith, 1860), p. 371, described the cemetery: "It is owned by a joint stock company, incorp. April 18, 1838. It comprises an area of 400 acres beautifully located upon the elevated and broken ground E. of Gowanus Bay" on the southern border of the city. By 1858, 64,000 persons were interred there. "It is one of the oldest and most beautiful of the rural cemeteries connected with the great cities of this country. The grounds are laid out with taste; and many of the sculptured monuments are costly and beautiful specimens of art." In the absence of city parks or other public promenades in the nineteenth century, pleasure-seekers commonly took walks in the larger cemeteries.

[115] For the story of Lazarus, see *John* 11:1–44.

Once fairly inside of the enclosure, one is everywhere reminded of the work of Death. The rich, the poor, the high, and low, are all slumbering peacefully in his embrace. Vast sums of money have been spent, and is being spent, in rearing magnificent monuments over the rich man's (and his family) last resting place, in contradistinction to the humble stone that marks the place where the poor man sleeps the sleep of death; how vain are all attempts to keep up distinctions in the grave—for there the loathesome worm feeds as greedily on the flesh of millionaire as it does on that of the poor unknown, and weaves his nauseous web as readily on the fine and costly fabrics that compassed the winding sheet of the former, as he does on the coarse and less costly covering of the latter; nor does the skeleton of the one look any the less hideous or revolting than the other. Yet there is a distinction here, which death can't destroy hereafter, though not always noticed, that of character. The good actions of men ought to make distinction here that will, in the future, last forever.

There is much to admire in this vast enclosure; the beautiful and regular laid out walks, the tastefully ornamented grounds, the handsomely sculptured monuments, the weeping willows, and evergreen intermingled with the native forest trees, all tend to rob death of many of its horrors, and make it a place rather to be desired than dreaded, by the wayworn and weary. On the east side of the cemetery between the ground owned by individuals and the common burying-ground, is what is called the Soldiers' Burial place, off by itself, disconnected from either is this sacred spot, where sleep the heroes who lost their lives in battle, or died by sickness whilst in their country's service, belonging to New York and Brooklyn. To this place I wended my way, to look on the grave of a dear friend, and almost felt a pride in claiming friendship with one whose resting place in after years will be more honored and visited than the most costly monument that now decorates Greenwood Cemetery, though some of them cost many hundred thousand dollars.

But, as many of your readers have either seen the place, or read better accounts than I am able to give, I will forbear any further description of Greenwood Cemetery. And, as this letter closes my present correspondence for the *Recorder*, allow me to return you my thanks, Mr. Editor, for the patience you have manifested in revising my letters for the press. If I have been fortunate enough to give anything of interest, to your readers, I feel that I am paid for my trouble, and, in conclusion, let me say to my friends in Du Quoin and vicinity, that I shall never forget the happiness I felt on meeting with them on my return, accompanied as it was, in almost every instance, with a hearty shake of the hand; and, "You are welcome back;" or, "Glad to see you safe home again." I thank them most heartily for their manifested kindness, and earnestly hope that I may be able to so conduct

myself as not to lose the respect they have always shown for me. R. J. Wheatley.

While Robert Jackway Wheatley was overjoyed to return to the security of Du Quoin, Illinois, the exposure of this observant blacksmith to the exotic lands of Latin America and the dangers of frontier Nevada stimulated him to record some engaging observations for posterity. These letters do not reflect the literary precociousness of a Mark Twain, who had departed Nevada a few months before the arrival of the Illinoian, but Wheatley's particular point of view offers some complements to the slanted vision of the man from Hannibal, Missouri. Wheatley's interests were more mundane and fundamental—the crops and forests of California—while Twain was struck by the picturesque. Wheatley portrayed geographic features, such as the mountain lakes, in vivid colors. His business acumen is obvious—something that Twain did not demonstrate in his investment in a typesetting device or in his publishing house. Wheatley's keen mind quickly detected the doldrums of the mining economy of the Far West in the mid-1860s. The West Coast was no longer the promised land for easterners, according to the Illinoian. His political horizon was large and his sense of nationalism strong. He discussed Maximilian's adventure in Mexico with some prescience. While this traveler appreciated many of the things that he had observed with an open mind, it is apparent that his province, the lower Ohio Valley, was home. He could just as easily devote many lines of his letter to a discussion of civic interests in Du Quoin as to the prospects of mining in Nevada. His devotion to public education was no doubt reinforced by the absence of the school house in Nevada, not to mention the obstacles to learning in his youth. He attended school only a few months in Virginia, although Wheatley's contemporaries probably did not consider him ill-educated for the time. These letters exhibit a strong hand in spite of his lack of education and, with only a few lapses, Robert Jackway Wheatley's ability to maintain a narrative is commendable. The desire of the editor of the *Du Quoin Recorder* to preserve these keen observations about the mining frontier was a tribute to the ability of the Illinois blacksmith to record what he saw.

George Springmeyer and the Quarantine Rebellion of 1902: Student Revolt Reaches the University of Nevada

SALLY SPRINGMEYER ZANJANI

MY FATHER, GEORGE SPRINGMEYER, was sixteen when he left the family ranch in Carson Valley for the University of Nevada in 1898. Never had he traveled so far before, nor had he seen so great a metropolis as Reno. He had visited Carson City, of course, but that was known as a "living cemetery," a town so dull that "men fall asleep in the middle of the street going from one groggery to another."[1] Nevadans used to say that if someone died on the courthouse steps in Carson City on a Saturday, he would not be found until Monday morning. Turn of the century Reno, by contrast, enjoyed the racy reputation of being a "wide open town." By far the largest city in Nevada at that time, Reno was a busy commercial community of nearly 4,500 people. New university students had to be warned about its "numerous temptations" and urged to the path of "systematic manhood."[2] It was not one of these numerous temptations, however, but rather his barbed editorial pen that would provoke George's expulsion from the university during his senior year.

The University of Nevada George saw was not the lovely campus of today with its fine tall trees, rolling green lawns, and spacious buildings. It was a tiny colony of eight brick buildings, a few skimpy new tree sprigs, and a corral fence situated on a barren hillside overlooking Reno. But in comparison to the one room Lincoln School, where he had received all his previous education, it must have seemed an awesome center of learning. Behind the mechanical engineering building stood a new windmill. And the university had real electric lights. A freshman was reported to have tried "long and earnestly" to light them with matches.[3]

This unenlightened freshman was not the only innocent among the university's students, then numbering about 300. Quite a few of them, newly

[1] J. Ross Browne, *A Peep at Washoe and Washoe Revisited* (Balboa Island: Paisano Press, 1959), p. 57.

[2] *Student Record*, February 1, 1899.

[3] Ibid., February 1, 1899, and September 15, 1901.

transplanted from remote farming communities, must have been as naive as the rube described by the *Student Record,* their college newspaper, in a fable obviously patterned on the style of popular turn-of-the-century humorist George Ade (and by no means inferior to the original model). It began: "And it Happened that there came to the 'Varsity, from a Remote Corner of the Sagebrush, a Raw Rube. He Opined that he had Rind enough to Jar even the Dead Ones." He then met a blonde co-ed, but "When it came to the Great Circe Act she was a Lulu and a Wonder and the Way she Snared the Innocents was a Holy Fright." The smitten Rube spent his time writing poetry to her and soon began cutting lectures and failing exams. Suddenly his Circe went off with a "Wise Guy," giving the Rube the "Chilly Mit." "The Fellows passed him the Sympathetic Grin and told him he was Bug House. But in the course of time, the Rube got Next, and Worked off his Cons, and the Profs have him Spotted for an Arc Light." Thus did the Rube learn wisdom in the girls' dormitory.[4]

Student romances were viewed far less indulgently by university president Joseph E. Stubbs, stern of eye and bristling of mustache. In the manner of the pre-Civil War college president, Stubbs considered himself as much a moral philosopher as an executive, and hence duty bound to mold the character of his students. He had grimly admonished his flock to "set our faces like flint against an undue interest in social life." This undue interest was one of the most insidious of the "perils" the watchful president saw lurking in co-education, a dangerous innovation which he sought to forestall by directing women students toward courses "suitable to a young woman's calling in life."[5] In fact, moral perils beyond President Stubbs' darkest suspicions were already tunneling through the student body. At election time, no small number of college boys could be observed at Dolph Shane's Reno butcher shop, where tidy sums could be collected by collegians and other unscrupulous individuals willing to vote, and vote repeatedly, for the machine candidates Dolph had been ordered to swing into office.

At the time, his friends' business at the butcher shop amused George, though when he was fighting the Southern Pacific in 1910, he would find the machine politics Dolph Shane represented considerably less amusing. But that battle was still more than a decade in the future. In 1898 exciting new vistas were opening before him as he left the closed world of the home ranch behind for the first time. The asthma that had plagued him all his days was gone with the alfalfa fields of home, except for an occasional mild bout. The nights of coughing and choking, the terrible paroxysms, the days when he

[4] Ibid., October 15, 1901.

[5] Nevada, *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly, 1903,* Report No. 21, p. 19; also see Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 321.

had huddled in his chair at school, gasping for breath and too weak to stand, were past. He began to feel really healthy and strong, and even to think of sports. Too small for football, he had to content himself with turning out for track and cheering loudly from the sidelines when the University of Nevada football team won their astonishing victory over Stanford. He studied hard. What had seemed brilliance in Lincoln School shone no less brightly among the accumulated arc lights of the University of Nevada. Nonetheless, the vigilant eye of President Stubbs could no doubt have detected the telltale signs of an undue interest in social life.

George's friends teased him about turning into a ladies' man and taking a different girl out for ice cream sodas every day. Unlike the weary editor of the college newspaper, who found the waltzes and two steps of a weekly dance increasingly burdensome, George was discovering he loved to dance. Other distractions kept turning up, such as picnics, candy pulls, or skating parties. And there was the "most triumphant social and dramatic event of the year," at least in the eyes of the society editor of the *Student Record,* a Darktown Promenade given by the coeds. "The room was tastefully decorated with palm leaves and the various flora of Equatorial Africa." Guests were regaled with "My Ragtime Girl" to the accompaniment of a tom-tom, served steam lemonade and pretzels, and treated to a series of tableaux, including "Cupid in Georgia," the "Dusky Sirens," and "Venus Shelling Hot Tamales."[6]

"Venus Shelling Hot Tamales" was not, however, the tableau my father remembered most vividly from his college years. It paled by comparison to the scene he viewed on the evening when his new college friends took him along to what they said was a party, although it seemed to him a bit gayer and more informal than most parties. Presently one of the ladies graciously accepted his invitation to dance. As he whirled her enthusiastically around the floor, he suddenly realized with astonishment that she was *not wearing any corset.* He stopped abruptly in his tracks. His startled blue eyes circled over the buxom, dancing figures in the room while a dreadful supposition swelled to certainty. Not a single woman in the room was wearing a corset, and that could mean but one thing: this was a house of ill fame. He was so shocked that he dashed out the door and ran all the way back to the dormitory.

The University of Nevada ghosts were easier to handle. The students in the Lincoln Hall dormitory had goaded each other into a titillating state of terror. At night a mysterious light gleamed in the hillside cemetery outside their windows. A ghost, they said, perhaps even a monstrous oriental specter from the Chinese graveyard, and no one dared to walk in the cemetery after

[6] *Student Record,* December 1, 1899.

dark. It was easy enough to brave by day, striding along the campus with one's cadet coat jauntily unbuttoned and risking a frown from President Stubbs, but another matter entirely after dark. Night after night they crowded to the windows to watch and shiver. There it was again. "That's silly," said George. "Ghosts don't exist."

"No?" said they. "Then why don't you go see what it is?" So, of course, he had to show he had rind enough to jar the dead ones, even if he was less certain than he said. Later, when he was at Harvard, he read every book on religion he could find, concluded that "Jesus Christ was a very smart man," became an atheist, and totally rejected all things supernatural. But that was later. That night he had to pick his way through the headstones in the darkness while his friends watched from the windows. When he reached the mysterious light, no troubled spirits rose from the grave to confront him, and he picked up the piece of glass the moon had been shining on. A triumph for the forces of rationalism. Still, everyone except George was a little disappointed.

He made the University of Nevada debating team, but although he would later become an outstanding trial lawyer and a fiery political campaigner, his early oratorical efforts were inauspicious. In a debate with a team from another university, George, who was always slight, barely five feet six inches tall, nervously made his speech with one hand tucked in his vest over his stomach. The opposing debater began his remarks with a devastating reference to "the little boy who has just said his piece." George blushed, the audience roared with laughter, and the rival university easily won the debate.

After this unlikely beginning, he went on to become a fine debater. Others listened, he learned how to sway them, and, as he put it, "I began to like talking more and more, so I decided to become a lawyer." When he discarded the career in medicine his father had long planned for him, George's science professor, who had begun to take a proprietary interest in his future, was very angry, and George must have anticipated a similar, and far worse, reaction from his father. However, Herman Springmeyer agreed to the change. Although George had entered college under conditions (as a result of his limited early schooling), his academic performance had been outstanding, and he expected to graduate on schedule and go on to law school. As it turned out, his leadership in a student rebellion would compel him to hastily depart from the university at a much earlier date.

When he became the editor of the *Student Record* in 1901, the editorial page assumed a more aggressive tone: he criticized the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs for refusing to meet with student committees; he hotly defended the university football manager in a controversy with the Reno papers; he lambasted these same papers for their "yellow journalism" in an

article on hazing at the university, where freshmen had reportedly been paddled in a "lonely rendezvous." They had it all wrong, he insisted; this was but "the folly of some forlorn scribe." The upper classmen had actually done no more than mildly reprimand the freshmen by administering "such slight chastisement as to vividly revive the memories of childhood"; and their aim was, of course, the loftiest: to avoid the decadence that befell the Romans when they abandoned war.[7] If this was the most far-fetched excuse for hazing ever devised by the senior mind, George would have been reluctant to admit it.

Apart from these early warning signals, the *Student Record* continued much as it had under previous editors. Students were exhorted to form a glee club, to join the debating team, and to study diligently ("then will our vacation be pleasanter and our return to work fraught with more joyous anticipation"). Student literary efforts were published ("The Fallen Waysider's Story," "A Christmas Waif," "The Soul of the Rajah"). And student jokes (" 'Ha, I will fool the bloodhounds yet,' cried the fugitive hoarsely, and slipping on a pair of rubbers, he erased his tracks").[8]

Then a smallpox epidemic broke out in Reno early in February, 1902. The schools were closed, and quarantine measures were imposed by the State Board of Health. The *Nevada State Journal* advised its readers of a never-failing cure: one ounce of cream of tartar, dissolved in boiling water and drunk at intervals.[9] A week later few cases had been reported. The disease was mild, and the quarantine measures were arousing marked resentment. "The silly hysteria caused by excessive and uncalled for quarantine measures" was sharply criticized in the *Journal.* The six patients confined to the pesthouse were reported to be "knocking over the hills at their own sweet will" and spending their time "prospecting instead of saying their prayers and making their wills."[10]

At the University of Nevada, a protest was soon brewing against the unreasonable "semi-quarantine" measures imposed upon the students. Resident students were confined to campus under threat of suspension, but students living in town were allowed to come and go as they pleased. As George later explained in the *Student Record,* a semi-quarantine means "when you're There, you can come Here, but when you're Here, you can't go There." President Stubbs refused to endorse the more stringent quarantine measures resident students requested in the belief that restrictions should either be applied to the entire student body or revoked. The college men living on campus in Lincoln Hall then held a meeting and voted unanimous-

[7] Ibid., October 1 and 15, 1901.
[8] Ibid., December 15, 1901, February 1, 1902.
[9] *Nevada State Journal,* February 9, 1902.
[10] Ibid., February 16, 1902.

ly to visit Reno whenever they pleased, as the non-resident students were permitted to do. Led by George, about thirty students marched defiantly into town; the following day eight were suspended. At another meeting held that evening, the students voted to demonstrate their support for the suspended eight by going downtown. Mass suspensions followed: all resident male students were suspended until February 24 and fined. Seniors might be readmitted only by application after that date. More than seventy students, roughly a third of the total student body, had been dismissed.[11]

Public support for these mass suspensions was only lukewarm. At the request of the students, a committee of prominent Reno citizens attempted unsuccessfully to dissuade President Stubbs from issuing the blanket expulsion order. The *Tonopah Bonanza* declared indulgently that "boys will be boys"; the *Nevada State Journal* called the whole affair "A Regrettable Occurrence." The adverse effects upon university athletics were deplored, and the *Journal* observed that "one can not help but admire the unanimity with which they [the students] stood by their convictions."[12]

After February 24, many students were permitted to return, but George's détente with the university authorities lasted only briefly. Although university officials succeeded in suppressing the February 15 issue of the *Student Record* (they had perceived "too much truth in most of the articles," the editor explained), they could not long stifle George's determination to uphold his original promise to "give voice to student sentiments" in the *Record*. When the March 1 issue appeared against all odds, the pages fairly crackled. President Stubbs was furious, and my father was permanently expelled from the University.

It is not difficult to see why. The witty article in which George described the advantages of suspension, including an occasional holiday for the students during which "places like the Tivoli, the Oberon [a gambling casino and bar], and others of classic name, and Bacdric interior will prove more potent as educators of youth than all the assembly sermons of a generation," might have been considered acceptable. So, perhaps, was the poem by "G" about the student protest which ended with a hint of more rebellion, "But of all bold words of tongue or pen / The boldest are these: 'They'll do it again.' "

But in an age hardly noted for student power or youthful insurrection, an age when parental and institutional authority were universally accepted, the rest was clearly beyond the pale. President Stubbs appeared in "A Quarantined Fable" as the Chancellor of a "Far Eastern Plant for the Diffusion of the Highest Culture," an authority who "Yearned to be the Whole Banana,

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[11] Statements by the "Committee from the Lincoln Hall Students," published in the *Nevada State Journal*, February 15, 1902.

[12] *Tonopah Bonanza*, February 22, 1902; *Nevada State Journal*, February 16, 1902.

but he was Wise, that to many he seemed only the Peelings." The faculty ("Guaranteed to be without Convictions and Yielding Readily to Pressure") hardly came off any better. The sarcastic moral of the fable was "Young men, come West to escape the Pressure of Paternal Government."

President Stubbs' alleged aspirations for a seat in the United States Senate were also ridiculed. He was depicted as Shylock, gloating over the fines imposed on suspended students:

> I'll have my bond! I'll have my bond! Though the noble towers of this institution fall to rise no more. Avaunt! ye spirits of justice! I say I'll have my bond. After all these long days of suspension, schemes and sleepless nights, to lose the sweet revenge, the sight of student tears, the savor of human flesh! Justice be hanged! They worsted me and all my hopes, long cherished, of a senatorial chair now lie dying in the dust. My twenty-dollar bond! I'll have my bond![13]

That clinched my father's enforced departure from the university.

The April 1 issue of the *Student Record* appeared under a new editor, announced that George had left for another university (the University of California), and eulogized him as an outstanding student whose moral character was the admiration of all who knew him. "He fell in the discharge of his duty, in expressing the sentiment of students who, by virtue of his position, he represented," the new editor somberly declared. "Few, if any, of those who have been cut off from their student work in this University have left with so much sympathy from the student body. . . . When he was or believed he was right, fear of results was to him a thing unknown."

It is too bad George was barred from the commencement ceremonies where the band, with singular appropriateness, played "The Ultimatum March." He missed seeing those classmates who used to frequent Dolph Shane's butcher shop on election day listening with beatific innocence to future federal judge Edward S. Farrington's scholarship address: college men were urged to set aside their "disgust for the polls" and get into politics, where their "pure, strong motives" would raise the moral tone of the entire political system—he would have enjoyed that.[14] Instead his diploma arrived in the mail, a concession to a very angry father and a tacit admission that the penalty imposed had been an excessively harsh one.

In the June 1 issue of the *Student Record,* George Springmeyer's picture appeared with the caption "I'll speak, though hell itself should gape and bid me hold my peace."

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[13] *Student Record*, March 1, 1902.
[14] *Nevada State Journal*, June 5, 1902.

Book Reviews

Big Red. By John Haase. (New York: Harper and Row, 1980. 411 pp., $11.95)

THE "BIG RED" REFERRED TO in the title of John Haase's latest novel is the Colorado River; this piece of fiction purports to recount the taming of the Colorado through the building of Hoover Dam, and to do so on a grand scale, in an epic manner. What the author has succeeded in doing, however, is bury the history of this era, region, and the people involved beneath strata of misconceptions, distortions of historical facts, and sheer mistakes—all, one must suppose, for the telling of a tall tale.

In this work, the major protagonist is "The Chief," Frank T. Crowe, the supervising engineer of the Boulder Dam Project. A true believer in technology, progress, and free enterprise, he is compelled to build the dam in record time in order to increase his share of the profits in the Six Companies, the consortium of private firms awarded the federal dam contract in 1931. But he faces shortsighted, and sometimes corrupt and evil, opposition at every turn; and Haase attempts to create an heroic figure of him as he portrays Crowe crushing or outwitting all of the lesser creatures with whom he is forced to deal. Chief among the evildoers are the members of the International Workers of the World, the hated "Wobblies," radical workers who are willing to use virtually any method, including dynamite and racketeering, to achieve what the author portrays as despicable ends. (That these members of the IWW were few in number and primarily interested in better working conditions and job protection has escaped the interest or the attention of Haase.) Not only these laborers, but an entire host of other mean and petty opponents try to prevent the heroic Crowe from building the world's biggest dam. Unfortunately, what the author has succeeded in creating is not a solid historical novel, but an historical fantasy, and pure second-rate fiction.

Haase is by no means the first fiction writer to focus literary efforts on the difficulties associated with the building of Hoover Dam. Edmund Wilson in his work *The American Earthquake: A Documentary History of the Twenties and Thirties* (1958) devoted one chapter to the 1931 labor troubles. Wilson's highly-readable account is first-rate fiction based closely on historical fact. The pathos of the workers' plight, and the real intentions of the Wobblies at the Boulder Canyon Project are graphically portrayed without

raping history in the process—something Haase is guilty of when, after assorted and sundry research, and a tour or two of the dam, he offers us a tale very much dependent on drastically revised, or worse yet, totally contrived events.

And speaking of violent crimes, Haase's treatment of Las Vegas, for example, is murder in the first-degree. He has Frank Crowe describing Nevada's third largest city in June 1927 as "a desert town, raped by mining, short on good soil, depending now almost entirely on the railroad shops of the Union Pacific for its income. . . . Main Street with half its doors shuttered, mirrored the despair of the dying town's inhabitants." The above description is only a small sample of the distorted image of "pre-dam" Las Vegas. Suffice it to say that mining never violated the town, the soil is generally good but dependent on irrigation, and in 1927 the Clark County seat was a stable community of approximately 3,000 residents which served as the major stopping point between Salt Lake City and San Bernardino on the Arrowhead Trail highway. Moreover, its population was gradually increasing in the 1920s.

Six years later, as a direct result of the dam project payroll, Las Vegas is a Sodom and Gomorrah where the Detroit underworld calls the shots. "Las Vegas as it had in its inception," Haase tells us, "flourished only from the exploitation of man's weaknesses: gambling, prostitution, alcohol, and narcotics . . . the sheriff, the mayor, the men who dealt in gambling, in real estate, men who could have influenced a city approaching ten thousand—had no urge to shape a community, no desire to invest any part of their huge income for the public good." Historians aside, the city fathers and pioneer families would certainly have something to say about this blatantly unfair and inaccurate characterization of Las Vegas and those who helped to build it. If this is poetic license, than Haase has a license to kill.

An entire spectrum of crimes against history, and against the people who left their mark in the annals of Nevada, fill the pages of *Big Red.* Time and again, Haase illustrates how well he knows his subject. On two occasions east-bound Union Pacific passenger trains pass through Searchlight, when neither east-bound nor west-bound U.P. trains ever rumbled through the fading mining town which happens to be about sixty miles due *south* of Las Vegas.

In another instance, we find Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes fixing a federal judge in Carson City. As Haase would have it, a workmen's compensation case is settled to the satisfaction of Ickes, Crowe, and the rest of the "good guys," but is there any basis in fact for such a bald assertion?

Frank Crowe, according to Haase, desperately wanted honest brothels for his men to patronize. So the Six Companies' supervising engineer underwrote, and his construction crews built, a whore house in Tonopah (on

Madonna Road no less) to compete with Las Vegas' Block 16. Besides the fact that Crowe never sanctioned anything of the kind, Tonopah is a 460 mile round-trip from Boulder City, and in the early 1930s any such excursion would have taken at least ten hours, the greatest part over dirt roads. Dam workers travelling to Tonopah, of all places, to satisfy their need for female companionship is simply unbelievable. Nonetheless, "every God-fearing family in Boulder City" did their part to properly furnish this house of assignation. "That Sunday morning Reverand Jotef praised the unselfish men from the pulpit, speaking of their wonderful devotion beyond the call of duty. Few of the heroes were in church, but sleeping off a party at the new house. . . ." This is simply rubbish. One need not wonder for very long what the reaction must be from the citizens of Boulder City.

The list of transgressions goes on and on *ad nauseum*, as both the living and the dead have tricks played on them in Haase's monumental tall tale. History, even in the guise of "historical fiction," should be left to those who would not so unabashedly exploit it. Writers such as Mr. Haase could do the reading public a favor and stick with unadulterated fiction.

GUY LOUIS ROCHA
Nevada Historical Society

Will James: The Last Cowboy Legend. By Anthony Amaral. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980. xiv + 174 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations)

IN 1967 ANTHONY AMARAL, a New Yorker transplanted to Nevada, published *The Gilt Edged Cowboy* (Westernlore Press, reissued with new title in 1980) and startled lovers of Western writing. He was able to prove conclusively that Will James, author of twenty-four self-illustrated books and the hero of millions of readers, young and old, was a fake. He was not native-Westerner Will James at all. Christened Joseph-Ernest Nephtali Dufault, he was born in the province of Quebec, Canada, to French-speaking parents. His father was a merchant and hotel keeper. Stirred to action by the Wild West magazines he read, Joseph left home at the age of fifteen "with ten dollars from his father and the prayers of his mother," and headed for the western provinces, where he adopted a new name and closed the door almost completely on his family and background. He learned about cows and horses and ranch work, and since he had great talent as an artist, he became the foremost interpreter of the open-range American cowhand.

To support his private myth and conceal his true identity, he invented a whole life story. He was born, he said, in a covered wagon in Montana, orphaned as a baby, and brought up by an old trapper named Beaupré.

Orphaned a second time and left to make his own way, he rode through the West from one end to the other, learning his important lessons through contact with "the hard edges of experience." The background was always this vanished Western world, in which so many Americans wanted to believe. He told the whole story of his imagined self in *Lone Cowboy,* one of his classic volumes, picturing himself as a happy wanderer, living close to nature, communing with horses and the creatures of the wild, and avoiding casual human contacts. He was always in the center of his own pictures. His horses may be different, but the man in the saddle is always his lean, hawk-faced self.

Amaral arranges his story well. Leaving his revelations for a later chapter, he begins in 1914 when "Bill" James was arrested for rustling cattle and sent to the Nevada State Prison. We follow his career as he emerges and starts rebuilding his life. He marries Alice Conradt, a good woman who loves him and screams at him and stays with him as he struggles to establish himself as an artist. They endure poverty and discouragement for years, but success comes at last when he sells an illustrated story to *Scribner's* magazine and is on his way to fame and prosperity.

There was a very busy worm in his apple, however—the fear of exposure. Somebody might find out who he really was. With the publication of *Smoky* in 1926 he reached his peak and was able to realize a cherished dream by acquiring the Rocking R Ranch near Pryor, Montana, where he and Alice were as happy as they ever were to be. All the while, however, he was beginning to show symptoms of acute alcoholism. Sober, he was a good, if a reclusive, husband and friend. Drunk, he was brutal and intolerable. Alice finally had to leave him, and they remained separated, though they never divorced. He sank to depths which his biographer hesitates to reveal, and died miserably at the age of fifty.

What can be said for a human being with such a record? Amaral thinks the message was bigger than the man. His "lyrical distillation of the West" is one "that will always seem far better than the present. It will always be the image of a time of freedom and men on horses, a blending of fact and myth about the 'Golden West' as it was and still is in popular imagination." The dreamer was flawed, but the dream was perfect.

Amaral writes in a simple and straightforward style which fits his subject. He includes sensible evaluations of the individual books and of James' stature as an artist. His research has been thorough and he gives James all the credit he can, trying to understand rather than to judge. The only negative reaction in the mind of this reviewer is triggered by frequent, though minor, violations of English style and usage. There is much verbal repetition, especially of proper names, and many lapses in idiom. A skilled helping hand would have eliminated such infelicities as "human characters consis-

tently predominate his narrative," or "James was aloof to any close friendship," or "there was an amazing tenacity in James to write," or "men who stood high in their saddles."

Aside from these small irritations, the book is well done, useful and deserving of a new printing. All that was needed for a successful rebirth was a good editor.

C. L. SONNICHSEN
Arizona Historical Society
Tucson, Arizona

Sierra Summer. By Mel Marshall (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1979. 225 pp., photos, $10.50)

THE OSTENSIBLE PURPOSE of this book is to describe a typical summer season of one small section of the Sierra Nevada. In the author's words, "The summer is distilled from many summers, and the pinpoint would be smaller than a flyspeck on a map drawn to average scale. Actually, the pinpoint is an area roughly ten or fifteen miles in diameter, its center a camp beside a lake that will be nameless" (p. 17). The lake's elevation is 7640 feet and all we are told of its location is that it is almost exactly halfway between Mt. Shasta and Mt. Whitney. The author has been familiar with the lake and the surrounding area for a quarter century. It is a spot where "the Sierra was distilled into a compass small enough for us to understand" (p. 46).

Mel Marshall describes among other things the lake, the best camping procedures for the area (he argues for a minimum of equipment), the animals of the region, the fish, insects, birds, and the plant life. Although concentrating on summer, he has a feel for the seasonal rhythms of nature, and imparts it well to the reader.

But the book is more than just another guide to the Sierra. It attempts to be a guide to ourselves, and our place in the scheme of things. In the author's view, only by relating oneself to unspoiled wilderness—to nature—can man come to terms with himself. "Our solitary camps gave us time to walk, look, listen, think, observe" (p. 46). Only in becoming attuned to nature's operations is it "possible to find the intimacy that leads to understanding" (p. 38).

Man, by adopting an urban, machine civilization, is following a self-destructive course. Marshall points out that when cities grow overly large, they violate certain natural laws. "We forget or ignore the unpleasant fact that the style of life we have come to expect as a right is basically alien to nature" (p. 48). That is why it is indispensable that unspoiled wilderness be

preserved, so individuals may have the chance to make themselves attuned to, or compatible with, nature. Individuals should stay for extended periods in areas where there are "no shields between people and nature" (p. 42). They will find "Nature is neither kind nor cruel,—or is both, and often at the same time. More to the point, nature simply is" (p. 210).

Sierra Summer is a most likeable volume, logically organized, gently written, with philosophical undertones. It reminds this reader of Henry Thoreau's *Walden* and parts of John McPhee's *Coming Into the Country*. The University of Nevada Press has done a handsome job of publishing, and there are many photographs. There appear to be a few mistakes. For example, the Humboldt Sink is not part of the Colorado River watershed. Arguable also is the author's contention that the great volcanic peaks, Mt. Lassen and Mt. Shasta, really belong to the Sierra Nevada rather than to the Cascade Range. Yet these in no wise detract from the author's chief purpose. The book is highly recommended.

JEROME E. EDWARDS
University of Nevada, Reno

The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–1860. By John D. Unruh, Jr. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979. xviii + 518 pp. Introduction, maps, tables, notes, bibliography)

HISTORIANS HAVE LONG BEEN HARD AT WORK trying to discredit a wit's declaration that history is a fable agreed upon by fools. The fable agreed upon concerning the overland migration until now has been replete with red-white-and-blue-bedecked Noble Pioneers following the Course of Empire, battling the elements and a host of Bad Indians. With some few worthy exceptions, histories of the overland trails have been based on fragmentary research and romantic preconceptions.

John D. Unruh's *The Plains Across* now sets a mark by which other histories of the overland migration must be judged. It is first-rate revisionist writing and is the best work to date on the Oregon-California Trail. Ten years in the making, Unruh consulted a staggering list of sources before writing this refreshing, objective account.

Indicative of the scholarly treatment of his subject (the book originally was his Ph.D. dissertation), Unruh begins with a review of the principal histories of the trail. Following this introduction, a contribution in itself, long-cherished myths dissolve chapter-by-chapter under the weight of Unruh's documentation. There is a thorough examination of public attitudes toward the migration experience and the overlanders. This is followed by

the best, unvarnished study of emigrant motivations ever done. A chapter on the federal government reveals that more assistance was provided the overlanders than has previously been thought.

The role of the Mormons in the migration is analyzed. The "Halfway House" at Salt Lake was a respite for the overlanders, a place to recoup and reprovision. Emigrants' opinions of the Mormons were mixed. Some thought themselves treated well, but others were angered at what they felt was a Mormon eagerness to exploit the emigrants' weak position in the bargaining over food and forage. "It cost nothing to get in," wrote an overlander, "but a great deal to get out."

Unruh also shows the effect of the migration on the Mormons. On one hand, Mormon leaders feared that prolonged contact with Gentiles would weaken the zeal of the Saints. For the most part, however, the overlanders were seen as a godsend. By the time emigrants reached the Salt Lake region, they were prepared to trade for food and to fresh stock household goods, personal articles and tools that were so badly needed by the Mormons.

One of the most original chapters treats emigrant interaction. Except for a few years in the 1840s when migrations were light, contacts among overlanders were frequent and mutually beneficial. Food and some goods were exchanged, and trail information and gossip as well. "Turnarounds," those who decided to return eastward to home and security, carried personal messages, information about the country ahead and rumors. Their tidings usually were pessimistic; after all, they had decided to turn back.

Another contribution by Unruh is his account of assistance to emigrants provided by Californians and Oregonians. West coast residents, many of them recent overlanders themselves, realized that the hardest part of the journey came at the end when supplies and draft animals were just about exhausted. They sent relief parties eastward on the trails carrying water, food and directions. This assistance sometimes was self-serving, since guides tried to induce emigrants to go to the communities they were boosting, but the suffering overlanders cared little what motivated their saviors.

There were profiteers on the trail, and Unruh is the first to describe these private entrepreneurs in such detail. Some were stationary; others moved with or against the flow of the migration. They bought and sold food, furniture, wagons, stock and anything else they thought would turn a profit. They operated ferries, wagon repair shops, smithies, grogshops and carried mail.

The freshest chapter in Unruh's book deals with the interaction between emigrants and Indians. Contrary to the usual interpretation—Indians attacking circled-up wagon trains, mayhem and slaughter and, for the women, a

fate worse than death—we find that contacts between emigrants and Indians were fairly frequent (though some overlanders saw no Indians at all), usually peaceful, and often beneficial to the emigrants. The response of Indians to the intrusion into their lands is seen as restrained and rational. Indeed, Indian attacks on emigrants more often than not were in retaliation for wrongs committed against them by overlanders.

Unruh's approach is broad in time and scope. He includes the 1850s in his study while most other historians of the trail have neglected this decade, perhaps because the migrations of the 1850s seem less adventurous and romantic than those of the 1840s. Unruh's change-over-time concept, moreover, reveals the dangers of generalizing about the overland migration which must span the two decades if the complete story is to be told. The book is attractively illustrated. It includes a useful index, maps, tables and an impressive 139 pages of notes and bibliography.

I must add one discordant note. The title of the book indicates that it tells the whole story of the overland migration during the period 1840–1860. It does not. Unruh perpetuates the belief, generally-held, that the Oregon-California Trail was *the* trail to the west coast in the 1840s and 1850s. It was not. The southern route through New Mexico and Arizona to California, while less important than the Oregon-California Trail in the overland migration, nevertheless was significant. Unruh obviously did not intend to include the southern route in his study, but nowhere in his narrative does he caution the unwary reader that his study is thus limited. The omission in a book that corrects so many other misconceptions about the overland migration is unfortunate.

Unruh did what he set out to do: he produced a revisionist history of the Oregon-California Trail during the two decades of its greatest use. His book is already a classic in western history. It is the best, but it is not the last word on the Oregon-California Trail, and surely Unruh did not intend it to be. (How depressing it must be for those who believe in Definitive Works, to see the doors to fields of inquiry slowly closing, one-by-one, with the publication of Definitive Works.) Indeed, the greatest compliment that can be paid *The Plains Across* is that it throws wide open for research a field long thought to be closed.

John D. Unruh will not take further part in the rewriting. He died before *The Plains Across*, his first book, was released and he never heard a critic call him a leading interpreter of the American West. His scholarship serves as his best memorial.

Harlan Hague
San Joaquin Delta College

The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824–1977. Edited by Robert Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. 384 pp. Index, footnotes)

THIS VOLUME CONTAINS biographical sketches of all U.S. Commissioners of Indian Affairs, from Thomas L. McKenney (appointed 1824) to Benjamin Reifel (resigned 1977), that focus upon "important events and policies peculiar to their terms in office." It was prepared by the editors "as essentially a reference tool, and also as a guide to further research" on the forty-three men who occupied that important office. Each essay is followed by a brief description of sources where readers can find additional information. At the end is a list of the annual reports of the Commissioners together with appropriate citations from the U.S. Serial Set.

The great value of such a reference work is obvious. General readers will glean from it an overview of highlights in federal policies that have governed Indian affairs through most of the nation's history. Popular writers, journalists, attorneys and the like will find it a rich source of information about tendencies in federal Indian administration during particular periods of the past. Professional historians and ethnologists who write "Indian history" will use it as a guide to sharpen their perceptions about officials who have influenced trends in the history of Indian-white relations.

Historians and ethnologists will quickly recognize the book's principal deficiencies. One is the uneven quality of the essays, which stems mainly from the distribution of scholarly interests among those who write on the several sub-divisions of "Indian history." Only two of the authors—William T. Hagan and Father Paul Prucha—hold reputations as bona fide authorities on the whole of federal Indian policy history. The others either possess expertise on some small part of it, or have channeled their energies toward the study of Indian-white relations at the grass roots. Accordingly, few of the authors have worked extensively in original sources dealing with the commissioners assigned to them, and the general quality of the text suffers as a result. This defect is neither the result of poor selections by the editors nor of any deficiency on the part of any author. Rather it is evidence that professional writing about "Indian history" as a special field of interest is a recent phenomenon in American historiography, and that few bona fide scholars have been working on each of the sub-divisions of the field.

The other shortcoming, which is characteristic of all encyclopedic works, is the book's failure to describe and interpret the themes of federal Indian policy to which the commissioners have contributed in the past. A sequence of vignettes about principal administrators, it does not reveal how policies evolved and diminished in response to pressures of various kinds

from outside the Indian Office. Canadian officials have avoided this defect in a similar publication entitled *The Historical Development of the Indian Act*. There they have blended descriptions of changing trends in federal Indian policy with general information about ranking administrators in the Indian Department of the Dominion at the sacrifice of only some biographical detail. The result is a much richer source of information on policy history for Canada than we have in *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs* for the United States.

Kvasnicka and Viola might have been well advised to have employed some similar format. But they deserve commendation for a significant contribution. Their work comprising biographical sketches on all of the commissioners should become a vital acquisition to the buff with interest in any aspect of "Indian history," a priority acquisition to every reference librarian, and a mandatory purchase to every scholar who works on any aspect of the domestic history of the United States.

HERBERT T. HOOVER
University of South Dakota

James McLaughlin: The Man With an Indian Heart. By Louis L. Pfaller, O.S.B. (New York: Vantage Press, 1978. xvi + 440 pp. $15.00)

FATHER PFALLER'S BIOGRAPHY of Indian Agent James McLaughlin is a labor of love which showcases the author's encyclopedic knowledge of his subject. This work does not break new ground, but for Father Pfaller it constitutes the fruition of years of research on McLaughlin. In preparation, the author compiled the collected papers of McLaughlin for a microfilm edition and published articles on the Indian agent's life in *North Dakota History*. This resulting biography profits from the extensive and meticulous research previously completed.

The book begins with a brief discussion of McLaughlin's ancestors; this is followed by a treatment of his birth and early years in Canada and Minnesota. After this prologue, McLaughlin's career is traced from his appointment as government blacksmith to his assumption of the superintendency of the Sioux Agency at Devils Lake, North Dakota. He was then transferred from Devils Lake to the Standing Rock Agency where the youthful Indian agent confronted the aging Chief Sitting Bull. McLaughlin found Sitting Bull suspicious of all whites and advocating Indian participation in Ghost Dances. McLaughlin concluded that both Sitting Bull and the Ghost Dance were obstacles which impeded the Indians' progress toward assimilation and accommodation with white society. He decided to take measures which

would isolate Sitting Bull from other tribal members and end the Ghost Dance activities. The resulting misunderstandings, tensions and conflicts culminated in the death of Sitting Bull at a Ghost Dance. Following this unfortunate incident, McLaughlin's role in the tragedy was investigated, and he was exonerated of any wrongdoing.

Shortly after this investigation, McLaughlin applied for the job of travelling inspector and treaty-maker for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In this capacity, he journeyed to California, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, South Dakota, Oregon and Montana. His official activities included mediating tribal disputes, pursuing recalcitrant tribal members who left reservation lands and presiding over the liquidation of treaty-granted, tribal lands. These tasks occupied him until his death in Washington, D.C. on July 28, 1923.

The content of the biography is an antiquarian's treasure; it gives the reader a detailed account of the daily life of a minor government functionary. Unfortunately, the subject of the work remains enigmatic because the author fails to separate the man from the myriad of details which made up his life. We fail to see the motivations and beliefs which guided McLaughlin's life; nor do we obtain any insight into the essential character of the man. During McLaughlin's lifetime, serious charges were levelled concerning his patronizing and deceptive way of dealing with Indian leaders. These charges are never addressed adequately, but rather glossed over with McLaughlin's explanations on events given without question or analysis. Father Pfaller fails to follow the dictum that a good biographer shows the subject, flaws and all.

Another difficulty is the writing style of the book. The smooth flow of the narrative often is interrupted by excessive four or five page quotations from McLaughlin's letters. A judicious editing of these quotations would have enhanced the readability of the book. The style is somewhat verbose: the content of some pages could easily have been condensed into a sentence or two without loss of profundity. Finally there should have been a more thoughtful analysis of McLaughlin, his times and his place in history, along with a more sympathetic treatment of the Indians' struggle to deal with white culture. Despite these hindrances, the book should prove of interest to aficionados of the Indian War period in American history.

JOHN C. PAIGE
National Park Service

NHS ACQUISITIONS

Comstock Mining Company Records

Correspondence of the Sutro Tunnel Company for the period 1872–1884 constitutes the most notable element of a collection of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Comstock mining records recently acquired by the Society. Included is a considerable amount of correspondence of Adolph Sutro, which, in conjunction with the Society's present collection of Sutro correspondence and papers, provides a substantial body of manuscript materials relating to the planning, financing, construction and operation of the famous but ill-fated tunnel.

Other items in the acquisition are minutes of meetings of the Hale and Norcross Mining Company (1906–1926), the Exchecquer Gold and Silver Mining Company (1904–1926) and Alta Silver Mining Company (1906–1926); correspondence of the Justice Mining Company (1899–1901); records of the Santa Rita Gold and Silver Mining Company (1862–1868); and meeting minutes (1889–1901) and assay reports (1876–1910) of the Comstock Tunnel Company. Included among the above materials are unique maps of surface and underground mine workings.

The records of the Sutro Tunnel and other companies were generously made available by James B. Schryver and Richard and Lorraine Gipe, and the Society wishes to thank them for the extremely valuable donation.

Washoe County Water Conservation District Records

The Society has just acquired the records of the Washoe County Water Conservation District, which was organized in 1929 and has its offices in Reno. The District's principal functions have been to recover federal government expenditures for the construction of Boca Dam (by levying special tax assessments on landowners and water users within the district, which extends along the Truckee River in Washoe and Storey counties), oversee water use in the district, and provide maintenance for Boca, Stampede, Prosser Creek and Mardis Creek dams in the Sierra. The records primarily relate to the above activities, with a considerable volume dealing with the planning, construction and operation of Boca Dam. Although some of the District's records, mostly from the late 1940s and early 1950s, were destroyed in the 1955 Reno flood, those that remain contain significant information on water use and storage, and reclamation in the California-Nevada Truckee River Basin.

The Society expresses its appreciation to the board of directors of the Washoe County Water Conservation District for donating the records, and for providing funds to employ David Pardew to arrange and box all materials prior to their transfer. We thank David for his efficient work, and also office manager Jean Theobald and Pat Oppio, both of whom graciously helped to facilitate the transfer of the records.

Benschuetz Family Photographs

In 1900, a German immigrant named Otto G. Benschuetz came to Reno from California, where he had been living for some fifteen years. He immediately set about establishing himself as a leading businessman of the community, and within a few years had become a major brewery agent and coal dealer, and built a fine brick house on Ralston Street for himself, his wife and young daughter. Next to the house, in 1902, a bottling works was constructed to package beer from San Francisco's John Wieland Brewery, for which Benschuetz was Reno representative. In 1909, Benschuetz created Coney Island, a substantial amusement park and "resort" on the western edge of Sparks.

Although served by a streetcar line running between Sparks and Reno, and made the subject of ambitious advertising, Coney Island was beset by numerous problems and failed to prosper. By 1912, his efforts to keep the park going had drained Benschuetz of his money and health, and he died in San Francisco on November 1 at the age of sixty-four.

It had been long believed that no photographs of Coney Island in its early days still existed. However, following publication of an article about the park in a Reno magazine, which was seen by Otto Benschuetz' daughter, a number of such pictures have appeared. Mrs. Louis Ivancovich (née Georgia Benschuetz), of Corte Madera, California, has donated more than a dozen photographs to the Society. They depict not only scenes at Coney Island, but also Otto Benschuetz and his family, the Benschuetz home at 235 Ralston Street, and the Wieland Bottling Works—which still stands today, the oldest extant bottling works in the city of Reno. Also donated were copies of personal papers of Otto Benschuetz and his wife, Nellie.

The Society thanks Mrs. Ivancovich for her gifts, which provide valuable new images of the society and culture of turn-of-the-century Nevada.

NHS NEWS AND DEVELOPMENTS

Trustees Awards

THOMAS C. WILSON was the recipient of the NHS Board of Trustees Award at the Annual Meeting on November 20th. Mr. Wilson was honored for his many contributions to the study of the history and culture of the state. He has been a supporter and member of many organizations which have promoted the study and dissemination of Nevada's heritage, including Trails West, and the Nevada State Museum Board of Trustees.

The Trustees Award for 1979, presented at the seventy-fifth anniversary meeting of the founding of the Society, was granted to David F. Myrick, long one of the major historians of Nevada, and author of *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California* (two volumes), and many other publications. Mr. Myrick not only has been a member of the Society for many years, but also served as a member of both the Society's Board of Directors and the Editorial Advisory Board.

Busick Honored

MARY BUSICK, the Nevada Division Historian of the American Association of University Women, has been awarded a Certificate of Achievement by the NHS Board of Trustees in recognition of her dedicated and able volunteer work for the Society. Mrs. Busick, who has held a number of offices in the AAUW, including that of President of the Nevada Division, organized the Society's AAUW Nevada Division and Branches historical collection. Thanks to her efforts, this valuable set of research materials is now available for use. (The collection itself is described in the Fall 1980 issue of the *Quarterly*.)

In Memoriam

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY mourn the passing of two members, historian Myrtle Myles, and long-time member A. J. "Bart" Hood.

Mrs. Myles had a long and distinguished career as not only a Nevada historian, but also as a poet, newspaper reporter, and author. Among her many publications is *Nevada's Governors*. Her long association with the Society included service for several years as a research librarian. She was honored by the Society in 1971 when she became the recipient of the first of the annual awards presented by the NHS Board of Trustees.

Dr. Hood, a Reno physician, began practicing in Nevada in 1921, and for many years was associated with St. Mary's Hospital. The Society became indebted to Dr. Hood in 1977 when he donated notebooks, business records, and photographs connected with the career of his father, Dr. William H. Hood.

Southern Nevada Office

IN NOVEMBER the Southern Nevada Office relocated to larger quarters within the same office complex at 1555 E. Flamingo. The new number is 238. The expanded office provides sufficient space and work facilities for researchers and staff, and will result in increased utilization of the indexes to the *Las Vegas Age* and *Pioche Weekly Record.* Most issues of the *Age* for the period 1905–1940 are available for use, as well as the Clark County Sites Inventory.

The office will undoubtedly stay at this location until the completion of the Department of Museums and History's new museum complex, which will be located in Lorenzi Park. The Society's office will be an integral part of that facility.

Education Program

FRANK WRIGHT, the Curator of Education, has recently completed Unit III of the Society's education series. This latest unit is entitled "Native Americans of Nevada," and it includes a wide variety of materials, including a student text, teacher's guide, picture packets, map, posters, and worksheet masters. Distribution is in progress to the seventh-grade classrooms of Nevada's schools.

Mr. Wright has recently completed mailings of the first two units to all seventh-grade classrooms in the state which had not previously received these materials. The Society is attempting to implement a comprehensive outreach program that will result in the utilization of the developed units on the widest possible basis.

Humanities Education Project

"Country School Legacy: Humanities on the Frontier" is an ambitious attempt to document the phenomenon of rural education and the one-room schoolhouse in the American West and mid-West. Sponsored by the Rocky Mountain Plains Library Association through a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the eight state project has librarians, historians, teachers and students gathering photos, documents, interviews and other information. These will be used for an exhibit, booklets and a thirty minute film which will tour the eight participating states in the summer of 1981.

In Nevada, project personnel include Dr. Wilbur Shepperson, Humanist, and in Northern Nevada, researchers Hazel Potter, and Darlene Ammons. In Southern Nevada, Nancy Cummings, Administrator of the Flamingo Library, and Dorothy Ritenour, Assistant Director of the Nevada Humanities Committee, are conducting research.

The project will produce, in addition to a series of interesting programs next summer, a significant body of material that will be available to researchers in Nevada history.

Institute of Museum Services Grant

THANKS TO A $25,000 grant from the Institute of Museum Services, which was obtained in 1979 and expended in 1980, the Society has been able to fund a number of projects. These include the 1980 indexing of the Las Vegas *Evening Review Journal,* by David Millman; the production costs for the third educational unit, *Nevada's Native Americans*; and some of the design and graphics expenses for education unit four, currently in progress. In addition, the IMS funds were utilized to substantially augment the research collections available in the Society's Reno headquarters.

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.