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The *Quarterly* solicits contributions of scholarly or popular interest dealing with the following subjects: the general (e.g., the political, social, economic, constitutional) or the natural history of Nevada and the Great Basin; the literature, languages, anthropology, and archaeology of these areas; reprints of historic documents (concerning people, flora, fauna, historical or archaeological sites); reviews and essays concerning the historical literature of Nevada, the Great Basin, and the West.

Prospective authors should send their work to The Editor, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1555 E. Flamingo, #238, Las Vegas, Nevada, 89109. Papers should be typed double-spaced and sent in duplicate. All manuscripts, whether articles, edited documents, or essays, should conform with the most recent edition of the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*. Footnotes should be typed double-spaced on separate pages and numbered consecutively. Correspondence concerning articles and essays is welcomed, and should be addressed to The Editor.

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The Sun *and the Senator*

JEROME E. EDWARDS

PATRICK A. MCCARRAN WAS PERHAPS Nevada's most important twentieth-century politician. As a United States Senator from 1933 until his death in 1954, he gained a national influence and reputation. He became chairman of the important Judiciary Committee in 1954 and had high seniority on the Appropriations Committee. The *Washington Post,* which hardly approved of his influence, attested to his senatorial power in July, 1952, by asserting that "It sums up the character of this congress to state an unquestionable fact: that its most important member was Patrick A. McCarran."[1]

On the state level, the Senator dominated the Democratic party. Although his control of party machinery was always hotly disputed, by 1950 his pre-eminence had become universally acknowledged. In November of that year, McCarran easily gained re-election to a fourth term in the Senate. At the same time, his chief rival within the party, Vail Pittman, lost his bid for re-election as Governor, a defeat partly engineered by McCarran himself. McCarran's political power within Nevada was enhanced by his connections with leading Republicans, men such as Norman Biltz, Johnny Mueller, and Charles Russell. The machine had become, in fact, bipartisan.

Nevada had reason to be greatful for McCarran's senatorial stewardship. He loved his state and fought hard for it. He also helped individuals in distress. "I thank God," he declared, "that He has seen fit to place me in a position where I have been able to aid my many friends and neighbors in Nevada." All these factors became a basis for his huge power. "The voters of Nevada," the *Nevada State Journal* commented, "don't give a hoot how he votes on most of the national bills that have no direct connection with Nevada, but they do want someone in Washington to whom they can turn when they need help on local problems and even personal problems." McCarran took full credit for his many services to Nevada. In 1951, for example, he blocked tax legislation in the House of Representatives which might well have destroyed Nevada's gambling industry. In fact, he pictured himself as the sole savior of gambling within Nevada.[2]

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[1] *Washington Post,* July 10, 1952, Scrapbook 47, McCarran Papers, Nevada State Archives, Carson City.

[2] McCarran radio talk, Dec. 6, 1948, typed copy, McCarran Papers; Patrick McCarran to Joseph F. McDonald, July 3, 1951, McCarran Papers.

Senator Patrick A. McCarran
Nevada Historical Society

McCarran devoted his closest attention to matters of patronage, and was assisted in this by his faithful lieutenant, Pete Petersen, the Reno postmaster. The senator was generous to his supporters, but at all times required

full political loyalty. His ruthlessness toward opponents was notorious. He was a man who knew his enemies, and did not forgive them for their sins.

McCarran's influence in Nevada reached its zenith after the election of 1950. But his prestige was soon put on the line. By the time of his death in 1954, his formidable organization was in retreat and his standing in his state had been eroded by several adverse circumstances. These included his own advancing age, the rapidly increasing population and influence of Las Vegas (where his organization was relatively weak), the defeat of his protégé, Alan Bible, for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senator in 1952, and most sensationally of all, the lawsuit against McCarran and others by Hank Greenspun.

The Greenspun affair not only tarnished McCarran's prestige, but also constitutes a fairly important incident in the history of the freedom of the press. Surprisingly untouched by writers of Nevada history, it illustrates how certain economic interests conspired together to either force the closure of a newspaper or make it change its editorial policies, by deliberately withholding crucial advertising. This study will discuss the events of the affair, and will attempt to analyze whether there was a political force behind the economic coercion.

Herman (Hank) Greenspun had had a varied background before getting embroiled with the Senator. Jewish, and proud of it, he was born in 1909 and grew up in Brooklyn, New York and New Haven, Connecticut. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1937, wheeled and dealed in various speculative and lucrative business ventures, served in World War II, and in 1946 hit the Las Vegas scene—in the words of one reporter "a breezy, grinning fellow about the size of a light heavyweight, with deepset, rather cold blue eyes in a craggy face—a typical hustler and as industrious a hand-pumper as any man in town." Since he previously had a little publishing experience, quite a bit of business experience, and a strong penchant for self-advertisement, he became a public relations man for "Bugsy" Siegel, a leading gambler and a developer of the Las Vegas strip. After Siegel's 1947 murder, gangland style, he worked for Wilbur Clark of the Desert Inn. By associating with these men he gained entrée among Nevada's gambling entrepreneurs.

Greenspun was indicted by a grand jury and tried in 1949 for smuggling planes into Israel. Later he cheerfully admitted everything, believing it was his patriotic responsibility as a Jew to help the beleaguered state of Israel, then fighting for its independence. Although acquitted on this charge, he was indicted once again in 1950 for violating the Neutrality Act, this time for smuggling "arms and ammunition" into Israel. He was found guilty, but instead of receiving a jail sentence, was fined $10,000. Greenspun

was stripped of his civil rights but was later pardoned by President John F. Kennedy in 1961. Those who hated Hank Greenspun (and their numbers were many) attempted to use this information to destroy his reputation but he so disarmingly admitted everything that the effort was usually considerably blunted.[3]

Until 1950 the dominant paper in Las Vegas was the evening *Review Journal,* run by Al Cahlan, an important and conservative power in Democratic circles and one of Senator McCarran's staunchest supporters. Its earlier competition (the *Las Vegas Age* and the *Morning Tribune*) had died of economic malnutrition. Consequently, by 1950, Las Vegas was a rapidly expanding town with its newspaper publishing seemingly locked up tight. The *Review Journal* was entrenched, and usually delivered the McCarran viewpoint.

Enter Hank Greenspun. In 1950, a tri-weekly paper, the *Free Press* had been established by the International Typographical Union after the *Review Journal* refused to negotiate with the union and locked out its printers. The *Free Press* venture appeared, predictably enough, to be heading for failure, when someone suggested that perhaps Greenspun would like to take over the sheet. The asking price for the *Free Press* was $104,000, and, after paying $1,000 down, Greenspun took over on June 21, 1950. In his first issue he promised what Nevada was to get: "I pledge that I will always fight for progress and reform; never tolerate injustice or corruption; never lack sympathy with the underprivileged; always remain devoted to the public welfare; never be satisfied with merely printing news; always be drastically independent." As a journalistic guide for action, it was a good one.[4]

The paper, renamed the *Sun* on July 1, 1950, caught on fast; whatever his faults, Greenspun seemed to be emerging as a talented newspaperman. The now daily *Sun,* published in the morning, was loud, brassy, opportunistic, flamboyant, occasionally irresponsible, and usually entertaining. With his daily column prominently featured on the front page, Greenspun imprinted his own personality and style onto the paper. In its first six months, the *Sun* made a $156 profit. By 1952, the newspaper had a circulation of 8,531 and appeared established against the *Review Journal* which by comparison had 12,535 circulation.[5]

Even though Greenspun had close ties with the gamblers, in 1950 and 1951 his newspaper was the only Nevada paper which thoroughly covered the Kefauver hearings on Nevada gambling. He soon became a vehement

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[3] Hank Greenspun with Alex Pelle, *Where I Stand, The Record of a Reckless Man* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966), pp. 1–181, 188–192; Richard Donovan and Douglass Cater, "Of Gamblers, a Senator, and a Sun that Wouldn't Set," *The Reporter,* VIII (June 9, 1953), p. 26.

[4] Greenspun, pp. 181–186.

[5] Ibid., p. 184; N. W. Ayers & Sons, *Directory, Newspapers and Periodicals, 1952,* p. 1187.

and vitriolic critic of Senator McCarran and his closest associates. Not only did the *Sun* bitterly and personally attack the Senator, it went after Norm Biltz, Eva Adams, and all the rest right down to the Senator's office staff. According to Greenspun, "I saw in McCarran what my old mentor, Fiorello La Guardia, had seen in Tammany Hall; a political machine bent on throttling all opposition, destroying policy, and thriving on the proceedings." The diatribes kept up day after day. McCarran became "the old buzzard."[6] The Senator, who was sensitive to press criticism, had never known such relentless newspaper opposition in Nevada; other anti-McCarran journals such as the *Reno Evening Gazette* had always operated within far more gentlemanly and traditional bounds.

Also to be noted is that in 1951 pro-McCarran Las Vegas Mayor Ernest Cragin had been defeated in his race for re-election by C. D. Baker, an up-and-coming politician who was completely independent of the Senator.[7] This, combined with the rapid influx of newcomers into Clark County, demonstrated a weakening of the McCarran organization's influence, at least in southern Nevada.

But at first it did not seem that way. Greenspun claims in his autobiography that on March 20, 1952, he was warned by Gus Greenbaum and Benny Binion, important Las Vegas gamblers, to stop criticizing McCarran. Greenbaum's words were "Hank, you've got to lay off. The Old Man has the power of life and death over us. . . ." Binion, according to Greenspun's account, cut in, "You know he pulls the strings behind the State Tax Commission. Those guys can ruin us! Look, on my bended knee I'm begging you!" Greenbaum added, "Look, Hank, I like your paper. I want to support it. But I'm afraid that you're going too far this time. I'm just warning you: they're driving us crazy from Washington!" Binion and Greenbaum refused to identify who "they" were, but there was only one "they" strong enough to suit the description—Senator McCarran himself.[8]

Four days later, the implied threat became reality. The *Sun*'s advertising manager, Norman White, after receiving several phone calls, went to Greenspun's desk and told the publisher, "We're in trouble." According to Greenspun, he asked: "What kind of trouble?" and White replied, "Bad. During the past half hour, I've had ad cancellations from the Thunderbird, Hotel El Rancho, and the Last Frontier."

Those were not the last calls. In one morning every major hotel and casino in Las Vegas (twelve in number) cancelled their ads in the *Sun*. This amounted to thirty percent of the newspaper's advertising revenue. In the

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[6] Greenspun, pp. 195–196.

[7] *Nevada State Labor News*, May 11, 1951, "Salmagundi" column, Scrapbook 39, McCarran Papers.

[8] Greenspun, pp. 199–200.

previous year this casino advertising revenue had varied from $7,000 per month to $9,000 per month.[9] According to Greenspun he whipped out of his office, and drove down to the Desert Inn where he confronted Moe Dalitz. Greenspun asked (again this is his own testimony):

"What's behind all these ad cancellations?"

Dalitz shrugged, "You should know. Why did you have to attack the Old Man?"

Greenspun, trying to speak quietly, asked, "What business is it of the Desert Inn, or any other hotel, what I print in my paper?"

"You've put us in a terrible position. You know as well as I that we have to do what he tells us. You *know* he got us our licenses. If we don't go along, you know what will happen to us—"[10]

Mayor Baker called a meeting of several of the principals in the case to meet in his office. Present were two prominent gambling operators, Fred Soly and J. Kell Houssels, Lieutenant Governor Cliff Jones, and Greenspun himself. At first the gambling operators told Baker that the boycott was "for economy reasons" because the *Sun* had increased its rates. That appeared then to be the official line of the casino operators, as it was to be later in court.

But under Baker's interrogation (and it must be remembered this is Greenspun's account) the story began changing:

> Jones started to repeat his statement, but Soly interrupted, "It was on account of pressure from Washington." Jones' face turned red.
>
> "From McCarran?" the mayor asked.
>
> 'Sure it was McCarran!" Soly cried. Then Houssels confirmed it, saying, "Mr. Mayor, when my partners returned from a meeting of casino operators and told me what had taken place, I said 'we mustn't do it.' "
>
> "You mean, boycott the *Sun*?" I prodded.
>
> Houssels stood his ground. "I told them—my partners, I mean—'look, we've always taken care of the Old Man with campaign contributions; we've given him suites at the El Cortez Hotel for free. And now he's putting us into the goddamndest jackpot we've ever been in, between himself and a newspaper!' "
>
> Mayor Baker leaned forward. "Was it a call from Washington that triggered the boycott?"
>
> "Yes," Soly answered before Houssels could reply.[11]

This alleged telephone call from Washington provided Greenspun the opportunity to pin the blame on McCarran. Day after day the *Sun* ferociously concentrated its fire on the Senator. "People will stand for almost any

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[9] Ibid., p. 200; *Las Vegas Sun*, March 28, 1952, Greenspun column; *Las Vegas Sun*, April 9, 1952; Richard Donovan and Douglas Cater, "Of Gamblers, a Senator, and a Sun that Wouldn't Set," *The Reporter*, VIII (June 9, 1953), p. 196.

[10] Greenspun, pp. 200–201.

[11] Ibid., pp. 201–202.

kind of skullduggery on the part of some politicians, but one thing they will never tolerate is a threat to freedom of the press. It took too much toil and effort to establish this newspaper to allow a phone call from Senator McCarran in Washington to Marion Hicks in Las Vegas, Nevada to completely undo the work of the *Sun* in the past two years." Baker was more discreet and did not specifically or publicly name McCarran. "I am not arguing with their [the gamblers'] right to hold a meeting, but I am saying that outsiders have no right to dictate to the gambling industry or any other industry in the city of Las Vegas."[12]

Hank Greenspun's former legal training now was put to good use. Other journalists such as Denver Dickerson had had ads mysteriously pulled out and watched their papers go down the drain. Dickerson had not realized that he might have recourse to the courts. But Greenspun went to federal court; he filed a $1,000,000 suit against a large group of Las Vegas casino operators *and* Senator McCarran *and* his administrative assistant, Eva Adams, charging a boycott conspiracy to drive the *Sun* out of business, which, if proven, would constitute a violation of the federal anti-trust laws. Greenspun had no doubts who was primary instigator; he lashed out at McCarran, who was allegedly "in complete, undisputed control of Nevada," and who "rules with as firm an iron fist as the most autocratic of all czars, dictators, or despots." McCarran's immediate public reaction was to assert that the suit was just an attempt to "advertise the fact that there is such a thing as the *Las Vegas Sun.*" "I don't have anything to advertise, so I haven't any advertising to withhold," he blandly added. "I don't control the people of Las Vegas. As far as I know, nothing has been done to withhold advertising from anyone. The whole thing is ridiculous."[13]

Greenspun was able to obtain some high-powered talent as his legal counsel. His Las Vegas attorney was George Marshall, the Republican senatorial candidate defeated by McCarran in 1950. Columnist Drew Pearson, who expressed a strong interest in the case, recommended his own Washington lawyer, William A. Roberts, to lend legal heft to the attack.[14]

Federal District Judge Roger R. Foley presided over the pre-trial hearing in order to decide if there were sufficient evidence for the matter to go to trial. Since McCarran had been responsible for Foley's appointment in 1945, there was considerable interest in Nevada concerning the jurist's impartiality, but Foley belied the skeptics by his fairness during the proceedings.[15]

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[12] *Las Vegas Sun*, Greenspun column, March 27, 1952; *Las Vegas Sun*, March 31, 1952.

[13] Interview with Denver Dickerson, May 1, 1975; *Las Vegas Sun*, April 9, 1952, *Las Vegas Sun*, April 19, 1952, Greenspun column; *New York Times*, April 10, 1952, Scrapbook 44; *Nevada State Journal*, Scrapbook 45, McCarran Papers.

[14] Greenspun, pp. 203–204.

[15] Ibid., p. 204.

By now the Greenspun case was beginning to attract some well-deserved national attention. The gamblers who testified before Foley steadfastly maintained there was no conspiracy; the boycott had been the idea of the casino owners themselves (for economic reasons) and there had been no telephone call from Washington pressuring them. Marion Hicks of the Thunderbird was among those who flatly denied all of Greenspun's allegations. Although Hicks admitted making a number of calls to the Senator during March of 1952, and of having received several, he said he was merely asking McCarran's advice on a proposed expansion to his hotel. Moe Dalitz also swore that McCarran had not pressured the casino owners. Instead he put the finger on Greenspun who, in his words, had threatened to "expose every stockholder in the strip hotels with information from his files" if the ads were not reinstated.[16]

It was Mayor C. D. Baker of Las Vegas who saved Greenspun's case at the pre-trial hearing. Baker stated that his meeting with Soly, Houssels, Jones, and Greenspun had "established to his own satisfaction" that "outside pressure" had played a part in the situation. He testified that the gamblers had told him "a phone call" was responsible for the cancellation. Although this did not directly implicate Senator McCarran, who else, many asked, had the clout to have done this—if there indeed had been such a phone call. It might be well to remember that Baker's testimony was "hearsay evidence" and would not be admissible in an actual trial. But the implication of the mayor's words was that either he or certain other witnesses had committed perjury.

Baker's testimony probably was an important factor in determining Judge Foley's ruling that the hotels and casinos would have to resume their advertising in the *Sun*. The Judge further decided there was a sufficient case to bring to trial. Although he did not mention the Senator, it was significant that Foley did not remove McCarran's nor Adams' names from the suit. Quite accurately, Foley adjudged that the circumstances of the boycott itself indicated sufficient grounds for action. Otherwise, he observed, the "injunction would fall of its own weight." He also announced, rather sensationally, that in his opinion perjury had been committed in the court room.[17]

Before continuing the narrative, it might be well to systematically present several of the facts and considerations pertinent to Greenspun's case:

1. On the face of it, part of Greenspun's charges were true; obviously

[16] Ibid., pp. 204–205; *Las Vegas Sun*, May 23, 1952; *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 23, 1952, Scrapbook 45, McCarran Papers.

[17] Greenspun, p. 205; *Las Vegas Sun*, June 7, 1952; *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 21, 1952, Scrapbook 45; *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 22, 1952, Scrapbook 45; *Reno Evening Gazette*, June 7, 1952, Scrapbook 46, McCarran Papers.

the casino owners had "conspired" to take their advertising out of the *Sun.* The fact that it was all done on the same day pointed up the stupidity of the action. Greenspun had a perfectly good legal case, at least against the casino owners. If the advertising had been gradually withdrawn over a span of months, the casinos might have made the boycott work. As it was, their collusion was obvious.

2. But who was the primary instigator? Was it indeed the Senator, as Greenspun was convinced? It is impossible, at least for this observer (and also many contemporary observers) to believe that the casino operators were acting alone. Their claims that the *Sun*'s rates caused economic hardship for them is simply unbelievable. The *Sun*'s advertising rates had indeed been raised but so had its circulation, and the rates were still lower than those of the rival *Review Journal.* The Kefauver Committee had well established that casino profits were not modest. Las Vegas was a booming, prosperous city, and there was plenty of advertising money around. It should also be remembered that before the boycott, Greenspun had enjoyed agreeable relations with the casino operators; in fact he had worked with and among them for several years. His editorials were not directed at them. All the boycott could do would be to create political turmoil, presumably the last thing that any casino owner should have desired. Traditionally gambling interests in Nevada have avoided such political controversy, and it has generally been to their best interests to play both sides of the political fence.

3. At a later date, Pete Petersen, Norm Biltz, and Eva Adams, the three closest intimates of the Senator, all denied that McCarran was the *prime* mover of the boycott, but they were all singularly unclear about who was. Biltz's comments, reported in his memoirs for the University of Nevada Oral History Project, are especially ambiguous: "So it was decided, *not entirely by McCarran,* that they'd just pull the advertising from Greenspun." Biltz appears, by his own testimony, to have been in on the decision, and that it was some sort of cooperative determination. Both Biltz and Eva Adams knew that McCarran bitterly resented Greenspun's diatribes and the personal attacks on both the Senator and his staff.[18]

4. Although this type of evidence could obviously not be admitted in a court of law, virtually every politician and journalist in the state this writer interviewed (and most of them wished their opinions kept private) was convinced that McCarran was the primary instigator of the boycott. Comments ranged from "Of course he was responsible" to "I cannot believe anything else." At least one gambling operator has testified, although his information was secondhand, to McCarran's culpability. Twenty-five years after

[18] Norman Biltz, "Memoirs of the Duke of Nevada," (Oral Autobiography, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1967), p. 174; Interview with Eva Adams, May 10, 1975.

the event he told an interviewer, "They called me out on the Strip, and told me they was mad at him. And Gus Greenbaum said, 'We gonna bust him.' "[19]

5. Greenspun's version of the facts has never been seriously challenged. Greenspun did win the court case, and McCarran's name was not dropped from the list of defendants. In the end Greenspun's lawyers wrung many embarrassing admissions from the Senator; he did gain damages, casino advertising was reinstated in the *Sun* by court order; and the newspaper continued in full measure its strong criticisms of McCarran.

6. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that McCarran was ultimately the instigator of the boycott. Either he directly gave the word, or someone acting in his name did so. Although the decision to withhold advertising may have been a joint one, in the final analysis it was the Senator's. The evidence is circumstantial, but such an analysis is the only logical one, the only one to make sense. Only he, or someone acting in his name, had the clout to persuade the casino operators to act in concert; a Norman Biltz, for example, acting alone, lacked the necessary power base in Las Vegas to persuade the casino owners. The operators were certainly heavily indebted to McCarran for his services in saving the industry from federal taxation in 1951, a favor for which the Senator took entire credit. On the other hand, if someone had acted in his name without authorization—an unlikely possibility—the Senator had the power and the prestige to stop the boycott had he wished; he did not, but instead left it to the courts. This conclusion also ties in well with McCarran's well-documented (and increasing) authoritarianism in state politics. It is entirely consistent with his record.

The trial did not take place until the following year. In the meantime, much detrimental publicity was heaped upon Greenspun; whether this was orchestrated by McCarran is not clear. Greenspun certainly had a record vulnerable to attack. Westbrook Pegler, the most vitriolic of columnists and now working for the Hearst newspapers, wrote darkly of the "Siegel-Greenspun clique." The FBI, he penned, "has the criminal record of Herman Greenspun of Brooklyn, who recently muscled into Nevada politics under the strange patronage of Drew Pearson, in an attempt of mysterious eastern forces to cut down Sen. Pat McCarran." He added an old story (which was true) that Greenspun had studied law in Vito Marcantonio's law office—Marcantonio being "the nearest thing to an avowed Communist ever to sit in our Congress." (Greenspun was a nominal Republican, and was to run for the Republican nomination for Governor in 1962). For his part, McCarran had the FBI make a rundown on the activities of Greenspun, and this he distributed to interested parties in Nevada. Apparently convinced

[19] Benny Binion, "Some Recollections of a Texas and Las Vegas Gaming Operator," (Unpublished Oral Autobiography, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1976), p. 85.

that Greenspun was either a Communist, or a Communist-fronter, the Senator asked Harvey Matusow, an ex-Communist witness before his committees, to dig up incriminating evidence on the publisher and his staff.[20]

The situation was complicated by Senator Joseph McCarthy, who visited the Las Vegas scene and provided his own inimitable contribution to the furor. In a speech given in October, 1952, the Wisconsin Senator accused Greenspun of being an admitted "ex-communist," and called the *Sun* the "local Daily Worker." (He possibly had meant to call Greenspun an "ex-convict," but the words came out "ex-communist" instead.) Greenspun, who was in the audience, rose in a fury and challenged McCarthy to debate the issue, whereupon McCarthy cut his speech short and hastily left the auditorium. Greenspun, who could indulge in fairly mean tactics himself, blazoned on his paper's front page that the Wisconsin Senator was a homosexual, "The most immoral, indecent and unprincipled scoundrel ever to sit in the United States senate."[21]

For his part, McCarran was depressed. The 1952 election period was a hard time for him, and he eventually disavowed the candidacies of his party's nominees for President (Adlai Stevenson) and U.S. Senator from Nevada (Tom Mechling). In a letter to his wife in the fall of 1952, he referred to "This red paper down here," meaning the *Sun*. His eldest daughter, Sister Margaret, fiercely loyal to her father, noticed that the affair was seriously affecting his mood. After seeing her father she commented:

> He keeps busy in a well-measured way so as not to be too preoccupied about the chicanery at Las Vegas. I did not press him to talk about that too much because he gets too unhappy about the traitors, the cowards, and the doubters. He remarked that the Saviour's life was a model of the common man's. He finds it necessary to practice careful mental hygiene.[22]

In December, 1952, upon his return from a Latin American trip, Senator McCarran was required to submit a deposition. This was to support a motion by his attorneys that he be dismissed as a defendant.[23] The deposition (at least the way it was reported in the press) was in many ways a damaging one for McCarran's reputation. In it McCarran stoutly denied his

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[20] *New York Journal American*, Westbrook Pegler column, Nov. 25, 1952, McCarran Papers; John Sanford, "Printer's Ink in My Blood," (Oral Autobiography, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1971), p. 421; Interview with John Sanford, March 13, 1975; Harvey Matusow, *False Witness* (New York: Cameron & Kahn, 1955), pp. 160–161.

[21] Greenspun, pp. 209–222; *Elko Free Press*, Oct. 14, 1952, *Las Vegas Review Journal*, Oct. 14, 1952, *Nevada State Journal*, Oct. 15, 1952, Scrapbook 48, McCarran Papers; *Las Vegas Sun*, Oct. 14, 1952; Perry Bruce Kaufman, "The Best City of Them All: A History of Las Vegas, 1930–1960," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974), pp. 504–506.

[22] Patrick McCarran to Mrs. Patrick McCarran, Oct. 2, 1952, Sister Margaret Patricia McCarran to Mrs. Patrick McCarran, Sept. 18, 1952, McCarran Papers.

[23] *Las Vegas Review Journal*, Nov. 28, 1952, Scrapbook 49, McCarran Papers.

involvement in the boycott, declared he originally had had sympathetic feelings toward Greenspun, and even had used his influence to keep Greenspun out of prison when he was convicted of running arms to Israel. In 1950, McCarran asserted, a Las Vegas politician, Guernsey Frazier, had told him that "Greenspun has a paper here and he is a pretty good scout. If you can keep him out of the penitentiary it would be worth while." It was then that McCarran intervened with the Department of Justice. The Senator also claimed he did not even know many of the gambling casino defendants in the case. He denied that he had ever met the famous "Bugsy" Siegel, and certainly had done nothing on his behalf.

The Senator did admit, after intense questioning, that he often visited many of the leading Las Vegas and Reno hotels and casinos, and had stayed at most of the hotels. What especially interested the eastern press was that McCarran conceded that he had received many services from the hotels and casinos absolutely free. Specifically, in 1944 and 1950, McCarran stated he had his headquarters in Las Vegas at the El Cortez Hotel, and his "recollection" was that "space was not charged for in which I had headquarters." He added, "As a rule, when I would go into any one of these hotels in the dining room, when I would ask for the check, any one of those hotels would say there is no check." (It should be added that it was, and is, standard casino and hotel procedure in Nevada to rather routinely "comp"—give complimentary meals, rooms, and liquor—to politicians and other influential figures.)

In addition, McCarran told the attorneys that he had indeed acted on a request by the Flamingo Hotel to modify its tax status, and had seen Charles Oliphrant, former counsel for the Bureau of Internal Revenue, on the matter.

Concerning his relationship with the press, McCarran made some revealing statements:

> That in 1947, William Green, the late head of the AFL, wrote to AFL officials in Nevada threatening to withdraw support of the Nevada State Labor News unless it ceased criticizing McCarran, "one of the staunchest friends of the AFL. . . ."
>
> That last summer, upon the recommendation of McCarran, Denver Dickerson, editor of the *Nevada State News,* which had sometimes criticized McCarran, was made a State Department press attache and shipped out to Rangoon, Burma. McCarran said yesterday: "I think it's a good thing for him [Dickerson] to get that experience."
>
> That McCarran once protested that Moritz Zenoff, editor of the *Boulder City News,* also was printing a newspaper at the Air Force Base at Las Vegas which contained political criticism. McCarran said he protested to the Air Force. Zenoff ultimately lost the contract. McCarran said Zenoff later told him "he was sorry about the attitude he had taken about me."[24]

[24] *Washington Post,* Dec. 30, 1952, Scrapbook 53; *Nevada State Journal,* Dec. 30, 1952, Scrapbook 49, McCarran Papers.

Actually there was nothing specific in the deposition that was vitally damaging, but the cumulative effect in the eastern press portrayed McCarran as a rather sinister influence, a man who accepted favors from gambling sources, and who did favors for them.

Even though Eva Adams, among others, had believed the Senator would be taken out of the case, Judge Foley decided otherwise. Although he ruled that Greenspun could claim only damages treble the actual amount of alleged financial loss (which reduced the suit from $1,000,000 to $225,000) he refused to delete McCarran's name from the list, ruling instead that "there was sufficient evidence to make McCarran a defendant in the case."[25]

The trial finally began on February 4, 1953, but a behind-the-scenes settlement came almost immediately. The Greenspun forces had located the telephone operator who could identify the calls from Washington to Marion Hicks during the crucial week in March, 1952. This took the telephone call issue from the category of hearsay evidence and made it admissible in court. The settlement, which was supposedly secret, ordered the defendants to pay Greenspun $80,000 (which was paid by the casino operators), and provided for a "gentleman's understanding" that casinos and hotels would continue with their *Sun* ads. McCarran admitted nothing, but neither was he exonerated. It was generally admitted Greenspun had won a genuine victory. The story is told that the flamboyant Greenspun insisted on being paid off in cash, and that he got into his flashy red convertible and drove up and down the Strip, waving the money as he went past the respective casinos.[26]

McCarran publicly broke the silence on the "secret" agreement in a statement:

> "The settlement was between the plaintiff and certain defendants other than myself," McCarran declared. "I was here in Washington when the case was settled. I took no part in the trial or in the settlement. I did not participate in negotiations for settlement, nor did any attorney representing me. I gave no consideration for the settlement. I have not given or agreed to give any money or any promise or any other thing of value for the settlement, or as damages to the plaintiff. I consented to dismissal of the action against me only on the condition that it be dismissed with prejudice. I consider the fact that this action has been dismissed as an open admission by the plaintiff that the charges which he brought against me during the recent political campaign were entirely unfounded."[27]

The statement was, to say the least, misleading. The fact that McCarran was in Washington while the settlement was arrived at in Las Vegas fooled

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[25] Eva Adams to Jay Sourwine, Dec. 20, 1952, McCarran Collection, Nevada Historical Society, Reno; *Nevada State Journal*, Dec. 25, 1952, Jan. 18, 1953, Scrapbook 49, McCarran Papers.

[26] Greenspun, pp. 225–28; *Nevada State Journal*, Feb. 14, 1953, Feb. 15, 1953, Scrapbook 49, McCarran Papers; Interview with Bryn Armstrong, Oct. 30, 1974.

[27] Quoted in *Elko Independent*, Feb. 19, 1953, Scrapbook 49, McCarran Papers.

no one. McCarran's lawyers actively participated in the settlement. McCarran did not have to pay damages because the casinos picked up the tab for him. At no time was his name or Eva Adams' removed from the list of defendants. The statement that Greenspun could not re-sue McCarran only indicated that the settlement was a final one.

Privately McCarran was depressed and discouraged, belying his public stance. He tended to blame the sad state of affairs on his lawyers (he had twelve on the case). Two days before the trial he despairingly wrote his wife, "They never seem to get together. There is no established policy in this case. Some want to settle some dont some dont care. Just so they get a fee —it's a hell of a thing."[28]

The decision saddened him despite his outward confidence. He was old now and lacked his previous resilience. The "mental hygiene" of which Sister Margaret had written was not working, perhaps a casualty of Greenspun's continuous sniping. The increasingly protective Eva Adams wrote Sister Margaret about the Senator's deteriorating mood:

> This whole thing, Sister Margaret, has been a heartbreak all the way through. I just don't know what to do. We have been quietly working trying to find a way to silence Greenspun. I am enclosing a photostat of his latest blast. The facts are wrong but the viciousness is there and I am told that it will get worse. . . .
>
> The thing that breaks my heart most in this matter is that the Senator has lost so much faith in so many people. He feels most unhappy at the way the thing was handled . . . no Nevada attorney has ever had any experience in anti-trust law. . . . Mr. Leahy is very able and in several instances did a magnificent job of presenting the Senator's case. However, the Senator doesn't feel that they really fought for him and I can appreciate why he has that reaction.
>
> Looking backward doesn't help. We have to look toward the coming months now. The Senator feels that all the people in Las Vegas have sold him down the river. That makes him feel very unhappy as it is only a comparatively small group actually fighting him. The majority of people are just so occupied with their own affairs that they pay no attention unless they want something. . . . However, even the Senator realizes keeping this fire burning only makes the scars deeper for him. I just can't believe other than that time will turn the tables and God will somehow allay this great sorrow which has come to him, and put some kindness in Greenspun's horrible heart.[29]

Greenspun was not "silenced," his "horrible heart" did not noticeably become more kindly toward the Senator, and McCarran, by now an old, bitter man, could not do much about it.

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[28] Patrick McCarran to Mrs. Patrick McCarran, Feb. 2, 1953, McCarran Papers.

[29] Eva Adams to Sister Margaret P. McCarran, March 25, 1953, McCarran Papers.

Losing Battles: The Revolt of the Nevada Progressives, 1910-1914

SALLY SPRINGMEYER ZANJANI

ON ELECTION EVE IN 1910 at a private dinner in his Reno mansion on the bluff high above the Truckee River, Republican Senator George Nixon conveyed a final message, or a final veiled offer, to George Springmeyer, Republican candidate for Nevada attorney general. "You'll never get anywhere in Nevada politics," said the senator, "because you're too independent and you won't work with the party leaders and the machine. If you would, you would go far—to congress, and eventually to the senate. George, you're going to be defeated."

"You said that before," said Springmeyer, referring to his own successful race in the primary, "but I beat the railroad, the machine, and everything else singlehanded."

"This time you're going to be defeated," said Nixon, "We've turned loose a river of gold against you."[1]

Springmeyer rode the night train home to a narrow but certain defeat, a defeat which was to be the electoral high-water mark of progressivism in Nevada. Though it was a weak and unsuccessful movement which has received little scholarly attention, progressivism in Nevada assumed a distinctive form closely related to local conditions and reform traditions and manifestly different in leadership from the "status revolution" prototype primarily associated with the work of Richard Hofstadter and George Mowry, who have suggested that progressivism involved a political reaction by middle class independent professionals whose social status was threatened by the rise of the new industrial elite. In his useful article, "Nevada's Bull Moose Progressives," Eric N. Moody has stressed the emergence of Nevada Progressivism as a reaction to national political events, but new evidence suggests that the movement was rooted in a Republican insurgency preceding Theodore Roosevelt's bid for the presidency in 1912. This study will analyze local influences on the development of Nevada Progressivism from 1910

[1] This conversation is drawn from the reminiscences dictated to me in 1960–1961 by my father, the late George Springmeyer. They are henceforth referenced as Springmeyer MS.

through the two ensuing elections in which this political force played a role.[2]

This reform movement emerged closely on the heels of an economic boom and a political realignment. New mining discoveries after 1900 had halted the desperate and protracted depression linked to the decline of the Comstock; years of dwindling census figures had given way to a population boom. Gaining support from the workers streaming into the new mining centers, the state Democratic party emerged as the new majority in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Republicans, who had dominated state politics prior to the Silver party revolt in 1892, declined to minority status.[3]

The Nevada Progressives, a miniscule 1.9 percent of the voters in 1914, the first year for which registration figures are currently available, operated within a political system surprisingly similar in its partisan configuration to the present day national model. The Independents, with 18.5 percent of the registered voters, were numerous; the Socialists accounted for 4.3 percent of the registrants, although they could poll up to 28.9 percent of the electorate; the Democrats were the largest party, with 43.2 percent. Obviously, no Republican candidate could hope to win without attracting Independent and Democratic voters to his core Republican support, and a minority faction of a minority party would face insuperable electoral obstacles.[4]

The first signs of a restive minority faction appeared at the Republican state convention of 1908. Two Goldfield attorneys attempted to secure a national convention delegation instructed for Taft, a move intended to ensure the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt's chosen successor. They failed, but they would reappear in 1910 as the leaders of the Nevada Progressive movement. One was the elderly "Lighthorse Harry" Morehouse, hawk-nosed and silver-haired, a Confederate veteran recently drawn to the Goldfield boom from California, where he had served in the legislature and developed a distinct antipathy to railroad politics. The other was George Springmeyer, the twenty-six year old son of a Carson Valley rancher and unsuccessful Republican candidate for state attorney general in 1906. In some ways, Springmeyer was an unlikely Progressive: in the movement that has been

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[2] Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 1–22, 131–173; George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), Chap. IV. Eric N. Moody, "Nevada's Bull Moose Progressives: The Formation and Function of a State Political Party in 1912," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, XVI (1973), 157–179.

[3] On the nineties and the realignment period, see Sally S. Zanjani, "A Theory of Critical Realignment: The Nevada Example, 1892–1908," *Pacific Historical Review* XLVIII (1979), 259–280, Mary Ellen Glass, *Silver and Politics in Nevada, 1892–1902* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969), esp. Chaps. 2–3, and Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), Chaps. 8–11.

[4] Registration figures are from the *Carson Appeal*, Oct. 30, 1914.

called "a veritable Protestant religious crusade,"[5] he was an atheist; among reform leaders whom historians have contended were typically drawn from old Yankee stock, he was the son of German immigrants. Nonetheless, he was the man who would lead the Nevada Progressives until their total disappearance from the political scene in 1916.

Unfortunately, though both were gifted orators, neither Springmeyer nor Morehouse excelled at organizational work, and neither proceeded to lay the foundations for a separate Progressive movement. No rupture within the Republican party was yet apparent as Nevada's first direct primary approached in 1910. Although Morehouse had hinted to the press during the preceding autumn that he intended to seek the Republican senatorial nomination, the increasingly obvious risks of confronting incumbent Senator George Nixon, a millionaire banker with close ties to the Southern Pacific, led him to change his mind. Springmeyer planned to run for state attorney general, and refused to consider a race for Nevada's sole congressional seat. The prospect of his candidacy was evidently unacceptable to William Herrin, Boss Lou Blakeslee, and others in the political bureau of the Southern Pacific. The attorney general sat on the state board of assessors, shared with the governor the responsibility of appointing the state railroad commission, could bring suit against the railroad under the railroad laws, and could oppose, in his capacity as mineral land commissioner, applications for patents on land within the railroad's vast domain. As an uninformed college boy in 1906, Springmeyer had posed no threat to the organization; but after he was appointed assistant to Goldfield district attorney Augustus Tilden in 1909, he had displayed a disquieting penchant for reform. He was primarily responsible for the Rawhide graft case, in which local officials stood trial for corruption, and for the criminal indictment of the Pittsburg Silver Peak Mining Corporation officials for failure to pay their bullion tax. Not only had he shown scant respect for the prerogatives of politicians and corporations, but also his sympathy for labor during the bitter strike of 1907–1908, when the mining companies destroyed union radicalism in Goldfield, was probably well known. In July, 1910, Ed Collins, postmaster of Goldfield and a local power in the Republican party, received a letter from an un-named correspondent in the political bureau directing him to "tie him [Springmeyer] down so he will remain tied after election."[6] It was an assignment Collins would badly botch.

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[5] Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism: 1885–1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 93. On Morehouse, see Boyd Moore, *Persons in the Background* (n.p.: 1915).

[6] Reprinted in the Elko *Weekly Independent*, Nov. 6, 1914. Springmeyer MS. On reports of Morehouse's candidacy, see the *Goldfield Daily News*, Sept. 15–16, 1909.

Springmeyer was initially willing to deal with the railroad, and Collins succeeded in eliciting an incriminating letter from him in which he agreed to accommodate the machine in the choice of railroad commissioners. Collins' request may have seemed harmless to Springmeyer because the machine was willing to make a pledge in the party platform to retain the present commissioners in office, and the young assistant district attorney had already resolved to push for a new law to make the commission an elective body. However, when Collins subsequently attempted to use the letter to blackmail him into withdrawing from the race to make way for Hugh Brown, a Tonopah attorney the organization believed was more in harmony with their interests, the real purpose of the letter became clear, and Springmeyer was infuriated. As a teenager, he had watched his father, Herman Springmeyer, destroy his own political future rather than bow to Southern Pacific boss Black Wallace; now he swiftly reverted to the family mold. Telling Collins he had "struck the wrong man," the young lawyer strode angrily out of the post office. "The great case of the People versus the Southern Pacific," as Springmeyer later called it, was underway.[7]

Because the Southern Pacific and the Republican organization were obviously working for Brown, the Democratic press dubbed Springmeyer "the insurgent candidate," and Democratic cartoonists depicted him as "Nevada's first real twister," a human tornado sweeping across the landscape while Boss Blakeslee and his associates raced for the cyclone cellars. The Republican press refused to print his advertisements, a serious handicap in a party primary. Some of these papers expressed judicious opposition to him; others reverberated with vilification; all were implacably against him, with the sole exception of the tiny Douglas County *Record Courier*. Springmeyer set out alone to canvas the cow camps and mining towns, armed only with a set of posters proclaiming him "The Unspiked Rail in the Path of Railroad Domination."[8]

Relying on the savage attacks of the Republican party press against Springmeyer's "black heart" and "depraved tongue" and on the efforts of the organization in his behalf, Brown abstained from making a personal canvas and confined himself to writing public letters to the Republican papers in which he called Springmeyer a "mudslinger" and a "political renegade." Springmeyer assumed the offensive. Nevada, he said, had long been "ground under the heel of the railroad tyrant." The office of attorney general was vitally important to the railroad, never more so than now, when, he asserted, the Southern Pacific was planning to swindle the public out of

[7] Springmeyer MS.

[8] *Ibid.* Typical samples of Republican press attitudes during the primary appear in the *Carson City News*, Aug. 25 and 31, and Sept. 4, 1910, and in the *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, Sept. 3, 1910. On "Nevada's First Real Twister," see the *Goldfield Daily News*, Sept. 3, 1910.

750,000 acres of mineral lands. Faced with a California reform movement more formidable than any of its predecessors, the Southern Pacific was becoming desperate and would "go to any length to defeat the will of the people." Brown was a "railroad protegé," manifestly supported by Southern Pacific lobbyists and long in the employ of the railroads, with which his sympathies would undoubtedly remain. He had the "highest personal regard for Mr. Brown," Springmeyer would conclude, but he objected to "the company he keeps."[9]

Insurgency was catching on. A former New Jersey lawyer named Tasker Oddie, who had made and lost a fortune in the Tonopah boom and found himself compelled by his financial exigencies to seek the Republican gubernatorial nomination, cautiously announced that he classed himself with the insurgents "but not with that class that are willing to disrupt and tear to pieces the whole Republican party." He also aligned himself with Brown and anxiously denied ever having suggested that Nixon was allied with the Southern Pacific. The press had loosely dubbed Springmeyer, Oddie, and congressional aspirant Ed Roberts "the insurgents," but Oddie and Roberts were insurgent only in that they were not the organization's first choices.[10]

Late in August, Lighthorse Harry Morehouse entered the fray. He was not a candidate but was the moving spirit behind the large meeting held in Goldfield to form a Lincoln-Roosevelt League to back the Nevada insurgents in much the same way that California's league of the same name was supporting Hiram Johnson in his drive for power outside the regular party organization. Although the new league endorsed various progressive reforms, notably the direct primary, recall, and popular election of United States senators, the overriding preoccupation of its members was unmistakably the Southern Pacific. Nevada, the league's constitution declared, was merely a "personal chattel to subserve the private ends of this vast corporation." The fundamental purpose of the league was "to overthrow this evil power in the Republican party."[11]

The emphasis is significant and completely in accord with the major thrust of Springmeyer's campaign. Railroad domination was the traditional target for Nevada reformers of every stripe; it was, for example, the primary reason for the formation of a tiny Populist party separate from the Silverites in 1894, and it figured prominently in the blistering Democratic indictment

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[9] Public letters from Springmeyer are reprinted in the *Carson City News*, Aug. 4, 1910, the *Carson Appeal*, Aug. 31, 1910, and the *Nevada State Journal*, Aug. 31, 1910. On Brown's statements, see the *Reese River Reveille*, Aug. 13, 1910, and the *Carson City News*, Aug. 24, 1910.

[10] *White Pine News*, Sept. 4, 1910; *Reno Evening Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1910.

[11] *Goldfield Daily News*, Aug. 26, 1910.

of the Republican establishment in 1890. But the Southern Pacific was a far more pressing problem in the Nevada Republican party, which the railroad had long controlled in a way that it never had controlled the Democrats. The Progressives' obsession with the railroad was not simply a reflection of Hiram Johnson's campaign, or of an inability to come to grips with new problems; rather, it was a foreordained consequence of their partisan affiliation. Because they belonged to the party long dominated by the railroad, setting their own house in order was necessarily the first order of business. In office, the Progressives might have moved, as Johnson did, beyond negativism to the positive reform program which won Johnson labor support and altered his constituency. The liberal potential for such development was certainly there. But because they failed, they would never proceed very far beyond stage one.[12]

Election night did not pass without incident. Springmeyer was roused in the middle of the night by a telegram from a friend warning him that the organization would try to "count him out." Springmeyer's father went forth in the darkness to personally ensure that there was no crooked count in Douglas and Ormsby counties. Throughout the state, his friends sprang into action to do the same. He won, to the discomfiture of some and the astonishment of all, with a paper-thin margin of 34 votes out of nearly 6,000 cast. Though Brown had scored heavily in populous, conservative Reno, and in Tonopah, where he resided, Springmeyer had carried ten of Nevada's fifteen counties, some by majorities above 70 percent and others by three or four votes. The lack of correlation between Springmeyer's primary vote and that of Tasker Oddie (—.09) or of Ed Roberts (—.08) confirms that, although both Springmeyer and Oddie won narrow victories and lost decisively in Reno, the sources of their electoral strength were as disparate as their aims and their political styles. Leadership of the Republican insurgency still rested solely with Springmeyer and Morehouse.[13]

California had always been more wealthy, more populous, more opulent in resources, and better organized than Nevada, and nowhere were these pervasive differences more apparent than in the insurgent movements of the two states. By September, 1910, the California Lincoln-Roosevelt League (which provided the foundation for the state's Progressive movement) had been organized for three years. Mowry, the foremost student of the movement, has noted that "in practically every inhabited locality of the state, the league organization was at least equal in efficiency, if not superior

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12 On Johnson, see Michael P. Rogin and John L. Shover, *Political Change in California* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1970), 35–89. On the Nevada reform tradition, see Zanjani, *op. cit.*, 274, and "The Election of 1890: The Last Hurrah for the Old Regime," idem., *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* XX (1977), 46–51.

13 These statistics appear in Report No. 32, Nevada Legislature, *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly, 1911*, II, 12–13.

to, the old Republican machine."[14] Several of the thirty-eight men who had attended its first convention had been newspaper editors; it enjoyed wide press support; and it had elected a vocal group of legislators. In contrast, Nevada featured an insurgent movement consisting of one candidate for a minor office, one tiny weekly newspaper, one aged orator of the Southern school, and one ephemeral Lincoln-Roosevelt League that had sprung full blown from the brain of Morehouse some two weeks previously.

The Republican organization had been forced to accept the "Unspiked Rail," but it had no intention of accepting an insurgent platform. While Oddie stood aside "waiting to see which way the cat will jump," as one newspaper editor expressed it, the party leaders began heaping the "bull con" on Morehouse and laying plans to throttle Springmeyer in the convention. However, publicity remained as one effective means of maintaining pressure on the organization, and it was a means especially congenial to the progressive mind, which, as Samuel Hays has noted, tended to rely upon appeals to individual reason.[15] Morehouse warned in an interview that if the insurgent planks were not accepted he would support the Democrats. Springmeyer threatened that if the Republicans declined to accept his platform he would issue it separately and make his campaign alone. The battle would not end, he said, until the Southern Pacific was ejected from Nevada politics "body, soul, and purse."[16]

The organization capitulated. The popularity of Springmeyer's stand had been convincingly verified in the primary, and the regulars had little taste for the prospect of battling the "Unspiked Rail" on the hustings as he attacked the symbiotic relationship between the Southern Pacific and the Republican party. Springmeyer received his place on the platform committee, where he wrote the strongest reform program the Nevada Republican party had produced for a generation. Many issues were included, from initiative, referendum, and recall through free textbooks and the pledge that the attorney general would protect prospectors' rights on mineral lands. The key provision began innocuously by recognizing the "natural right" of the railroad to "conserve its just interests." It went on, however, to "unhesitatingly condemn the political activity of any corporation or railroad company which seeks . . . to influence the nomination and election, or control of public officers"; it pledged to retain the existing railroad commission in office; and it demanded the abolition of the board of assessors and the restructuring of the railroad commission as an elective public service commission with broad authority over taxation. Though the Progressives can easily be faulted for

[14] Mowry, *op. cit.*, 123. On the California Progressives, also see Spencer C. Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 11–19.

[15] Hays, *op. cit.*, 71–93.

[16] *Carson Appeal,* Sept. 23, 1910. Also see the *Nevada State Journal,* Oct. 4, 1910.

their naive faith in democratic reforms such as this elective feature, Springmeyer well knew how easily the railroad could influence the choice of appointive commissioners, and also how ineffective the existing board of assessors could become under a chief executive less committed to reform than the incumbent Democratic governor, Denver Dickerson. Combining both the board and the railroad commission in a single, centralized, elective body, and deleting the multiple pressure points that had often enabled the railroad to neutralize the board, provided an innovative solution which was in line with the Progressive penchant for reform through centralization.[17]

The result was a startlingly Progressive platform grafted upon a thoroughly traditional party. For his part, Springmeyer made some compromises with the organization. He softened his declaration that the "dominating influence" of the Southern Pacific was the paramount issue of the campaign, and deleted his proposal for a platform commitment by all candidates to accept no financial aid from the Southern Pacific or any other corporation. But he had made no compromises on the plank designed to protect mineral lands from encroachments by the railroads or on the public service commission, a fundamental innovation which has since been judged among the most significant Progressive achievements in states as diverse as New York and Ohio. The regular Republicans could hardly have shared Springmeyer's satisfaction with the platform, but they considered the alternatives and bolted the platform down in one unanimous gulp. Fence mending was the order of the day, and Morehouse declared it time to "fight against the common enemy."[18] Outwardly, at least, the old party lines that had been temporarily blurred during the primary, when the Democrats encouraged the insurgents, had been restored, although Springmeyer and Morehouse usually campaigned separately from Nixon's party of Republican regulars. Even Hiram Johnson, with a well organized Progressive movement behind him, had found it wise to make his peace with the regulars. The Nevada Progressives, with no resources at all, hardly had any other choice.

The ensuing campaign provided something rare, perhaps even unprecedented in state politics, a debate on the railroad issue. Although the Democratic platform contained many significant reform planks and Governor

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[17] Reprinted in the *Carson City News*, Sept. 28, 1910; also see the editorial in the *Goldfield Daily News*, Sept. 29, 1910. The first portion of the plank dealing with the "natural right" of the railroad and the retention of the membership of the existing railroad commission had been Senator Nixon's suggestion; see the *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, Sept. 7, 1910. On Progressivism and centralization, see Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 71–100.

[18] *Carson City News*, Sept. 23, 1910. Another plank in Springmeyer's proposed platform, favoring the downward revision of the Payne-Aldrich tariff, was also deleted; however, all specific objectives of the Nevada Lincoln-Roosevelt League, i.e., recall, direct election of United States senators, and the retention of the direct primary law, were incorporated in the Republican platform.

Dickerson had earlier presented a public service commission plan of his own, the party decided to defend the existing system and to settle for a blast of anti-railroad rhetoric. In one campaign speech after another, the Democrats attacked the Republican insurgents for surrendering "body and breeches to the enemy." They argued that the Republican plan would cast the railroad commission into the "maelstrom of politics" and deliver it over to the railroad, to whose agents the elected commissioners would undoubtedly become indebted for their success at the polls. The bulk of the barrage was directed against Morehouse, who had rashly remarked that "a good old fashioned Republican spanking" was administered to him at the convention. Democratic editors seized upon this indiscreet comment with glee and inquired, "What has become of the grandiloquent old man dragged from out his senile repose in the sere and yellow leaf to save the insurgents . . . by the matchless sorcery of his babbling tongue?"[19]

Morehouse was unperturbed by this fusillade. While his audiences shouted, "go to it, old man," he declared that in his time he had been "roasted, boiled, pickled, broiled, scarified and cut into all sorts of figures and shapes," but all this had only strengthened his political momentum. Nonetheless, the predictable withdrawal of support from the Democratic papers which had applauded them during the primary was a heavy blow to the insurgents because, unlike their California counterparts, they would receive little help from the Republican press.[20] Having made their peace with the party, they were more alone than they had ever been.

As the election drew nearer, reports of foul play began to appear. A legion of Southern Pacific employees was given two weeks furlough to work for the ticket; Key Pittman, Nixon's Democratic opponent for the senatorial preference vote, asserted that "gumshoes" were hard at work everywhere whispering slanders against him; Democratic headlines reported that Nixon was "Spending Money like a Drunken Sailor in order to Buy his Election." A few Republican papers began endorsing Springmeyer's Democratic opponent, Cleve Baker, a very unusual development in the age of the loyally partisan press. Baker, a friend of Springmeyer's since college, was obviously a more acceptable candidate because his record as Tonopah district attorney was in no way unsettling to the regulars, and he presumably came well recommended. Mowry has called Baker's father-in-law, California United States Senator George Perkins, "notoriously a servant of the railroad."[21]

The election went exactly as Nixon had told Springmeyer it would

[19] *Nevada State Journal,* Oct. 14, 1910. Presumably Morehouse's tolerance for political flack had increased since he fathered the "Anti-Cartoon Law" in the California legislature. Also see the Oct. 7, 13, and 16, 1910 issues of the *Nevada State Journal.*

[20] *Goldfield Daily Tribune,* Oct. 25, 1910.

[21] Mowry, *op. cit.,* p. 16. Also see the *Nevada State Journal,* Oct. 28, Nov. 4, 6, and 8, 1910.

when they sat together at that election eve supper. Nixon and Oddie defeated their Democratic opponents by sizeable majorities, and Springmeyer was defeated by a heartbreakingly thin margin of 65 votes out of nearly 20,000 cast. Although he won a majority of counties and ran very closely in nearly all, he had been badly hurt by losses in Tonopah and in Reno, the longstanding stronghold of the machine and major population center of the traditionally Republican northwestern region, where a Republican candidate in that period would be expected to draw a sizeable proportion of his vote. Key Pittman's election day post mortem could be applied as well to the Republican insurgent. "Nixon personally expended over a quarter of a million dollars and the Southern Pacific expended about as much . . . ," Pittman wrote a friend. "I was compelled to depend upon the support of my friends, while Nixon employed thousands of hired workers. I would have beaten him in spite of all this had it not been for the extensive bribery indulged in on election day."[22]

Springmeyer brought suit to win a recount, charging that election officials had unlawfully rejected more than 200 ballots cast for him. However, after the state supreme court ruled in the fall of 1911 that the loser of the contested election must pay the entire cost of the recount, lack of funds compelled him to drop the suit. The insurgent platform fared little better than the candidate, and those platform planks which became law owed their success primarily to support from Democratic legislators, who claimed, with some justice, that they were the true progressives. Rejected by the 1911 legislature, the public service commission passed during the Democratic-dominated 1913 session, but within five years the old system was reconstituted in its essentials.[23]

If the campaign of 1910 had demonstrated nothing else, it had surely indicated that the day of the reformer was not yet at hand in Nevada, but when Theodore Roosevelt's bid for the presidency began taking shape in 1912, progressive Republicans everywhere were compelled to either fight for his candidacy or stand aside and let the victory go to Taft and the Old Guard. As early as 1907, Roosevelt's renomination had been a stated goal of the California Lincoln-Roosevelt League; in Nevada as well, his name was

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[22] Pittman to R. J. Mapes, Nov. 18, 1910, quoted in Fred L. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 24.

[23] Springmeyer v. Baker, Supreme Court of Nevada, 1911. I am much indebted to John M. Townley, former director of the Nevada Historical Society, for directing my attention to additional material on this case in the *Nevada State Journal,* Oct. 7 and 10, 1911. On the tortuous history of the tax commission, see Romanzo Adams, *Taxation in Nevada* (Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1918), 61–70. On one of Nevada's leading Democratic Progressives, see William D. Rowley, "Senator Newlands and the Modernization of the Democratic Party," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* XV (1972), 25–46.

a symbol of liberal Republicanism. Senator Nixon and Congressman Roberts predictably supported Taft, as did the party regulars and the influential George Wingfield, millionaire mine owner and future boss of Nevada's bipartisan political machine. Oddie, also predictably, expressed himself in favor of Roosevelt, then hastily retreated from that perilous position when Wingfield privately expressed his disapproval. Springmeyer, no less predictably, chose to fight.[24]

The first battles occurred at the March meeting of the Republican state central committee. Roosevelt's supporters successfully forestalled the regulars' plan to select national convention delegates instructed to Taft without holding a state convention. However, Springmeyer's resolution calling for selection of convention delegates by the voters, an effort to capitalize on Roosevelt's popularity among the rank and file, was lost by "devious parliamentary tactics," after a debate which Springmeyer called "perhaps the most stormy session in the history of Nevada politics."[25] The *Journal* noted that "roll calls were dispensed with, parliamentary law was forgotten and when the chairman declared a measure carried or lost, it was carried or lost and that was an end on it." Because the Roosevelt supporters had substantial voting strength in the committee in the person of Charlie Reeves, chairman of the Progressive League of Nevada and holder of twenty-four proxies, the committee chairman hastily interrupted a speech by Springmeyer with the announcement that the meeting was adjourned.[26]

The process of selecting delegates for the state convention proved a debacle for the liberal Republicans. Roosevelt's adherents "made the mistake of resting on their oars," Springmeyer later wrote with rueful hindsight, and were "out-generalled by the machine at every turn."[27] Reeves' leadership during this critical period proved as ineffectual as it had been in the March committee meeting. In three-quarters of the counties no primaries were held, and delegates were instead selected by the county central committees. Ed Collins and his cohorts were careful to ensure that no primaries should take place in Goldfield, where a sizeable delegation was at stake and the voters were believed to be strongly in favor of Roosevelt.[28]

Of the three counties holding full primaries, two (Washoe and Ormsby) lay in the heart of organization territory. Springmeyer, who had left Goldfield for private practice in Reno and Carson City, tried—and failed—to prevent the naming of a Taft slate in the Carson City Republican meeting and

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[24] On Oddie, see Elliott, *op. cit.*, 250.

[25] George Springmeyer, "History of the Progressive Party in Nevada," in Sam P. Davis, ed., *The History of Nevada*, Vol. I (Los Angeles: Elms Publishing Company, 1913), 454.

[26] *Nevada State Journal*, Mar. 3, 1912. Also see Moody, *op. cit.*, 160.

[27] Springmeyer, "History of the Progressive Party in Nevada," 454.

[28] *Nevada State Journal*, Apr. 6, 1912. Also see Moody, *op. cit.*, 162.

the subsequent defeat of the Roosevelt ticket in the local primary. In Reno the regulars' victory was not accomplished without obvious chicanery. Their delegate slate was designated "uninstructed" and included the name of Pat Flanigan, the Republican senatorial candidate two years before and the most prominent figure on the Roosevelt slate; this strategem may well have bewildered the voters. In a reprise of 1910, railroad employees were furloughed, and Springmeyer took note of the activities of "a well known railroad boss, whose fine hand had been shown at the Committee meeting, his petty henchmen and servitors."[29] Because the ballots were of different colors, the bosses could readily see to it that their order were obeyed.

When the Republican convention assembled at Fallon in May, the principal counties sending strong Roosevelt delegations—Lander, White Pine, and Douglas, where Springmeyer's family had joined him in the campaign for Roosevelt—were those where Roosevelt men controlled the county organizations. It was clear that the Roosevelt supporters, with seventeen delegates to the organization's eighty, had no hope of victory. Taking cognizance of these overwhelming odds, the *Journal* observed that "it is highly unlikely that any strenuous protest will be made on the convention floor."[30] Being outnumbered more than four to one, however, was never sufficient to deter Springmeyer from strenuous protest. He was determined to "make things hum" as long as he could.

After caucussing separately, the Roosevelt men threatened to raise a "row" on the convention floor unless they were given "some consideration" in the form of an uninstructed delegation, or, at least, the inclusion of Flanigan in the national delegation. The regulars were reportedly ready to accept Flanigan, but only as a Taft instructed delegate, a position he was unwilling to accept. There were contests before the credentials committee, as Roosevelt adherents from Goldfield and other districts vainly objected to the delegations appointed by the regulars.[31]

Matters rapidly rolled to the inevitable conclusion. When the state platform was reported by the platform committee, Springmeyer and an old friend, Sardis Summerfield, submitted a minority report arguing that an instructed delegation was a departure from the traditions of the Nevada Republicans that would impair the delegates' usefulness and suggest distrust in their judgment. Morehouse, who had joined the regulars and was now slated for a place on the national delegation, took issue with the report. The regulars, at George Wingfield's suggestion, adopted a three minute limitation on speeches. This was then used to throttle Springmeyer when he rose

29 Springmeyer, "History of the Progressive Party in Nevada," 454. Also see the *Nevada State Journal*, Apr. 7, 1912.

30 *Nevada State Journal*, Apr. 9, 1912.

31 *Ibid.*, May 7, 1912; Moody, *op. cit.*, 163.

to pay the organization a sarcastic oratorical compliment on their "well oiled machine." When the crucial roll call on the presidential issue reached the convention floor, the proponents of the uninstructed delegation were overwhelmingly defeated. The convention's chairman, adding insult to injury, referred to Roosevelt as an "outlaw," and Springmeyer strode angrily out of the hall.[32]

The regulars had secured their Taft delegation, but the triumph would prove hollow. Roosevelt would go on to seek the presidency under the banner of a new political party, and the men they had steamrollered at Fallon would found a Nevada Progressive party to support him. A Nevada victory for Taft, who could have been expected to do far better against Woodrow Wilson than he had in 1908 against William Jennings Bryan, a champion of the cause of the coinage of silver, would slip from their grasp. Worse yet, Senator Nixon's sudden death in the summer would unexpectedly compel them to fight for a position they had thought was safely nailed down until 1916, and to fight, moreover, without the advantages of Nixon's ample purse and talents at conciliation. In 1910, a split with the liberal wing of the party had merely threatened; in 1912 it became unforgettably clear just how disastrous the loss of the liberal Republicans actually could be.

If the Progressive revolt denoted a split in the Republican party, the ranks of the Roosevelt supporters themselves were by no means free of dissension. When the Nevada Progressive convention assembled in Reno in late July, the regulars were rousingly excoriated in a Progressive manifesto, but a struggle for leadership between the Reeves faction on the one hand and Summerfield and Springmeyer on the other was manifestly underway. Although Summerfield and Springmeyer probably had no wish to entrust the Progressive cause to the ineffectual and disreputable Reeves, who had so disastrously botched the legal affairs of White Pine County that he was very nearly relieved of his duties as district attorney by the state attorney general, the immediate issue between the two factions was delegate apportionment. Reeves, who favored dividing the delegates on the same basis as the Republican convention, grew increasingly restive as the credentials committee under Springmeyer's leadership seated virtually every delegate who knocked on the door. When Reeves and others objected to this procedure, which resulted in greater representation for the small counties, Springmeyer explained that the apportionment of the Republican convention had been rejected because the Progressives were creating something new. Left unsaid was the obvious circumstance that a new party, organized within the span of

[32] *Nevada State Journal*, May 7, 1912. On Oddie's role in the Fallon convention, see Loren B. Chan, *Sagebrush Statesman: Tasker L. Oddie of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), 60–63.

two weeks, endowed with none of the loaves and fishes of patronage with which party organizations were generally nourished, and able to offer its adherents nothing more than the pleasure and honor of participation, could hardly afford to turn anyone away.[33]

Before the day was through, Reeves had denounced the convocation as a "Springmeyer-Summerfield convention" and declined to have anything further to do with it or to serve as state chairman. In September, when Summerfield had received the Progressive senatorial nomination and Springmeyer had accepted the congressional nomination as a beau geste, Reeves issued a sour statement declaring that he could "conceive of no greater calamity" than the election of these two Progressives. He appended some additional remarks that even the most scurrilous Republican editors considered unprintable. Flanigan, who regarded Reeves as "a most despicable and disreputable libertine," accused the former chairman of misuse of party funds and threatened a criminal suit and disbarment proceedings.[34]

One bull moose had bolted from the herd, but those who remained were an interesting assemblage. Although the results must be viewed with caution because the size of the groups is small and census data which would include more of those who came to Nevada during the twentieth century population boom and resided outside the northwestern region is not yet available, contrasting samples of Progressives and regular Republican political activists yield some suggestive results. The Progressives were more likely to be past forty, Nevada residents of more than ten years, and of foreign stock (either foreign born or sons of foreign born parents). Independent professionals, mostly lawyers, constituted the largest single occupational group of regular Republicans but the bulk of the Progressives was almost evenly divided among professionals, businessmen, and ranchers.[35] The Mowry-Hofstadter concept that Progressivism embodied Yankee, protestant morality against the immigrant ethos is clearly obviated here by the larger proportion of Progressives of immigrant origin, but an argument might nonetheless be made for status revolution. While the Nevada Progressive emphatically was not the WASP independent professional unseated by the rise of the industrial order which the Mowry-Hofstadter thesis demands, it could be postulated that he was an older man and a longtime resident

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[33] *Nevada State Journal,* July 24, 1912.

[34] Moody, *op. cit.,* 168–170. *Fallon Eagle,* Sept. 14, 1912; Springmeyer MS. On Reeves' near removal from office, see the *Goldfield Daily Tribune,* Apr. 3, 1910.

[35] There were thirty-five in the Progressive occupational group and thirty-two in the Republican control group; due to incomplete information on some persons, the sizes of the total groups for non-occupational characteristics were somewhat smaller and those in one group did not always appear in others. Both candidates and party activists were included; most were from counties where competing Progressive and regular Republican movements were in operation. Data on these political elites was collected from newspapers, interviews, and biographical sketches in histories of Nevada.

displaced by a younger newcomer.[36] However, the socio-economic sequence is not consonant with status revolution. Instead of proceeding from agrarian village life to industrialism, Nevada's mining industry developed on the Comstock at a very early date; and it is extremely doubtful that a stable social order linked to status had much relevance to the mobile populations and the rapid boom and bust cycles of Nevada's mining camps, or that the theme of restoration emphasized by Hofstadter could have had much meaning in a state which had never known a golden age of uncorrupted democracy and economic individualism. The greater age, longer residence, and occupational diversity of the Progressives may well suggest that years of prolonged acquaintance with corporation control of state politics had produced a cumulative harvest of dissidents, to which the newcomers, having had less time and opportunity to clash with the establishment and, possibly, less interest in reforming the institutions of a state they may not yet have considered their permanent residence, would predictably contribute a smaller proportion.

Above all, many of these Progressives shared a common ideological strain. They were, like Springmeyer, among the most liberal Republicans of their time, and for one reason or another they were at odds with the organization. Several were former Populists, which in Nevada meant they had opposed the Southern Pacific. Pat Flanigan had staunchly resisted Southern Pacific political boss Black Wallace in the showdown of 1899 over Senator William Stewart's re-election, and his friends considered him "ahead of his time" in policy matters. He believed the organization had not "treated him fairly" when he was refused a place on the national delegation on his own terms. Sardis Summerfield had an outstanding record as a reform legislator in the late nineties; his appointment as United States attorney on Senator Stewart's recommendation had been viewed as an effort to placate the liberal wing of the party. He had labored long in the service of the Republicans as an expert on platform committees and as a debater in the 1910 campaign, and may well have thought he deserved better of them than he had ever received. Walter Hastings, mailman and Progressive candidate for the legislature, had been blocked in his previous efforts to win local office in Washoe County because, in his daughter's phrase, "he refused to kowtow to the big shots." The Progressive candidate for state supreme court justice, Judge William R. Thomas, had openly opposed Governor Oddie's recent dispatch of the state police to suppress labor unrest at Ely, a bold stance for a judicial candidate in that period. Nevada corporations, Thomas pointedly observed, should be "reduced to the basis of good citizenship."[37]

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[36] Mowry, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV; Hofstadter, *op. cit.*, 1–22, 131–173.

[37] Paul Flanigan (interview, Reno, Aug. 17, 1974); Marion Lamb, Hastings' daughter (telephone interviews, Carson City, Aug. 11–12, 1974); also see Thomas' advertisement in the *Nevada State Journal*, Oct. 20, 1912.

While the Progressives were a threat to the victory of the regulars, they had slight chance to win themselves. Not only were they a minority of a minority but also their meager resources could support only the scantiest of campaigns, with every man for himself. Summerfield managed a canvas of sorts, which he announced, in a futile effort to inspire the other candidates to declare their campaign expenses, had cost $408. In keeping with his modest financial circumstances and his belief that this campaign was a purely quixotic endeavor, Springmeyer made no canvas and placed no advertisements. The Progressives' weaknesses were essentially the same as in 1910, lack of money, organization, and press support; their only real assets were the charismatic name of Roosevelt, their strongly liberal platform (which they stressed at every opportunity), and their party label. The last of these was very nearly lost when Attorney General Baker attempted to designate them as "Independents" on the ballot. This potentially disastrous maneuver was successfully foiled in the state supreme court, with Summerfield effectively arguing that "the secretary of state can not assume the function of a high priest with the exclusive power of christening a new political party." In reaching their favorable decision, at least one of the justices had been much impressed by the Progressives' petition, which contained nearly 4,000 names, a number far in excess of legal requirements and equivalent to about a fifth of the voters casting ballots in the forthcoming election.[38]

The high point of the campaign was, of course, the arrival of the Rough Rider himself. Following a whistlestop campaign across Nevada in his special railroad car with Springmeyer, Summerfield, and Flanigan, Roosevelt arrived in Reno and paraded slowly through the streets in Flanigan's auto, preceded by a bagpipe band and guarded by a young miner from the Black Hills walking beside the car. During this procession, many claiming acquaintance with Roosevelt came forward to hail him. The former president would cup his hand and mutter to his companions, "Who is that—anyway?" On being told, he would greet the man like an old and intimate friend, to Springmeyer's vast amusement.[39]

When they arrived in Powning Park, Democratic Senator Francis Newlands said a few words of greeting and Pat Flanigan's little son held out a boy scout flag and promptly forgot the speech he had memorized for the occasion. Roosevelt laughed and sailed into a speech of his own, strongly emphasizing reclamation, boss rule, and special privilege, all topics he must

[38] State ex rel. Springmeyer v. Brodigan, Supreme Court of Nevada, 1912, *Pacific Reporter*, 126, 680–688. Springmeyer MS; Summerfield's advertisements in the *Nevada State Journal*, Oct. 25 and 28, 1912.

[39] Springmeyer MS; James L. Secoy (telephone interview, Reno, Aug. 12, 1974).

have correctly surmised were of particular relevance in Nevada. He was presented with eight late summer cantaloups from the Fallon fields (though no doubt he would have preferred a set of spring delegates from the Fallon convention). Children played at his feet, even swung from his coattails, and later remembered him as the kindest of men.[40]

After Roosevelt's train had rumbled away across the Sierras, the regulars were troubled by a sense of impending disaster. The chairman of the Republican state central committee, recognizing that the Republican senatorial candidate's defeat was imminent, sent letters to all signers of the Progressive petition arguing that a vote for Summerfield would be, in effect, a vote for the Democrats. This did nothing to forestall the approaching donnybrook. Wilson won the state; the senatorial seat the Republicans had held since 1904 was snatched by Key Pittman; and the Republicans lost control of the assembly. Although Roosevelt outpolled Taft in every single county (thus vindicating the Progressives' claim that despite his poor showing in the Washoe and Ormsby primaries he really was the people's choice), and a few Progressive legislators were elected, the Progressive candidates for higher office were all dismally defeated.[41]

As the 1914 campaign neared, the regulars probably hoped that the Progressives, suitably meek and chastened, would dissolve silently into the Republican ranks. When Springmeyer, the only major politician still active in what was left of the Nevada Progressive party, instead filed as a candidate for attorney general, the regulars faced a painful dilemma. A Progressive victory was no serious threat, but as in 1912 and the 1910 primary, Springmeyer's capacity to embarrass them was great, and hearing him blast the organization during still another campaign was not a pleasing prospect. The Republicans had already accepted the nomination of Richard McKay for attorney general, after legal efforts to enable the party to retract his candidacy during the primary and to designate Springmeyer as their nominee in his place had failed. During their post primary convention, they argued long and heatedly into the night and finally reached several decisions: McKay would withdraw; the Progressive and Republican parties would amalgamate; and the Republicans would endorse Springmeyer, and also other Progressive candidates for certain minor offices. Well aware that they could hope to accomplish little outside the Republican party, the last remnants of the Progressives found this compromise acceptable.[42]

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[40] *Nevada State Journal*, Sept. 15, 1912; Flanigan and Lamb interviews.

[41] See Summerfield's advertisement in the *Nevada State Journal*, Oct. 28, 1912.

[42] State ex rel. Thatcher v. Brodigan, Supreme Court of Nevada, 1914, *Pacific Reporter*, 142, 520–523. *Nevada State Journal*, Sept. 23–25, 1914.

1914 Campaign Card
Springmeyer Collection

However, one small hitch developed. Despite legal efforts, which the party entrusted to Morehouse, it proved impossible to remove McKay's name from the ballot. This, of course, ensured that even though McKay made no canvas and his withdrawal was widely publicized, the party label would draw enough votes to his name to split the Republican-Progressive vote, an outcome by no means unpleasing to the Democratic attorney general who had engineered it. Though Springmeyer never suggested it, the regulars may have been equally satisfied with the result. Attorney General George Thatcher, appointed to the post by the Democratic lieutenant governor after Cleve Baker's sudden death during Governor Oddie's absence at a conference, would later become the right hand man to George Wingfield, future boss of Nevada's notorious bipartisan political machine. A victory for Thatcher, a much more cooperative man, despite his Democratic affiliations, than Springmeyer, would be tolerable to the regulars for the price of tucking the Progressives safely back into the Republican fold.[43]

If this actually were the scenario, it worked beautifully. The Democrats swept all major state offices. The combined Springmeyer-McKay vote exceeded Thatcher's total; still Springmeyer resolved never again to seek elective office, though he formally remained a Progressive until the party disintegrated after Roosevelt's return to the Republicans in 1916.[44] The

[43] State ex rel. Maxson v. Brodigan, Supreme Court of Nevada, 1914, *Pacific Reporter*, 143, 306–307.

[44] Springmeyer MS.

Nevada Progressive movement that began with the Unspiked Rail in 1910 was over.

An examination of election data during the three campaigns of 1910, 1912, and 1914 further clarifies the dimensions of Nevada Progressivism. Although the absence of a strong relationship between Independent registration and the Roosevelt vote (.29) probably indicates that "Independent" was not merely a pseudonym for "Progressive," a comparison between Republican registration and the Taft-Roosevelt vote suggests that roughly 20 percent of Roosevelt's vote came from outside Republican ranks. Of course, a sizeable component of the Roosevelt vote was linked to the Rough Rider's personal charisma and was only partially transferable to the Progressive senatorial and congressional candidates, neither of whom polled even half as many votes. However, the Progressive state and national candidates clearly derived their support from the same constituency: Springmeyer's vote is strongly correlated with Roosevelt's (.75) and shows no strong relationship with either his previous or his subsequent campaigns.

While some significant characteristics of Progressive electoral support can be distinguished, the picture is a complicated one because two units of analysis are involved, the small core of registered Progressives, and the larger public which supported Progressive candidates. These two sectors did not share the same characteristics in the three areas examined: urban residence, native white origins, and ideological tendencies. With respect to the first, Nevada had no large urban centers in this period, but three counties (Washoe, Esmeralda, and Nye) contained cities of more than 2,500, the census bureau's standard for an urban community in 1900. A larger percentage of total Progressive registrants (51.3%) was concentrated in these counties compared to Democratic registrants (43.1%) or Republican registrants (39.8%). However, the Progressive candidates did not draw a larger proportion of their vote from the urban counties than did their opponents from the regular parties. The Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson votes show that each candidate derived about the same percentage of his support from the urban sector. Except in 1914, Springmeyer's vote tended to be somewhat less urban than his opponents, a tendency which was most striking in the 1910 primary, when the intensely anti-railroad thrust of his campaign probably appealed strongly to rural Republican voters. It is interesting to note that although Populism and Progressivism in other states have usually been considered very different movements, one rural and the other urban, a comparison between Nevada's Progressive registrants and the Populist gubernatorial vote of 1894 showed a positive tendency (.33) which was lacking in comparisons between Populism and Democratic registrants (—.08) or Re-

publican registrants (—.15). This may indicate some linkage between the two reform movements.[45]

Correlations with Nevada counties having the largest proportions of native whites of native parentage showed trends parallel to the urban data. Although Progressive activists were more likely to have immigrant origins than their Republican counterparts, Progressive registrants paradoxically displayed a more positive relationship with native whites (.36) than did the Democrats (.09) or the Republicans (.23). However, this weak tendency was completely reversed among the voters casting their ballots for Progressive candidates, with whom the native white voters showed negative or insignificant relationships.

TABLE I
*Electoral Correlations, 1910–1914**

Votes for State and Presidential Candidates	Initiative and Referendum Vote	Recall Vote	Percent Native Stock
Springmeyer, 1910 (general election)	—.22	—.09	—.09
Springmeyer, 1912	.66	.69	.04
Springmeyer, 1914	—.20	—.07	—.44
Roosevelt, 1912	.42	.38	—.10
Taft, 1912	—.48	—.41	—.02
Wilson, 1912	—.50	—.45	.10
Party Registrants			
Progressives, 1914	.17	.17	.36
Republicans, 1914	—.16	—.18	.23
Democrats, 1914	.02	—.02	.09

* For purposes of comparison with 1910 census figures, Mineral County, created in 1911, was recombined with its parent county, Esmeralda, in all calculations. "Native Stock" refers to those counties with the largest populations of native born Americans with native parents.

To examine the ideological orientation of the Progressive constituency, candidates and party registrants were correlated with two reformist issues on the ballot in 1912 which were closely identified with Progressivism, initiative-referendum and recall, the latter of which was still a hotly contested innovation adopted by only two states prior to 1912.[46] It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the life style issues such as anti-gambling laws, Prohibition, blue laws, and immigration restriction, which sometimes as-

[45] For purposes of comparison with 1894, the registrants of Mineral County (created from part of Esmeralda County in 1911) and Clark County (created from part of Lincoln County in 1909) were recombined with those of the parent counties.

[46] On recall in other states, see Hoyt L. Warner, *Progressivism in Ohio, 1897–1917* (Ohio State University Press, 1964), 312–353.

sumed an important role in Progressivism in other states played no discernible part in the ideology of the Nevada Progressives. From the constitution of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League until the very end, the consuming purpose of the Nevada Progressives was political, not cultural; the direct democracy amendments should therefore provide a fairly accurate barometer of their relationship to the voters. Results indicate that Republican registrants were negatively related to these issues, Democrats showed no significant relationship, and the figures for Progressives, while positive, were very low. The Progressive candidates of 1912, however, were clearly linked to the reform issues. Strong voting support for Roosevelt was positively related to a favorable vote on initiative-referendum and recall in the various counties, and Springmeyer's vote correlates strongly with the initiative-referendum vote (.66) and the recall vote (.69), suggesting that Progressive ideology was an important factor in his electoral support. The Taft and Wilson votes show negative relationships with the reform issues.

While Progressive registrants show a positive relationship with the Springmeyer vote in 1912 (.52), as well as the Roosevelt vote (.43), this is much less significant than the link between Springmeyer's supporters and the popular vote on reform issues. The paradoxical circumstance that Springmeyer's 1914 vote was negatively related to the reform issues probably does not indicate a change in the candidate's stance, which was consistently reformist in all campaigns, but rather the effect of the regular Republican voters who opposed reform but voted for Springmeyer in 1914 because the Republicans had endorsed him. The fact that Springmeyer's three elections (in which he appeared as an insurgent Republican, as a Progressive, and then as a Progressive with Republican endorsement) show no strong relationship with each other undoubtedly reflects the strong influences of the alterations in his party label.

These observations suggest that there was a small, hard core group of registered Progressives, who, unlike the Progressive leadership, conformed to the classic Progressive model in that they were more likely to be residents of urban counties and counties with higher proportions of native whites. However, this was not true of the much more numerous group of voters casting their ballots for Progressive candidates and issues. The evidence indicates that in 1912, when voters for Progressive candidates were distinctly separated from the regular Republican voters, issue orientation rather than sociological background was the significant determinant.

Why the Nevada Progressives failed to elect their candidates is not difficult to determine. Opposed by a ruthless and efficient machine and compelled to campaign without press support, financial resources, or an organizational base, they could hardly have succeeded. However, viewed as a

protest movement which influenced issues and compelled the Republicans to accede to liberal demands rather than as a faction which failed to elect candidates, the Nevada insurgents were more successful. Unlike many Nevada politicians of the period, they campaigned on the issues. The 1912 election suggests that their voter support as Progressives was primarily linked to the issues, and it is in terms of their impact on these issues that the Progressives probably should be measured. In the Republican platform of 1910, the insurgents reversed the issue stance of a negative, traditional, and conservative party and brought it to the forefront of reform. By attacking the Southern Pacific machine as no Nevada politicians had dared to do in at least a generation, they made Southern Pacific domination an issue that could no longer be ignored. The major reforms they championed were enacted, and it seems probable that they exerted some influence on the result. Finally, Republican endorsement of the Progressive candidates in 1914, in striking contrast to the pitched battles of the preceding four years, signified an acknowledgement that the party leadership had learned how badly they needed the liberals and were now prepared to accommodate them.

To a very large extent, George Springmeyer was the Nevada Progressive movement. Without him, it would, in all likelihood, have been no more than a brief flurry around Theodore Roosevelt's candidacy. His leadership during three successive elections gave the movement the only continuity and stability it possessed. The strengths and weaknesses of the movement were, for better or worse, very much Springmeyer's own. Nevada Progressivism reflected his disinterest in organizational work, his scanty financial resources, and his lack of skill in combating machine tactics, but it also reflected his passionate idealism and his courage in fighting impossible odds. Beneath the bronze portrait of Theodore Roosevelt which always hung in George Springmeyer's law office, a motto was engraved: "Fearless fighting for the right is the noblest sport the world affords."

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Legalization of Gambling in Nevada, 1931

PHILLIP I. EARL

ON MARCH 19, 1931, the day Governor Fred Balzar signed the law legalizing gambling in Nevada, the impact of the law on the state's subsequent development could not be foreseen, and many Nevadans living at the time did not consider it of much importance. In Tonopah, to cite but one example, one old-timer said that he and his fellows were much more interested in the price of silver. "Give us fifty-cent silver or another gold rush," he said, "and it matters little to Tonopah whether gambling is legal or not."[1] In Pioche, the editor of the *Lincoln County Record* predicted that the law would have little effect on his section of the state. He noted the depressed mining conditions and a recent wage cut, and asserted that those who had been in his office felt that there was no money to be made in starting a gambling operation.[2]

During the legislative debate on the new law, it became increasingly obvious that a gambling bill of some type would be passed. Local editors followed the progress of the bill and occasionally commented upon legalized gambling. One correspondent in the *Reese River Reveille* wrote that he did not "go much on professional gamblers" and could not see how legalized gambling could benefit the state. He noted that the current anti-gambling laws were not strictly enforced and that there was little public sentiment for enforcement. In conclusion, he echoed the feelings of many Nevadans: "If we are going to have gambling, . . . let's have it in the open and be honest with ourselves. Regulate the thing and use the revenue for some good purpose."[3]

Preparations for the legalizing of gambling were evident in several Nevada communities. In Winnemucca, one old-time gambling operator said that he intended to move his games and slot machines from the basement of his building to the main floor and add one more gambling table.[4] The editor of the local newspaper, the *Humboldt Star,* was unenthusiastic about the

1 *Carson City Daily Appeal,* March 28, 1931, 1:7.
2 *Lincoln County Record,* March 26, 1931, 1:2.
3 *Reese River Reveille,* February 21, 1931, 8:1–2.
4 *The Humboldt Star,* March 19, 1931, 1:2.

Reno Gambling Scene
Nevada Historical Society

legalizing of a practice which had never really ceased under the anti-gambling laws, but he felt that Humboldt County had a particular stake in the matter since its Assemblyman, Phil Tobin, had introduced the bill and Senator Duane Bush of Humboldt was the Chairman of the Senate Public Morals Committee which had recommended passage. "The bill becomes more or less a Humboldt County proposition," he concluded, "and like a son, good or bad, it's ours and we'll have to do our best with it."[5]

On March 21, two days after Balzar's action, it was reported that Newton Crumley, the proprietor of Elko's Commercial Hotel, had already pressed an old table into service for "21" and had ordered a new roulette wheel, a new "21" table and other gambling paraphernalia from a Chicago supply house.[6] In Tonopah, the owner of the Tonopah Club had his new roulette wheel installed on the morning of March 23; this marked the first appearance of legalized gambling in the community.[7] Open gambling also got underway in Ely within a few days of legalization. On March 27, it was re-

[5] Ibid., March 18, 1931, 2:1–2.
[6] *Elko Independent,* March 21, 1931, 1:4.
[7] *Tonopah Daily Times,* March 23, 1931, 1:4.

ported that the Miners' Club, the Copper Club and the Capitol Club were already in operation and the Palace Club and the casino at the Hotel Nevada were to open within a few days. Licenses for gambling in Ruth, Kimberly and McGill had also been taken out for "21" and slot machines.[8]

A number of communities were also considering matters of licensing as the gambling bill was going through the legislative mill. On April 20, the Ely City Council passed an ordinance providing for the licensing of all games within the city limits and setting up a license fee schedule, although gambling had been going on for almost a month without benefit of formal licensing procedures.[9] In Gardnerville, there were no applicants for licenses until the first week in April, when applications were received for four poker games and one klondyke game. Gardnerville had previously realized some $3,000 a year from slot machine licenses, but the new state law split the revenue between the city, the county and the state. The new law had also placed a ban on alien ownership of gambling operations, a prohibition which particularly hurt Douglas County because of its large foreign-born population.[10] In nearby Yerington, the new law also created a problem because it halved the city's take from slot machine and poker table licenses. The city passed a new licensing law shortly after Balzar signed the gambling bill in Carson City and the Silver Palace began operation of a roulette wheel and a "21" game on April 1.[11]

Elko passed a licensing law on March 28, but local editorial comment indicated that the city fathers had questions about the new state law. The matter of minors being allowed around games was still an open question, and so was the licensing of slot machines in drugstores, markets and hotels where youngsters might legitimately gather.[12] Legal questions also were discussed in Tonopah: who was to be considered an alien for purposes of licensing, and which level of government was to bear the expense of printing licenses? The editor of the *Tonopah Daily Times,* Frank F. Garside, expressed the opinion that Tonopah's $10 per month license fee for slot machines was too high and that only Reno and Las Vegas had sufficiently large transient populations to justify such a fee.[13]

The city of Sparks had almost finalized its own license law when the state law was passed and signed. There was a strong anti-gambling element among the rail community's population at that time and license fees were set at $100 a month for dice tables and $50 for slot machines. The ordinance

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8 *The Ely Record,* March 27, 1931, 1:5.
9 Ibid., April 24, 1931, 1:1.
10 *Gardnerville Record-Courier,* April 10, 1931, 1:1.
11 *The Yerington Times,* March 18, 1931, 1:3; April 1, 1931, 1:2.
12 *Elko Independent,* March 24, 1931, 1:3, 2:1, March 28, 1931, 1:6, 2:1.
13 *Tonopah Daily Times,* March 23, 1931, 2:1–2; April 3, 1931, 4:1.

was finalized and approved on March 24, but an initiative petition requesting that the matter of legalized gambling in the community be placed before the voters was reported to be in circulation the next day.[14]

In Las Vegas, local editors looked forward to the legalization of gambling. On February 26, Charles P. Squires of the *Las Vegas Age* editorialized upon legalization and countered some of the negative comments then being circulated in the national press. He indicated a preference for legalization and predicted that those holding licenses would promote "order and decency" in their places of business in order to protect their investments. Legalization would also give players "a gambling chance," he wrote, rather than have their money taken in "crooked games." Squires also predicted that legalization would bring in investors who would put up hotels and casinos. Noting that gambling operations in Mexico took in $1,000,000 from American tourists, he asserted that there was no reason why Las Vegas could not take over that trade.[15]

Las Vegas businessmen were equally enthusiastic and got up a legislative petition in favor of the gambling bill in early March. Editor Squires was right at their side, and commented editorially on March 7 that the present law ". . . saying that this game is legal and that game illegal has reduced the whole gambling business to a state of uncertainty."[16]

Two days after the signing of the bill, Squires predicted that Las Vegas and Reno would be the scenes of considerable gambling investments in the future. In a rather tongue-in-cheek fashion, he commented that if ". . . the industry shall bring in a sufficient number of idle and careless rich, who are being ruined by too much money, to keep the gaming houses going at a profit, we will try to stand it."[17]

Editor A. E. Cahlan of the rival *Evening Review-Journal* was also optimistic, but did not see legalized gambling bringing about the kind of abrupt changes his fellow editor envisioned. On March 21, he wrote that Nevadans should not become ". . . unduly excited over the prospects of luminaries from all over the world coming to this state to establish the gambling casinos made possible under the new regulatory law passed by the recent session of the legislature." He predicted that the effect would be much the same as that of the coming of the railroad in 1905, ". . . builded on conditions that did not yet exist." The same resorts would do business in much the same way, he asserted, "only somewhat more liberally and aboveboard. There will be a few additional resorts, but the majority will be located on the outskirts of things. It will take considerable time to prove

[14] *Sparks Tribune*, March 11, 1931, 1:1; March 23, 1931, 1:2–3; March 25, 1931, 1:2, 5.
[15] *Las Vegas Age*, February 26, 1931, 2:1–2.
[16] Ibid., March 7, 1931, 1:8, 2:1–2.
[17] Ibid., March 21, 1931, 2:3–4.

whether the gambling situation will attract the millions to Nevada that have been pictured by the proponents of the policy. . . ."[18]

As Cahlan's editorial was going to press that day, Las Vegans were preparing to mark the occasion in proper style. He was among those downtown that night, and he later described the scene:

Las Vegas went "wild west" again Saturday night when the larger local gaming clubs took full advantage of Nevada's new gambling law and pried off the lid with faro bank, roulette, and craps to augment their poker and twenty-one games of other days. A huge crowd (for Las Vegas) participated in the opening, and everything went off in approved fashion.

As you walked around, observing the play, you couldn't but wonder if these games really were as terrible as they have been painted, and really have been responsible for all the terrible things which resulted in their being legally outlawed in every state in the union. For the crowd was quite orderly, no more ballyhoo or emotion than in the friendly bridge game at home, and it was decidedly hard to realize that over gaming tables such as these whole fortunes have been lost in an evening, and whole lives wrecked as a result of those losses. It's hard to realize that wage-earners can become so addicted to one particular game that whatever money he might ever get his hands on will be thrown to the Goddess of change over the green covered table. For those who know will tell you that the gaming fever gets just as strong a hold on the individual as liquor or narcotics.

But proprietors of the gambling resorts will tell you that extra precautions will be taken to keep the habitual gambler from the tables—the man who cannot afford to lose—the so-called pay-check gambler. And you cannot but be impressed with the sincerity of these men, for they realize full well that they and their games are on trial for the next two years before the bar of public opinion, and that if the old-familiar scenes and tragedies of other days are re-enacted in any great number, the games will be permanently outlawed two years hence. So every precaution will be taken to guard the games from every bit of odium possible. Of course there's bound to be some, but careful management will relieve the situation considerably.

Quite a noticeable attempt to attract women to at least one resort. Several members of the fair sex were "planted" at the various games so that visitors would see and take it for granted it was the thing to do, now that the games are open. For women, after all, are the greater plungers, and more addicted to the gambling fever once they've been bitten by the bug.

And, just to complete the picture of the "good old days," the evangelist held forth on the corner doing his best to drive sin out of the world, appealing to the crowd that moved gaily between the various gambling resorts, passing and repassing the courageous individual attempting to interest them in seeing the error of their ways.

All in all, it was an interesting scene, drew a big crowd, resulted in considerable money changing hands, along with the usual big winnings and the losses you never hear about until some unfortunate can't see how he can face his family, his friends, or his employers and takes the suicide way out. But there are re-

[18] *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, March 21, 1931, 8:1–2.

deeming features from a strictly commercial standpoint. One resort owner tells you the payroll in his place of business will be $10,000 monthly from now on, increasing as business increases. He points out to you that if you're looking for gambling games you can find them in any of the larger cities and that Nevada is merely doing in the open what others are doing in secret, hypocritically holding themselves up to the world as pure because they have a law against gambling, while great gaming casinos operate merrily in every state in the union.

And you're forced to agree that he's right, for only recently the eminent Damon Runyon has been describing several eastern resorts, all violating the laws of their states, and all operating without interference. And for those who have the extra money and the desire to gamble, it's hard to convince yourself that they shouldn't be allowed to. For as is always the case with laws of this character, anti-gambling laws are passed for the purpose of protecting those unfortunates who cannot protect themselves, and are not aimed particularly at those who can afford the luxury of losing.

Just as it was the abuse of the liberties allowed in pre-prohibition days that brought about the eighteenth amendment, so also has it been the abuse of wide-open gambling that has brought about anti-legislation. If the gamblers themselves can keep these abuses to a minimum, it is quite probable the people of Nevada will continue in a tolerant mood. It never has been successfully accomplished. But there is always a first time and perhaps Nevada gamblers will be sufficiently interested in perpetuating their institutions to see that the games are operated as nearly beyond reproach as is possible.[19]

Editor Squires was also on hand that evening and reported on it in the columns of the *Age* on March 24. He observed that gambling seemed to be a new experience for many, but a remembrance of the past for others who wagered a few dollars on roulette or faro for "old times sake." Las Vegas was ready for the "easy money millionaires," he concluded, and the future looked bright.[20]

At the time of the impromptu celebration, no gambling licenses had yet been issued, but deposits had been put down and arrangements made to let the operators of games go ahead. Editor Cahlan advocated licensing those who were in the business at that time, "the higher type old-time gambling operators" as he called them, to prevent Las Vegas from being "overrun" with gambling houses. He felt there were enough games to take care of the demand and contended it would be easier to stop new operations than close them later.[21]

Cahlan claimed that most Las Vegans agreed with his stand on the issue. The City Commissioners issued only seven licenses for the quarter on April 9, including the Boulder Club, the Northern, the Las Vegas Club, the Rainbow, the Big Four and the Railroad Club. Licenses for slot machines in

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19 Ibid., March 23, 1931, 6:7–8.

20 *Las Vegas Age*, March 24, 1931, 2:1–2.

21 *Las Vegas Evening Review-Journal*, March 21, 1931, 1:1; March 26, 1931, 8:1–2; March 28, 1931, 8:1–2.

several downtown drugstores, hotels, and cafes were issued on April 17, as were licenses for several individuals to run poker tables, and the Exchange Club was also licensed.[22]

The licensing policy of the Las Vegas City Commission was soon challenged by prospective gambling entrepreneurs; some contemplated legal action, and hired attorney Charles L. Horsey. The policy was soon reversed and by the time of the opening of The Meadows just east of town on May 2, Las Vegas was being promoted as "The Monte Carlo of America."[23]

Unlike Las Vegas editors and opinion leaders, those in Reno were opposed to the legalization of gambling. At an anti-gambling meeting called by the Women's Citizens Club on February 4, Professor Reuben C. Thompson of the University's Philosophy Department was quoted as saying that "gambling, as a business, has no standing-ground whatsoever. It represents a parasitic business which preys upon the welfare of society and breeds crime." Legalization would make Nevada a "co-partner" in undermining society, he asserted, and it would be tantamount to "throwing the mantle of legality around an unethical business." At the meeting, Reno banker Walter J. Harris described the starving women and children he used to see in the old days and predicted that Nevada would be an object of ridicule on the part of her sister states. Others attending were equally caustic, speaking of the diversion of money from legitimate avenues of commerce, the undermining of the moral values of the community, and threats to family life.[24]

At the legislative hearings held in Carson City on February 16, opponents charged that the real issue was the enforcement of the present law. They claimed that the bill was a "surrender to gamblers" and would create an "era of racketeering." Others who appeared denied the increased revenue arguments made by proponents of the law and said that it would result in increased expenditures for law enforcement.[25]

Other than giving a prominent play to those in opposition, the editor of the *Nevada State Journal*, James G. Scrugham, was editorially silent. Graham Sanford, the editor of the rival *Reno Evening Gazette*, emphasized that the gambling bill was the result of the failure to enforce the anti-gambling laws. He also expressed a personal objection, and claimed that the law ". . . places the stamp of legality upon a bad business that is wholly predatory and adds nothing to the wealth of the state and its communities."[26]

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[22] Ibid., March 27, 1931, 6:6; April 10, 1931, 1:3; *Las Vegas Age*, April 18, 1931, 1:4.

[23] *Las Vegas Evening Review Journal*, April 16, 1931, 1:6; *Las Vegas Age*, May 2, 1931, 9:1–7 *et passim*; May 5, 1931, 1:6–7.

[24] *Nevada State Journal*, February 5, 1931, 1:6, 2:2; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 5, 1931, 12:3.

[25] *Nevada State Journal*, February 17, 1931, 1:8, 2:1; *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 17, 1931, 2:1.

[26] *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 10, 1931, 4:1–2.

Those who were already in the gambling business looked forward to legalization and were making preparations to expand their operations. A full crew was at work on the Bank Club knocking out walls of an adjoining former businesshouse, and several saloonkeepers on Center Street and Commercial Row were planning to install roulette wheels and dice tables. No shortage of dealers was anticipated since many members of the local "sporting fraternity" expressed an interest in changing sides at the tables.[27]

On the day the bill was signed, the editor of the *Nevada State Journal* devoted his column to the subject of "liberal legislation." Referring to both the new divorce law and the open gambling law, he wrote that both pieces of legislation represented "a theory of social and business economics that was formerly thought to be inconsistent with the best interests of the state." He further contended that the anti-liquor laws had caused a reaction against all forms of restrictive legislation and stated that most Nevadans desired a trial for "open gambling and easy divorce."[28]

Word of the passage and the signing of the gambling bill on Thursday, March 19, was flashed to Reno immediately, but Renoites waited until the next evening to go off downtown to see the wondrous changes which the new law had brought about. A reporter for the *Journal* filed the following description:

> Strange sights for strangers, practically the same old scenes for homefolks was the program in Reno yesterday as interest of the outside world in the new licensed gambling law distinctively overshadowed attention to the cut in divorce residence from three months to six weeks. While members of the legislature who had passed both measures continued to work overtime in Carson City, the rest of the country forgot them and centered attention on Reno and other possible gambling centers.
>
> PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN
>
> Special press correspondents arrived in town. Photographs of gambling games in operation were snapped to be sent to the outside world, the value of the photographs not at all impaired by the fact that they might have been taken anytime in the past few years. Aside from known alterations being made at Reno's largest gambling hall, the only apparent difference the "wide-open" bill had made yesterday was to center interest of the country in the fact that people gambled in Reno and now may continue to do so without violating the law. Outside newsmen hailed the measure as reviving the days of the pioneer west. Oldtimers of the mining camps were sought for interviews. Statements were sought from public officials.

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[27] Ibid., March 18, 1931, 12:1.

[28] *Nevada State Journal*, March 19, 1931, 4:1–2.

DIVORCE LAW FORGOTTEN

W. A. Wells, feature writer for the Associate Press, found the following conditions and impressions:

"Reno, along with the rest of Nevada, went 'old west' today. In the flush of wide-open gambling, the new 42 day divorce law was virtually forgotten. At ten o'clock this morning the principal gambling hall in the heart of the city was thronged by hundreds who played or milled about the roulette wheels, faro tables, mechanical dice throwing and other gambling games.

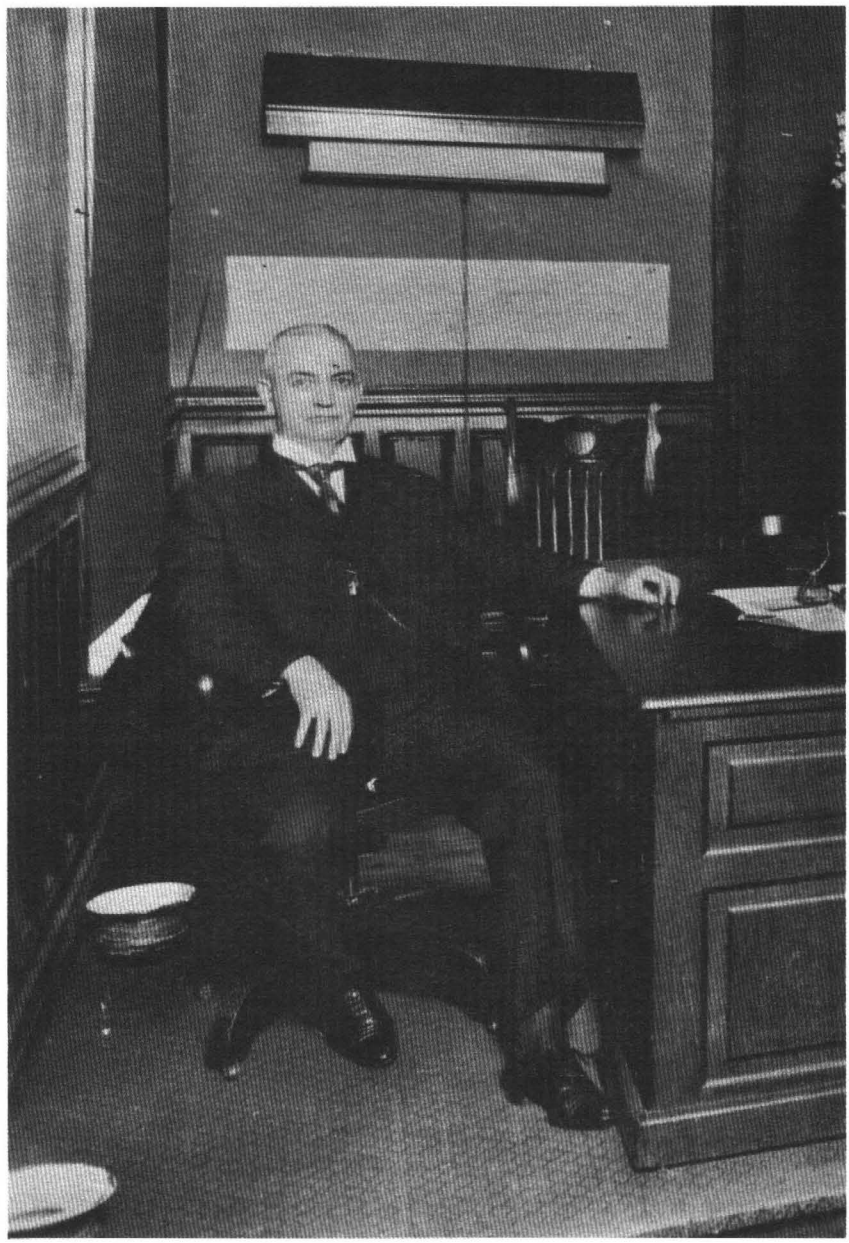
DRILLS AT WORK

"The hum and hubbub of gambling, the clicky-clack of machines and the clatter of poker chips was partly drowned by the staccato noise of a compressed air drill operated by a construction crew engaged in cutting through massive stone, brick and mortar walls to enlarge the gaming room. While waiting for the printers to turn out gambling license forms, the mere formality of official permission was dispensed with, hence no statistics were available regarding the number of permits which will be issued or the extent to which the city, county and state will profit in revenues. The signing of the new gambling bill yesterday by Governor Fred Balzar was the signal for augmented patronage of the gambling resorts rather than the inauguration of new ones for the new statute merely makes legal what has been going on under nominal cover for years. Throughout the night there was in progress in a single downtown establishment three faro games, three twenty-one games and two crap games and a well patronized chuck-a-luck table. Dozens of the so-called single 'speakeasy establishments' where divorcees and others play in an atmosphere of seclusion and a measure of 'exclusiveness' enjoy generous patronage. As the nocturnal players dwindled away, others took their places. All of the principal establishments operate twenty-four hours a day. Paper currency of both large and small denominations, huge stacks of silver dollars and halves and columns of red, white and blue poker chips litter the tables. Dealers and croupiers, wearing green eyeshades, work in eight-hour shifts tossing about or raking in small fortunes during the shift.

GETS ROBERTS VIEW

"Viewing the operation of one of the crowded games, Mayor E. E. Roberts, picturesque survivor of the old days, divested himself of his ideas of how a city should be run 'It's all nonsense trying to regulate people's morals by law. For eight years I've been trying to make Reno a place where everybody can do what they please, just so they don't interfere with other people's rights. Now we can do lawfully what Nevada has always done under cover. No, I don't think it will increase revenues much. This city has been deriving $35,000 a year from card games. Of course it wasn't lawful to gamble for high stakes. We just assessed them so much per table for playing cards. We never asked them what kind of games they were playing—just took their word for it and that the games were within the law. Guess Nevada is about the only free state left. Seems funny people will let a lot of longhaired reformers take their liberties away from them. I expect to get a lot

of roasting. Well, the more they roast me, the better I'll like it. But the boys got to run these games on the square.'



Reno Mayor E. E. Roberts
Nevada Historical Society

RUMORS HEARD

"Rumors fly about Reno with the wings of old time gold strike reports. Las Vegas is going to build a big racetrack and casino right on the outskirts of town! The Cal-Neva Lodge is going to put a gambling boat on Lake Tahoe and catch all the trade from California. They'll play in California waters and when a police boat approaches scoot for the Nevada side of the lake! Many and varied are the reports that Reno hears to cause apprehension that the 'Biggest Little City in the World' is going to meet competition which will rob it of its share in the expected influx of people attracted by the lifting of the lid on gambling areas. 'Nothing to the Cal-Neva report,' the chief owner of the resort said. 'No more of my money goes to Cal-Neva, the season's too short.'

"RIFF-RAFF"

"But the rumors still persist. Chief of Police J. M. Kirkley is not one of those who share the belief that licensing of gambling will result in the city's being flooded with 'riff-raff.' 'We'll take care of the floaters—just leave it to us,' he said. 'There's not going to be much of a change. Reno has always liked its games of chance. By the way, you might inform some of these 'longhairs' that despite Reno's liberal views, we've had only one murder in five years; five altogether in the last ten years and in twelve years only failed to bring one killer to account.' "[29]

Clergymen and those who thought of themselves as "spokesmen for decency" were very vocal in their remarks on Nevada's new gambling law. Among these was Dr. Clarence True Wilson, the head of the Methodist Conference Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Morals. In a speech delivered in New York City, he referred to Nevada as "a three-fold compound of Sodom, Gomorrah and Perdition." Others were equally as colorful, but they succeeded only in getting a defensive reaction from the people of Nevada rather than building up sentiment to once again outlaw gambling. Typical of the editorial commentary stirred up was the following from the pen of the editor of *The Humboldt Star*:

Nevada credits its people with enough sense to live their own lives. What a man does on Sunday is his own business, not that of a blue law commission. If it's necessary to be a "frontier state" to preserve personal liberty, let's remain a pioneer commonwealth and be thankful that at least one state in the union is a real "land of the free and home of the brave."[30]

As might have been expected, Nevada's staunchest defender was Mayor Roberts of Reno. Speaking from the pulpit of Reno's Methodist Church on March 29, he defended not only open gambling, but liquor, prostitution and

[29] Ibid., March 21, 1931, 1:3, 2:6.
[30] *The Humboldt Star*, March 25, 1931, 2:1-2.

divorce as well. Pleading for "honesty and enlightenment" rather than "hypocrisy and concealment," he denied that open gambling would attract "undesirables" to the state because such men could not thrive "where their actions must be in the open." The mayor also took a few shots at "certain preachers" and "longhairs," those who were "always looking for evil in life rather than for virtue. . . ."[31]

Roberts' remarks were well-received around the state, but some editors felt that he should not have lowered himself to answer Nevada's critics. "Never explain," the editor of the *Elko Independent* commented, "your friends don't need it and your enemies won't believe it."[32] The editor of *The Humboldt Star* reacted to Roberts' comments on "longhairs" and stated that he would "defend the belief that every person is entitled to his opinion and that if a person opposes gambling on a moral ground or quick divorce on the same ground, that he should not be called a 'longhair.' "[33]

And thus it went. Legalized gambling had returned to the Silver State after an absence of two decades. The rest is history.

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[31] *Nevada State Journal*, March 30, 1931, 1:8, 2:1–3.
[32] *Elko Independent*, March 28, 1931, 2:1.
[33] *The Humboldt Star*, March 30, 1931, 2:1–2.

Prospecting in the Reese River Mines of Nevada in 1864: The Diary of John Green Berry, Jr.

CHARLES R. BERRY

JOHN GREEN BERRY, JR., was born on August 12, 1840, near the village of Berry in the gentle rolling hill country of Harrison County in north central Kentucky. He came from a family of substantial farmers. His mother's grandfather was Josephus Perrin, an early Kentucky settler who had held a commission under Generals Harmar and St. Clair in the campaigns against the Indians in Ohio in 1790–1791, farmed in Harrison County, served several terms in the state senate, and was a general in the state militia. For the most part, Perrin's descendants remained farmers. His granddaughter married a farmer, John Green Berry, Sr., and they were the parents of the diarist.

John, Jr., traveled to California in 1860 to seek his fortune, satisfy his urge to see something of the world, and to visit relatives, some of his mother's brothers and their families, who had earlier emigrated to the West Coast. During the five years he remained in the West, he spent several months in Idaho in 1862, prospecting for gold in the newly-opened Salmon River mines; traveled to central Nevada in 1864 to prospect for silver in the vicinity of Austin in the Reese River country, and in between and after returning to California from Nevada, farmed in the Santa Clara Valley near the towns of San Jose and Santa Clara. He returned to his home in Kentucky in 1865, going by steamer to Nicaragua, crossing that country by river boats operated by the Vanderbilt interests, and sailed for New York City, where he took a train to Cincinnati, Ohio, and was met there by his father.

In three small ledger books he kept a journal of his travels and experiences for much of the five years he spent in the West. The first portion of the diary is devoted to the prospecting trip to Idaho in company with an uncle in the first big wave of miners to reach the new discoveries along the Salmon River. The second portion of his journal details his trip to the Reese River mines in 1864. The third gives an account of his agricultural endeavors in the Santa Clara Valley in late 1864–1865. The final portion describes his journey back to Kentucky in the autumn of 1865. He not only kept the account of his experiences in his ledgerbooks but also wrote receipts and expenditures, some addresses, first drafts of letters, a few poems,

and sketched some pictures. He was neither a good poet nor a competent artist. The earliest of the ledgerbooks has been damaged by the ravages of time and improper care, but for the most part it is still legible. The diaries are held by the Archives of The University of Texas at Austin.

The diarist spelled poorly and his punctuation followed no set of rules. In order to aid the reader, I have changed the punctuation considerably but have not altered the word order in any way. The punctuation changes are not noted by editorial insertions. When proper names have been misspelled, the correct spelling is offered in the footnotes. Some examples of poor spelling are left as is; some incorrectly spelled words are changed in the text of the diary, but when changed, the alterations appear in brackets. These modifications have been made always with the idea of facilitating the reading of the diaries. In two or three entries where the diarist used parentheses enclosing punctuation marks, the parentheses have not been eliminated.

Since the diaries are filled with references to people and places, I have endeavored to identify as many individuals and locations as possible. Much of the West had not been mapped satisfactorily when the diarist made his excursions. Since that time, many geographical designations then in current use have undergone change. The West was also an area in which people moved about frequently, so that some of the men Berry mentions are only phantoms to the editor. In the 1860s, women were not accorded as much attention in records as they are today, with the result that only a few of them have been identified.

The diaries do not contain accounts of military campaigns or high politics or the functioning of the society of the wealthy men and women of the era. Rather they are valuable for the record they provide of the common man—his activities, attitudes, interests, style of living, and recreation. The aspect of the diaries which makes the greatest impression is the muted maturing of a Kentucky lad wandering around the West with crowds of others who were seeking their fortunes. His varied experiences—running out of money, camping out in adverse weather, watching a friend die in the Salmon River gold field, spending long days in traveling over rough terrain, long evenings loafing in the cabins of the mining towns of Nevada, and long weeks in a Nicaraguan fishing village waiting for a ship to carry him home—taught him the self-reliance for which most men strive.

After his return to Kentucky in 1865 at the age of twenty-five, Berry never traveled widely again. He farmed in Harrison County near his home village until well after the turn of the century. He never married, spent the last years of his life with a widowed sister, and died on August 24, 1924, a few days after his eighty-fourth birthday.

Within a decade after the mineral frontier became firmly established in California it began pushing eastward. Jumping across the Sierra Nevada, it found a foothold at Virginia City on Mt. Davidson. Only three years elapsed before it again leaped across the alkali flats to central Nevada.

At the time of the Virginia City excitement, Nevada was a part of Utah Territory. The arid expanses of the Great Basin had been uninviting to settlement, even to the Mormons who seemed to have a gift for making the desert bloom. As a result, there were no towns between the settlements around Salt Lake and the small settlements along the base of the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada. The hot, dusty plains, broken by pine-covered mountain ridges that rippled across the basin in north-south parallel chains, had been crossed frequently by wagon trains on the way to California, but the dust-covered travelers always hurried forward to the green, cool foothills where they could obtain sweet water from mountain streams to quench their thirst. The transcontinental telegraph line and the overland mail route also crossed this barren extension of Utah; their small relay stations dotted the basin, lone sentinels of civilization in a vast stretch of otherwise uninhabited land.

It took something spectacular to draw people to central Nevada, and that something occurred early in May, 1862, when William M. Talcott, a former pony express rider who was operating Jacobs Station on the overland mail route, discovered silver while gathering firewood in Pony Canyon near the Reese River. Samples of the quartz vein taken to Virginia City for assay revealed that his strike was rich, word of the discovery spread rapidly, and the rush to central Nevada was on.

For a few months, Jacobsville, the mail station, was the center of activity. But the miners soon began flocking to a site at the foot of the canyon itself, and the town of Clifton sprang up—a collection of tents, shacks, and dugouts. Before long, Clifton was rivaled by the town of Austin, built farther up the canyon. Within a year, lots in Austin were selling for as much as $8,000.

The Reese River Mining District, organized by Talcott, the two Jacobs brothers (one of whom was agent for the Overland Mail Company) and two other men named O'Neil and Vanderbosch, was quickly surrounded by other districts to the north, east, and south of Pony Canyon. Austin became the metropolis for the outlying towns, and a metropolis it was, with its churches, places of business, public buildings, firehouse, halls of various fraternal organizations—in short, with all the trappings of a large boomtown and a population of perhaps 5,000. Within a year after Talcott's discovery, the Austin newspaper, the *Reese River Reveille*, put out its first issue and

has been published continuously ever since, providing a rich source of material for the study of the growth and progress of the region.

As a result of the influx of settlers to the mines around Virginia City, Nevada Territory was carved out of Utah's western holdings in March, 1861. As people poured into the mining camps and towns of central Nevada, Lander and Nye Counties were organized, and in October, 1864, Nevada joined the Union as the thirty-sixth state. The rapidity of the transition from territorial status to statehood was due not so much to the large population of Nevada as to the need by the Republican Party for Nevada's votes.

Austin, the seat of Lander County and the Reese River mining camps, boomed for two years and then found itself caught up in the economic recession of 1864–1865 that originated in the Comstock area and quickly spread to most Nevada towns. Wild speculation in mining stocks, lavish expenditures of capital on operations that could not yield a return in bullion, swindling transactions that were brought to light, and the exaggerated optimism of prospectors accounted for the crisis. Suddenly money became unavailable, work was stopped at the stamp mills and in the tunnels, and the crash brought down not only those claims which were worthless but also those which showed some promise. Many thought that Virginia City was doomed to ruin and desertion, and some houses were even torn down or moved away. Around Austin, the tunneling stopped at many sites and mills stood idle, but prospectors, a buoyant lot not easily given to discouragement, went on about their business. The resident correspondent of the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* wrote from the Reese River area: "What is the matter with you Bay folks, and, in fact, every body at large? . . . Are you determined to let stocks go down until they get out of sight?" He then spoke of the necessity of living down spasmodic and periodic depressions, and ended his report on this optimistic note: "Not with standing [*sic*] all this great depression and tightness of money, we are pursuing the even tenor of our way, and are quietly but vigorously, working and developing our mines. . . ."

In spite of the recession and the difficulties of transportation, the Reese River mines in 1864 produced between $175,000 and $200,000 per month. It was in this period of slackened mining activity that Berry and his uncle made their way from the Santa Clara Valley to central Nevada. The route they followed from Washoe was generally that of the immigrant wagon trains, at best a hard road to travel with its loose alkali soil which, with the least disturbance, rose in thick swirls of dust to be inhaled by man and beast. Public houses were few and there was a scarcity of good water along much of the route. All in all, it could not be considered a pleasure trip. Leaving late in the spring, the two men avoided much of the unfavorable weather that generally visits the region through March and early April; and

by traveling in their own wagon at a rather slow pace, they avoided much of the dust they would have swallowed had they gone by stagecoach.

According to Berry's account of Austin, the social life was still brisk even though the economic activities had diminished considerably. The many friends from the Santa Clara Valley whom he encountered in the Reese River mines indicate the strong attraction the central Nevada excitement had on men from surrounding areas. At the time of the diarist's visit, Austin was already declining. Despite a new injection of settlers in the summer of 1865, the life flow of the region was slowing, never again to reach the vitality of the 1863–1864 period of hardy youth. By 1870, the boom was definitely ended, and those few who remained in Austin settled back to a long, memory-filled old age, in which the ghost towns with their decaying cabins, abandoned workings, and the crumbling walls of the reduction mills loomed as constant reminders of a once glorious day.

Santa Clara, Cal. March 18th [18]64
J. G. Berry's Book

I expect in a short time from this date (Mar. 18th 64) to start for the Reece [sic] River mines in *Nevada Territory*, and if, during my stay in that country, anything should occur or accident happen to me, that would transfer me from the animate to the inanimate, any information respecting me would receive prompt attention from J. M. Swinford,[1] of *Santa Clara Cal.* or J. G. Berry Sr.[2] of *Berry Station* Kentucky. J. G. Berry, jr.

Notes of a trip to Reece River, April 20th 1864

In camp near northeastern extremity of Livermore valley.[3]

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[1] John Mitchell Swinford, born in Kentucky in 1833, was the brother of the diarist's mother. The year of his arrival in California is unknown. He farmed in Santa Clara County and was a partner in a general store in the town of Santa Clara. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, he held many county and city political offices, including those of Public Administrator, City Treasurer, and County Supervisor. The date of his death is unknown. Thomas H. Thompson and Albert A. West, *Historical Atlas Map of Santa Clara County, California* (San Francisco, 1876), p. 16¼; California, Santa Clara County, *Index to the Great Register of the County of Santa Clara* [1867] (hereinafter cited as Santa Clara County, *Great Register*). These county registers list not only the names of voters but in most cases also give their age, place of birth, occupation, residence, and naturalization information in the case of foreign-born citizens. For many of the men mentioned in this diary, such biographical information is all that is available.

[2] John Green Berry, Sr. (1817–1892), a farmer in Harrison County, Kentucky, was the diarist's father.

[3] This is a small valley, lying principally in present-day Alameda County. It is named after Robert Livermore (1799–1858), an English sailor who came to California in the 1820s. In 1839, he acquired a ranch in the valley that bears his name and made his home there until his death. Roscoe D. Wyatt and Clyde Arbuckle, *Historic Names, Persons and Places in Santa Clara County* (San Jose, California, 1948), p. 18.

Left Santa Clara California this morning for the Reece River Mines in Nevada Territory. Am traveling with G. P. Swinford[4] and J. Ketchum.[5] Conveyance, thoroughbrace wagon drawn by four horses.[6] Country through which we passed presents a fine appearance, but is very dry, and the crops look quite bad. Come through the old Mission San Jose.[7] Ancient place. Met Green Patterson and Miss Mary Simpson. Saluted but did not stop to converse with them. Have camped late, and are without hay for the horses. Traveled about 32 miles today.

April 21st

In camp at French Camp.[8] Arrived here late this afternoon. Country barren and desolate. Struck San Joaquin plains about noon. Its productions are few except Alkali[9] and weeds. Crossed San Joaquin River this evening.

[4] George P. Swinford was also a brother of Berry's mother and the brother of J. M. Swinford (see fn. 1 *supra*). Born June 28, 1825, in Harrison County, Kentucky, he was the grandson of General Josephus Perrin. In 1846, Swinford volunteered for the Mexican War and was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant. He fought in the battle of Buena Vista. When and why he moved to California is unknown. He and the diarist had traveled into Idaho in 1862 to prospect for gold in the recently opened Salmon River mines. An account of this 1862 expedition appears in *Idaho Yesterdays* 24 (Fall 1980): 2–22. Apparently Swinford went to the Reese River mines in 1863, the year of the rush to that region. There is a notice in the July 4, 1863, issue of the *Reese River Reveille* (hereinafter cited as the *Reveille*), the newspaper published in Austin, Nevada, calling a meeting of the miners of Summit District to replace the newly-elected recorder because of neglect in carrying out his duties. The notice is dated July 1 and one of the signers is G. P. Swinford. In all probability, Swinford returned to California for the winter and was now, in the spring of 1864, going back to the mines to try his luck anew. He died a bachelor in California. Robert Peter, *History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison and Nicholas Counties, Kentucky*, ed. W. H. Perrin (Chicago, 1882), p. 239.

[5] Probably Joseph Ketchum, born in 1830 in Tennessee, who was at this time a farmer in Santa Clara Township. Santa Clara County, *Great Register*.

[6] This type of wagon derived its name from leather straps, called thorough braces, upon which the body of the wagon rested and which served to soften the rough jolts. The chief function of the thorough braces, however, was to act as a shock absorber for the team, diminishing the violence of jolts transmitted from the wagon to the animals. The straps were used extensively in construction of stage coaches. William S. Greever, *The Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848–1900* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1963), p. 44.

[7] San José de Guadalupe was one of the later missions, established in June 1797, to serve as one of five intermediate stations in the chain of the older and larger churches. The church was completed in 1809. In 1824, it had 1,806 residents; in 1842, only 400. For many years it served as a base for military operations against the unfriendly Indians in the San Joaquin valley. The property was sold in 1846. The mission church was destroyed by an earthquake in 1868, and only a portion of the monastery is standing today. The site of the mission is about twenty miles northeast of the modern city of San Jose. George Wharton James, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California: An Historical and Pictorial Account of the Franciscan Missions* (Boston, 1916), pp. 222–230.

[8] French Camp, near Stockton, grew up as a trading center for the mines after the gold rush gained impetus and Stockton was founded. At one time, in the early 1850s, it was thought that this settlement would rival its larger neighbor, but decline soon set in and by the mid-sixties it was a dead place with little activity. George H. Tinkham, *History of San Joaquin County, California* (Los Angeles, 1923), p. 285.

[9] Alkali soils contain excessive amounts of sodium, which reduces the rate at which plants absorb water with the result that growth is retarded. U.S., Department of Agriculture, *The Yearbook of Agriculture, 1957: Soil* (Washington, 1957), pp. 282–283.

It is the largest river I have seen in California.[10] French Camp contains three Hotels, one store, two Black Smiths and one wagon shop. Altogether it is rather a pretty place. Traveled 36 miles to day.

April 22nd

In camp at Woodbridge[11] on Mokolumne River.[12] Arrived at this place today about 4 oclock P. M. Left French Camp early this morning. Arrived at Stockton;[13] stop[p]ed there a short time, and came on to the above named place. Stockton is beautifully situated in an Oak grove. Country extremely level and well timbered. Met Rev. Latimer[14] in Stockton. Woodbridge compares well with French Camp. Jim Day and Aquilla Kane are living in Woodbridge. Saw them both. Traveled 17 miles to day.

April 23rd

In camp at Wilsons Exchange[15] on Mocosma River.[16] Nothing unusual

[10] The San Joaquin rises in the Sierra Nevada, southeast of Yosemite National Park, and flows northward 350 miles to empty into Suisun Bay. It and its various tributaries constitute one of the two great river systems of California. Its basin is 130 miles wide and embraces one-fifth of the entire state. In the pastoral period, the valley residents raised grain and cattle, but with the development of irrigation systems, they later turned to more diversified crops. Real development came after the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad in 1875. Pacific Gas and Electric Company, *Rivers of California* ([San Francisco?], 1962), pp. 26–27; *An Illustrated History of San Joaquin County, California* (Chicago, 1890), p. 18.

[11] The site upon which Woodbridge was established was an outpost of the Hudson's Bay Company trappers in the early 1840s. Settlers began to move into the vicinity in 1850–1851, and the village was first called Woods Ferry, named after one of the early residents. Its prosperity was due to a highway. A road from Stockton to Sacramento reached the village in 1853. Later, Woods constructed a toll bridge across the Mokelumne River and succeeded in getting the stage lines to route their traffic by the road and bridge. The town was platted in 1859 and renamed Woodbridge. Tinkham, *History of San Joaquin County*, pp. 294–296.

[12] The Mokelumne River rises in Alpine County in western California in the Sierra Nevada and travels westward 130 miles to empty into the San Joaquin River about 20 miles above the latter's confluence with Suisun Bay. Pacific Gas and Electric Company, *Rivers of California*, p. 16.

[13] During the first two years after the gold rush began, Stockton was a city of white canvas tents, doing an immense amount of business as an entrepôt. By the end of 1849, the population was estimated at 1,000. The following year, the city was incorporated. In 1860, the population was 3,679. *A Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California* (Chicago, 1891), p. 226; U.S., Census Office, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population*, I, 31.

[14] R. A. Latimer joined the Pacific Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1855. Twenty years later he transferred to the Los Angeles Conference. "His sermons were always short, but well arranged and interesting." J. C. Simmons, *History of Southern Methodism on the Pacific Coast* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1886), p. 173.

[15] Wilson's Exchange was a hotel built on the south side of the Cosumnes River in 1850 by W. D. Wilson, an 1848 immigrant. Wilson sold the hotel in 1865, after which date it was not used as a public house. [George F. Wright, ed.], *History of Sacramento County, California* (reproduction of the 1880 edition; Berkeley, California, 1960), p. 227.

[16] The Cosumnes rises in El Dorado County and joins the Mokelumne twenty-five miles south of Sacramento. The river has been known by several spellings, and its name is believed to be derived from an Indian word *kosom*, meaning salmon, and *umne*, meaning people. This might explain why the diarist calls it the Mocosma. Prospectors settled many mining camps along its banks in the months following the discovery of gold. Pacific Gas and Electric Com-

occurred to day. Country same as yesterday. Portions of it is well timbered with oak. Saw great numbers of cattle [and] sheep; were very poor. Have been in sight of Mount Diablo[17] and the Sierra Nevada mountains for two days. Procurred hay here at 3 cts per pound. Traveled 25 miles to day.

April 24th

In camp near Mud Springs Eldorado County.

Crossed Mocosma River soon this morning on the Wire bridge.[18] Country barren and dry. Passed through Shingle[19] and Mud Springs.[20] Both old mining towns. Many traces of early mineing are to be seen near these places. Traveled 32 miles.

April 25th

In camp on Ogilby grade 14 miles east of Placerville.[21] Passed through

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pany, *Rivers of California*, p. 6; Grace Cilley Tibbitts, *Rivers of California* (San Francisco, 1948), pp. 20–21.

17 Mount Diablo, which reaches a height of approximately 3,800 feet, seems to loom larger because of its isolated location. It is the outstanding physical feature between Suisun Bay and the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys. It is in Contra Costa County, and is now a state park. *An Illustrated History of San Joaquin County*, p. 17; John Samuel Fox, "El Monte del Diablo" [typescript copy of a work prepared under the auspices of the WPA; California Historical Landmarks Series, ed. by Vernon Aubrey Neasham], (Berkeley, California, 1936), pp. 4 and 39.

18 This was probably the wire bridge built in 1862 by J. C. Austin, which was sold in 1868 to ex-governor Booth and partners. Nearby, W. D. Wilson, the owner of Wilson's Exchange, had built a bridge that was swept away by floods in 1852 and, after being rebuilt, was again destroyed by high water in 1862. [Wright, ed.], *History of Sacramento County*, p. 227.

19 Shingle Springs is situated about forty miles from Sacramento and twelve miles from Placerville. At this site, in the early years, a machine that manufactured shingles was set up near a cluster of springs. The first house in the village was built in 1850. Considerable mining activity was carried on in the surrounding area. Shingle Springs was also a way station on the emigrant road from the western towns in Nevada to Sacramento. In 1865, it was reached by the Placerville and Sacramento Valley Railroad, which stimulated the town's growth, but it soon reverted to the status of a quiet village. *A Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California*, p. 133; Paolo Sioli (comp.), *Historical Souvenir of El Dorado County, California* (Oakland, California, 1883), pp. 199–201.

20 Mud Springs was on the emigrant road from Nevada to the San Joaquin Valley. The springs at the site were used by many travelers to water their stock and as a result were always in a muddy condition. Considerable importance was attached to the town in the years immediately following the discovery of gold. When it was incorporated in 1855, it took the name El Dorado, but like so many of the mining towns, it soon declined in importance, was disincorporated in 1857, and the old name remained in use. *A Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California*, p. 133; Herman Daniel Jerrett, *California's El Dorado Yesterday and Today* (Sacramento, California, 1915), pp. 76–77.

21 Placerville, one of the centers of the gold excitement in 1849, underwent several changes of names. It was first known as Dry Diggins; then Ravine City; then Hangtown, after a vigilante hanging that took place there; then Placerville was selected in 1850. The town was incorporated in 1853 or 1854, and its population in 1860 was 2,466. *A Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California*, pp. 134 and 136; Jerrett, *California's El Dorado*, pp. 48–61; U.S., Census Office, *1860 Population*, I, 29.

Placerville. Met Bill January,[22] Dr. Worthen,[23] and Burwell there. Stayed in town two or three hours. Got some flour and other things that we needed. Saw old 49 diggins, some of them are now being worked by Chiniamen [sic]. Country mountainous and heavily timbered with pine. Obtained water to night by paying 50 cts for it. Traveled 17 miles to day.

April 26th

At Louis McMurtry's.[24] Road and mountains same as yesterday. Mac has a very good stand. Romantically situated on south fork of American River.[25] Fished awhile in the river, but caught nothing. John Baker is here at Louises and will stay all night. He is on his road to the Boise mines.[26] Traveled 15 miles.

April 27th

At Yank Station,[27] in Lake Valley.[28] Road not so good as yesterday.

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22 William Alexander January, born in Maysville, Kentucky, 1826, traveled by the Lassen route across the plains in 1849. He worked in the mines along the Feather River in 1849–1850, and for the next three years around Placerville. When the *Mountain Democrat,* the Placerville newspaper, was established, January worked for it. In 1855, he became part owner. Ten years later, he sold out to his partner, went to San Jose, and started the *Santa Clara Argus,* which he published from 1866 to 1879. He held several political offices in Santa Clara County and was state treasurer in 1882. Charles Elmer Upton, *Pioneers of El Dorado* (Placerville, California, 1906), pp. 124–126; Frederick Hall, *The History of San Jose and Surroundings, with Biographical Sketches of Early Settlers* (San Francisco, 1871), p. 300.

23 H. W. A. Worthen, born in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1814, was taken by his parents to Cynthiana, Kentucky, the seat of the diarist's home county, in 1816, where he grew up. He graduated from the Medical College of Pennsylvania University in 1846 and began practicing in Cynthiana. He left there in early 1850 to go to California, crossed the plains from Independence, and arrived in Placerville in August. For two years he mined in and around Placerville and then opened the first drugstore there in partnership with another doctor. In 1856, fire destroyed his property, and from then on he devoted himself to practicing medicine. Sioli, *Historical Souvenir of El Dorado County,* pp. 267–268.

24 Louis McMurtry, married to one of the diarist's second cousins, moved to California after his wife's death in 1855.

25 The American River, on which Marshall discovered gold in 1848, has three forks: the North, Middle, and South. The latter rises in the Sierra Nevada a few miles south of Lake Tahoe and flows almost due east, north of Placerville, to join the North Fork approximately thirty miles upstream from the city of Sacramento.

26 Gold was discovered in the region drained by the Clearwater River in Idaho in 1860. Prospectors fanned out to the south in search of richer deposits and found gold on the Salmon River. Others continued their search still farther to the south, and the discoveries in 1862 and 1863 along the Owyhee River and in the Boise Basin, sparsely settled at the time by Mormons, in turn drew men away from the Salmon River mines.

27 Yank's Station had its beginnings as an isolated trading post constructed in the back country by Martin Smith about 1851. Smith is reputed to be the first white settler in the southern valley of Lake Tahoe. As more and more traffic began to pass around the southern end of the lake, Smith's clearing came to be known as one of the most famous way stations. In the following years, several different owners controlled the property, and in 1859, Ephraim "Yank" Clement acquired it. With the discovery of silver in Nevada, the traffic swelled to a deluge, and Yank's Station, as it soon came to be called, was expanded by the Clements into a three-

Passed through Strawberry[29] to day, not much of a place. Had a fine view of Lake Bigler[30] this evening from the summit of the mountain. Traveled 27 miles.

April 28th

At Carson City, N. T. Traveled along the eastern shore of Lake Bigler to day; it is a magnificent body of water, situated between the two summits of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The scene from the Western summits is grand and imposeing. Standing as we were on the top of the mountain near the Southern extremity of Lake Valley, our eyes rested first on the Valley, which of its self is a sight of no mean grandeure, studded all over with pines, the green grass springing up and danceing streams flowing through it; but casting our eyes down the Valley and farther to the North, we beheld the bright and limpid waters of the Lake. Ah, here was a sight worth toiling over plain and desert to see. The valley, the Lake, the snow clad mountains. All combined made up a scene of the utmost grandeure. One could gaze here upon nature unadorned save by the hand of Him, who created All things.

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story, fourteen-room hotel; the corrals were enlarged, and a barn and stable were built. A few private dwellings were erected nearby, as well as two saloons, a blacksmith shop, a cooperage, and a general merchandise store. When the Central Pacific Railroad was constructed, the route of travel shifted, and in 1873, the Clements sold their station to G. H. D. Meyers, who sold it to the Celio family thirty years later. The old hostelry was destroyed by fire in 1938. Edward B. Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe* (Crystal Bay, Lake Tahoe, Nevada, 1957), pp. 189–196.

[28] Lake Valley lies between the eastern and western ranges of the Sierra Nevada at the southeastern end of Lake Tahoe. It was first discovered in 1848 by a man named John C. Johnson, who lived near Hangtown (Placerville), and who was searching for a route over the central Sierra more direct than the trail which wound through Kit Carson Pass. Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe*, pp. 179–180.

[29] Strawberry Station, located in Strawberry Valley or Flat, was a way station and stopover for teamsters and travelers on the road to and from the Nevada mines. It was owned by Irad Fuller Berry, of no relation to the diarist. There are different stories regarding the origin of the name. One account states that it came from the profusion of wild strawberries growing in the region. Another states that it was derived from the name of Berry, the owner, who had a penurious reputation and cheated his guests at every opportunity. The straw mattresses were insufficiently stuffed, and the customers would cry out, "More straw, Berry." Still a third states that the teamsters nicknamed the owner "Straw" because he kept their oats and barley and fed straw to their horses. Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe*, p. 367; Edwin Gustav Gudde, *California Place Names: The Origin and Etymology of Current Geographical Names* (Rev. ed.; Berkeley, California, 1960), p. 306; W. Storrs Lee, *The Sierra* (New York, 1962), pp. 229–231. J. Ross Browne wrote a humorous description of an evening meal and a night spent at Strawberry. He found the food good but he had to sleep on the floor of the parlor with many other guests. J. Ross Browne, *A Peep at Washoe and Washoe Revisited* (originally published in 1860 and 1863; Balboa Island, California, 1959), pp. 35–42.

[30] This lake was first discovered by Fremont in 1844. He named it Bonpland after the traveling companion of the naturalist Alexander von Humboldt. In late 1852, John Bigler, the governor of California, led a party to rescue a group of emigrants stranded on the eastern shore. Upon his return, a group of Placerville citizens renamed the lake in his honor. A Democrat and Southern sympathizer, Bigler lost popularity after 1860 and his opponents advocated changing the name of the body of water. Lake Bigler gradually came to be known as Lake Tahoe, supposedly suggested and publicized by Henry De Groot. George and Bliss Hinkle, *Sierra-Nevada Lakes* (Indianapolis, 1949), pp. 256–259, 268–269.

The Lake is about 50 miles long by 25 in width.[31] Carson City is considerable place.[32] The seat of Government for the Territory being located here, it commands most of the trade for the Washoe County.[33] Met Bob Oety in town to night. Traveled 30 miles.

April 29th

In camp 21 miles east of Carson City. Our road to day has been over a sandy plain, and consequently our progress has been slow. Saw several quartz mills as we came along.[34] Passed through the town of Dayton.[35] It is situated on the Carson River.[36] Quite a number of quartz mills are located here. Dayton appears to be rather a lively place. Are encamped to night in sight of Virginia City.[37] Will not pass through it. Traveled 21 miles.

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[31] Halve these dimensions and the figure is more accurate. Tahoe is approximately 23 miles long, 13 wide, has a 71-mile shoreline and a surface area of 193 square miles, and reaches a depth of 1,645 feet. Hinkle, *Sierra-Nevada Lakes,* p. 253.

[32] Carson City, named after Kit Carson, Fremont's guide and scout, began in 1851 as a trading post where one of the overland routes crossed a fertile plain. First known as Eagle Ranch, the post changed hands in 1858, and the new owners surveyed a townsite. Lots were sold at low prices or traded for goods. The following year, with the discovery of silver in the region, Carson City, as it was now named, became a boomtown and the center of business and most important town in western Utah. Two years later, when Nevada Territory was created, Carson City was selected as territorial capital and also the seat of Ormsby County. Helen S. Carlson, *Nevada Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Reno, Nevada, 1974), p. 71; Myron Angel, *History of Nevada* (reproduction of the 1881 edition; Berkeley, California, 1958), p. 550; Federal Writers' Project, Nevada State Writers' Project, *Origin of Place Names: Nevada* (Reno, Nevada, 1941), p. 58 (mimeographed).

[33] Washoe County was one of the nine counties into which Nevada was originally divided. It lies along the California border between Lake Tahoe on the south and Pyramid Lake on the north. It gave its name to the mines of the region. Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 625.

[34] In the quartz mills, ore was pulverized and subjected to amalgamation to extract the silver from the quartz. The mills varied in size; some were very complete and modern and included in their operations the process of assaying. Dan De Quille [William Wright] described in detail the operations of the mill of the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company, in 1876; it was medium-sized but very up-to-date in machinery and operation. *The Big Bonanza* (first published in 1876; New York, 1947), pp. 254–267.

[35] Dayton is located at the end of the Twenty-Six Mile Desert that the emigrant trail crossed and at the mouth of Gold Canyon. De Quille noted that it began as a trading post. For several years, it was a struggling hamlet. Then Chinese laborers settled there and began to mine for gold. The village became known as Chinatown. By 1858, there were 200 "celestials" in the vicinity. The name Dayton was chosen in 1861, after John Day, who, in return for the honor, made a plat of the town. Day was later Surveyor-General of Nevada. It became a favorable location for building quartz mills to reduce the ores from the mines, having an abundance of water in the canyon to work the mills. In 1862, there were seventeen mills in the vicinity, all but two or three run by water power. Dan De Quille [William Wright], *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode & Mines* (Virginia [City], Nevada, 1889), pp. 102–104; Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 500; *Origin of Place Names: Nevada,* p. 46; J. Wells Kelly (comp.), *First Directory of Nevada Territory* (reprint of the 1862 ed.; Los Gatos, California, 1962), pp. 215–222; Carlson, *Nevada Place Names,* pp. 92–93.

[36] The Carson River rises in the Sierra Nevada and has several tributaries on the California side. Its general direction of flow is northwest, then northeast before it ends in the Carson Sink. In the latter part of the summer, its size diminishes greatly, since great quantities of water are taken from it to irrigate the ranches of the valley. De Quille, *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode,* pp. 21–22.

[37] Tradition holds that Old Virginny Fennimore, a popular miner of the region, christened

April 30th

In camp at McClouds Station. Road to day worst we have had since we left home, sand 4 to 6 inches deep. Overtook Tom Lyn, and the Messrs. King this morning at 13 mile house. Traveled with them to day, they are on their road to Reece River. Appeara[n]ce of rain to night. Traveled 18 miles.

May 1st 1864

In camp near Ragtown[38] on Carson River. It is thundering and raining at this writing. Think it will rain but little. Road no better. Country is covered with sage brush and greese wood[39] except along the river, where a few cotton wood and willow trees are to be found. Ragtown contains one house and blacksmith shop. Traveled 18 miles.

May 2nd

In camp at Lake View house.[40] Road to day a little better. Passed some good farms on the river.[41] Five miles south of this place there is a consider-

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the yet-unnamed settlement near the summit of Mt. Davidson in his own honor one night when he was drunk, tripped and broke his bottle, and then poured the remainder of the whiskey on the ground as he named the town. This incident supposedly took place in October, 1859, but the legend has been proven false. The settlement developed into a tent and shanty city when the rush began to the region. A wagon road was built up the side of the mountain, and by 1862–1863, many brick and stone buildings were being erected. Greever, *The Bonanza West,* pp. 145–146; De Quille, *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode,* pp. 45–49.

[38] There are several versions of the origin of the name Ragtown. Since it was a station on the overland road, it was a popular trading and rest stop before the wagon trains crossed the mountains. California traders coming out to meet the trains erected cloth tents which were often abandoned and gave a ragged appearance to the site. Another version states that the emigrants discarded their ragged garments at this spot to swim in the Carson River, and in peak season, scattered piles of rags were left to adorn the banks. Still another story has it that the emigrants habitually discarded many of their belongings here to lighten the load for the pull up the mountains. Its importance lay in its location—at the end of the Forty-Mile Desert and at the foot of the climb into the Sierra Nevada. It was never a large place, but seldom lacked activity. Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 365; Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City* (2 vols.; London, 1861), I, 54; Works Projects Administration, Federal Writers' Program, *Nevada: A Guide to the Silver State* (Portland, Oregon, 1940), p. 267 (hereinafter cited as *Nevada Guide*).

[39] Greasewood forms the principal cover on many alkali flats from 2,000 to 5,000 feet in elevation in the Great Basin. It is a fair-sized shrub, growing from about three to five feet in height, with dense branches. It is poisonous in the spring to sheep, but livestock browse it to some extent. Lyman Benson and Robert A. Darrow, *The Trees and Shrubs of the Southwestern Deserts* (2nd ed.; Tucson, Arizona, 1954), pp. 128–129.

[40] There was a Lake View House built by two men named Varney and Waters in 1860, purchased by Benjamin Curler in 1864, and subsequently sold to Joseph Scott. Myron Angel, however, locates it only one-and-a-half miles above Ragtown. According to the distance Berry gives, he would have been well beyond the location cited by Angel. There were either two hotels by that name within a few miles of each other, or either Berry or Angel places it at an incorrect distance from Ragtown. Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 365. Carlson, *Nevada Place Names,* does not give any information on a Lake View House.

[41] Oddly enough, the region the diarist is describing is one of the most fertile areas of Nevada. The green fields make a vivid contrast with the salt flats and stretches of alkaline soil surrounding them. *Nevada Guide,* p. 4.

able body of water known as Carson Lake, or the sink of the Carson River. The Lake abound[s] with fish, and large numbers of geese and ducks are to be found on its waters.[42] Between this and the lake there is some fine grazing land. A fine view of the surrounding country can be obtained from this place. Traveled 18 miles.

May 3rd

In camp at Sand Springs.[43] Road to day excellent, but over a dry arid plain; the country for most part was covered with a white incrustation resembling salt. At one place near the mountains the plain was strewn with large quantities of lava. A few miles from Sand Springs, there is about fifteen hundred acres of land, off of where is obtained large quantities of coarse salt of a good quality.[44] Met Frank Grewell[45] this morning on his way from Reece River to California. Traveled 19 miles.

May 4th

In camp at White Rock. Road to day very fine. Country broken; and less alkali. Crossed twenty two mile desert, got water midway of the desert by paying 25cts per bucket for it.[46] Met A. L. *Bascomb* and J. *Miller* this evening bound for California from Reece River. White Rock House is not completed yet; they are constructing it out of a white sand stone very por[o]us and easily worked. Traveled 30 miles.

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[42] Many travelers confused the Carson Sink with Carson Lake. The diarist means the latter. The Lake is about twelve miles in diameter and about fifty feet deep at the most. Carson Sink, several miles to the north of Berry's location, is about twenty miles long and nine miles wide. It is the terminal of the Carson River. At times of great freshets, this sink overflows into the Sink of the Humboldt, still further to the north. The waters of Carson Sink are strongly alkaline and support only a few species of fish on which large flocks of wild fowl subsist. Angel, *History of Nevada*, p. 359; De Quille, *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode*, p. 22.

[43] Sand Springs, at the eastern end of an expanse that is known as Twelve Mile Flat, early became a stopping place on the overland road the diarist was following. *Nevada Guide*, p. 264.

[44] The large salt deposits to which the diarist refers were but recently discovered at the time he made his entry. Hundreds of emigrants had passed along the edges of the salt flat, which was about seven miles long and one mile wide, but all took it for a purely alkaline incrustation. There was a thin top stratum of alkali, but beneath, to a depth of eighty feet, was salt more than ninety-eight percent pure. The discovery was made in late 1863 or early 1864, and the flat was being taken up in claims of one acre each. Later, a refinery was established, but had to be abandoned when it was realized that transportation rates were too high to permit a profit. *Reveille*, January 26, 1864, p. 1; *Nevada Guide*, pp. 264–265.

[45] Probably Francis Melvin Gruwell, born in Illinois in 1840, and at this time a farmer whose residence was in Milpitas Township, Santa Clara County. Santa Clara County, *Great Register*.

[46] Carlson, *Nevada Place Names*, p. 245, lists a White Rock House, "an early station and watering place," in Churchill County, which would correspond to the diarist's location. This stretch is not referred to today as the twenty-two mile desert, but the diarist is describing the semi-desert stretch of land between present-day Westgate and Sand Springs. The water obtained midway may have been at Frenchman's Station, on the edge of a dry lake bed, an old relay and watering place for wagons. *Nevada Guide*, p. 264.

May 5th

In camp on Edwards Creek.[47] Road same as yesterd[ay]. Extremely cold last night. Commenced snowing about noon to day, and came down very fast for two or three hours. Still storming on the mountains at this writing (6 P. M.). Edwards Creek flows through a deep Cannon [sic], the sides of which are covered with stunted cedars and bunch grass. Traveled 24 miles.

May 6th

In camp in Reece River Valley near Reece River. Country rough and hilly. This valley is about 75 miles long by 25 in width.[48] A small portion of it affords very good grass which makes tolerable hay.[49] Are encamped in sight of towns of Amadar,[50] Cannon City,[51] and Jacobsville.[52] The mountains

[47] Edward's Creek marked the western boundary of the Reese River Mining District. [John J. Powell], *The Silver Districts of Nevada* (New York, 1865), p. 36. Carlson, *Nevada Place Names*, p. 105, quotes Captain J. H. Simpson on the origins of the name, given by Simpson to honor one of his assistants.

[48] Reese River has its sources in the Toiyabe and Shoshone Mountains of central Nevada and flows northward about one hundred miles to disappear in the sandy wastes south of Battle Mountain. At one time it was a tributary of the Humboldt. Its valley is about twelve miles wide. There are excellent grazing lands on the bordering hills and benches. It was named by Captain Simpson in 1859 in honor of John Reese, a Mormon who lived at Salt Lake City and who explored the region in 1851 while searching for a shorter route than that along the Humboldt to reach the Mormon settlements at the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada. *Nevada Guide*, p. 261; De Quille, *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode*, p. 24; W. P. Harrington (comp.), *Harrington's Directory of the City of Austin, for the Year 1866* (Austin, Nevada, 1866), p. 24 (hereinafter cited as *Harrington's Austin Directory*); Carlson, *Nevada Place Names*, p. 200.

[49] Dan De Quille wrote of the natural grazing lands of the area as follows: "On ranges are found several valuable native grasses, some of which are cut for hay. Those most valuable for hay are the blue-joint, red-top, one variety of bunch-grass, and several varieties of clover. All these grasses grow in the moist lands of the valley and natural meadows, but some varieties of bunch-grass flourish on the hills and elevated benches." De Quille, *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode*, p. 30.

[50] Amador was located seven miles north of Austin on the western slope of the Toiyabe Range overlooking Reese River valley. In 1863, it had a population of about 1,500. Several mines were located nearby, but they proved to be not very rich, despite large sums of money expended to put them into operation. Amador soon declined. Since it was principally a town of tents, by 1881 it had completely disappeared. Angel, *History of Nevada*, p. 472. Carlson, *Nevada Place Names*, p. 36, indicates the settlement was named after Amador County, California, which honored a prominent Mexican family of that region.

[51] Located approximately seven miles south of Austin, Canyon City in 1863 had one hotel, one store, two restaurants, three saloons, a meat market, a telegraph office, twelve houses and cabins, and fifty permanent residents. The silver ledges soon proved to be not very extensive and the town was abandoned early. Angel, *History of Nevada*, p. 472.

[52] Jacobs' Springs was a station on the Overland Mail pony express route, approximately eight miles southwest of the site where Austin later developed. George Washington Jacobs was the station keeper. It later became a station of the transcontinental telegraph line. When Lander County was created in 1862, Jacobsville, as it came to be called, served as the first county seat. But Austin's rapid growth soon overshadowed it, and the seat was moved to the larger town in September, 1863. By that time, Jacobsville boasted two hotels, three stores, and a post office. Angel, *History of Nevada*, p. 461. The *Nevada Guide*, pp. 258–259, incorrectly states that the town was named after General Frederick Jacobs of Indian-fighting fame. Lander County was named after General Frederick Lander, the Indian fighter.

on the east side of the valley are covered with snow, while those on the west are dry;[53] and the grass is spring[ing] up beautifully. Reece River is a very small stream. Weather very cold. Traveled 30 miles.

May 7th

In camp in Brookses Cannon.[54] Passed through the towns of Clifton and Austin to day. Clifton is one of the first towns built in the Reece River country. It is a small place, situated in a deep cannon as is also Austin, but higher up in the mountains. The towns connect with each other. Austin is far ahead of Clifton in point of business, and number of inhabitants.[55] Several quartz mills are at work in Austin. A good many ledges are located near that place. Saw Sam Langhorne,[56] Dr. Chamblin[57] and Dick Anderson in Austin. Sam is selling drugs. Chamblin is practicing medicine and Dick is loafing. Has snowed hard half of the day. Will probably reach Summit district tomorrow, where we expect to stop for sometime.[58] Traveled 20 miles.

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[53] The mountains on the eastern side of Reese River valley are called the Toiyabe Range, and those on the west are in the Shoshone Range.

[54] There is a Brooks Canyon about thirteen miles southwest of Austin on the western side of the Toiyabe Range. The Canyon has a length of approximately one mile. A creek forms above the head of the canyon, but it is usually dry. See U.S., Geological Survey, Nevada, Topographical map of the Austin Quadrangle.

[55] Clifton and Austin were both located in Pony Canyon, the former being established first at the foot of the canyon. In 1863, Clifton had 500 citizens, several places of business, and a Wells Fargo and Company express office. Some of the residents moved up the slope of the canyon to a better site, and almost overnight Austin became a boomtown on the higher location. A road was constructed from the lower town to the upper, but as Austin's increasing population continued to expand the outer perimeter of the town, Clifton and Austin became contiguous, and in early 1864, they were incorporated as one town. Angel, *History of Nevada,* pp. 465–466; John J. Powell, *Nevada: The Land of Silver* (San Francisco, 1876), p. 245. Whom the town was named after is open to debate. Carlson, *Nevada Place Names,* p. 43, discusses the possibilities: Aloah C. Austin, John Austin, Leander Kelse Austin, all early pioneers and miners, and Austin, Texas. *Origin of Place Names: Nevada,* p. 39, opts for Leander Kelse Austin, the uncle of the developer of the Jumbo Mine.

[56] Sam W. Langhorne (born 1836) moved from Missouri to California with his parents in 1852. He became a druggist and stayed in California until 1863, when he went to Austin, Nevada, where he acquired mining interests and also operated a drugstore. In 1865, he moved to Montana, settling at Helena. Five years later, he located at Bozeman, where he opened the first drugstore. He also started the Bozeman *Chronicle* in 1883. He held many political offices in the state, serving as the speaker of the legislature in 1876, member of the constitutional convention of 1884, and mayor of Bozeman. His drugstore in Clifton (Austin), Nevada, carried a wide variety of goods–drugs, medicines, paints, varnishes, window glass, putty, etc. Apparently he was a popular figure in the mining towns, for a resident of Jacobsville wrote the editor of the *Reveille*: "I want to give you a little advice. If you should conclude to pay us a visit, don't for goodness sake, bring Sam Langhorne, of Clifton, with you, because he comes often—yes he does. Everybody is a friend to Sam, although I am a little down on him. I don't know as he is to blame because the girls and *widows* like him better than they do me." M. A. Leeson, *History of Montana, 1739–1885* (Chicago, 1885), p. 1138; *Reveille,* October 10, 1863 (for drugstore advertisement); "Tortoi, Jr." to editor, *Reveille,* June 10, 1863, p. 4.

[57] Dr. M. R. Chamblin advertised in the *Reveille* of this period as being in partnership with Dr. T. M. Morton as physicians and surgeons. See also *Harrington's Austin Directory,* p. 71.

[58] Summit Mining District, approximately twenty-five miles south of Austin on the eastern slope of the Toiyabe mountains, was organized June 19, 1863. Ore was discovered in

May 8th

In Corinth[59] on Smokey Creek.[60] Destination reached at last. Arrived here this evening in a snow storm. Has been snowing on us nearly all day. Our road from Austin to this place was down Smokey Valley[61] and up Smokey Cannon or Creek. Met old friends in Corinth. Among them was James Coats, Newton Finley,[62] John Lovell,[63] Will Rucker,[64] Alf McCoy,[65] Isa[a]c Swaffard, [66] Ben Campbell,[67] G. B. Montgomery,[68] all of Santa Clara

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this area earlier that year, and before long, three small towns had begun, each the center of a separate mining district. As the name indicates, Summit District was near the summit of the range of mountains, at the head of a canyon known as Pleasant Valley. A rugged trail led down the canyon to Bunker Hill, and five miles farther down, two miles from the mouth, the settlement of Kingston was located. As usual, the miners were at first optimistic over the prospects, and in early 1864, there were predictions that a wagon road would soon be constructed across these mountains and down the canyon, linking the towns just mentioned with the Reese River Valley. Three mills were soon erected to reduce the ores, but in time the operators proved to be unsuccessful, despite an abundance of water and wood, owing to the absence of adequate machinery and the lack of proper knowledge of the ores. The companies operating the mines failed, and within a few years these districts were dead. They were later consolidated into one district, the Kingston, and sometimes spoken of as two: the Victorine or Bunker Hill on the south and the Santa Fe on the north. *Reveille*, June 24, 1863, p. 1, for formation of the district; and March 5, 1864, p. 1, for progress of the region; James G. Scrugham (ed.), *Nevada: A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land* (3 vols.; Chicago, 1935), I, 176; Angel, *History of Nevada*, p. 519; Francis Church Lincoln, *Mining Districts and Mineral Resources of Nevada* (Reno, Nevada, 1923), p. 112.

[59] Corinth was one of the three towns in the canyon in which Summit District was located, the smallest, the farthest up the canyon, and the seat of that district. Corinth had a steam sawmill, and, according to the *Reveille* of May 26, 1864, "all is life and bustle" in its environs.

[60] Smoky Creek or Big Smoky Stream is the creek that flows down the canyon which was variously called Pleasant Valley or Smoky Canyon. *Reveille*, May 26, 1864.

[61] Smoky Valley or Big Smoky Valley, which lies between the Toiyabe Range on the west and the Toquima Range on the east, begins in Lander County and extends far south for 140 miles into Nye County. It is about fifteen miles in width. Watered by numerous springs and streams, it is protected from frosts and is very fertile. An extensive salt marsh is located in the central portion of the valley. It derives its name from the blue haze that frequently hangs over the valley. Angel, *History of Nevada*, p. 516; *Origin of Place Names: Nevada*, p. 40; Sam P. Davis (ed.), *The History of Nevada* (2 vols.; Reno, 1913), II, 963.

[62] Newton Gleaves Finley, born in 1840 in Missouri, a farmer of Burnett Township, Santa Clara County, California. Santa Clara County, Great Register.

[63] John Alexander Lovell, born in 1842 in Hopkins County, Kentucky, migrated to California with his parents in 1852, and farmed in Redwood Township, Santa Clara County. Santa Clara County, *Great Register*; J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Santa Clara County, California* (San Francisco, 1881), p. 650.

[64] William Dodds Rucker, born in Missouri in 1840; a farmer in Gilroy Township, Santa Clara County. Santa Clara County, *Great Register*.

[65] Alfred McCoy, born in 1840 in Missouri, a farmer of Redwood Township, Santa Clara County. Santa Clara County, *Great Register*.

[66] Isaac Swafford, born in 1829 in Tennessee, a farmer of Redwood Township, Santa Clara County. Santa Clara County, *Great Register*.

[67] Benjamin Campbell (born 1826 in Kentucky) crossed the plains to California in 1846 with his parents. In 1851, he squatted on land in Santa Clara County and was involved for the next eighteen years in litigation over Mexican land grant titles. In that same year, he returned to his boyhood home to get married. The following year, in 1852, he re-crossed the plains. Later, he became interested in horticulture. Campbell Station on the Southern Pacific Railroad was built on his land; this was followed by the establishment of a post office and the growth

and vicinity. Corinth is situated on Smokey Creek 5 miles above the mouth of the cannon. The town site is a beautiful one, being in a pleasant valley, surrounded by high mountains.[69] Some fine ledges are located near this place. Among them will mention the Alhambra, Gem, Osceola, Newton, Iraquois, Stephens, Victorine, and the Evangeline, all of which prospect well and doubtless in a year or two will yield a large amount of bullion.[70] None of the above mines are being worked at present, in consequence of the scarceity of money, and the inclemency of the weather.

Corinth contains but *two* houses. The Country in this vicinity is very mountainous, and is covered with a fine growth of Bunch grass,[71] on which stock thrives very well. Traveled 25 miles to day. So endeth for the present these notes of a trip to Reece River.

J. G. Berry jr.

May 18th

Has snowed and rained most of the day. At this writing (6 oclock P.M.) still snowing with a fair prospect of continueing through the night.

May 19th

Snowed nearly the whole of the night; has been raining all day, and no signs of letting up at this time.

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of the town of Campbell. H. S. Foote (ed.), *Pen Pictures from the Garden of the World, or Santa Clara County, California* (Chicago, 1888), pp. 526–527.

[68] George Brad Montgomery, born in 1811 in Virginia, a farmer of San Jose Township, Santa Clara County. Santa Clara County, *Great Register.*

[69] Pleasant Valley is six miles long and twenty-five to two hundred yards wide. *Reveille,* March 5, 1864, p. 1.

[70] Of all these mines, only one, the Victorine, seems to have been of any lasting significance. The Supplement to the *Reveille,* April 9, 1864, p. 2, mentions three Victorines in Summit District: Victorine No. 1; the original Victorine; and Victorine extension. Number 1's assays reached as high as $900 per ton, and a shaft had been sunk to a depth of thirty-five feet. Lincoln, *Mining Districts and Mineral Resources of Nevada,* p. 112, mentions that the Victorine was discovered in 1852, but obviously means 1862, and had been "opened and shut down again repeatedly since that time." Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 519, mentions two mines of Summit District, the Victorine and the Phoenician. "Some years ago [writing in 1881], 1,800 tons of ore from the Victorine were worked, the average pulp assays of which were sixty dollars per ton. Thirty-seven percent only of this was saved, which was not sufficient to pay the expenses of milling and mining."

[71] Bunchgrass provides some of the best natural grazing land in the West, but much of it has now been invaded by sagebrush or cultivated. In the Washington-Oregon-Idaho-Montana belt, where bunchgrass is still plentiful, sheep and cattle are grazed on it in the fall, early winter, and spring. The best grazing value is about two acres per month per cow. U.S., Department of Agriculture, *The Yearbook of Agriculture, 1948: Grass* (Washington, 1948), pp. 554–555. As one early Nevada historian pointed out, it was nutritious and hardy, but once the land was overgrazed, the meadows took several years to grow back. Neither was it evenly distributed, the grassland areas sometimes being miles apart. Thomas Wren (ed.), *A History of the State of Nevada: Its Resources and People* (New York, 1904), p. 166.

May 20th

Rained all night. Cabin leaked nicely. Everything wet. Consequently we are all in a good humor. Fine country, this.

May 24th

Visited some of the ledges in this vicinity to day, in company with G. B. Montgomery, the Messrs. Anderson, Morton and others. Went to the Iraquois first; it is a large ledge, and cropps [sic] out well. Can be traced for many feet on the surface of the hill; next was the Newton or Brown (ownership in dispute) ledge, which is also large, and shows considerable mineral (silver). Also went to the Stephens. Are at work on that ledge. Procured some rich rock here, as we also did from the other ledges.

May 25th

Visited the Alba or Alhambra tunnel, to day with Montgomery and Shields. This tunnel has been run in about one hundred feet, but they have not struck the ledge yet. Think they will strike it after the[y] have run five or ten feet further. The Alhambra is the largest ledge I have seen in the district; it prospect[s] very well. Owners are sanguine of a fortune.

June 2nd 64

To my Mother

I am thinking of you, Mother
Tho far from home and thee,
Yet, there is no other
Who bears such love for me.

I am thinking of you, Mother
While my pipe I'm puffing sadly.
Yet, there is no other
Whom I'd greet more gladly.

I am thinking of you, Mother
"Tho far, far away,"
Yet, there is no other
For whom, like thee, I pray.

I am thinking of you, Mother
While mountains high, us sever.
Yet, there is no other
Who bears such love forever.

J. G. Berry

June 5th 64

At Warm Springs Ranch N. T. Left Corinth yesterday morning for this place. Camped last night on the road, 12 miles south of Corinth. Was raining hard when we stop[p]ed. Had to set up in the wagon all night. The above named Ranch is located in Smokey Valley sixty miles south of Austin, and contains about five thousand acres, portions of it is covered with a fine growth of a coars[e] kind of gress [sic] which makes very good hay.[72] The name, "Warm Springs Ranch", is derived from a remarkable group of boiling springs that are on the Ranch. They (the springs) are 26 in number, and the water from earth is boiling hot. The water can be used for culinary purpose, and does not impair the flavor of anything cooked in it; to make tea or coffee, one has only to fill his pot with the water, set it in the spring, five or ten minutes and you have as good an article of these delightful beverages as can be made with the hottes[t] fire.[73]

June 6th

Still on the Ranch. Have been ditching to day.

June 7th

Went hunting with Marion Hargis to day. Fired at a wolf; shot had no other effect than to make him mend his speed. Hargis killed one hare.

June 8th

In camp in Smokey Valley. Are enrout[e] to Corinth. Boys killed several hare to day; also killed a Rattlesnake since we camped.

June 9th

Arrived at Corinth this evening. Nothing new in town.

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[72] Occasionally, throughout late 1863 and 1864, mention is made in the Austin newspaper of ranches being opened in Smoky Valley to the south. Most seemed to be raising hay, and all were watered by good springs. See, e.g., the *Reveille,* September 2, 1863, p. 2, and March 31, 1864, p. 2.

[73] There are many hot springs in Nevada, and Nye County has its full share. Therefore it is somewhat difficult to pinpoint the boiling springs to which the diarist refers. Approximately forty-five miles south of U.S. 50, or fifty to fifty-five miles south of Austin, in Smoky Valley, there is a group of springs known today as the Darroughs Hot Springs, in which "corn and potatoes can be boiled." This is the approximate area of the ranch described by Berry. *Nevada Guide,* p. 257; Carlson, *Nevada Place Names,* p. 92. *Harrington's Austin Directory,* p. 64, mentions a group of hot springs fifty miles south of Austin. See also De Quille, *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode,* pp. 138–139 and 144; and the *Reveille,* July 22, 1863, p. 2.

June 10th

Snowed hard this evening. Orvill McCabe, and Harding Overstreet[74] arrived in town this afternoon. Will not stay here long.

June 11th

Snow three inches deep this morning, and still snowing.

June 12th

Has been snowing all day.

June 13th

Heavy frost last night; ground frozen hard. This evening weather clear and bright.

June 19th

Have been at work during the past week for Montgomery. Weather has been clear and pleasant. 6 O'clock P.M. Snowing at this time.

June 20th

Held an election in this district (Summit) to day for Recorder. G. P. Swinford was elected by a majority of three votes.[75]

June 21st

Commenced snowing at noon to day, and is still at it.

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[74] Possibly James Hardin Overstreet, born in 1826 in Virginia, a farmer of Santa Clara Township. Santa Clara County, *Great Register.*

[75] There were eighty-five votes cast in the election. After the formalities were concluded, the men then conducted a poll to determine the favorite among the presidential candidates. Fremont received thirty-four votes to thirty for Lincoln. Next, the greenback question was discussed. On an opinion poll taken on the introduction of the greenback, there were only three dissenting votes. *Reveille,* June 23, 1864, p. 3. According to the mining laws of Summit District, adopted in June, 1863, the recorder was elected for one year, but could be removed before his term was up by a special election. He was required to reside in the district; to keep a full record of all proceedings in miners' meetings; to record all claims when such did not interfere with prior claims; to keep books open to the inspection of the public at all times; to go to the site with anyone desiring to locate a claim and there measure it, establish landmarks, and fully define the boundaries; and to keep two indexes to the claims, one setting forth the ledges and locations, the other the names of the individuals and the companies in which they had shares. For his services, the recorder received fifty cents for each claim recorded. *Reveille,* June 24, 1863, p. 1. The recorder in the Reese River District, the largest and most famous in the area, had very similar duties but received fees not only for recording the claim but also for accompanying the miner to the location to define the claim. "Mining Laws of the Reese River Mining District to Take Effect June 4th, 1863," in [Powell], *The Silver Districts of Nevada,* pp. 36–37. *Harrington's Austin Directory,* p. 57, lists the recorder of Summit District as P. G. Swineford instead of G. P. Swinford.

June 26th

Am still at work for Montgomery. Weather to day windy with appearance of rain tonight. Will Beauchamp[76] and J. A. Lovell leave tomorrow for California.

July 3rd 64

In Austin. Came over here to day, from Summit Dist. Great prepeartions [sic] are being made in town to celebrate the fourth tomorrow. Attended church to night. Rev. Miller preached.[77]

Austin, July 4th 64

The fourth was duly celebrated here to day. Firemen's parade,[78] reading of the declaration of Independence and the usual oration, delivered by H. G. Worthington[79] constutited [sic] the exercises of the day.[80] Met several old friends in town. Times are very dull in Austin. Will stay with Macon Miller to night.

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76 William Wallace Beauchamp (born in 1836), a native of Platt County, Missouri, crossed the plains to California with his father in 1850. In 1858, he married Mary Lovell, J. A. Lovell's sister (see fn. 63 *supra*) and in 1863, he and his wife settled on 100 acres of land near Gilroy in Santa Clara County. Munro-Fraser, *History of Santa Clara County,* p. 594.

77 This Rev. Miller preached every Sunday in the Odd Fellows Hall near Austin for the Christian Association. *Reveille,* April 26, 1864, p. 2. Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 216, briefly mentions a Rev. E. K. Miller, a Methodist minister who began holding services in the Lander County courthouse in December, 1863. The Christian Association may have been a YMCA, for *Nevada Guide,* p. 259, states that this organization made its appearance in Austin shortly after the town was established.

78 The Hook and Ladder Company of Austin was organized on January 2, 1864, with ten charter members. A week later, the name was changed to the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company. The group was outfitted from donations made by the citizens. Later, two other companies were organized. The Hook and Ladder survived Austin's depression and was still active as late as 1881. Angel, *History of Nevada,* pp. 446–467.

79 Henry Gaither Worthington (1828–1909) was a native of Maryland. He migrated to California, where he practiced law in Tuolumne County, then traveled in Mexico and Central America, finally settling in San Francisco. He was a member of the state legislature in 1861. The following year, he moved to Nevada and resided in Austin. A Republican, he was Nevada's first representative in Congress, serving from December, 1864–March, 1865. He then became Collector of the Port of Charleston, South Carolina, served as Minister to Uruguay and Argentina, and was appointed a U.S. District Judge in 1869. He served as a pallbearer in Lincoln's funeral. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1961* (Washington, 1961), p. 1850.

80 The celebration of the Fourth began at daybreak with the firing of rifles in a national salute. Flags and bunting were displayed on all public buildings and many private dwellings and business establishments. Evergreen trees were cut and placed along the streets. The parade, organized by the firemen, was the main feature of the day. It began at eleven o'clock. A brass band headed it, followed by an American flag and eight firemen carrying axes. Then there was the fire truck, decorated with wreaths, red, white, and blue rosettes, and flags, accompanied by the remainder of the company members. Next came a wagon on which sat one of the local belles dressed as the Goddess of Liberty, "smiling at everyone," escorted by boys dressed as firemen. Behind this was a wagon, pulled by "four spirited horses," containing thirteen little girls dressed in white with tri-colored sashes. At two o'clock, the citizens assembled to hear Worthington, whose speech was preceded by a prayer and the reading of the Declaration of Independence. That night, a ball was held. *Reveille,* July 6, 1864, p. 3.

Corinth, July 5th

Came home to day from Austin. Found everything all right and dull as usual.

July 16th

Am laying on my oars and doing nothing. Times have not improved any since I came into the Territory.

July 20th 64

Adieu to Summit Dist.

Adieu to thy green and flowery hills
To thy towering mountains and sparkling rills;
Adieu to thy sand and sage brush plains,
To thy rocks and ledges and miners' claims.

Adieu to the cabin on Alhambra's hill,
To the bacon and beans which I ate at will;
Adieu to Corinth, that beautiful town,
Where oft I have gone my joys (?) to drown.

Adieu to the boys who my friends have been,
To Mont, and Newt, and the rest of them;
Adieu to the checker board's winsome game,
To the loafer's cares which have been so tame.

Adieu to Smokey with its waters bright,
To her gentle murmurings which are heard at night;
Adieu to Summit with her silvery charms,
To the "Night bird's" notes and the coyote's alarms.

J. G.B.

July 22nd 64

In camp in Brooks Canon. Left Corinth this morning for California. Return with Frank Hargis.[81] Played out in Reece River. Traveled 32 miles.

July 23rd

In camp in Emigrant Gulch, near Austin.[82]
Will leave tomorrow for Virginia City. Times very dull here.

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[81] Probably Walter Franklin Hargis, a native of Tennessee, born in 1825, a farmer of Santa Clara Township, Santa Clara County, *Great Register*.

[82] Emigrant Canyon or Gulch was about three-quarters of a mile northwest of Austin. *Daily Alta California*, August 28, 1865.

July 25th

In camp in Reece River Valley. Did not leave Austin yesterday as above stated. Rucker & McCoy lost two of their horses. Have not found them yet. Will go via Ione.[83] Weather showery; with thunder and lightening. Expect to remain in camp until Rucker comes up. There are some fine hay ranches between this and Austin. Am quite ill to day and have been since I left Summit. Traveled 22 miles.

July 26th

In camp at Flints old stand on Reece River. Caught about 45 trout this afternoon. Road excellent since we left Austin.[84]

July 27th

In camp at Ione City. The country in this vicinity is low and broken, presenting not an uninteresting appearance. The hills are all covered with stunted pine. Some good ledges are located at Ione. The town is substantially built, and has some very nice houses. The population is not large. Saw several old acquaintances while there. Traveled 22 miles.

July 28th

At first station on "forty mile desert."[85] Will remain here until late and then proceed on our trip. Water was obtained here by digging a well. Wells

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[83] Ione is approximately fifty miles southwest of Austin on the western slope of the Shoshone Range, on present Nevada State Highway 21. Ore deposits were found in the vicinity in 1863, and enough people were in the area by 1864 to warrant the creation of Nye County, of which Ione served as the first county seat. In mid-1864, Ione had a population of 800—all men except for 14 ladies, 12 of whom were married. There were about 300 houses, with the usual array of restaurants, stores, saloons, bakeries, butcher shops, blacksmith shops, cobbler stalls, livery stables, carpentry shops, and saw pits. The name was given it by P. A. Haven, an early miner who was from the Ione mining district of California. *Nevada Guide,* p. 262; *Reveille,* April 26, 1864, p. 1, and May 25, 1864, p. 2; *Daily Alta California,* May 21, 1864, p. 1; *Origin of Place Names: Nevada,* p. 54.

[84] The road from Austin to Ione was a "splendid natural wagon road." *Daily Alta California,* May 21, 1864, p. 1. From Ione to western Nevada a road was being built, probably completed by the time Berry traveled it. The road was to run from below Austin to Carson City via Walker's Lake, a distance of about 200 miles. The terrain was favorable, being generally flat, but the major problem was water. To remedy this, the company building the road planned to dig some four or five wells along the route. This was to be a toll road. Supplement to the *Reveille,* March 26, 1864. A month later, it was announced that the Pioneer Stage Company, Wellington, and Crowder & Ingalsbee were going to route their traffic to California by this route, twelve hours shorter than the road via Virginia City. *Reveille,* April 26, 1864, p. 2.

[85] The Forty-Mile Desert of Nevada, lying in a southwesterly direction between present-day Lovelock and Ragtown (Leeteville), along U.S. 40, past the sinks of the Humboldt and the Carson, was well-known to the overland emigrants, but this is north and west of the diarist's location. His "forty mile desert" was probably a name common among the miners traveling the Ione-Walker's Lake route, used to describe the forbidding aspect of the area.

have also been dug and [in] the deseret [sic] from here to Walkers River. The country from Ione to this place is dry an[d] arid. No grass or water, until we got to Mamouth, where there is plenty of both and also plenty of timber. Mamouth is quite a little place. Some good ledges are also located at that place.[86] Since we left Ione this morning, the hills and general appearance of the country indicates that at no distant period, there has been an active volcanoe [sic] at work in this part of the country. Weather very warm. Traveled 26 miles.

July 29th

In camp on forty mile desert. Country presents same appearance as yesterday, dry and desolate. At times today the air came in gusts, across the plain, heated to a degree truly alarming; we thought frequently of the siroccos of the East, and compared our situation with that of the Arabs, when one of those dreaded blasts overtakes them on the desert.[87] Had not we obtained water at noon, our situation would have been little better than theirs. Where we are camped to night the water is the worst I have ever used, it being taken from a shallow well, and besides being strongly alkaline, the well is curbed with green pine boards, and makes the water almost unbearable. As far as the eye can reach in every direction, the same barren and black hills meet the gaze. The plains are covered with greasewood and Alkali. The scene is truly unpleasant. Traveled 30 miles.

July 30th

In cam[p] on Walkers River, two miles above the Lake.[88] Left camp at daylight this morning. Country no better than it has been for the last two days; the same desolation meets the eye on all sides. The last 8 miles of our road was through quick sand 6 inches deep; our horses and selves suffered

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[86] Traces of Mammoth no longer exist. It is mentioned occasionally in the *Reveille* of 1863–1864, with the same optimism concerning future growth and prosperity that surrounded all the newly-founded towns of that era; apparently its demise soon followed.

[87] The sirocco is the hot, dry, sand-bearing, southerly wind of North Africa, "the breath of the Sahara." It is known by local names in various regions and countries, but is general throughout the area of the African deserts as far east as Arabia. It is also not uncommon in Sicily and southern Italy, and is known as the *Leveche* in southern Spain. The European sirocco, however, is usually moist, having absorbed its moisture in blowing from the south across the Mediterranean. Edgar Aubert de la Rue, *Man and the Winds*, trans. by Madge E. Thompson (London, 1955), pp. 99–103.

[88] The East Walker and the West Walker Rivers both rise in Mono County, California, flow in a generally northern direction, and join south of Yerington in Lyon County, Nevada, to form the Walker, which then loops from north to south to end in Walker Lake. The Lake is thirty miles long, north to south, from three to eight miles wide, and has no outlet. The river and lake were named by Fremont in 1845 to honor one of his guides, Joseph Walker. De Quille, *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode*, p. 23; *Nevada Guide*, p. 218; Carlson, *Nevada Place Names*, pp. 240–241.

teribly [sic] for water, haveing had none all day until we got to the river. Walkers River is a considerable stream and abounds with fish. Some timber grows on its banks. Had a distant view of Walkers lake. The road from Mamouth is one of the most dreary and desolate it has ever been my lot to travel up to this place (Walkers River.) The distance is about 75 miles. There is no grass for the whole of that distance, and until recently but little water. A company are sinking wells now on the desert, and with the exception of the last 25 miles, water can be obtained every 15 miles.[89] Traveled 25 miles.

July 31st

In camp on Walkers River. Our rout[e] to day has been up the river, and along its banks. Considerable grass is found in the little flats along the river. Road to day as bad as yesterday. Sand all the time. Traveled 12 miles.

August 1st 64

In camp on road between Walkers and Carson River. Road since we left the river excellent. Have encamped late, near and [sic] Indian "waki-up." One of their number having died to day, they are entertaining us to night with their funeral service or lamentation, and I must say that it is one of the most ludicrous services I have ever been an eye witness to. One of the party cries out in a loud voice, while the others keep up a low wailing chant that is horrible to listen to.[90]

Traveled 28 miles.

August 2nd

In camp near Virginia City. Left camp this morning at daylight. The Indians kept up their infernal noise the whole of last night, and were at it when we left.

Crossed the Carson River to day at Fort Churchill,[91] and traveled up it

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89 See fn. 84 *supra.*

90 These Indians were probably of the same tribe as those who are now on the Walker River Indian Reservation, established in the 1870s at the north end of the lake. They are generally referred to as Paiutes, but as one authority has pointed out, this tribal name, applied commonly to most of the Shoshonean tribes in the Great Basin area, leads to great confusion. Some claim that the Walker River Indians are Paviotsoes and are more closely related to the Bannocks of the north than to the Paiutes, or Pah-Utes. Frederick Webb Hodges (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2 vols.; Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 30; Washington, 1912), II, 186–187, 212. Bancroft suggests that the Walker River Indians were a band of the Paiutes distinct from the principal group because they ate trout from the river and thus were called the Ocki (trout) Pah Utes. H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races* (5 vols.; San Francisco, 1883), I, 466.

91 Fort Churchill was constructed in 1860 on the north side of the Carson River, approximately midway between where the river entered Nevada and its sink to the north. Named after

for about 15 miles. There are some good farmes along the river. Road splendid to day.[92] Weather pleasant. Traveled 25 miles.

August 3rd

In camp at Carson City. Passed through Virginia City this morning. Is quite lively looking place although dull at present. Saw and conversed with George Crandall. Came on to Carson and encamped. Road pretty good to day. Saw S. H. Wright in Carson; is probate judge.[93] Also found Rucker and McCoy in town. They did not find their horses.

Traveled 18 miles.

August 4th

In camp at Friday's Station, Lake Valley.[94] Left Carson this morning, and came through Genoa,[95] and over the first summit by the Kingsbury Rout[e]; good grade.[96] Traveled 24 miles.

Captain Charles C. Churchill of the 4th U.S. Artillery, it was at first under control of the military department of California. With the outbreak of the Civil War, it became the headquarters for the military district of Nevada. Barracks accommodated 300 men, there were 6 officers' quarters, and the usual barns, stables, administrative buildings, etc., all made of adobe. During the Civil War, it was garrisoned by the California Volunteers. The fort was the western terminus of the overland telegraph for a time. Churchill was abandoned after the war and sold at auction in 1870. Effie Mona Mack, *Nevada: A History of the State from the Earliest Times through the Civil War* (Glendale, California, 1936), pp. 311–324; Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 501. Carlson, *Nevada Place Names,* p. 77, has the fort named after Brigadier General Sylvester Churchill, of Mexican War fame. She cites George Ruhlen, "Early Nevada Forts, Posts, and Camps (ms. dated 1958) as her source.

92 A good toll road between Virginia City and Carson City was constructed by men named Mark L. McDonald and Thomas Bedford in 1862. It was a profitable venture, since the route was heavily traveled. This is probably the road Berry used. Angel, *History of Nevada,* p. 542.

93 Samuel H. Wright was appointed probate judge to fill a vacancy on July 13, 1863. The following September, he was elected to the office, but when Nevada was admitted to the Union as a state in late 1864, the office was abolished. Prior to this, he had served as county clerk of Ormsby County. Angel, *History of Nevada,* pp. 529 and 530.

94 In early 1860, Martin K. "Friday" Burke and James W. Small preempted 320 acres of meadow and forest land on the southeast shore of Lake Tahoe, one and a half miles east of the California-Nevada boundary. They obtained a franchise to operate the western section of the Kingsbury route as a toll road. The enterprising proprietors constructed a two-and-a-half story hostelry, with outbuildings, which could accomodate fifty lodgers and teamsters; fished the lake and sold the catch to travelers; and sent out hunting parties to bring in bear and venison to be sold to travelers. Eventually, stage traffic was routed via Friday's and it became a home station for the Pony Express. Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe,* pp. 231–233.

95 Genoa, situated on the west bank of the Carson River, not far from Lake Tahoe, is the oldest settlement in Nevada. Russell Elliott, in his *History of Nevada* (Lincoln, 1973) notes that ". . . it is possible that some traders, particularly the type who sold goods from a canvas tent or cloth-house packed to the scene on the back of a mule, may have stationed themselves along the emigrant trail in 1849," but that Genoa traces its actual origins to a trading post established in 1850, and to the first permanent building in Nevada constructed by a Salt Lake City merchant, John Reese, in 1851. Elliott p. 50 and note, and p. 51; Carlson, *Nevada Place Names,* pp. 118–119.

96 The Kingsbury road, constructed in 1859–1860 at a cost of $70,000, was built to satisfy

August 5th California

In camp at Station on Swan's grade.[97] Passed up lake valley to the second summit. Crossed the California line early this morning. Have noticed this part of the road before.

Traveled 34 miles.

August 6th

At S. C. Perrine.[98] Will stop here for a few days.

Sept 22nd 64

On board steamer Yosemite.[99]

Left McMurtrys yesterday for Santa Clara. Proceeded to Placerville. Met several old friends there. Took stage at Placerville for Latrobe.[100] There got aboard the cars, and proceeded to Freeport,[101] where I got aboard the above named steamboat.

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the demand for a more direct route from California to the Washoe mines. The builders were David D. Kingsbury and John McDonald. The way to Carson was shortened by ten miles, and the passage across the mountains through Daggett Pass was made much easier. The road was sixteen feet wide, supported in some places by retaining walls of granite on both sides. The rate of ascent was eight and three-fourth feet per one hundred feet. Hinkle, *Sierra-Nevada Lakes*, p. 266; Kelly, *First Nevada Directory*, pp. 50–51; Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe*, p. 232.

97 The diarist is referring to the ten-mile stretch of the toll road between Strawberry Flat and West Summit operated by George W. Swan and Company. The owners spent $2,000 to $3,000 annually in maintenance, but collected tolls up to $50,000. Greever, *The Bonanza West*, pp. 145–146. Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe*, p. 367, puts the amount collected by Swan in one peak season at $75,000.

98 Solomon Clark Perrine, Jr., was a second cousin to Berry and the brother-in-law of Louis McMurtry (see fn. 24 *supra*).

99 The *Yosemite* was a sidewheeler of 1,319 tons, built in 1862, which operated between San Francisco and Sacramento and perhaps other bay ports. In October, 1865, its boiler exploded, wrecking the forward superstructure and killing forty-two people. The ship was rebuilt with extensive alterations and was again altered in 1876. Beginning in 1880, the vessel was put on the Victoria, British Columbia to New Westminster run. The *Yosemite* was stranded in Puget Sound in 1909. Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle-Wheel Days in California* (Stanford, California, 1945), pp. 30–31, 55, and 141. John Haskell Kemble, *San Francisco: A Pictorial Maritime History* (Cambridge, Maryland, 1957), p. 77, contains a picture of the *Yosemite*. Apparently there were two steamers of this name in the Bay area in this era, for William M. Lytle (comp.), *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807–1868* (Mystic, Connecticut ,1952), p. 207, mentions a screw steamer called *Yosemite* built in San Francisco in 1863, which remained in service until 1881.

100 Latrobe owed its origin to the Placerville and Sacramento Valley Railroad, and began as a station in early 1864 when the road was completed. Named after the civil engineer who constructed the first railroad in the United States, it is located in the south-western corner of El Dorado County. Sioli, *Historical Souvenir of El Dorado County*, p. 109.

101 Freeport was another town that owed its origin to a railroad, the Freeport Railroad Company, which was formed in 1862 or 1863, and designed to connect with the Sacramento Valley Railroad at a point midway between Folsom and Sacramento. Nine miles of track were laid in 1863. Freeport was established, and by the end of the year the town had about 400 residents, most of them railroad employees. For three more years, the town was a busy shipping point, but the railroad plan failed to materialize completely, and Freeport rapidly declined. [Wright], *History of Sacramento County*, p. 219.

Sept 23rd

Arrived at San Francisco at 10 oclock last night. Went to a Hotel and stayed all night. Took cars this morning at 8 oclock for Santa Clara.[102] Got home at 10. Found folks all well.

[102] Talk of railroad connections between San Francisco and San Jose had been current in the 1850s, but not until 1861 was the plan finally approved and the money available for the project. On January 16, 1864, the track was completed via San Mateo and Redwood City to San Jose. The company was called the San Francisco & San Jose Railroad; it was later absorbed by the South Pacific. The trip from San Francisco to San Jose took two hours. Foote, *Pen Pictures*, pp. 124–125; Hall, *The History of San Jose and Surroundings*, p. 290; Oscar O. Winther, "The Story of San Jose, 1777–1869, California's First Pueblo," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIV (June, 1935), 163–167.

Book Reviews

Beltran: Basque Sheepman of the American West. By Beltran Paris, as told to William A. Douglass. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1979. 186 pp., illustrated, $10.00)

IN 1912, AT TWENTY-THREE YEARS OF AGE, Beltran Paris of the French Pyrenees decided to travel to the American West, earn ten thousand francs, return to Europe, buy a small farm and marry a local girl. Sixty-five years later he told his story to William Douglass who visited him in Ely and at his home in Butte Valley some fifty miles to the north. Beltran moves rapidly through his childhood provincialism and the molding of his character; he notes his service in the army and his first real contact with the French language; he evaluates his decision to migrate to Wyoming because "somehow I thought I could do better." After less than a year in Wyoming, Beltran pushed on to Elko, Nevada and rapidly passed from sheepherder to camptender to owner of his own band. There are marriage, children, economic failures, the untimely death of his wife, the return trip to the Basque country and finally partial retirement with his sons in isolated Butte Valley.

The narrative is clear, straightforward and uncomplicated by either philosophical questioning or emotional doubt. The basic outline of the story is not unique. A stoic, energetic, persistent immigrant faces a baffling new world. He eagerly pits himself against the elements and eventually finds success on the frontier. Nor is the account profoundly eventful. There are no family entanglements, class conflicts, sexual episodes, satirical adventures. The story is not involved, sophisticated or romantic. It sometimes shows the weaknesses of oral history.

However, the narrative recital of events is cumulative, pointed and robust. One comes to know and thereby to respect the subject. His passion for hard work, his concerns for simple survival, his total self-reliance, his pragmatic materialism, his primordial honesty all force us to believe that the "good old days" or more precisely the "good old people" actually existed. Beltran endows humanity with dignity, decency and determination. The author is in the motif of the American gothic in that he is never overwhelmed by his society, by his environment, or by his failures. His reminiscences never become morbid, long-winded or padded. The story can provide shock therapy when we reflect on the many contemporary social and

technological "advances" which seem to be eroding rather than strengthening our life-patterns.

The book convincingly renders experience. The slice of life that Beltran sets forth may no longer be sought after, but no one can deny the author's sparkling vitality, spirited humanism and practical generosity. He makes us dream of Thomas Jefferson's "yeomen" and of Andrew Jackson's "common man." He recalls for us the work ethic, credit with a handshake, politics that are democratic, clothes by mail from Sears-Roebuck, the freelance sheepman that had a chance. Beltran does not devise a new myth; he revives the old. He was one of those immigrants noted by Henry Adams. Although "the poorest peasant in Europe" he had "the visionary power" to "see what was invisible to poet and philosopher—the dim outline of a mountain-summit across the ocean, rising high above the mist and mud of American democracy."

WILBUR S. SHEPPERSON
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The Grave of John Wesley Hardin: Three Essays on Grassroots History. By C. L. Sonnichsen. (College Station, Texas A&M University Press, 1979. Preface, 90 pp. $6.50 cloth)

A SLIM VOLUME OF GOOD READING, these brief essays illustrate once more that history does not have to be dull. Quite to the contrary, Leland Sonnichsen clearly shows that life's trivia can be more interesting than great concepts. A skilled raconteur from the podium, Sonnichsen is equally capable of putting into print his touch for the human juices of history. These three essays have in common the grassroots, non-library, historical approach dedicated to local matters, pioneer experiences, and "particularly to those that people hesitate to talk about—family feuds, riots, mobs, vigilante shootouts, personal encounters."

In his first piece, "Blood on the Typewriter," the essayist identifies himself with the grassroots school, and therefore "low man on the historians' totem pole." This species "nine times out of ten . . . gets involved in violence of some kind and there is, figuratively speaking, blood on his typewriter." Since these essays are also concerned with one of the author's favorite themes, Texas feuds, he details the rebuffs and trials of an author trying to get published in a field where he might run afoul of Pure Feud Belt critics as well as suffer from lack of acceptability by national publishers.

The longevity of Texas feuds in particular, as well as feuds in general, is one salient characteristic. A reluctance to speak by those "who know"

makes research difficult, but the grassroots historian goes to newspapers, court cases, church and land records and census reports. However, most of all he tries to get people to talk; and he has to tell both versions and let his readers take their choice. As Sonnichsen says: "What people have agreed to believe about the facts is a fact in itself, and sometimes it is much more influential than the reality."

Grassroots historical research is not for everyone. It depends upon the right person being there opportunely to record it, and the appropriate person willing to give it, "for it has to be collected like the manna of the Hebrews, at exactly the right moment."

Essay number two on "The Pattern of Texas Feuds" assures us that though family and clan loyalties enter into the picture, a feud is factional—Southerners vs. Yankees, Anglo-Saxon Americans vs. Mexicans or Germans, Wets vs. Drys, etc. Consequently, feudists are neither backwoodsmen nor mountain boys. By Texas standards, a feud is "any prolonged quarrel between families or factions involving blood vengeance"; in short, it is folk justice involving self-redress. In feud lore, there are taboos against "talking," and against "fraternizing" with the enemy. And there almost inevitably exist the twin questions of whether the man eventually tried was taking the rap for someone else, and whether the powerful and dangerous leader really died or whether there was a sack of sand in his coffin.

In essay number three, "The Grave of John Wesley Hardin," Sonnichsen discusses the enigma of a man who killed forty victims, although he was of good family background, a professing Christian and Sunday school teacher. Nonetheless, he was involved in shooting scrapes, gambled, and was a fugitive; he spent much of his adult life in prison, where he studied for the bar; but he was never able to establish a successful law practice after he finally was pardoned. Hardin was forty-two when he died in El Paso in 1895 of a well-placed bullet delivered by a constable with whom Hardin had failed to divide some bounty money. The essayist recounts his own struggle and that of Hardin's descendants in trying to place an appropriate marker on the neglected burial place. Moral opposition, incredible procrastination, feigned ignorance of the gravesite, and a generally negative attitude of local El Paso townspeople toward commemorating a malefactor made the simple task difficult. Years of delay ended in 1965 when a $102 granite and bronze marker was erected in Concordia Cemetery. Pilgrims "coming to the shrine" will never know the cost in time, travel, and hope deferred needed to carry out "operation monument," unless they read this essay.

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Saloons of the Old West. By Richard Erdoes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979. 277 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, and index. $13.95)

THIS BOOK SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN as a serious treatment of the subject of western saloons. We hope that the author intended it as entertainment for an audience unconcerned with historical facts. Mostly it is a series of anecdotes, based often upon published reminiscences.

The reader is soon overwhelmed with colorful prose and one sweeping generalization after another. Among the latter are "Every saloon or store had its hitching rack with horses tied to it at all hours" (p. 44); "For the whole male population the saloon was a refuge from dreariness and toil, a place of light and human companionship. . . ." (p. 44); "Western saloons never closed. . . ." (p. 62); "Everybody chipped in toward the cost of a funeral for a dead hooker" (p. 79); gamblers were "all finicky dressers" (p. 150); and "In the West . . . customers never got the right amount of change back" (p. 241).

There is much that is inaccurate or misleading. We are informed that Roy Bean's court had jurisdiction "for four hundred miles around" and it is inferred that Isaac Parker's court was in Oklahoma (p. 138). Errors abound, both common (e.g., the reference to a "town's sheriff," p. 46) and uncommon (mention of an 1855 decision by the "California Territorial Supreme Court," p. 80). The illustration on page 91, showing distinctly nineteenth-century folk engaged in a tarring and feathering, is captioned as an incident of the "Great Whiskey Rebellion of 1794." Some statements are merely confusing, such as "The Golden Age of western eating came to an end with free silver and the fading away of blue-blooded English dukes and cattle and silver kings" (p. 115).

In the middle of all these tales of tippling and tipplers, we find that westerners drank "a lot" (p. 101). Compared to whom, when, and where?

The impression is given that temperance/prohibition was largely a movement of women motivated by religious zeal. In fact ,it was an endeavor supported and led by men as well as women. Secular considerations were as conspicuous as religious ones among those who endorsed it.

Neither the saloon nor the West are kept in focus. Some of the chapters deal with matters only peripherally related to saloons. Chapter 14 ("Death in the Barroom"), for example, appears to be mostly an opportunity to tell the usual yarns about gunslingers. The author's "West" is sometimes located in colonial New England.

If this book is meant for fun, why all these pettifogging criticisms? In the first place, some readers will lap all this up as gospel truth, contributing to the further distorting of the popular image of the West. Secondly, alcohol

is a subject that needs thoughtful treatment by historians, such as was given by Elliott West in *The Saloon on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier* (1979).

Mark Twain once alleged that those "who write the temperance appeals and clamor about the flowing bowl" were "folks who will never draw another sober breath till they do it in the grave." The reviewer risks being accused of similar hypocrisy in asking if such topics as the heavy consumption of liquor should be written about in a jocular vein. If so, we may look forward to such titles as *Strung Out: A Light-hearted Romp through the History of Heroin Addiction.*

MICHAEL J. BRODHEAD
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Pioneer Conservationists of Western America. By Peter Wild. (Missoula, Mont.: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1979. xxv + 246 pp., $12.95)

THIS FASCINATING VOLUME profiling western conservation leaders first appeared serially in the environmental newspaper *High Country News.* The essays were so well received that a wider audience was sought through the medium of this attractively written book. The author comes to his enthusiasm for preservationism through intimate experience with the wilderness in his guises as backpacker, U.S. Forest Service fire ranger, journalistic contributor to environmental magazines and participant in several of the active conservation organizations. His profession is that of creative writer and professor of English at the University of Arizona. Many know him for his volumes of poetry, often with Western themes. He makes his home in the West and celebrates the West as the region which gave the conservation movement to the world. While this may be stretching it a bit, and many of his heroes are transplanted Easterners, Wild does agree with historians of conservation that the American West at the turn of the century was the scene of epochal conservation activity. This movement saw the need to preserve the patrimony of natural resources located on the federal government's public domain.

The author acknowledges his difficulty in selecting the environmental leaders whom he should feature. One theme touches all of his nominees. They all had something to say—often as writers as well as political reformers or governmental natural resource administrators—concerning how the federal government should preserve the "commons," i.e., the public domain. Peter Wild shows a preference for exponents of one of the three recognized categories of conservation. Thus John Wesley Powell and Gifford Pinchot are depicted in their traditional roles, representing the economic or so-called

utilitarian school of conservation. Most of the other profiles are identified as disciples of John Muir, the prophet of aesthetic or preservationist conservation. The reader delights in the characterization of lesser known naturalists such as Enos Mills, naturalist of the Rockies; Olaus Murie, biologist and defender of the wilderness; and Joseph Wood Krutch, popularizer of the delicate desert terrain. One cannot quarrel with the inclusion of the following well known writers, environmentalists and administrators: Mary Austin, Stephen Mather, Aldo Leopold, Bernard DeVoto, William O. Douglas (America's only environmentalist on the U.S. Supreme Court), David Brower and Stewart Udall. These essentially "reverence for life" notables employed gifted pens and voices on behalf of preservation, and therefore appealed to the author, whose talents and goals are akin to theirs. His judgments, which grow out of a preservationist orientation and a Western regional focus, are generally upbeat and congratulatory. He uses the expression in the book's conclusion that at last we "have come to ourselves." These leaders of conservation have "won the West" again, this time for wilderness protection and controlled use of publicly owned natural resources. Perhaps it is true that we in the West have "come to ourselves" and encouraged the same environmental consciousness on a national level.

The third, or ecological, school of conservation, however, must be heard. The author includes only Garrett Hardin, with his injunction for population control, in this category. The problems of air, water, and solid waste pollution, which are the concerns of Rachel Carson, René Dubois, Barry Commoner, Paul Ehrlich, Ralph Nader, are national problems and therefore beyond the purview of this study. The "eighties" promise to usher in the Age of Limits and new conservation leaders will rise to challenge the new corporate "Rape of the Public Lands" in the interests of national self sufficiency and exploitation of water, coal, oil and gas, synfuels, timber and scarce minerals. In this connection Peter Wild demonstrates a grudging approval of the solutions propounded by his friend Edward Abbey. Confrontational politics finds a new setting in Abbey's novels, in which "Econuts" not only threaten but actually destroy marvelously engineered construction works that despoil "Nature's Order" in the West.

While the author's purpose is clearly didactic in the Plutarchian mode, i.e., to teach by example, he is certainly wedded to the belief that history should be entertaining. He believes his readers can be inspired to preserve our natural heritage intact for our children through an awareness of the knowledge, courage, and dedication of our Western Conservation pioneers. Not everyone will be pleased with his delineation of character and achievements for each figure. Thus Aldo Leopold is given credit for establishing the first wilderness area instead of Arthur Carhart. There are factual errors. St. George, Utah should be substituted for St. Thomas, and it was Upton Sin-

clair who was the social reformer, not Sinclair Lewis. John Wesley Powell should be given his due as the "Father of the Reclamation Movement." More importantly, readers of diverse backgrounds will find these essays a delightful way to learn the human dimension of wilderness preservation: that Enos Mills was the "father of the Rocky Mountain National Park," that Joseph Wood Krutch did more than anyone else in the recent past to promote the public's appreciation of the Southwestern desert's peculiar environment, and that William O. Douglas gave judicial recognition to Aldo Leopold's "land ethic" in his insistence that objects of nature should have "standing to sue." Finally, the text is a pure joy to read. Peter Wild is a master stylist and eager to communicate his enthusiasm for the pioneers of conservation. The illustrations embellish the contents of this handsomely printed book. The volume, together with its extensive bibliography, affords a welcome invitation to broader understanding of environmental concerns.

LAWRENCE B. LEE
San Jose State University

The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807–1840: A Geographical Synthesis. By David J. Wishart. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. 237 pp. Illustrations, maps, figures, bibliography, index)

THE FUR TRADE HAS RECEIVED its share of historical studies, revisions, and re-revisions. Now author David Wishart (Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Nebraska) comes along with another look, subtitled "A Geographical Synthesis."

It might be argued that he is plowing familiar ground and, in the general sense, he is. He divides the "Fur West" into two parts—Upper Missouri and Rocky Mountain—and examines each with two long chapters, one on strategy, the other the annual cycle of operations. Well known names are in evidence: Smith, Astor, Sublette, McKenzie, and the like, as well as the American Fur Company, Hudson's Bay Company, and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. This volume is a fine starting point for the beginning student, because an overview of the nineteenth century, with all its problems and personalities, is concisely presented. Wishart condenses the material but does not lose its flavor or significance, and the sequence of maps immensely helps the presentation.

The Fur Trade is more than what the name implies. The author investigates such varied subjects as the buffalo hide trade, smallpox, alcohol and its use as a trade item, the exploitation of the West, and the financial hold of St. Louis, New York, and Europe on the industry. In fact, when all is said

and done, there is not much that he has not touched upon, or at least alluded to.

Perhaps the most meaningful aspect of the book is its examination of the Upper Missouri in conjunction with the better known Rocky Mountain region. The book crisply pulls together these two and allows the reader to see each separately, as well as their combined impact. The importance of this study, for the student who is unfamiliar with the fur trade or knows it only from the fictionalized western, will be in this overview.

Wishart does occasionally fall victim to jargon, and some of his "Figures," such as No. 10 on Page 93 (the annual cycle of operations on the upper Missouri), left this reviewer bemused. As might be expected in this type of sweeping examination, some pages suffer from slight disjointedness, and a few weak transitions leave the reader groping along on his own until he can reorient himself.

DUANE A. SMITH
Fort Lewis College

The Road to California: The Search for a Southern Overland Route, 1540–1848. By Harlan Hague. (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1978. 325 pp., illus., notes, bibliography, index)

THIS BOOK RELATES THE STORY of early explorations and the eventual development of the southern overland route to California, from the first Spanish penetration into what is now the southwest of the United States to 1848, on the eve of the great westward migration unleashed by the discovery of gold in California. The opening of the southern route was not a continuous process; instead the geographical knowledge gained by one generation of explorers was often lost and the succeeding groups had to start anew, aided only by Indian guides who were familiar with the trails of limited areas. The author of this book, Harlan Hague, brings together disparate accounts of these expeditions that culminated in a wagon road to California; and he forms them into a smoothly flowing narrative that is a delight to read.

The first three chapters of *The Road to California* deal with natural environment and aboriginal populations as well as the Spanish activities in the region. The early Spanish efforts consisted of the typical quest for booty, exploitable Indian concentrations, or the South Sea. A systematic attempt to find a road to California began only with Father Kino who, in the late seventeenth century, felt that such a path would enable the well-developed mission system of Pimería Alta to supply the poor missions of Lower California and also to resupply the Manilla Galleon on its journey from the Orient to Acapulco. Kino failed to establish this connection, but finally in 1774 Juan

Bautista de Anza opened an overland route to California, and the following year led a party of colonists to Alta California. At about the same time, unsuccessful attempts were made by Garcés to connect the Sonoran missions with New Mexico and by Domínguez and Escalante to establish a direct trail between New Mexico and Monterey in California. The period following this great burst of exploration, until the end of Spanish rule in 1821, was concerned mainly with defense against restive Indians and the overland route to California fell into disuse.

Chapter IV deals with independent Mexico's efforts to strengthen the security of her northern provinces, a move made necessary by the activities of both the Russians and the trappers of Hudson's Bay Company in the northwest, and by an invasion of Anglo trappers in the southwest because of the opening of the Santa Fé trade to North Americans. A vital part of the defense plan was to re-establish communications, particularly the overland route to California. After some delay, a Sonoran-California road was opened by 1825 and was used by traders and migrants during the late 1820s and 1830s and by a flood of Sonoran gold miners after 1848. At the same time, a direct route from New Mexico to California was established. Expeditions of Antonio Armijo in 1829 and William Wolfskill in 1830 from New Mexico to California led to the development of what later came to be called the Old Spanish Trail. This path was used extensively for trade during the 1830s and early 1840s, only to be abandoned after 1848 for a more southerly route that was faster.

The last two chapters record the innundation of this region by Anglos, first by the fur trappers who contributed significantly to the development of southwestern trails and then by invading American armies brought by the war with Mexico in 1846. The Anglo conquest consisted of two military expeditions which succeeded in opening a wagon road from New Mexico to California. The expedition of Col. Philip St. George and the Mormon Battalion is covered in detail, conveying to the reader an appreciation of the hardships of blazing a wagon road westward through difficult topography with little forage or water along the way. This trail, as Hague points out, did become the most heavily travelled route through the southwest, but never to the exclusion of other trails to California.

The author, in preparing this narrative, consulted a wide variety of published sources, including journals and other materials produced by the pathfinders, and later works commenting on those events. Hague's meticulous and insightful comparison of different accounts in order to answer questions about routes followed or to reconcile differing versions of the same events is impressive. Nonetheless, *The Road to California* is seriously flawed by the author's failure to consult any of the relevant materials in Spanish and many works about the Spanish empire and independent Mexico that

have been published in English. This omission has produced problems on several levels. First, when attempting to trace communication routes, the use of translated trail descriptions often adds another layer of uncertainty to already vague information. Second, failure to understand the broader history of the Hispanic Southwest has led the author to produce a work that is overly narrow and often misleading. For example, Hague does not adequately acknowledge the extent to which the new Mexican nation was wracked by internal problems—including coups, civil war, and widespread banditry—and consequently was unable to devote sufficient attention to the northern frontier. Under such circumstances it is understandable that northern officials were able to do little to control the illegal activities of Anglo trappers. Also, Hague mentions the causes of the Mexican War, but fails to deal with Manifest Destiny and its ramifications. Moreover, he does mention stereotypes that Anglos held towards Mexican populations of the southwest, but does not relate these attitudes to broader patterns of Anglo racism that characterized Anglo-Mexican relations in the region.

Despite the problems outlined above, *The Road to California* is a useful and well-written work. It is a fine summary of the published materials available in English, and provides a coherent account of the opening of the overland communications with California.

Paul Ganster
Universidad de Costa Rica

NHS ACQUISITIONS

Wadsworth Photographs

Wadsworth and its inhabitants at the turn of the century are the subjects of a group of photographs recently received from Jean A. Goodwin of Tucson, Arizona. Mrs. Goodwin, the daughter of Henry W. and Mattie Esden, grew up in Wadsworth, and the photographs depict family members, Paiute neighbors, and structures in the old railroad community. There are views of the flume and power plant (interior shots) operated by the Wadsworth Light and Power Company, which Henry Esden owned. We thank Mrs. Goodwin for allowing us to make copies of pictures in her possession, and to add these to our holdings.

Rawhide Records

William D. Eldred of Sierraville, California, has donated a sales book from the Rawhide Lumber Company. The volume records transactions during the spring of 1908, when Rawhide was in its booming infancy, detailed purchases by some thirty customers, among them the building contractors Lavin & Voohies and Dunning & Miller, the Rawhide Ice and Cold Storage Company, J. E. Meyers (proprietor of the Churchill County Mercantile Company), several lumber companies and half a dozen mining firms. We thank Mr. Eldred for the volume, which he rescued from probable destruction by purchasing it at a school auction; it is a welcome addition to our meager collection of original source materials on Rawhide.

Asa Geib Snow Papers

The Society also wishes to thank Walter E. Billings for his gift of correspondence and papers of Asa Geib Snow, who, as a young man, was a carpenter in Columbia and Goldfield at the time of the latter camp's celebrated labor difficulties in 1907. Included are several letters to Snow from family and friends, a Goldfield Building Trades Council work card, and a work card and dues book issued by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Goldfield Local 1761 (the AFL affiliate whose jurisdictional dispute with the IWW-infiltrated Western Federation of Miners initiated the labor problems at Goldfield).

The Snow items constitute another addition to the Society's growing

body of labor union-related research materials, which include records of the Gold Hill Miners Union and the Virginia City Retail Clerks Association. The Society is presently negotiating with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Reno Local 971, for the donation of their records (1902–1970), and hopes to acquire the records of other Nevada unions.

Museum Acquisitions

Among recent museum acquisitions are a collection of World War II materials donated by John Weir of Reno in memory of Virginia Belcher, the first Nevada woman accepted into the Women's Army Corps. The donation includes complete WAC uniforms, a number of training booklets and a photograph of Miss Belcher with her unit. We have also acquired a framed photograph of the *U.S.S. Reno,* a World War II light cruiser, from Mrs. Len Harris of Carson City. Mr. David Burkowski of the U.S. District Court, Reno, has donated ten maps, a panoramic photograph of the Eureka Mining District and three U.S. Commissioner's seals. From Mrs. Kathryn Luke Lynch of Carpenteria, California the Society acquired materials once belonging to Richard Jose, a famed opera singer who grew up in Reno. Mrs. Lynch's donation consists of a lap writing desk, a gold-headed cane and a small bible.

On behalf of our staff and our patrons, we would like to thank the above-named individuals.

Rare Newspapers Acquired

The Society has been fortunate in being able to acquire seven issues of rare Nevada newspapers from the collection of Walt Mulcahy. Among these are early issues of the *Sparks Dispatch, Reno Reveille, Nevada Forum* (Sparks), and the *Tonopah Miner.*

Two extremely rare newspapers which form part of the acquisition include the October 21, 1884 issue of the *Reno Daily Morning Star,* a tabloid, the only known copy in a public repository; and the August 19, 1886 issue of *The Occasional* of Virginia City, a half-tabloid which is not referenced in the standard works by Folkes and Lingenfelter.

Mr. Mulcahy is a leading photographer of historic sites in Nevada, and a foremost expert on Nevada's trails and geography; he has been a patron and friend of the Nevada Historical Society for over fifty years.

NHS NEWS AND DEVELOPMENTS

New NHS Director

Dr. Peter Bandurraga was appointed the new Director of the Society by Governor Robert List in December of last year, and he officially assumed his duties on January 5, 1981. Dr. Bandurraga came to the Society after having been the Research Librarian of the Ventura County Historical Museum in California. He received his B.A. from Stanford, and his M.S. and Ph.D. degrees in history from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Prior to joining the Museum, Dr. Bandurraga taught at Chapman College.

After the late August resignation of Gary Roberts as Director, Guy Louis Rocha served as Interim Director for a period of four months.

Manuscript Processor Appointed

Dr. Elizabeth Raymond began work in January, 1981 as the manuscript processor funded by the terms of the Fleischmann Foundation grant received by the Society in mid-1980. Dr. Raymond, who moved to Reno from San Jose, California last year, received her Ph.D. in American Civilization from the University of Pennsylvania. She will organize the major manuscript collections of the Society, and compose and publish registers for those collections. This two-year program will lead to major advances in the accessibility of the Society's collections for researchers.

Rowe Appointed Management Assistant II

Elaine Rowe became the Society's Management Assistant II in the fall of 1980, replacing Judith Rippetoe, who resigned. Mrs. Rowe brings a broad range of experience in state government to this position; she recently worked for the University of Nevada, Reno, Department of Business Administration, and in the past held positions with the Office of the Secretary of State, and the State Library.

Ulrick/Bay Foundation Funds Expended

By means of a $1500 grant from the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, the Nevada Historical Society has been able to purchase four exhibit cases for use in the museum. These cases will be utilized for the display of

materials relating to three signal events in Nevada's history: the legalization of gambling, the enactment of Nevada's famed six-weeks divorce law, and the beginning of work on Hoover (Boulder) Dam, all in March, 1931. These fifty-year anniversaries will be celebrated statewide next year. The fourth exhibit case will be used for the display of additional materials relating to one of the Society's existing exhibits. Since the cases are portable, other exhibit uses will be made of them in the future.

NHS Annual Meeting

The Nevada Historical Society and the Nevada State Museum will hold their annual meetings in conjunction this year. This will mark the first occasion the two agencies, the component entities of the Department of Museums and History, have collaborated by having a joint banquet and presentation of annual awards.

As the *Quarterly* goes to press, final arrangements for the meeting have not been completed, but it will definitely be in Reno, with May 30 the probable date, at 6:00 in the evening. Invitations will be forwarded to all members of the Society and Museum well ahead of the actual event.

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