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NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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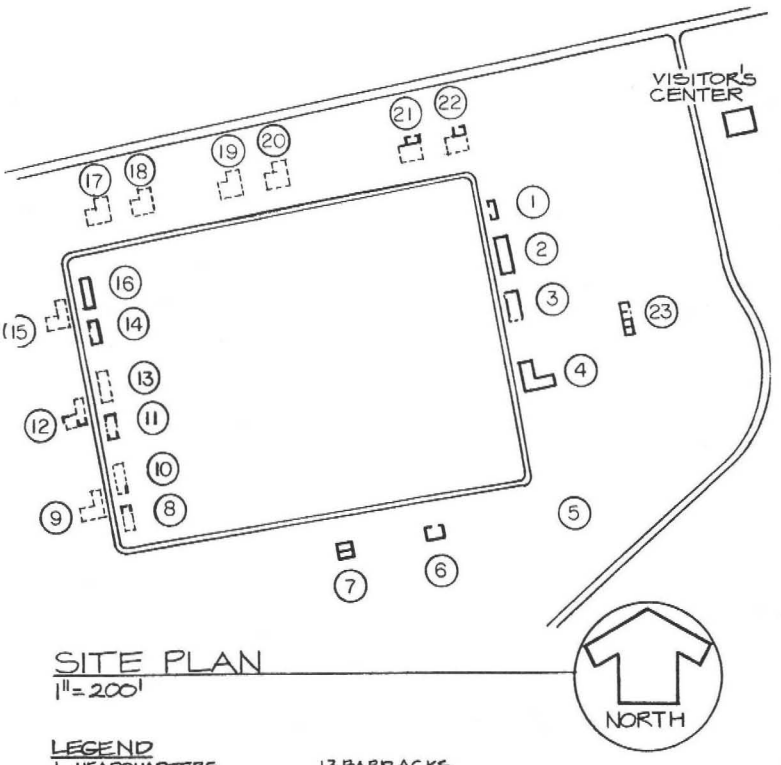

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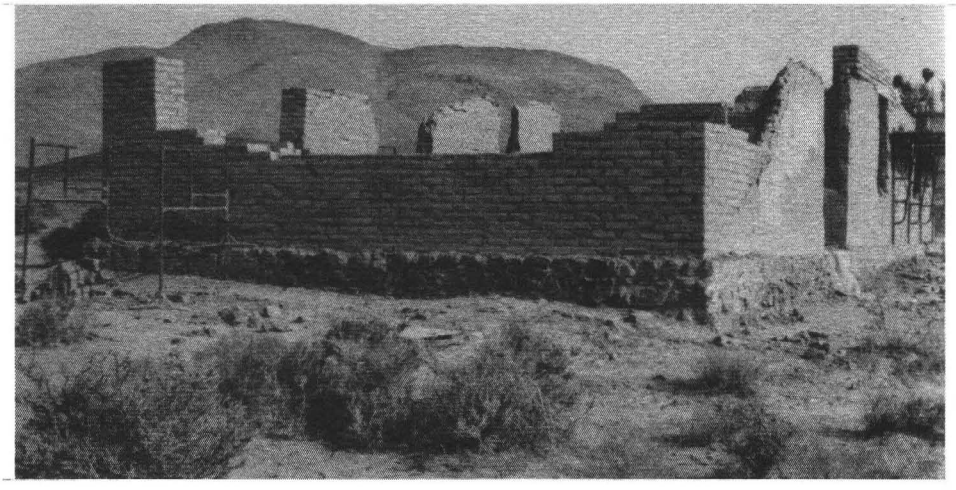

Ruins Stabilization Work at Fort Churchill

Historical Archaeology at Fort Churchill

DONALD HARDESTY

ARCHAEOLOGY AND AMERICAN HISTORY are useful, if somewhat uncomfortable, bedfellows.[1] Written documents are often inadequate to understand the American past, especially to interpret the history of people who have been either unable to, or uninterested in, recording their lives. And whenever historical events are written down or photographed, how often are the mundane, the commonplace, the everyday, included? Yet it is often the mundane, the everyday, and the "unknown" people who are the key ingredients of American society. Archaeology, if not the proverbial knight in shining armor, can at least add an important dimension to American social history; it is a source of evidence about the past that is *independent* of written record; it provides grass roots information about everyday life whether or not that life was consciously recorded; and it suggests interpretations that can be pursued in documents.

Recent archaeological and historical work at Fort Churchill, Nevada, is illustrative of this type of partnership.[2] Written documents provide the historian with enough information about people and events to place the Fort in its proper social, economic, political, and military context and to chronicle what happened in and around this part of the western frontier during the Fort's short existence.[3] Some information about life at Fort Churchill was also found; however, for the most part that life was observed through the eyes of official military reports and the officers. But are the enlisted men forever unable to speak for themselves? Are they to join the vast multitudes of other "lost" people in American history--Chinese immigrants on the western frontier, African slaves on the plantations of the Old South, the attendants of remote pony express

[1] See, for example, Cary Carson, "Doing History with Material Culture," in *Material Culture and the Study of American Life*, Ian M.G. Quimby, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), 41-64; Paul W. Wilderson, "Archaeology and the American Historian: An Interdisciplinary Challenge, *"American Quarterly:* 115-132, 1975; J.C. Harrington, "Archaeology as an Auxiliary Science to American History," *American Anthropologist* 57: 1125, 1955; James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten, the Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1977).

[2] The project was administrated by the Nevada State Museum under contract with the Nevada Division of State Parks.

[3] Kathryn Totton, "The History of Fort Churchill," in *Historical, Architectural, and Archaeological Studies of Fort Churchill, Nevada,* Donald L. Hardesty, ed. (Carson City: Nevada Division of State Parks, 1978), 1-110.

stations? That they will not be doomed to such a fate is the purpose of American historical archaeology; accordingly, archaeological work at Fort Churchill was, in part, aimed at writing the grass roots history of these otherwise undocumented people. Another reason for doing archaeology at Fort Churchill is historical verification. For example, written documents identify building uses and construction details; but unfortunately there are inconsistencies, different plans for the same buildings, and no way of knowing how accurate particular documents are. Help in verification comes from the archaeological record.

The significance of Fort Churchill in Nevada history is well known. What is not commonly recognized is the importance of the archaeological record at Fort Churchill as a "repository" of historical information about the garrison once housed there. The next section of this paper will give a brief, "trashy," expose of the garrison's behavior as revealed by archaeological research.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PORTRAIT OF GARRISON LIFE

Other than military routine, little is known about the personal lives of the soldiers at Fort Churchill. What they ate and drank, their vices, and how they were entertained are questions that often cannot be answered by written documents. The archaeological record does provide glimpses, especially if used jointly with the archival records. Diet is a case in point. Few things are less likely to be found in documents than information about diet. Fort Churchill is somewhat of an exception, however, because of the availability of some records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, housed in the National Archives. Those records suggest that the staples were "beef, salt pork, bread, coffee, beans and rice."[4] And we know that the beef was most often purchased from local ranchers, rather than shipped from the District Quartermaster Stores in San Francisco. Perishable vegetables were also obtained locally. A letter from Captain Charles A. Summer, of the Assistant Quartermaster's Office at Fort Churchill to Brig. General W.C. Meggs, the Quartermaster General in San Francisco[5] states, for example, that potatoes were hauled from Washoe and Carson Valleys, and barley was hauled from Silver City. The archaeological record provides additional information about subsistence. Excavations at the guardhouse recovered food remains dominated by beef, sheep, and pig bones, but also including jackrabbit (*Lepus*), domestic rabbit, chicken, and unidentified bird and fish bones. The only plant remains recovered were a watermelon seed and peanut

[4] Ibid., p.33

[5] Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, Record Group Number 92, Consolidated Correspondence File Concerning Fort Churchill, Nevada, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

hull; neither one could be definitely associated with the military occupation. As is suggested by the written record, there is no archaeological evidence that Fort Churchill extensively used locally available wild foods, such as jackrabbit. But the archaeological record of the guardhouse shows a surprisingly heavy use of sheep in the diet: 51 percent sheep and only 38 percent beef, with pig making up most of the remainder. The use of sheep is not mentioned in the documents, but this use was obviously important. Food remains recovered from the other buildings were similar to the guardhouse, but the quantities were too small to make accurate statements about the relative proportion of each in the diet.

How does the Fort Churchill diet compare with that of contemporary Anglo-Americans living in the same general area? The archaeological records of two nearby pony express stations are informative. Sand Springs station, near Sand Mountain between Fallon and Austin, was the most similar to Fort Churchill: cow, sheep, and pig make up the bulk of the food remains, and wild game (including fish, bird, jackrabbit and cottontail) is rare.[6] Cow and sheep are about equally important in the attendant's diet, with pig a poor third, as measured by both the *minimum* number of individuals and the total number of bone elements present. Wild game, however, was apparently more important at Cold Springs station, also between Fallon and Austin: butchered and burned jackrabbit bones were recovered, along with deer remains;[7] nor was the use of domestic livestock the same as at Sand Springs. Cow dominated the food refuse; sheep was rare, and pig was completely absent.[8] The importance of beef at Cold Springs station is, in fact, suggested by documents: Sir Richard Burton, who visited the station on October 15, 1860, observed that "a beef had been freshly killed (and the people) supped upon an excellent steak."[9] Plant remains were absent at Cold Springs but the archaeological record at Sand Springs included pinyon pine nut shells, common pink or white beans, and peach pits.[10] Burton observed other plant foods in the diet at the Butte pony express station in eastern Nevada, namely "sacks of wheat, oats, meal, and potatoes."[11]

Of course, man does not live, by bread (or meat) alone. The frontier experience was softened everywhere by the use of alcohol administered

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[6] Donald Hardesty, *The Pony Express in Central Nevada: Documentary and Archaeological Perspectives* (Reno: Bureau of Land Management, Cultural Resource Series, Number 1, 1979).

[7] Ibid., pp.153-156

[8] Ibid.

[9] Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Harper, 1862), p. 487.

[10] Hardesty, *Pony Express*, p. 162

[11] Burton, p. 469.

in the form of beer, wine, ale, liquor, and in the form of patent medicines. The garrison at Fort Churchill was no exception. Containers of these beverages are common in the archaeological record. The largest collection of bottles came from the Quartermaster Store.[12] Table 1 lists the kinds of bottles recovered here and their *relative* abundance, based on the number of fragments or complete bottles that could be identified from shape or maker's marks. Another large collection came from the basement of the hospital. Brand names could be identified on only a few of these; however, brands could be recognized on the complete bottles recovered from several of the buildings.[13] These are listed in Table 2. That the habits of military personnel on the frontier were not much different from civilians is suggested through comparison with bottles recovered from nearby Sand Springs express station (Table 3).[14]

TABLE 1

IDENTIFIABLE BOTTLES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD OF THE QUARTERMASTER STORES

BOTTLE TYPE	RELATIVE ABUNDANCE
Ale/Brandy	40
Wine	11
Champagne	40
Gin	3
Whiskey	8
Soda Water	1
Bitters	25
Schnapps	14
Chemical	3
Peppersauce	1
Pickle	11
Spice	3
Olive Oil	1
Perfume	1
Listerine	1

[12] Maribeth Hamby, "Bottles and Bottle Contents," in *Historical, Architectural, and Archaeological Studies at Fort Churchill, Nevada,* pp. 62-116, Appendix C.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Hardesty, *Pony Express,* p. 86.

TABLE 2

IDENTIFIABLE BRANDS ON BOTTLES FROM FORT CHURCHILL

J.T. and W.H. Daly Aromatic Valley Whiskey
J.T. Daly Club House Gin
J.C. Ayer's Cherry Pectoral (Cough Preparation)
A.C. Barry's Tricopherous (Hair restorer)
F. Brown's Essence of Jamaica Ginger (Tonic)
Perry Davis Vegetable Pain Killer
E.T. Lyon's Kathairon (Hair restorer)
David Hostetter's Stomach Bitters (Tonic)
L. Lacour Bitters (Tonic)
P.H. Drake's Plantation Bitters (Tonic)
Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps
Hegeman and Company Cod Liver Oil
Lea and Perrins Worcestershire Sauce
X. Bazin Perfume
Perine Cuyot and C (probably perfume)
C. Langley Extract

TABLE 3

BOTTLES FROM SAND SPRINGS EXPRESS STATION

BOTTLE TYPE AND/OR BRAND	RELATIVE ABUNDANCE
Ale or Brandy	1
Wine or Champagne	28
London Jockey Clubhouse Gin	5
F. Brown's Essence of Jamaica Ginger	1
Catawba Wine Bitters	17
Merchant's Gargling Oil Liniment	2
Davis Vegetable Pain Killer	2
Pickle or Peppersauce	18
Barrel Mustard	1
Lea and Perrins Worcestershire	1
Spice	58

TABLE 4

PERSONAL HYGIENE AND GROOMING ARTIFACTS
FROM FORT CHURCHILL AND NEARBY SITES

ARTIFACT TYPE	FT. CHURCHILL(#)	SAND SPRINGS(#)	COLD SPRINGS(#)
Hair or Beard Combs (Hard Rubber)	7	36	2
Delicing Combs (Bone)			2
Toothbrushes (Bone-Handled)	3		
Straight Razor	1		
Shaving Mugs		17	1
Hair Pins, 2-Pronged (Hard Rubber)		1	
Perfume Bottles	4		
Hair Oil Bottles	2		
Mirrors			1

Despite the remoteness of the frontier post, attention was given to personal details, and military regulation was apparently not the only reason. Similar archaeological evidence comes from the express stations at Cold Springs and Sand Springs (Table 4).

IDENTIFYING THE USE OF BUILDINGS THROUGH ARCHAEOLOGY

Another value of the archaeological record at Fort Churchill is its usefulness as an independent source of information about the use of buildings at the fort. Most of the standing buildings at Fort Churchill have been identified from original plans and lithographs. We know, for example, what buildings were used as officer's quarters, enlisted men's barracks, mess halls and kitchens, storehouses, hospitals, guardhouses, and the like (Figure 1). What we do not know is how accurate these

identifications are. There has been no independent confirmation of the activities taking place in each of the buildings, and some of the buildings are not mentioned in the documents. Furthermore, duplicate plans exist for some of the buildings and show significant differences in construction details and how the rooms were used. The guardhouse, for example, has 1860 and 1861 plans showing major disagreement in the details of the three rooms in the rear. To add to the confusion, Colonel Thomas Swords of the Quartermaster Corps at the Presidio in San Francisco was sent to Fort Churchill in the fall of 1860 with authority to make *on-site* changes in the original plan.[15] Thus, what you see in the plans is not necessarily what you get. For these reasons, among others, the archaeological record of the buildings becomes important.

Archaeological Recognition of Building Use

Under the best of circumstances, the activities that took place in buildings can be identified from lost artifacts, refuse, and other materials deposited in and around the structure. Most often it is not the unique artifact that is the key but the *proportions* in which common artifacts are found. The calculation of artifact ratios and percentages is often sufficient to define distinctive artifact *patterns* that serve as "fingerprints" of a building's social history.[16] That is the approach taken here.

The use of artifact fingerprints starts with the classification of artifacts recovered from the archaeological record into categories that have some meaning for human activities. At Fort Churchill a method of classification suggested by South was used.[17]

TABLE 5

ARTIFACT GROUPS AND CLASSES
IN THE FORT CHURCHILL COLLECTION

Class		*Group*	*Types of Artifacts Included*
1.	Structural Materials	ARCHITECTURE GROUP	Bricks, mortar, plaster nails, screws, bolts
2.	Fasteners		
3.	Window Glass		

[15] Totton, pp. 19ff.

[16] Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

[17] Ibid., p. 92ff.

TABLE 5 (continued)

ARTIFACT GROUPS AND CLASSES
IN THE FORT CHURCHILL COLLECTION

Class		*Group*	*Types of Artifacts Included*
4.	Door Hardware		
5.	Liquor	SPIRITS GROUP	wine, champagne, schnapps
6.	Medicine		bitters, extract, pain killer
7.	Kitchen Bottles	HOUSEHOLD GROUP	spices, peppersauce, pickles
8.	Cans and Jars		
9.	Kitchen Dishes		plates, bowls and cups
10.	Utensils		knives, forks, spoons
11.	Furniture Hardware	FURNITURE GROUP	handles, escutcheon
12.	Buttons	CLOTHING GROUP	
13.	Buckles		belt, suspender
14.	Belts and Straps		
15.	Shoes and Boots		
16.	Clothing Fragments		textiles, suede leather
17.	Thimbles		
18.	Adornment	PERSONAL GROUP	beads
19.	Grooming		combs, toothbrushes
20.	Tobacco Pipes		
21.	Personal Bottles		hair oil, perfume, ink
22.	Coins		
23.	Ammunition	ARMS AND AMMUNITION GROUP	slugs, casings
24.	Percussion caps		rifle, pistol
25.	Other		ramrod, powder loading device

TABLE 5 (continued)

ARTIFACT GROUPS AND CLASSES
IN THE FORT CHURCHILL COLLECTION

Class		*Group*	*Types of Artifacts Included*
26.	Games	FUN AND GAMES GROUP	dice, marbles
27.	Musical Instruments		harmonica
28.	Military Buttons	MILITARY GROUP	epaulettes, metal insignia
29.	Uniform Insignia and Decoration		
30.	Other		
31.	Animal Shoes	TRANSPORTATION GROUP	horse shoes, mule shoes
32.	Wagon Parts		
33.	Other		quick-release chain
34.	Construction Tools	MISCELLANEOUS GROUP	files, chisels, hatchet
35.	Farm Tools		rake
36.	Other		insulator, chains, hooks, canteen caps
37.	Bone	FOOD REFUSE GROUP	
38.	Plant Remains		melon seeds, hulls
39.	Other		egg shells
40.	Metal Fragments	UNIDENTIFIED REFUSE GROUP	
41.	Leather Fragments		
42.	Charcoal		
43.	Other		

Here, the artifacts originating from the same general activity are classified into the same *group:* construction, domestic activities, clothing, firearms, and food refuse are but a few of the groups defined for the Fort Churchill collection. Each group is further divided into smaller categories of artifacts that are recognized as having the same particular use--the *class.* For example, the classes making up the construction group include fasteners such as nails and screws, window glass, door

hardware such as hinges and door knobs, and structural materials such as bricks, mortar, and plaster. Table 5 gives a complete listing of the groups and classes used to define artifact fingerprints at Fort Churchill. For the most part, however, the fingerprints used here are based on the relative percentages of the artifact groups recovered from different buildings.[18]

A useful way to graphically illustrate artifact fingerprints is with cumulative frequency curves or ogives. An ogive is a graph drawn by plotting the percentages of each artifact group in a collection in a special way: group percentages are accumulated by adding the percentage of the group being plotted to cumulative percentages of all the groups that have already been plotted.[19] In this way, artifact groups that have very low percentages are represented on the graph by a "plateau" or nearly level line, and the groups with high percentages are represented by a sharp step. Therefore, buildings with the same kind of archaeological record will have ogives with similar shapes. Figure 2 illustrates the ogives for several activity fingerprints at Fort Churchill.

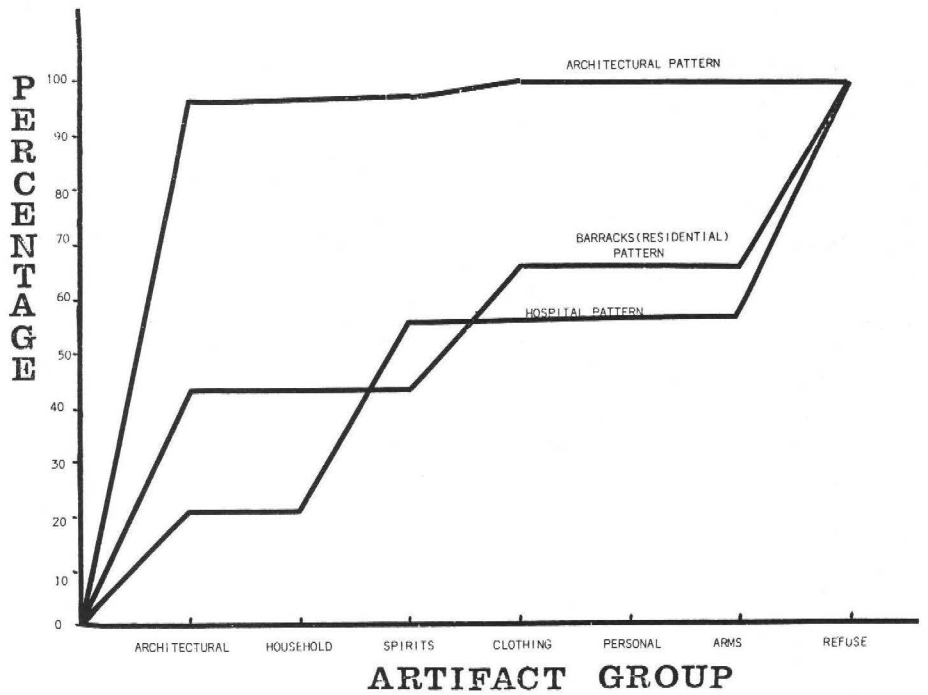

Figure 2. Three Ogives for the Fort Churchill Collection

[18] Hardesty, *Historical, Architectural, and Archaeological Studies at Fort Churchill, Nevada*, p. 42, Table 3.

[19] Leroy Johnson, Jr., *Item Seriation as an Aid for Elementary Scale and Cluster Analysis* (Eugene: University of Oregon Museum of Natural History, Bull. 15, 1968); Hardesty, *Pony Express*, p. 119.

At Fort Churchill, several building fingerprints could be recognized: the residential pattern, the sutler pattern, the hospital pattern, the architectural pattern, the commissary pattern, and the blacksmithing pattern. Unfortunately, many of the buildings did not have sufficiently distinctive fingerprints to permit their recognition as a barracks as opposed to laundresses quarters, or a similar kind of contrast. They could be distinguished from buildings that were used for quite different purposes: for example, a building used for a residence, as opposed to a hospital or a blacksmith shop.

The Residential Pattern

Artifacts recovered from the Officer's Quarters (Buildings 17-22), the Barracks/Mess Hall complexes (Buildings 8-16), and the Laundresses Quarters (Building 23) are sufficiently distinctive to warrant the definition of a "residential pattern." In general the pattern is made up of a high proportion of nails and few other artifacts except for the clothing and household groups. Two sub-patterns can be identified: the *Officer's pattern* and the *Barracks pattern.* As a group the *Officer's Quarters* are distinguished from other residential buildings by the presence of "luxury" artifacts and the absence of anything else except nails. Furniture and other house belongings were highly valued and were carefully transported from one post assignment to another, leaving little for archaeologists. Building 17 is typical. Other than nails, artifacts are rare and limited for the most part to clothing fragments and buttons. But the following luxury items were recovered: a brass thimble, a brass salt shaker lid, a marbled brown alabaster doorknob, and linen and silk cloth fragments.

The buildings used to house the common soldiers were grouped into three compounds of two barracks and one mess hall, each servicing a single company.[20] Archaeologically, the barracks are similar to other residential buildings at Fort Churchill; most artifacts are related to clothing or personal habits. Unlike the Officer's Quarters, however, no luxury complex is present and, generally, more artifacts occur. Building 10 is typical, but it includes a rare glimpse of a soldier's personal life: a cache of artifacts buried in the floor contained several complete bottles, mostly medicine but also an ink bottle and a wine bottle, a common pin, a red glass bead and, most intriguing of all, a human frontal bone that may have been a "soldier's grisly souvenir."[21] The archaeological record

[20] Totton, p. 25.

[21] Jonathan Davis and Larry Steinberg, *Archaeological Reconnaissance and Evaluation of Fort Churchill State Historic Monument* (Carson City: Nevada Division of State Parks, 1977).

of Building 10 also included several tobacco pipes, both the conventional "Dublin" variety and pipes with bowls in the form of human faces.

Quartermaster/Sutler Pattern

The artifact pattern for the Quartermaster Stores building suggests something more than the usual military use. At most military installations, only "absolute necessities--such as beef and flour, tent, shirt, and blanket"[22] were supplied by the Commissary and the Quartermaster Stores. That use is underlined by the large group of shoe fragments, belts, and buttons in the archaeological record here. Other needs were provided through the services of a Post Sutler, a civilian engaged by the federal government to run a general store on the post. Documents show that Fort Churchill also had a Post Sutler.[23] This individual apparently provided "luxury" commodities to the military personnel:

> A tariff list of goods received by the post sutler in June, 1861, included pipes in several different varieties, tobacco products, brooms, candlesticks, merino underwear, plaid flannel shirts, English towels, lawn dresses at $4.50 each, ladies cotton hose in brown, white, and slate, black silk cravats, Berlin gloves, silk handkerchiefs, and all kinds of canned goods including table fruit, lobsters (75¢ a can), honey and olives.[24]

The archaeological record of the Quartermaster Stores building at Fort Churchill is equally dominated by remains of similar non-essential commodities. The largest concentration of liquor bottles in any part of the post buildings occurs here, for example, along with a Perine Cuyot & C^{ie} perfume bottle, a harmonica, a hard rubber comb, and the like. What does all this mean? Most likely, it means that the same building housed the Quartermaster Stores and the Post Sutler at Fort Churchill sometime during its short life. Less likely is the possibility that the building has been incorrectly identified in the documentary record.

The Hospital Pattern

The archaeological record of the hospital is dominated by bottle glass fragments, which make up nearly 77 percent of all the artifacts recovered. Of these, somewhat less than half could be identified as liquor bottles, between three and four times the percentages of this kind of artifact in any other building at Fort Churchill. It appears that the most common frontier "pain killer" was also medically prescribed, and

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[22] W.N. Davis, "The Sutler at Fort Bridger," *Western Historical Quarterly* II (1971), 37.

[23] Totton, p. 30.

[24] Ibid.

that practice may turn out to be a useful way of recognizing frontier military hospitals in the absence of an adequate documentary record and in the absence of other diagnostic artifacts such as "hospital" bottles. Few artifacts of any other class are associated with the hospital, with the exception of nails, which here make up about 20 percent of the total.

The Architectural Pattern

Several of the buildings at Fort Churchill had archaeological records dominated by nails and window glass fragments and with no artifacts or other refuse that could be used to recognize particular human activities. The Commander's Office is typical. Nails and window glass fragments make up over 96 percent of all artifacts recovered from the test excavation; the remaining artifacts are three buttons, a member of the weapons group, and two fragments of bone. Such a pattern would be expected, of course, from a building that was used for administrative purposes. Other buildings with this architectural pattern include the Ordnance Storehouse or Magazine and a building whose uses could not be identified from documents. Presumably all of these buildings contained artifacts that were carefully curated, and then were moved to another military base when the Fort was abandoned, or were more carefully picked up by collectors over the years. The building on the southeast corner of the parade ground is especially enigmatic. It is depicted in Grafton Brown's 1862 lithograph as a wooden frame structure with a chimney; there has been speculation it was a blacksmith shop. Davis and Steinberg, who conducted the test excavations, argue that because the building contains neither the slag nor scrap metal expected from a blacksmith shop it may have been a bakery.[25] But the building contains none of the artifacts that would be expected of a bakery. No utensils, cans, jars, or kitchen bottles such as were found in the commissary have been recovered. The artifacts are dominated by nails and window glass (90.3 percent), and the entire pattern is very similar to that of the Commander's Office. Beyond those negative interpretations, the archaeological record provides no clues to the activities that took place in the building.

The Blacksmith Shop Pattern

A wooden frame building is known from documents to have been used as a blacksmith shop on the post but its exact location is unknown.[26] Building 27 is presently the best candidate. The artifacts

[25] Davis and Steinberg, p. 9.
[26] Totton, p. 28.

recovered from this building are similar to those in the architectural pattern with one important exception: over 95 percent of all the horseshoe nails occur here, a group of 108. The only heavy concentration of slag, charcoal, and scrap metal fragments at Fort Churchill was found in Building 27.

The Commissary Pattern

The building historically identified as the Commissary has an archaeological record that is also similar to the architectural pattern; however, there are about 20 percent fewer nails and window glass fragments and a percentage of cans used as food containers that is about four times that of any other building at the fort.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

What archaeology can do for historical research at Fort Churchill is suggested by the foregoing. At the same time, a *caveat* must be added. The archaeological record is not just "frozen" human behavior, but rather is the product of many natural and human-caused forces; these forces control what artifacts enter the record and at what rate, which are preserved and which are not, and the like. There are many problems of interpretation. One of the most difficult at Fort Churchill is military "policing." The bane of all archaeologists is a clean house; without garbage, there are few tales to be told. For that reason, military installations are less than ideal. Post policing was a constant activity, and Fort Churchill was no exception. Thus, Post Order #53, of November 9, 1867, decreed that the garrison would be thoroughly policed by every available man including the Officer of the Day as supervisor and the members of the old guard as soon as relieved.[27] Until research on the Fort Churchill dump is begun, it will be difficult to understand what impact policing has had upon the archaeological record.

What the direction of future archaeological research at Fort Churchill should be is dictated by the needs of historic preservation planning.[28] Top priority must be given to an assessment of the present condition of the archaeological record and its significance for the public interpretation and historical scientific research. Such an assessment begins with an inventory of what is there.[29] A large-scale program of

[27] Ibid., p. 32.

[28] Michael Schiffer, *Behavioral Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1976).

[29] U.S. Department of the Interior, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, *Resource Protection Planning Process* (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Planning Series, Publication Number 50, 1980).

survey, mapping, and test excavation in the park is needed. Following the inventory, "zones" within the park having *distinctive* archaeological remains should be key research problems for each one identified, and interpretative values assigned. For example, a key research problem tied to the zone containing the trash dump has to do with how military policing and other trash disposal practices have affected the formation of the archaeological record in other parts of the fort. Each zone is, in effect, a "model" of a distinctive segment of the fort's history and what it implies for archaeological remains. Management needs and priorities can then be identified for each zone. Hopefully, such a preservation program can be rapidly initiated.

Work on the Ruins of Fort Churchill

The "Descendants of Ham" in Zion: Discrimination Against Blacks Along the Shifting Mormon Frontier, 1830-1920

NEWELL G. BRINGHURST

DURING THE PAST twenty to twenty-five years an impressive number of works has been written on the Mormon-black experience; these have been stimulated in large measure by the controversy surrounding the now-defunct Mormon practice of denying blacks the priesthood.[1] Included among these is Stephen J. Taggart's *Mormonism's Negro Policy,* which attempts to define the social-historical roots of Mormon black priesthood denial.[2] Of greater importance is Lester E. Bush's *Dialogue* article "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview" which traces the development of Mormon attitudes and practices toward Blacks from the earliest days of the Latter-day Saint movement until the

[1] An earlier version of this essay was presented on August 16, 1979 as part of a series entitled "Utah Historical Perspectives: Blacks in Utah and Universal Mormonism" sponsored by the Utah Historical Society and funded by the Utah Endowment for the Humanities. The author expresses his appreciation for the helpful comments of Dr. Michael J. Clark, Director of the Institute for the Study of Black Life and Culture at the University of Utah.

The earliest scholarly work attempting to examine the Mormon-black experience is Jack Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* II (1929), 122-26. Also see L.H. Kirkpatrick, "The Negro and the L.D.S. Church," *Pen,* (1954), 12-13, 29; J.B. Christensen, "Negro Slavery in the Utah Territory," *Phylon* XVIII (1957), 298-305; Jan Shipps, "Second Class Saints," *Colorado Quarterly* XI (1962-63), 183-88, Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," *Western Humanities Review* XXI (1967) and his "Negro Slavery in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* XXXIX (Winter 1971), 40-54 and Fawn M. Brodie, "Can We Manipulate the Past?" *First Annual American West Lecture,* University of Utah, October 3, 1970. Two recent studies examine the development of Mormon antiblack attitudes and practices from two new perspectives: Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago, 1981), 179-204 considers Mormon-black relations within the context of the social-cultural setting of American society at large, while Mark P. Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge, 1979), 223-226, considers these relations within an anthropological framework.

[2] Stephen J. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City, Utah). Also see Lester E. Bush, Jr., "A Commentary on Stephen J. Taggart's *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins,*" *Dialogue* IV (Winter 1969), 86-103, which critiques the weaknesses in Taggart's somewhat flawed work.

early 1970's.[3] A third study, written from the vantage point of Utah blacks themselves is Ronald G. Coleman's essay "Blacks in Utah History: An Unknown Legacy" which describes their social, political and economic activities and their struggles for equality during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[4] Other significant studies examine the lives of individual Great Basin blacks--including Samuel Chambers, Jane Manning James, and Elijah Abel.[5]

In light of all of these studies, one might rightly ask what justification can be offered for yet another treatise on the black-Mormon experience? These numerous studies, despite their informative, scholarly nature, do not adequately consider the nature and effects of Mormon-black interaction along the Latter-day Saint frontier.[6] Yet this interaction was of primary importance in causing the Mormons to discriminate against blacks. Mormon antiblack attitudes and practices were evident from the earliest days of the Latter-day Saint movement. They intensified and reached a peak by the time of the American Civil War. These attitudes and practices, moreover, were perpetuated and, in fact, reenforced during the fifty-five year period after 1865. Thus they were firmly established by 1920--the date that the first period of black migration into the Great Basin came to an end.[7] Mormon antiblack prejudices emerged along a shifting Latter-day Saint frontier, one that initially moved from New York into Ohio and Missouri, and then into Illinois and finally into the Great Basin.

Such discrimination in a frontier environment was *not*, of course, unique with the Mormons as Eugene H. Berwanger's seminal study *The*

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[3] Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: an Historical Overview," *Dialogue,* VIII (Spring 1973). Also see the comments on Bush's seminal essay by Gordon C. Thomasson, Hugh Nibley, and Eugene England in the same issue of *Dialogue.*

[4] Ronald G. Coleman, "Blacks in Utah History: an Unknown Legacy," 115-140, in *The Peoples of Utah,* ed. by Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City, 1976). Another work, somewhat useful, for considering the activities of blacks "from the vantage point of blacks" themselves, despite its romanticized, pro-Mormon perspective, is Kate B. Carter, *The Story of the Negro Pioneer* (Salt Lake City, 1965).

[5] See Henry J. Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith: Jane Elizabeth James and the Origin of the Utah Black Community," in Clark Knowlton, ed., *Social Accommodation in Utah* (American West Center Occasional Papers, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1975), 126-72. A somewhat shorter essay on James by Linda K. Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery entitled "Jane Manning James," is in *The Ensign,* August 1979. For Chambers see William G. Hartley, "Samuel D. Chambers," *The New Era,* June 1974, 56-60. On Abel see Newell G. Bringhurst, "Elijah Abel and the Changing Black Mormon Experience," *Dialogue,* XII (Summer, 1979), 23-36.

[6] This and other shortcomings in the writing of Western black history are discussed in an important essay by Lawrence B. de Graaf, "Recognition, Racism, and Reflections on the Writing of Western Black History," *Pacific Historical Review* XLIV (February, 1975), 22-51.

[7] For the best discussion of the ebb and flow of black migration into the Great Basin see George Ramjoue, "The Negro in Utah: A Geographical Study in Population" (M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1968).

Frontier Against Slavery so ably demonstrates. According to Berwanger, most white Americans along the Western frontier routinely discriminated against blacks--prohibiting them from voting, holding public office, and intermarrying with whites. Berwanger's study is most effective in chronicling frontier antiblack practices and it thus brings into serious question the idea that the frontier promoted democracy--that it increased political and social opportunities for all Americans participating in the frontier experience.[8] Frederick Jackson Turner had promoted this concept in his famous Frontier Thesis in 1893.[9] Although Berwanger has made an important contribution by pointing out certain flaws in Turner's thesis, he tended to minimize the intensity and duration of discrimination against blacks along the Western frontier.[10] Berwanger's implied suggestion that antiblack discrimination "reached its height" during the years 1846-60 and then lessened, overlooks conditions on the Mormon frontier.[11] Here the Latter-day Saints perpetuated prevasive antiblack practices in both the secular and ecclesiastical realms into the post-Civil War period and in fact reenforced such practices in a number of important respects during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The first Morman frontier[12] was of course in New York state where Joseph Smith organized his followers into the Mormon Church in 1830.[13] It is not known whether there was any contact between the New York-based Mormons and blacks. Nevertheless Joseph Smith through the *Book of Mormon* articulated a set of attitudes which influenced future Mormon behavior. On the one hand, the *Book of Mormon* called for universal Christian salvation for *all* mankind regardless of race, color, or

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[8] Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy* (Urbana, Illinois, 1967).

[9] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Turner developed his theories more fully in *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920).

[10] This criticism was implied by de Graaf in his "Recognition, Racism, and Reflection on the Writing of Western Black History," 38.

[11] Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery,* 4.

[12] By "Mormon Frontier," I mean those geographic regions which served as the headquarters and/or centers for the Mormon Church as Saints moved westward. To these regions the Mormons tried to gather all True Believers as they built up their Zion in preparation for the Millennium and Second Coming. For a discussion of the importance of the Mormon Gathering in Mormon thought see William Mulder, "Mormonism's 'Gathering': An American Doctrine with a Difference," *Church History,* XXIII (September, 1954), 248-264. This "Mormon Frontier" came to an end as the Mormons gradually abandoned the idea of gathering all their members to Mormonism's Zion and gave up trying to remain isolated or separate from the larger non-Mormon American society. These changes occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The abandonment of plural marriage and the admission of Utah to the union during the 1890s was a tacit acknowledgment of this fact.

[13] Actually, the original name of Smith's Church was the "Church of Jesus Christ." By 1838, Smith's followers had adopted the Church's present day designation "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

bondage. The Lord, it proclaimed, "denieth none that came unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female; and he remembereth the heathen: and all are alike unto God, both Jew and Gentile."[14] However, the *Book of Mormon* also advanced a second set of concepts, less enlightened than Mormon universalism; these emphasized the inherent inferiority of dark skinned people. These racist concepts, while not specifically directed against blacks of African descent, described the "sore cursing" of a "skin of blackness" that befell certain wicked individuals. These individuals became "a dark, filthy and a loathsome people."[15] These accursed peoples, according to Mormon belief, were the ancestors of the contemporary Indian. Finally the *Book of Mormon* promoted a third, more enlightened concept--basic opposition to human bondage.[16] This Mormon precept stood in sharp contrast to Old Testament teachings which approved or at least tolerated slaveholding among certain divinely favored peoples.[17]

The early Latter-day Saints carried these three basic *Book of Mormon* tenets west as the Mormon frontier moved into Ohio and Missouri during the 1830s. Following their migration west, the Saints promoted the concept of gathering *all* peoples, including Blacks, to both of these regions.[18] In Kirtland, Ohio, the Saints promoted such universal expectations in their rules of conduct for the Kirtland Temple, which they addressed to "old or young, rich or poor, male or female, bond or free, black or white, believer or unbeliever."[19] In this atmosphere, at least two blacks joined the early church in Ohio--Black Pete and Elijah Abel. While little is known about Pete, it appears that he migrated to Kirtland from Pennsylvania in late 1830 or early 1831.[20] Pete proclaimed himself a revelator and attracted a great deal of notoriety in the non-Mormon press.[21] On one occasion Pete fancied he could "fly" and

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[14] *Book of Mormon* 2 Nephi 26:33. Also see 2 Nephi 9:5-22; 25:16; 26:13; 26:25; Alma 1:30; 29:2; 5:49; 17:8; 23:4-18; Helaman 5:18-19; 5:48-52; 3 Nephi 2:12-16.

[15] Ibid., 2 Nephi 5:21-24; Mormon 5:15. Also see 1 Nephi 12:23; Alma 3:13-19; 31:2; 43:13; 47:35; Helaman 3:16; 11:24.

[16] Ibid., Alma 43:29; 43:45-49; 44:2; 48:10-11; 50:22; 53:17; Mosiah 2:13; 7:15.

[17] See Genesis 14:14; 24:34; 30:43; Exodus 20:17; 21:2-32; Leviticus 25:39-55; 2 Samuel 8:2, 6, 14; 1 Chronicles 18:2, 6, 13; Proverbs 29-30.

[18] *Evening and Morning Star* (Independence, Missouri) October 1832, December 1832, March 1833; *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, December 1834, Feburary 1835, September 1835.

[19] Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church*, Vol. II, Second Edition (Salt Lake City, 1978), 368-369.

[20] *Naked Truth About Mormonism* (Oakland, Calif.), January 1888. Quotes statement of Henry Carroll, March 18, 1885 concerning Black Pete's background.

[21] As indicated by articles which appeared in newspapers not only in Ohio but as far away as New York and Pennsylvania. See *Ashtabula Journal* (Ashtabula, Ohio), February 5, 1831, taken from *Geauga Gazette [n.d.]; Albany Journal* (Albany, New York), February 16, 1831 reprinted from *Painesville Gazette* [n.d.] and *The Sun* (Philadelphia) August 18, 1831, taken from the *A.M. Intelligencer* [n.p., n.d.].

took it into his head to try his wings; he accordingly chose the elevated bank of Lake Erie as a starting-place, and spreading his pinions, he lit on a treetop some fifty feet below, sustaining no other damage than the demolition of his faith in wings without feathers.[22]

Pete was apparently excommunicated for his unusual behavior.[23] As for Abel, he was born in Maryland and became a Mormon at a somewhat later date. After his arrival in Kirtland, Mormon leaders ordained Abel an Elder in their priesthood and in December, 1836 promoted him to the higher priesthood rank of Seventy.[24] Hence, Abel had the unique distinction of being one of a handful of Mormon blacks receiving the priesthood in the early Church. In addition, he was listed in the Kirtland-based *Messenger and Advocate* as a duly licensed "minister of the Gospel."[25] By the late 1830s, he left Kirtland to fulfill a church mission in New York state and Canada. Such Latter-day Saint universalism, as symbolized by the activities of Abel and Black Pete was noted by a contemporary non-Mormon observer who proclaimed that the Ohio Saints recognized "the natural equality of [all] mankind without excepting the native Indians or the African race."[26]

Mormons promoted this in Missouri, which was more of a frontier region than Ohio because of its remote and unsettled condition. In Missouri, one Church spokesman directed this sermon toward an audience made up of "specimens of all of the families of the earth; Shem, Ham, and Japheth" including "quite a respectable number of negroes--decendants of Ham."[27] Apostle Parley P. Pratt subscribed to this same universalism in his preaching while travelling to Missouri by steamer. When a group of passengers asked him to preach, Pratt agreed only on one condition: "that all classes black or white, should have the privilege" of hearing his discourse.[28]

The Saints, however, ran into difficulties as they attempted to fulfill their universalistic goal of gathering all peoples, including blacks, to their frontier settlements in Ohio and Missouri. Mormon difficulties

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[22] *The Sun*, August 18, 1831. Also see *Ashtabula Journal* February 5, 1831. Later recollections have Pete chasing "a ball that he said he saw flying in the air" or "revelations carried by a black angel." See *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois), April 1, 1842 and *Journal of Discourses*, 11, George A. Smith November 15, 1865.

[23] This according to a later recollection in the *Times and Seasons*, (Nauvoo, Illinois) April 1, 1842. However, it is unclear whether "Black Pete" was among those "cut off."

[24] Andrew Jenson, *L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, 1920), Vol. III, 577; "Minutes of the Seventies Journal," kept by Hazen Aldrich, December 20, 1836, (Original in L.D.S. Church Archives, Salt Lake City).

[25] *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, June 1836.

[26] E.S. Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States* (London, 1835), Vol. III, 58.

[27] Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church*, Vol. I, Second Edition, 191.

[28] Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography* (Salt Lake City 1873), 81.

were underscored in Missouri--a slave state--through the 1833 publication of "Free People of Color" in the *Evening and Morning Star*. This article reflected Mormon expectations that blacks would be included in the gathering to the Saints' Missouri Zion. However, non-Mormon reaction to this article revealed the complications inherent in such an undertaking. The slave state of Missouri was *not* the most conducive environment for free blacks, Mormon or otherwise. White citizens of Missouri maintained a tradition of strong hostility toward free blacks. Missourians had expressed this hostility through a statute limiting free black migration into the state. It stipulated that a "free negro or mulatto" could enter the state only if he was an American citizen and had a "certificate of citizenship" attesting to this fact. The failure to produce such a certificate upon request could result in a fine of five hundred dollars.[29]

W. W. Phelps, editor of the *Star*, manifested his sensitivity to this situation through "Free People of Color." In this article, accompanied by the text of the Missouri antiblack law, Phelps and his fellow Mormons tried to do two things. First, they informed those "free people of color who" wanted to migrate "to the Western boundaries of Missouri as members of the Church" about conditions in this slave state. Secondly, they tried to prevent misunderstanding between themselves and their non-Mormon neighbors by clarifying the Mormon position on slavery, race, and the position of free blacks in the Church.[30] Thus, "Free People of Color" concluded:

> So long as we have no special rule in the church, as to people of color, let prudence guide; and while they, as well as we, are in the hands of a merciful God, we say: Shun every appearance of evil.[31]

This article clearly failed in its second objective. Non-Mormon residents of Jackson County viewed "Free People of Color" *not* as a document anticipating the *possible* migration of black Mormons into the state, but, instead as an open invitation to "negroes and mulattoes from other states to become 'Mormons' and settle among us."[32] Phelps in an "Extra"

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[29] Warren A. Jennings, "Factors in the Destruction of the Mormon Press in Missouri, 1833," *Utah Historical Quarterly* XXXV (Winter, 1967), 65-66.

[30] On the slavery issue, the *Star* warned that "Slaves are real estate in this and other states, and wisdom would dicate great care among the branches of the Church of Christ on this subject." It went on: "As to slaves we have nothing to say. In connection with the wonderful events of this age," he optimistically noted, "much is doing toward abolishing slavery, and colonizing the blacks, in Africa." *Evening and Morning Star,* July 1833.

[31] Ibid.

[32] As contained in "The Secret Constitution of the Citizens of Jackson County," and "The Manifesto of the Mob." Manuscript copy in L.D.S. Church Archives. Also reprinted in the *Evening and Morning Star,* December, 1833.

edition of the *Star* attempted to repair the damage done by his original article and stem the rising tide of hostility against the Saints. Thus he stated:

> Having learned with extreme regret, that an article entitled, "Free People of Color," in the last number of the *Star*, had been misunderstood, we feel in duty bound to state in this Extra, that our intention was not only to stop free people of color from emigrating to this state, but to prevent them from being admitted as members of the Church.[33]

This effort failed to convince the non-Mormon citizens of Jackson County. Instead, Missouri non-Mormons expelled the Saints from the county in the wake of their anger over this article, and their disgust over editor Phelps' professed antislavery views, that is, his descriptions of "abolition" and "colonization" as "wonderful events."[34]

The Mormons also ran into difficulties in Ohio as they tried to promote a universal gathering in that frontier. There they also encountered antiblack laws and regulations which diminished the feasibility of any large scale black migration. These statutes enacted in 1804 and 1807 limited the migration of free blacks into the state and required the posting of a $500 bond for each and every black person who did so.[35] State authorities during the 1830s renewed their efforts to tighten up these statutes in the face of continuing black migration into the state.[36]

These difficulties in Ohio and Missouri affected the Mormons and those blacks associated with the Latter-day Saint movement in several ways. First, very few blacks joined the Mormon Church. By 1839, Parley P. Pratt estimated that "one dozen free negroes or mulattoes never had belonged to our society in any part of the world, from its first organization to this date, 1839."[37] Second, despite these few blacks (or maybe because of them) Joseph Smith manifested a greater doctrinal interest in the activities of certain individuals and groups he believed to

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[33] "Extra," *Evening and Morning Star*, July 20, 1833.

[34] Contained in the "Propositions of the Mob." First published in the *Western Monitor* (Fayette, Missouri), August 9, 1833 and the *Missouri Republican*, August 9, 1833. The Saints encountered further difficulties on the issues of slavery and abolition following their migration north to Clay County, Missouri. See: *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, August 1836.

[35] Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, 18; Charles I. Hickok, *The Negro in Ohio: 1802-1870* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1896), 41-44.

[36] Frank U. Quillin, *The Color Line in Ohio* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1913), 31-32.

[37] Parley P. Pratt, *Late Persecutions of the Church of Latter-day Saints* (New York, 1840), 28. This statement was an estimate of *free blacks only*. There are no apparent statements or estimates concerning the total number of black slaves who were church members or "associated" with the church (through the membership of their masters) during the 1830s. But in the light of the limited Mormon missionary success in the slaveholding areas of the United States this number was probably not very large.

be the ancestors of contemporary blacks. Thus Smith in his Books of Moses and Abraham, written during the 1830s, emphasized the negative role of certain alleged ancestors of black people--Cain, Ham, Canaan, and the Egyptians. More important, Smith in his Book of Abraham inserted the key phrase that the Egyptians as descendants of Ham were "cursed as pertaining to the priesthood."[38] However, there is little to suggest that Smith or any other Church leader used this particular scriptural passage or any Mormon scriptural writings as an instrument to deny blacks the priesthood during the 1830s.[39] Indeed, the Latter-day Saints continued to accept Elijah Abel and other Mormon blacks in full fellowship--including the Priesthood. But at the same time the Saints became much less vocal in their antislavery views, and even lashed out at those individuals and groups actively campaigning against slavery.[40] Thus, in 1835, the Church approved an anti-abolitionist resolution included in its newly canonized *Doctrine and Covenants.* It said:

> We believe it just to preach the gospel to the nations of the earth and warn the righteous to save themselves from the corruption of the world; but we do not believe it right to interfere with bondservants neither preach the gospel to, nor baptize them, contrary to the will and wish of their masters, nor to meddle with or influence them in the least to be dissatisfied with their situations in this life thereby jeopardizing the lives of men. Such interference we believe to be unlawful and dangerous to the peace of every government allowing human beings to be held in servitude.[41]

Despite these difficulties over the issues of slavery, race, and black people along the Missouri and Ohio frontiers, the Saints continued to express a universalistic desire to gather *all* peoples, including blacks, to their new Zion in Nauvoo, Illinois. Mormon leaders looked forward to the time when they would gather all races and ethnic groups to Nauvoo, including the "degraded Hottentot."[42] Indeed, a number of black Mor-

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[38] *Pearl of Great Price,* Moses and Abraham, passim. See particularly Abraham 1:21-27.

[39] I feel this to be the case despite suggestions to the contary made by Zebedee Coltrin and Abraham O. Smoot in 1879. See L. John Nuttal Diary, August 1878-June 1879, May 31, 1879, p. 170. Typescript copy of original in Special Collections Department of Brigham Young University Library.

[40] For two views of this development see Lester E. Bush, Jr. "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," 13-16 and Newell G. Bringhurst, " 'A Servant of Servants...Cursed as Pertaining to the Priesthood: Mormon Attitudes Toward Slavery and the Black Man 1830-1880" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1975), 21-47.

[41] *Doctrine and Covenants,* 134:12. It was originally published in the *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate,* August 1835.

[42] For Mormon universalistic rhetoric which looked forward to the gathering of blacks, along with other peoples, to Nauvoo see *Times and Seasons,* October, 1840, May 15, 1843, November 1, 1843, January 1, 15, 1844.

mons migrated to Nauvoo. Elijah Abel was the most prominent of these, arriving in Nauvoo following the completion of his mission in New York state and Canada. Abel became a carpenter by trade and maintained close contact with Joseph Smith and his immediate family.[43] According to one account, Abel was "intimately acquainted" with Joseph Smith and lived in the home of the Mormon prophet.[44] Smith, moreover, "appointed" Abel "to the calling of an undertaker."[45] Abel was also present at the bedside of Patriarch Joseph Smith, Sr.--father of the Mormon prophet--"during his last sickness" in 1840. The following year Abel and six other Nauvoo Mormons attempted to rescue Joseph Smith in the wake of his arrest growing out of earlier Missouri difficulties.[46] A second black, Jane Manning, also maintained close contact with Joseph Smith. She arrived in Nauvoo in the fall of 1843 with a group of nine Mormon blacks migrating from Connecticut. Upon her arrival she became "a member of Joseph Smith's Household," washing, ironing, cooking, and performing other household tasks.[47] In addition to Jane Manning and Abel at least two other Mormon blacks maintained close relations with the Mormon Prophet. These included Jane Manning's younger brother Isaac, a "servant" or cook for the Smith family, and Green Flake "a bodyguard" who "lived with" the Smith family.[48]

Despite these close personal contacts, the total number of blacks living in Nauvoo remained very small. Only about twenty blacks settled in Nauvoo, which by the mid-1840s was a bustling community of 15-20,000 people.[49] Several factors made Nauvoo a less than attractive place for prospective black Mormons. First, an Illinois statute limited the migration of free blacks into the state by requiring any free black

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[43] See Elijah Abel Papers, L.D.S. Church Archives, for a description of a pamphlet which was printed according to an "Agreement," February 20, 1840 between E. Robinson and D.C. Smith--the Nauvoo town printers--and "Elijah Abel, Levi Jackson, Samuel Rolf, Alexander Badlam, Wm. Cahoon, Wm. Smith and Elijah Newman." Robinson and Smith agreed "To Print for Abel, Jackson & Co., small pamphlet of 200 copies 'Book of Prices of Work adopted by the House Carpenters of the Town of Nauvoo' to be paid upon in labor or putting up a building when called upon." The sum agreed upon was $58. I did not have the opportunity to look at the original but according to this reference the "original is in the possession of Mrs. Alfred M. Henson, St. George."

[44] Kate B. Carter, *The Negro Pioneer* 15; Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia,* 557. It is somewhat unclear what Carter meant by "lived in the home" of Joseph Smith. It seems unlikely that Abel resided with the Smith family itself. Probably Abel lived in the Nauvoo House, a hotel guest-house run by the Smith family.

[45] As recorded in "Minutes of First Council of Seventy, 1859-1863," p. 494, March 5, 1879, L.D.S. Church Archives.

[46] Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church,* IV.

[47] Henry J. Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 127.

[48] Kate B. Carter, *The Negro Pioneer,* 9-13; *Deseret News,* May 12, 1976.

[49] For a tentative list of those blacks living in Nauvoo see Bringhurst "A Servant of Servants...Cursed as Pertaining to the Priesthood," Appendix C, Table II.

entering the state to furnish notarized proof of his or her freedom, and post $1,000 bond.[50] In fact, Illinois authorities detained Jane Manning and her fellow black Mormon migrants in Peroria, Illinois when they failed to produce their "free papers."[51] Second, within Nauvoo itself, Latter-day Saint authorities restricted the political and civil rights of blacks. Through the Nauvoo city charter Mormon leaders limited the right to vote, hold municipal office, or belong to the militia--the famed Nauvoo Legion--to "free white males."[52] Another local statute prohibited intermarriage between whites and blacks. Joseph Smith himself as mayor of Nauvoo upheld the validity of this statute in presiding over the trial of two blacks for attempting "to marry white women." Smith "fined one $25 and the other $5."[53]

A Mormon willingness to legally recognize the inferior status of blacks within the secular realm was no new thing. Throughout the first decade of Mormonism's existence, the Saints were forced to recognize and obey various non-Mormon, antiblack statutes during sojourns in Ohio and Missouri. But what was different about Latter-day Saint actions in Nauvoo was that the Saints themselves for the first time and on their own initiative enacted antiblack statutes. Nauvoo blacks were also subjected to extra-legal abuse. In 1844, Chism, a Nauvoo black, was whipped in the wake of charges that he had stolen some goods. Church spokesmen, however, discounted Mormon involvement in this violent act in their response to an exaggerated account of the incident carried in the *Philanthropist*--a Cincinnati-based abolitionist publication.[54]

Mormon discrimination against blacks intensified in the wake of Joseph Smith's assassination in 1844 and the abandonment of Nauvoo in early 1846, a move which brought a westward shift of the Mormon frontier. The Mormons manifested such increased discrimination when they affirmed black priesthood denial in the spring of 1847 during their temporary encampment at Winter Quarters (in present-day Nebraska). Parley P. Pratt justified black priesthood denial on the basis of alleged black descent from Ham--a lineage which "was cursed as regards the Priesthood."[55] This earlist known declaration of black priesthood denial came as the Winter Quarters Saints were dealing with the disruptive

[50] Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, 32.

[51] "Life Sketch of Jane Elizabeth Manning James," as contained in Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 152.

[52] As indicated in "An Act to Incorporate the City of Nauvoo," reprinted in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church*, Vol. IV, 239-44.

[53] Ibid., Vol. VI, 210.

[54] "Journal History," March 30, April 1, 1844, original in L.D.S. Church Archives; *Nauvoo Neighbor*, May 22, 1844.

[55] Church Minutes, 15 April 1847, L.D.S. Church Archives.

activities of one William McCary--a self-proclaimed black Indian prophet. McCary arrived in the Mormon Camp sometime during the winter of 1846-47. At first, Brigham Young and other Church leaders welcomed or at least accepted McCary into their midst. McCary, an accomplished musician, entertained the encamped Saints during the months of February and March 1847.[56]

By late March, however, McCary fell from Mormon favor. Young and others were apparently upset with McCary for using his powers as a musician and ventriloquist to claim supernatural powers of transmigration--that is, the ability to assume the "identity" of certain Old and New Testament peoples. At a "meeting of the twelve and others," McCary exhibited "himself in Indian costume" purporting "to be Adam, the ancient of days." He "claimed to have an odd rib which he had discovered in his wife."[57] He then "showed his body to the company to see if he had a rib gone." He also tried to pass himself off as the ancient Apostle Thomas by throwing his voice and announcing that "God spoke unto him and called him Thomas."[58] McCary failed to convince Young and other Church leaders, and they expelled him from winter quarters.[59]

McCary, however, was undeterred and remained near the area around Winter Quarters and proceeded to set up his own rival Mormon group, and draw followers away from Brigham Young.[60] According to a July 1847 account, the "negro prophet" exerted his influence by working "with a rod, like those of old."[61] By the Fall of 1847, McCary's religious practices took a new turn when the black Indian taught his own form of plural marriage or polygamy. McCary's ritual involved having a number of women:

> ...seald to him in his way which was as follows, he had a house in which this ordinance was preformed his wife...was in the room at the time of the proformance no others was admited the form of sealing was for the women to

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[56] Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861* (Salt Lake City, 1965), Vol. II, p. 244; John D. Lee, "Journal," February 27, 1847, John D. Lee Papers, L.D.S. Church Archives.

[57] "Manuscript History of the Church," March 26, 1847. A brief mention of the confrontation between McCary and church leaders was also contained in Willard Richards, "Journal," March 26, 1847, Willard Richards Papers, both in L.D.S. Church Archives.

[58] Wilford Woodruff, "Journal," March 26, 1847, Woodruff Papers, L.D.S. Church Archives; *The True Latter Day Saints Herald*, March 1861.

[59] Lorenzo Brown, "Journal," April 27, 1847, Lorenzo Brown Papers, L.D.S. Church Archives; John D. Lee, "Journal," April 25, 1847, Lee Papers.

[60] Lorenzo Brown, "Journal," April 27, 1847, Brown Papers; Nelson W. Whipple, "Journal," October 14, 1847, Nelson W. Whipple Papers, L.D.S. Church Archives. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, entry for April 25, 1847.

[61] *Zion's Revelle*, July 29, 1847.

go to bed with him in the daytime... 3 diforant times by which they was seald to the fullest extent. [sic]

These activities angered Brigham Young and his followers, particularly the relatives of McCary's female disciples. One irate Mormon threatened "to shoot" McCary for trying "to kiss his girls." But McCary, who sensed the impending storm caused by the disclosure of his unorthodox practices, "made his way to Missouri on a fast trot."[62] The problems generated by McCary along with a number of other factors encouraged Mormon Church leaders to implement their practice of denying blacks the priesthood by 1847.[63]

Mormon discrimination against blacks increased even more following the Latter-day Saint migration to and settlement of the Great Basin during the late 1840s and early 1850s. Church leaders not only publicized their recently implemented practice of black priesthood denial but also restricted the activities of blacks in the secular realm. Thus, following the formation of a Utah territorial government for the Great Basin Saints in 1850, the territorial legislature enacted a series of laws which prohibited blacks from voting, holding public office, and belonging to the territorial militia.[64] More important, the Utah legislature in 1852 implemented "An Act in Relation to Service" which gave legal recognition to black slavery.[65] This territorial statute stood in contrast to those basic Mormon antislavery attitudes initally articulated in the *Book of Mormon*, and later promoted by Joseph Smith and other Church spokesmen during the Mormon prophet's abortive presidential campaign in 1844.[66] Indeed, by the early 1850s the Great Basin Saints came in contact with many more blacks than had been the case in Nauvoo just a few years before. Between 88 and 106 blacks accompanied the Saints on their trek to the Great Basin during the years 1847-50. Approximately 80 (the vast majority) were slaves brought west by their twenty Mormon

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[62] Nelson W. Whipple, "Journal," October 14, 1847.

[63] For a discussion of the various factors that caused the Mormons to implement this decision see Newell G. Bringhurst, "An Ambiguous Decision: The Implementation of Mormon Priesthood Denial for the Black Man," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XLVI (Winter, 1978), 45-64

[64] "An Act to Establish a Territorial Government for Utah," Section 5; Chapters 35 & 47. Reprinted in *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah.* (Salt Lake City, 1855).

[65] "An Act in Relation to Service," *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah.*

[66] See Joseph Smith, Jr., *Views on the Government and Policies of the United States* (Nauvoo, Illinois, 1844). For a discussion of the strong anti-slavery views of Smith and other Mormons during the early 1840s see Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," 18-22.

masters.[67] These Mormon slaveholders included Apostle Charles C. Rich, William H. Hooper (a prominent Mormon merchant and later Utah's territorial delegate), and Abraham O. Smoot, the first mayor of Salt Lake City.[68] These individuals, in the words of a contemporary observer, constituted a "respectable minority" definitely "in favor of slavery."[69] This situtation, coupled with a general desire to control the black population in their frontier environment, encouraged the Saints to legalize black slavery in Utah and enact other antiblack statutes.[70]

Throughout the 1850s and early 1860s the Great Basin Saints continued to discriminate against the blacks living in their midst. Taking their cue from the territorial legislature, local municipal officials enacted legislation prohibiting blacks from voting and holding public office as new Great Basin regions were settled and incorporated.[71] The Mormons also included antiblack proscriptions in the state constitutions for their proposed State of Deseret submitted to Congress in 1856, 1860, and 1862.[72] In this atmosphere Utah became an arena for at least two incidents of white racial violence directed against blacks. The first involved an unnamed "white man" who "assulted" [sic] a black man for some unexplained reason in 1862.[73] Two years later another white man, one A. J. Benson, drew "a pistol on niger Tom" because Benson was upset at this black man for "pompously [attempting] to 'brush him outdoors' thereby insulting him."[74]

Latter-day Saint spokesmen, moreover, continued to defend the so-called black "servitude" in their midst throughout the 1850s and early

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[67] See Bringhurst, " 'A Servant of Servants...Cursed as Pertaining to the Priesthood', " Appendix C, for lists of these totals and a brief essay contrasting the total number of blacks in Nauvoo with those in the Great Basin.

[68] See list of Utah Mormon slaveholders as contained in Bringhurst, "Cursed as Pertaining to the Priesthood," Appendix C.

[69] As quoted in Frederic A. Culmer, " 'General' John Wilson Signer of the Deseret Petition," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVI, 333.

[70] As proclaimed by Brigham Young in his address before the Utah Territorial Legislature on December 13, 1852. Brigham Young, "Message to the Joint Session of the Legislature," December 13, 1852, Brigham Young Papers, L.D.S. Church Archives. Also reprinted in the *Deseret News*, December 25, 1852.

[71] For examples of the various antiblack statutes enacted on both the territorial and local levels during the early 1850s see *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1855), passim.

[72] Copies of the Constitution for the proposed state of Deseret containing these proscriptions were published in various Mormon and non-Mormon publications throughout the 1850s and 1860s.

[73] *Deseret News*, December 17, 1862.

[74] Ibid., September 14, 1864. For a brief discussion of Mormon black relations in the Western region of the Utah territory that became the Nevada Territory in 1860 see Elmer R. Rusco, "*Good Time Coming*?" (Westport, Connecticut, 1975), 11-13.

1860s.[75] When the newspaperman Horace Greeley--an antislavery zealot--asked Brigham Young about Utah slavery during his visit to the territory in 1859 the Mormon leader defended it without hesitation: "We consider [slavery] of divine institution, and not to be abolished until the curse pronounced upon Ham shall have been removed from his descendants."[76] Mormon officials continued to extol the virtues of "black servitude" throughout the Civil War.[77] The *Deseret News* condemned the Emancipation Proclamation as a measure which would result in the "universal confiscation of the private property of non-combatants."[78] Brigham Young, moreover, insisted that blacks would "continue to be the servant of servants until the curse is removed."[79] As late as 1865, Young defended slavery as a "divine institution."[80]

On a superficial level, the end of the Civil War appeared to bring a lessening of antiblack discrimination along the Utah Mormon frontier. Even before the end of the war, Congress enacted an 1862 measure ending black slavery in the territory. Utah lawmakers, however, did not formally acknowledge this fact until 1872 when a state constitutional convention finally conceded that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crimes shall ever be tolerated in this state."[81] Utah lawmakers also enacted some token problack measures in the spirit of Republican Reconstruction. Thus local and territorial officials abolished those statutory provisions that had prohibited blacks from voting and holding public office.[82] The Mormons also carried this same spirit into an 1869 Constitutional Convention in the way they structured their constitution for the proposed state of Deseret. Brigham Young announced that the delegates in striking out the words "free, white male" reflected "our [Mormon] views on the Fifteenth Amendment."[83] In fact, the following year, Utah's territorial legislature went one bold step further, and allowed women to vote in all territorial elections.[84]

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[75] See for example *Journal of Discourses* 2, Bringham Young, February 18, 1855; 3 George A. Smith, September 23, 1855; *Deseret News,* January 10, 1852; December 25, 1852; March 1, 1855, October 10, 1855; *The Mormon,* May 5, 1858.

[76] Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (New York, 1860), 211-212.

[77] *The Mountaineer,* July 6, 1861; *Journal of Discourses,* 9, Brigham Young, July 28, 1861.

[78] *Deseret News,* October 22, 1862.

[79] *Journal of Discourses,* 10, Brigham Young, May 31, 1863.

[80] According to Stanley P. Hershon, *The Lion of the Lord* (New York, 1970) quoting the *New York Tribune,* July 14, 1865.

[81] *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star,* April 16, 1872.

[82] See for example, "An Ordinance to Incorporate the City of Payson," *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1876).

[83] Brigham Young to Thomas L. Kane, October 29, 1869, Brigham Young Papers.

[84] "Civil Practice Act, "*Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1876).

Despite these token gestures, Utah blacks faced continuing discrimination--on occasion violent--during the period 1865-1920. At least three blacks were lynched between 1866 and 1925. The first, Thomas Colburn, a former slave and later an employee of Brigham Young, was murdered in a remote part of Salt Lake City in 1866. He was found with his throat slit and a cryptic note pinned to his body. It stated:

Notice to All Niggers!
Warning!!
Leave White Women Alone!!![85]

Despite allegations of Colburn's involvement with white women, it appears that this black man may have been lynched because of his cooperation with federal officials investigating the origins of certain violent acts perpetrated against non-Mormon "Gentiles" and federal officials.[86] Four years later a second black man was shot and hanged at Uintah, Weber County; in 1925 a third black, Robert Marshall, was abducted from his jail cell in Price, Utah where he was being held for trial on an earlier charge, and hanged.[87]

Utah blacks also faced legal discrimination. In 1888, Utah's territorial legislature enacted a statute outlawing black-white racial intermixture. Thus, "any marriage between a negro and a white person" was "prohibited and declared void."[88] Utah lawmakers later replaced this territorial statute with a state Anti-Miscegenation Law in 1898--shortly after Utah's admission to the Union.[89] It remained in effect until 1963.

Within the Mormon Church itself officials continued to uphold the practice of black priesthood denial, and in fact reinforced it with additional doctrinal justifications during the years following the Civil War. Latter-day Saint officials clung to this practice despite two countervailing developments: (1) the enlightened desire of certain Reconstruction-minded Americans to improve the status of blacks generally; and (2) the 1865 decision by the rival Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints to allow blacks to hold the priesthood within its organization.[90] By contrast, the Utah Mormons not only upheld black priesthood denial but also reinforced this practice through their use of

[85] Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell* (Salt Lake City, 1966), 341-42.

[86] Ibid., 341; and Charles Kelley and Hoffman Birney, *Holy Murder: The Story of Porter Rockwell*, 230-32.

[87] Ronald G. Coleman, "Blacks in Utah History," 137.

[88] Section 2,584, "*Compiled Laws of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1888).

[89] Coleman, "Blacks in Utah History," 136.

[90] For a brief discussion of the attitudes toward and treatment of blacks within the Reorganized Church see William D. Russell, "A priestly Role for a Prophetic Church: The RLDS Church and Black Americans," *Dialogue* XII (Summer 1979), 37-49.

the *Pearl of Great Price,* particularly the Book of Abraham as a scriptural instrument justifying it. Thus, Mormon defenders of this practice quoted those Book of Abraham verses asserting that the posterity of Ham was "cursed as pertaining to the priesthood.[91] Church spokesmen reinforced black priesthood denial in a second way by embracing the historical myth that Joseph Smith rather than Brigham Young inaugurated this practice. This myth, which emerged following the death of Brigham Young, had little foundation in actual historical fact. Nevertheless, most Latter-day Saints accepted and perpetuated this belief during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[92]

Besides black priesthood denial, the Church discriminated against blacks in other ways. Black Mormons were prohibited from participating in certain temple ordinances considered essential for full Mormon salvation. Thus Mormon officials rejected the requests of Elijah Abel and Jane Manning James for their temple endowments, and also to have their families sealed to them.[93] By the early twentieth century Church leaders formally prohibited black entry into the Mormon temple through their decree that "[N]o one known to have in his veins Negro blood (it matters not how remote a degree)" could receive "the blessings of the Temple of God."[94] Essentially this remained the formal Church position on black participation in temple ordinances for the next seventy years. Finally, Church leaders also discouraged Mormon missionary efforts among blacks both in the United States and abroad. In 1908, President Joseph F. Smith instructed Latter-day Saint missionaries "not [to] take the initiative in proselytizing among the Negro people...or people tainted with Negro blood."[95] Thus, Latter-day Saint leaders abandoned or at least deferred their original *Book of Mormon* universalistic goal to carry the Gospel to all peoples, and to gather all to Zion.

Ironically enough, Mormon leaders issued this edict at a time when an ever-increasing number of blacks were settling in the Great Basin. During the fifty year period from 1860 to 1910, the number of blacks living in Utah increased nineteen-fold from 59 to 1144.[96] Blacks came to the Great Basin during the post-Civil War period because of opportunities in mining, ranching, and most important, the military.[97] In 1869

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[91] Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," 34-36.

[92] Ibid., 31-34.

[93] Ibid., 32, 39; Henry J. Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 137-138.

[94] Extract from George F. Richards Record of Decisions by the Council of the First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles, #3 (no date is given, but next decision, #4 is dated February 8, 1907), George A. Smith Papers, Brigham Young University Library.

[95] "Council Meeting," August 26, 1908, George A. Smith Papers.

[96] See George Ramjoue, "The Negro in Utah" for these Census figures and a close analysis of their meaning.

[97] Coleman, "Blacks in Utah History," 123, 130.

Congress created two black infantry and two black cavalry regiments. Three of these four units--the Ninth Cavalry, the Twenty-Fourth Infantry and the Twenty-Fifth Infantry-were stationed at Fort Duchesne in eastern Utah and Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City. These black units were charged with controlling the Indian population of eastern Utah, western Colorado, and southwestern Wyoming.[98] As a result of this black influx, the broad outlines of a Utah black community emerged by the 1890s. Utah blacks published black newspapers and formed an association of black Republicans. In addition, they organized two Protestant denominations during the 1890s--a development reflecting the shifting religious focus of Utah's black community from its pioneer Mormon origins to an increasingly Protestant orientation.[99]

Discrimination against blacks living along the Mormon frontier was clearly evident throughout the entire ninety-year period from 1830 to 1920. Mormon racist attitudes, first evident in Joseph Smith's scriptural writings, evolved by the 1840s and 1850s into a set of antiblack practices adversely affecting those blacks living along the Mormon frontier. Many of these practices, moreover, remained in effect and were in fact re-enforced in a number of important respects during the fifty-five year period after 1865.

What made Latter-day Saint leaders so willing to discriminate against the blacks in their midst? There are a couple of possible reasons why the Saints looked upon blacks in an unfavorable light. First, Mormon discrimination against blacks was the product of a Mormon frontier that moved into more primitive regions during this period--first Ohio and Missouri, then Illinois, and finally the Great Basin. These moves activated Mormon fears over the barbaric influences of an untamed frontier environment. The Saints could not let themselves lapse into a primitive state like that symbolized by the frontier. The Saints in expressing fears about the crude influences of a frontier environment were like other westward migrating Americans.[100] Such Mormon fears were evident as early as 1843 when Apostle William Smith, the younger brother of the Mormon prophet, was bothered by

[98] Ibid., 130-32; Thomas G. Alexander & Leonard J. Arrington, "The Utah Military Frontier, 1872-1912: Forts Cameron, Thornburgh, and Duchesne," *Utah Historical Quarterly* XXXII (1964), 343-53; Michael J. Clark, "Improbable Ambassadors: Black Soldiers at Fort Douglas, 1896-99," *Utah Historical Quarterly* XLVI (1978), 282-301; Ronald G. Colman, "The Buffalo Soldiers: Guardians of the Utah Frontier, 1886-1901," *Utah Historical Quarterly* XLVII (1979), 421-439.

[99] Henry J. Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 144; Ronald G. Coleman, "Blacks in Utah History," 134.

[100] Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1967), 143-4.

...many faint and incorrect descriptions...given Nauvoo and the temple by travellers, passers by, and others until some have thought the temple built upon moonshine, and the city a barbarian--ugly, formal, with heads and horns and stuck into the nethermost corner of the universe where none but Indians, Hottentots, Arabs, Turks, wolverines, and Mormons dwell.[101]

Four years later, Brigham Young expressed similar anxieties in a speech given during the first Mormon migration to the Great Basin. Young, as he chastised some misbehaving Saints, declared:

Here are the Elders of Israel who have got the Priesthood, who have got to preach the gospel, who have to gather the nations of the earth, who have to build up the Kingdom, so that the nations can come to it; they will stoop to dance as niggers: (I don't mean this as speaking disrespectfully [sic] of our colored friends amongst us by any means) they will hoe down all, turn summersets, dance on their knees, and haw, haw, out loud; they will play cards, they will play checkers and dominoes; they will use profane language; they will swear.[102]

Another Mormon apostle remarked that it "had made him shudder when he had seen the Elders of Irsael descend to the lowest and dirtiest things imaginable--the last end of everthing." One of the offending elders confessed his shortcomings, admitting that, "He knew his mind had become darkened."[103] One might logically think that the Mormons would manifest a greater fear of the primitivism of the numerous Indian tribes along the shifting Mormon frontier. However, such was not the case because the Mormons believed Indians to be descendants of the ancient Israelites, like themselves. By contrast, they considered blacks to be the descendants of the accursed lineage of Ham and Canaan. As a result, the Mormons had a limited fear of the Indians' primitivism and, in fact, considered them wayward brethren who, if exposed to the gospel of Mormonism, would be converted and in fact racially transformed into a "white and delightsome" people like the Mormons themselves.[104] In contrast, blacks, because of their accursed lineage and the alleged

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[101] *The Prophet,* November 23, 1844.

[102] Heber C. Kimball, "Journal," May 29, 1847, Heber C. Kimball Papers, L.D.S. Church Archives. This incident was also noted in the "Journal History," May 29, 1847 which drew a harsher analogy between blacks and the delinquent elders: "they will stoop and dance like nigers. I don't mean this debasing the nigers by any means."

[103] Howard R. Egan, *Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878: Major Howard Egan's Diary...* (Richmond, Utah, 1917), 58-62.

[104] *Book of Mormon,* Alma 24:17-18, 3 Nephi 3:15-16. For an overview of Indian-white relations see Leonard J. Arrington, "The Mormons and the Indians: A Review and Evaluation" *The Record* (Washington State University, Pullman) XXXI, 5-29.

misdeeds of their ancesters, were considered unlikely candidates for immediate Mormon conversion. Indeed, blacks could not be converted *en masse* to Mormonism until all the other races of mankind--white, red, brown, and yellow--had been so converted.

Mormon worries about the barbaric influences of a frontier environment were aggravated by the Saints own deep-seated sexual anxieties. Such anxieties involved an almost paranoid Mormon fear of black-white racial intermixture. In Ohio during the 1830s, and later in Illinois, Joseph Smith and other Saints condemned the evils of racial miscegenation.[105] Such fears intensified following the Mormon exodus from Illinois in 1846. William McCary's sexual behavior at Winter Quaters struck at the heart of this Mormon fear. By 1852, Brigham Young in addressing the Utah territorial legislature underscored his emphatic opposition to all black-white racial intermixture. According to Young, any white man guilty of mingling "his seed with the seed of Cane [sic] ... could redeem himself" or "have salvation" only by having "his head cut off" and "his Blood [spilt] on the ground."[106] The Mormons, of course, were not unique in such fears. Victorian Americans generally (in the words of Klaus J. Hansen) manifested an "almost obsessive preoccupation with the temptations and evils of miscegenation between whites and blacks."[107] But the Saints were particularly prone to such sexual anxieties because of their acceptance of plural marriage as an essential feature of their religion by the mid-1840s. Indeed, non-Mormon critics frequently drew sharp parallels between the polygamous Latter-day Saints and black people both in Africa and America. According to one sarcastic critic, Brigham Young in his practice of polygamy was like the polygamous African King of Ashantee. Young, however, had a distinct advantage over his African counterpart in that he could have an unlimited number of wives while the African monarch was "limited" to a mere 5,333![108] Two non-Mormon British publications described the parallels between polygamy as practiced by the Saints and that promoted by the African Kaffirs and Zulus.[109]

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[105] *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, April 1836; Willard Richards, "Journal," December 30, 1842. Original in Richard Papers, L.D.S. Archives.

[106] As recorded in Wilford Woodruff, "Journal," January 5, 1852.

[107] Klaus J. Hansen, "The Millennium, the West and Race in the Ante-bellum American Mind," *Western Historical Quarterly* II (October 1972), 387.

[108] Quoted from the *Springfield Republican* in the *Daily Union Vedette*, May 20, 1864.

[109] *London Weekly Dispatch*, reprinted in the *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, September 21, 1861; *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal*, reprinted in *Millennial Star*, September 28, 1861. The latter source suggested that the polygamous marital practices of Kaffirs and Zulus were "probably derived from the days of Abraham himself, through their Arab Descent."

Within the United States other non-Mormon writers suggested a physical connection between the polygamous Saints and black people. With the Saints clearly in mind, the vitriolic anti-Mormon *Union Vedette* sneeringly observed that "the negro naturally inclines to polygamy.[110] During the presidential campaign of 1856, some Republicans insinuated an intimate black-polygamous Mormon relationship. At a pro-Republican parade in Indianapolis, one wagon drawn by oxen contained "Brigham Young, with his six wives [with] Brigham...making himself as useful and interesting as possible among his white, black and piebald better-halves."[111] Writing from Utah, another non-Mormon newspaper reporter suggested that the Saints and blacks in that territory had close social contacts. He wrote that "Two Negro Balls" were

> given this week, at which I am informed by eye witnesses, some ten or a dozen white women attended and danced with the negroes with perfect freedom and familiarity. White men were also "mixed in," and were dancing with the negro wenches. In fact, it presented the most disgusting of spectacles--negro men and women, and Mormon men and women, all dancing on terms of perfect equality.[112]

Mormon fears about racial intermixture in an increasingly primitive frontier environment took place as the Latter-day Saints came in contact with an ever-larger number of blacks during the ninety year period from 1830 to 1920. Throughout the 1830s the Mormons associated with only a handful of blacks along their Ohio and Missouri frontiers. Even during the early 1840s following the Mormon move to Nauvoo, Illinois, the number of blacks in the Mormon community remained very small--only about twenty. However, following the Mormon migration to the Great Basin, the Saints came into contact with a significantly larger black population--between 88 and 106 slaves and free blacks. Moreover, the number of Utah blacks increased even more dramatically in the period following the Civil War. According to U.S. Census figures the number of blacks living in Utah during the sixty year period from 1860 to 1920 increased twenty-four fold from 60 to 1,446. The impact of Utah's growing black population was further enhanced by the fact that the majority of these blacks tended to concentrate in or near the urban centers of Salt Lake City and Ogden.[113]

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[110] Quoted from the New York *World* in *The Daily Union Vedette,* November 29, 1865.

[111] Richard D. Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics, 1850-1856," *Utah Historical Quarterly* XXV (April 1957), 131.

[112] New York *Times,* February 7, 1859.

[113] George Ramjoue, "The Negro in Utah." In fact, Michael J. Clark in his "Improbable Ambassadors," 285, suggested that Utah's total black population exceeded 2,300 by 1898 due to the large influx of black soldiers into the state during the 1890s.

Mormon discrimination against blacks in both the ecclesiastical and secular realms therefore represented a Latter-day Saint effort to cope with and control this growing black population in a frontier environment that became increasingly primitive as the polygamous Saints moved West. In addition, Mormon antiblack practices also served to control the attitudes and behavior of the polygamous Saints themselves. It should be pointed out, however, that by 1890 Mormon sexual anxieties lessened somewhat when Mormon president Wilford Woodruff issued his Manifesto declaring an end to the official sanctioning of plural marriages. Also, Utah by the 1920s was hardly a primitive frontier environment. Nevertheless, many of the discriminatory practices implemented in the secular and ecclesiastical realms prior to 1920 were so firmly established that they survived well into the mid-twentieth century. Indeed, the last formal remnant of discrimination established along the nineteenth-century Mormon frontier was not removed until June, 1978, with the abolition of black priesthood denial.

Counting the Lovelock Chinese

MARY K. RUSCO

WHEN IT WAS DISCOVERED in 1975 that the Lovelock Bypass of Interstate 80 would cross the property once occupied by Lovelock's small "Chinatown," an archaeological excavation was conducted there to recover some of the artifacts and other traces of this community which would be destroyed during highway construction. As a part of this archaeological and historical study, conducted by the Nevada State Museum, the following demographic study was undertaken.[1]

The United States Census and other sources were consulted in order to estimate the number of Chinese who lived in Lovelock, the relative number of men, women and children, their ages and occupations. The resulting demographic profile of Lovelock's Chinese can then be seen in the context of the changing population of Nevada and of Chinese in the state.

Relevant prior research include a demographic study of Chinese in Nevada by Gregg Lee Carter[2] and references to the Chinese population in a study of Nevada's changing population between 1860 and 1950 by W. Petersen and L.S. Lewis.[3] Carter's study is based on the individual United States Census returns for 1870 and 1880. In addition to summarizing and discussing data for counties, and the state as a whole, he presents some data for the Chinese populations in Carson City, Gold Hill, Virginia City, Hamilton, and Treasure City for the year 1880. An earlier attempt was made to estimate the number of Chinese in Lovelock using non-census information but insufficient data were available to evaluate the fluctuation in population over the years and, without census data, there was very little information concerning Lovelock's earliest Chinese residents.[4]

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[1] A slightly different version of this paper is included in the report of this study; see Eugene M. Hattori, Mary K. Rusco, and Donald R. Tuohy, editors, *Archaeological and Historical Studies at Ninth and Amherst, Lovelock, Nevada* (Reno: Navada State Museum Archaeological Services, 1979), pp. 7-54.

[2] Gregg Lee Carter, "Social Demography of the Chinese in Nevada: 1870-1880," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (Summer, 1975): 73-89.

[3] W. Petersen and L.S. Lewis, *The Changing Population of Nevada,* (Reno: University of Nevada Bureau of Business and Economic Research Report #2, 1963).

[4] C.C. Mazzetti, "Lovelock's Chinese Settlement at the Turn of the Century" (M.A. thesis, University of Nevada, Reno, N.D.).

Subsequently, as a part of the Lovelock study, individual census returns for Chinese populations in Lovelock and Big Meadows were tabulated for 1870, 1880, and 1900. The census returns for 1900 were available to researchers outside the United States Census Bureau only after the completion of Carter's work and the early Lovelock project study. Records for the critical year of 1890 were partially destroyed by fire and are available for only part of the country, not including Nevada. Data for 1910 through 1950 for counties and the state, but not for individual towns, are available in final reports of the United States Census for those years. The relevant county data for Lovelock is Humboldt County until 1918 and then Pershing County, which was created from western Humboldt County with Lovelock as its seat and only urban center.[5]

The statewide Chinese population rose sharply from 3,152 in 1870 to 5,416 in 1880. It then declined, first abruptly to 2,833 in 1890 and 1,352 in 1900, then steadily, but more gradually, until 1960 when it rose to 572, an increase of nearly 300 over 1950.[6] This fluctuation is virtually identical to the pattern in California and other western states.[7] The abrupt rise is attributable to the discovery of gold and other valuable minerals in the western states which provided Chinese in Kwang Tung Province, China an opportunity to emigrate to the United States for relief from social and economic hardships. The sharp decline followed the passage of Chinese exclusion acts in 1882.

Carter found most of the Chinese in Nevada living in the counties with the greatest urbanization.[8] The Chinese in the less urbanized Humboldt County, nonetheless, amounted to 7% of the 1870 Chinese census for the state. Only the three urbanized counties of Elko, Ormsby, and Storey, had higher percentages of Nevada's Chinese population. By 1880, the Humboldt Chinese population amounted to nearly 10% of the state's Chinese. Humboldt County ranked fifth, having been passed by Washoe County as well as the "big three" (Elko, Ormsby, and Storey.)

The Chinese percentage of the total Humboldt County population had reached 16% in 1880, with only Ormsby and Elko counties having higher percentages. By 1900, the Chinese population in Humboldt County had dropped to 5%. The percentage of the state's total number of Chinese living in Humboldt County rose to nearly 17% (see Table 1).

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[5] Russell McDonald, "The Development of Lovelock," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 19 (Winter, 1976): 261-275

[6] Petersen and Lewis, p. 26.

[7] T.W. Chinn, H.M. Lai, and P.P. Choy, *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus* (Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969) pp. 12, 19, and Table 2.

[8] Carter, p. 74.

Year	Number of Chinese County	Number of Chinese State	Chinese % County Pop.	% Change	County Chinese Total Chinese in State	% Change
1870	222	3152	11.58	-	7.04	-
1880	524	5416	16.21	+4.63	9.68	+2.64
1900	225	1352	5.04	−11.17	16.64	+6.96
1910	162	927	2.37	−2.67	17.48	+0.84
1920	50	689	1.78	−0.59	7.26	+10.22
1930	33	483	1.24	−0.54	6.83	−0.43
1940	26	286	0.96	−0.28	9.09	+2.26
1950	12	281	0.39	−0.57	4.27	−4.82

Table 1. Pershing/Humboldt County Chinese Percentage of County Population and of State's Chinese Population.

	Number of		Lovelock		Lovelock Chinese & County, State Chinese			
Year	Chinese Lovelock	% Change Intercensal	Chinese % County Pop.	% Change	% County	% Change	% State	% Change
1870	19	-	0.99	-	8.56	-	0.60	-
1880	31	+63.2	0.96	−0.03	5.92	−2.64	0.57	−0.03
1900	39	+25.8	0.87	−0.09	17.33	+11.41	2.88	+2.31

Table 2. Lovelock Chinese Percentage of County Population and of Count's and State's Chinese Population

Source: Census Returns for 1870, 1880, Humboldt County, Lake District, for 1900 Humboldt County, Lovelock and Lake District.

In contrast to the county as a whole, the Chinese population in Lovelock increased by 63.2% in 1880 and by an additional 25.8% by 1900. During the same years, Lovelock's percentage of the statewide Chinese population grew from 8.5% to 17.3% (see Table 2).

The numerical predominance of males, a frontier characteristic, is well known to be much greater for Chinese than for native-born Whites or even other foreign-born populations. This is true for Nevada; however, male predominance is characteristic for the entire Nevada population between 1860 and 1960.[9]

[9] Petersen and Lewis, pp. 24-25.

Carter found the percentage of Chinese males increased in Humboldt County from 94% to 98% between the years 1870 and 1880. The census returns for Lovelock and Big Meadows show no females in 1870 and 1880. In 1900, three (7.7%) of the Chinese in Lovelock were female. For the state as a whole, the percentage of males increased from 90% in 1870 to 94.2% in 1880.[10] In 1930, the percentage of Chinese males for Pershing County was 90.9%. This figure decreased to 84.6% in 1940.[11]

Carter summarized the Chinese employment data for the state. He found that 46% of the Chinese males were employed as laborers in 1870. This figure was reduced to 32% in 1880. The next most frequent occupations, cook and laundry worker, each rose slightly, from 17% and 12% respectively to 18% and 13% between 1870 and 1880. Lovelock census returns show an even higher percentage of laborers in 1870 (94.7%) and in 1880 (96.8%) than in the state as a whole. In 1870, the Chinese counted by census takers consisted of 18 railroad laborers and a cook, apparently representing a single household. In 1880, there was one household consisting of eight Chinese railroad laborers; another household included a Chinese farmer and 19 of his countrymen as farm laborers. Three Chinese farm laborers lived with two non-Chinese households, each headed by a farmer.

By 1900, a dramatic change had taken place in Lovelock. The occupations of Lovelock Chinese had diversified and only 15.4% of the Chinese counted in 1900 were described as being laborers. The largest occupational group (59%) was in food service, either as cooks (51.3%), restaurateurs or lodging-keepers (5.1%), or waiters (2.6%) (see Table 3).

	1870		1880		1900	
Occupation	No.	%	NO.	%	No.	%
Cook	1	5			20	51
Waiter					1	03
Lodging House Keeper, Rest. Manager					2	05
Merchant					2	05
Wood Cutter					1	03
Laborer:						
Day					3	07
R.R.	18	95	8	26		
Farm			22	71	3	07

[10] Carter, pp. 78-80.

[11] Petersen and Lewis, pp. 24-25.

Occupation	1870 No.	1870 %	1880 No.	1880 %	1900 No.	1900 %
Farmer			1	03		
Gardener					2	05
Clerk					1	03
Laundry					1	03
Housewife					3	07
Total	19		31		39	

Table 3. Occupations of Lovelock Chinese 1870 - 1900.

Source: Census Returns for 1870, 1880, 1900, Humboldt County.

The Lovelock Chinese population in 1900 resembles the Chinese population in Carson City in 1880, when nearly 22% of the Chinese males were cooks and only 20% were laborers.[12]

The mean age for Humboldt County Chinese males increased slightly from 29.8 years in 1870 to 31.6 years in 1880, almost identical to the rising average for all Chinese males in the state for the same period.[13] Petersen and Lewis compare the mean age of all Nevada males with the total United States population and the populations of two eastern states, showing the mean age of Nevada's males ranging from 31.2 years to 33.8 years. These figures are consistently higher than the other states for the period from 1880 to 1950.[14] They point out that, although frontier populations are commonly described as "young," the numerical disparity between the genders results in a low birth rate. Carter points out this effect on Nevada's Chinese.[15] Following the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, this effect was no longer mitigated by the continued immigration of large numbers of young Chinese males. The mean age continued to rise until second generation Chinese in the United States began to reproduce, and until the elderly sojourners, who arrived before 1880, began to die in greater numbers.

In Lovelock, the mean age for Chinese males was slightly lower than for the county and state in 1870 and higher in 1880[16] (see Table 4). By 1900, the mean age of Chinese males was 40.3 years old. The three women ranged in age from 37 to 48. The mean age for all Nevada males was 31.2 years in 1880 and 31.4 years in 1900.

[12] Carter, p. 87.
[13] Carter, p. 81.
[14] Petersen and Lewis, p. 24.
[15] Carter, p. 78.
[16] Ibid., p. 79.

Age Group	1870 % Chinese Male	1870 % Chinese Female	1880 % Chinese Male	1880 % Chinese Female	1900 % Chinese Male	1900 % Chinese Female
13-19	7	0	0	0	2	0
20-29	4	0	12	0	4	0
30-39	5	0	13	0	10	1
40-49	2	0	3	0	11	2
50 and over	1	0	3	0	8	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total	19	0	31	0	36	3
Mean age	26.3	0	32.1	0	40.3	43.0
Std. dev.	10.6	0	8.2	0	11.0	5.6

Table 4. Age and Sex of Lovelock Chinese 1870 - 1900.

Source: Census Returns for 1870, 1880, 1900, Humboldt County.

Although census data are known to be biased, especially the census of foreign-born and non-white populations, they are the best demographic data available. Lacking census data for the Lovelock Chinese populations after 1900, the only demographic data are from newspaper accounts and court and other government records. A review of these sources by Philip Hart and David Thompson resulted in the compilation of a list of over 150 Chinese names in addition to those listed on census returns.[17] The demographic data associated with these names have been summarized by decade for the years between 1880 and 1929 (see Table 5). It cannot be assumed that there are no duplications with individuals counted in the 1870, 1880, or 1900 censuses, but an effort was made to eliminate them. Neither can it be assumed that most of these individuals were in Lovelock for the entire decade, or decades, during which their names occurred. Relatively few individuals can be "traced" in these records for more than a year or two.

[17] These names were compiled from the notes of Hart and Thompson, and are on file at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City. Many appear in P.D. Hart, "Chinese Community in Lovelock, Nevada, 1870-1940," in Hattori, et al., *Archaeological and Historical Studies at Ninth and Amherst, Lovelock, Nevada.*

	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929
Number of Chinese	9	8	11	64	57
% Male	100.0	87.5	81.8	92.2	77.2
% Female	0	12.5	18.2	6.8	22.8

Occupation	No.	% Tot. Adj. %	No.	% Tot. Adj. %	No.	% Tot. Adj. %	No.	% Tot. Adj. %	No.	% Tot. Adj. %
Cooks	2	22.2 33.3	3	37.5 60.0	5	45.5 50.0	8	12.5 26.7	9	15.8 18.4
Waiters	-		-		-		-		1	1.8 2.0
Restaurateur	1	11.1 16.7	-		-		2	3.1 6.7	6	10.5 12.2
Merchants	-		-		1	9.1 10.0	2	3.1 6.7	2	3.5 4.1
Clerk	-		-		-		-		-	
Laundry	-		1	12.5 20.0	3	27.3 30.0	9	14.1 30.0	3	5.3 6.1
Laborer	-		-		-		-		3	5.3 6.1
R.R. Laborer	-		-		-		2	3.1 6.7	1	1.8 2.0
Farm Laborer	1	11.1 16.7	-		-		-		-	
Farmer	1	11.1 16.7	-		-		-		3	5.3 6.1
Gardener	-		-		-		-		-	
Woodcutter	-		-		-		-		-	
Miscellaneous	1	11.1 16.7	-		-		2	3.1 6.7	3	5.3 6.1
Wives	-		1	12.5 20.0	1	9.1 10.0	3	4.7 10.0	5	8.8 10.2
No data	3	33.3 0.0	3	37.5 0.0	1	9.1 0.0	34	53.1 0.0	8	14.0 00.0
Child	-		-		-		2	3.1 6.7	13	22.8 26.5
Total	9		8		11		64		57	

Table 5. Occupation and Sex of Lovelock Chinese from Non-census Sources, 1880-1929.

Non-census data for Lovelock Chinese are rare before 1900. Few references to Chinese appear in the surviving issues of newspapers published in the nineteenth century. County records prior to 1918 were not available for study. Some information was found in death records, which include occupation and length of residence in Lovelock. The information which was found shows that the diversification in Chinese occupation which took place between the 1880 and 1900 census had begun at least by the early 1880s, when two cooks and a restaurateur were mentioned in newspaper stories and a death notice. The first reference to a Chinese laundry worker was in the 1890s.[18]

The occupations of Chinese in Lovelock continued to diversify throughout the next three decades; however, the percentage associated with food service declined from 59% in the 1900 census to 33% of the occupations included in the non-census data for the 1920s. The disparity between cooks and waiters in the 1900 census and later non-census data is striking in the light of the number of Chinese-operated restaurants in Lovelock during this period.[19] Only one waiter was mentioned in the 1900 census and one was recorded for the 1920s (see Table 5). Although non-Chinese waiters may have been employed in these business, two references in Lovelock newspapers to new restaurants which employed only white help, suggest that white waiters were a novelty. At least two Chinese men began their careers in Lovelock as waiters and were later employed as a cook and a restaurateur.[20] Both of these are tabulated here under their latest occupation. Cooks and restaurant managers, being a higher status, may have been more "visible" than waiters and dishwashers. Thus, they may have been more likely to be counted or to appear in government records or newspaper stories.

The number of Chinese who owned or operated businesses of various kinds increased gradually until the 1920s when at least 11 heads of household were described as owning or operating restaurants, laundries, shops, and a farm. Coupled with the rising percentage of the Lovelock Chinese living in nuclear family households, this may indicate a more prosperous and economically stable community.

Although age is known for too small a percentage of the individuals represented in Table 5 for measures of central tendency to be meaningful, a change seems to have taken place in the average age of Chinese males between 1900 and 1929. This first became apparent in 1917 when the names of 14 Chinese males between the ages of 21 and 31 were listed in the Lovelock paper as eligible to be drafted for military service.[21]

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[18] See Hart, "Chinese Community..."
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] *Lovelock Review Miner*, July 20, 1917, p. 4.

The most marked change, however, seems to have begun in 1917. Between then and 1929, 16 babies were born to Lovelock Chinese parents. Although three of these died within a few months, it is clear that the demographic character of the Chinese population in Lovelock had undergone a major change. At least four Chinese nuclear families with young children lived in Lovelock during this period. Also, during these years, the deaths of seven individuals ranging in age from 23 to 85 of whom six were 68 or older, were recorded. Even with the three infant deaths, this would serve to lower the mean age and contribute to a lessening numerical disparity between the genders.

References to Chinese decline markedly after 1929 and references to the sale of property by Chinese increase.[22] Only two of the families with children are mentioned after 1930. By 1950, only 12 Chinese, all males, are reported in the census of Pershing County.

It is possible to draw some general conclusions about the Chinese in Lovelock and in the Humboldt/Pershing county area. Although the fluctuation in the statewide Chinese population responded to national and international events, county and local fluctuations appear to have been more strongly influenced by state and local trends. Petersen and Lewis illustrate that Nevada's erratic growth was due to its mining-farming base.[23] The Chinese in Nevada, as well as other western states, have tended to congregate in larger communities both for economic reasons and because these "Chinatowns" afforded refuge from the prevailing white racism.[24]

As the town of Lovelock grew, its Chinese population did also, and it provided a variety of services (as did other Chinese communities in the state, for example the Chinese community in Carson City in 1880).[25] In contrast to the state as a whole in 1870 and 1880, by 1900 very few laborers were counted among Lovelock's Chinese. Instead, a number of small businesses became established there, notably restaurants and laundries. By 1920, more of Lovelock's Chinese residents had become established in family households than at any time during the past. During the following decade there was an increase in the birth rate. Also, during this decade, many of the elderly Chinese citizens had died. The result was a marked change in the demographic structure of the community; the mean age was lowered and the disparity between genders was much less than before. In short, the Chinese population had begun to resemble the general Lovelock population in respect to its distribution by gender and age. In addition, it was clearly more prosperous than it had been at the turn of the century.

[22] Hart, "Chinese Community..."
[23] Petersen and Lewis, p. 20.
[24] Carter, p. 74; cf. S.M. Lyman, *The Asian in the West* (Reno: Desert Research Institute, 1970).
[25] Carter, p.86.

Whether the economic depression or other factors caused this small, but apparently well-established, Chinese community to decline after 1930 is not clear from these data or from Mr. Hart's study. The family records and memories of descendants of Lovelock's early twentieth century Chinese are probably the only reliable depositories of such information, and further research is needed.

Book Reviews

Nevada's Turbulent '50s. By Mary Ellen Glass. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1981. 137 pp.; photographs, bibliography, index. Paper, $5.75)

FOR TOO MANY YEARS, good historical studies of Nevada were scanty. Early histories were written and rewritten, and some were little more than vanity publications, dealing mainly with paid biographies. There were, of course, the perennial accounts of sinful living in Reno, and later in Las Vegas.

But the last few years have seen serious and scholarly works that relate accurately the amazing and colorful Nevada story. *Nevada's Turbulent '50s* by Mary Ellen Glass is a prime example of these latter-day writings.

The 1950s formed a period of comparative calm for the nation; it was recovering from the shocks of the Roosevelt social revolution and the Second World War, the Truman years of government by cronyism, and (in the early part of the decade) was looking hopefully for an end of the Korean War. For Nevada, however, the decade saw its political, social and economic structures completely altered and revised.

As the head of the Oral History Project of the University of Nevada, Mrs. Glass drew upon the recollections of many of the principal players in the Nevada drama of the 1950s. Here is not a dull recitation of events and dates. It is a well-written and highly readable account of one of the most critical periods in Nevada's history.

The 1950s began with the election of Republican Charles H. Russell as governor. Young, aggressive and experienced in public affairs, he headed an administration that brought to an end a period of political rule by the brothers Pittman, Senator Key and Governor Vail, whose "good ole boy" followers had dominated Nevada's politics for a good many years.

There was a new power in Nevada headed by Senator Patrick A. McCarran and allied with practitioners in the effective arts of public relations. Democrat McCarran looked benevolently upon Republican Russell and his administration. The banking and mining interests that had dominated the Nevada economic picture for so long had given way

to the pressures of gambling, entertainment and tourism, and with the latter came the shift in political power from Northern Nevada to the South, as Las Vegas and its gaudy and sometimes mob-ruled neon palaces called many of the shots for the legislature.

Under the two terms of the Russell administration, the state government was brought up to twentieth century standards and needs. The financial and tax structures were overhauled. A personnel system took the place of the old spoils system job practices. Firm control was established over gambling, which had its own way for two-score years.

Education at all levels from the primary grades to the college level had reached a critical time by the '50s. The post-war baby boom had crowded schools which had long been inadequate. Local school boards no longer could cope with rising costs, limited tax revenues, and the demands of the teachers for adequate salaries. State aid, with its accompanying state control, and the consolidation of the host of local boards into county-wide districts were accomplished. To meet the costs of these developments there had to be new revenues, and the state sales tax -- so long avoided -- became the solution.

From its beginning, the University of Nevada had had its periodical eruptions and the 1950s provided no exception. President succeeded president in the years during and following the war, and the final explosion came with the appointment of Minard Stout, a strong-minded individual who was determined to bring together some of the quarrelsome elements in the faculty and the Reno area, elements which had the school and the community in an uproar. The showdown came over the dismissal of Professor Frank Richardson over the issue of the right to criticize the university administrators. The uproar over this affair divided not only the school but the community and the state, and gained national attention over the issues of academic freedom. Although the Richardson affair became extraordinarily bitter, Mrs. Glass has fairly reviewed the entire matter.

A striking development of the 1950s was a decline of organized labor as a political and economic power. The ill-conceived strike of several unions, and the arrogance of some union officials and lobbyists, brought about a public resentment that resulted in the so-called right-to-work law, which limited some of the power of unions over workers. Efforts to repeal this law were defeated by ever-larger majorities in statewide referenda, and brought about legislation to put a measure of control on protracted referendum efforts.

Mining, Nevada's original reason for statehood, dwindled in importance as precious metal lodes petered out, and non-metallic and industrial metals -- copper in particular -- occupied the attention of prospectors and developers. Petroleum finally was discovered in several remote

corners of Nevada, bringing a reality for those who had long predicted that Nevada could join the oil-producing states. (Its future in this respect still is open to speculation.) The Atomic Age, to which the state contributed immensely through its Southern Nevada test sites, brought about a short-lived uranium boom.

A solid contribution to the state's economy resulted from the Freeport Law, which permits the storage, handling and assembling of merchandise intended for outside markets, free from local taxation. This law later was anchored in the state constitution in order to head off efforts to repeal the legislation by local tax gatherers or legislators in search of new revenue.

Although *Nevada's Turbulent '50s* treats many highly controversial and highly emotional issues, the story is told in a straightforward manner without bias or prejudice. It is a notable addition to the bookshelf of Nevada history.

John Sanford
Reno, Nevada

Nevada: An Annotated Bibliography. Compiled by Stanley W. Paher. (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1980. xxv + 558 pp., photographs, index, $90)

THE BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD OF NEVADA is a slim one. Professor Russell Elliott and Helen Poulton in 1962 published the first systematic, wide-ranging bibliography of Nevada materials. In addition to books, Elliott and Poulton included unpublished theses, dissertations, and numerous periodical articles. Entries were arranged in alphabetical order by author; a subject index provided access. All entries lacked annotations.

In the early 1970s Stanley Paher became interested in compiling a more inclusive *annotatated* bibliography of Nevada materials. He acquired an incomplete bibliography project to which he added approximately one thousand additional entries. The result of this effort in 1974 was a 1,873-entry preliminary working edition of the volume under review. For the next four years, many librarians, researchers, and bibliography users cooperatively checked the preliminary edition of the work against holdings throughout the state, and offered information which was to be utilized in the present full-fledged effort. The result is a handsomely bound compilation: *Nevada: An Annotated Bibliography.* In 2,544 bibliographic entries, Paher has listed theses and commercially or privately published works concerning Nevada-related people, geographic places, and events; federal and state government publications concern-

ing the history of Nevada; and oral histories housed at the University of Nevada, Reno. He has specifically excluded periodicals, serials, manuscripts, archival materials, and works of fiction. He also has judiciously chosen to limit the number of works on gambling to those specifically related to Nevada and to selectively include travel books and emigrant accounts.

The bibliography is well-organized and easy to use. The main section of the work is arranged in alphabetical order by author. Each entry in this section is annotated. An annotation is usually at least a paragraph in length, but the major works, in the eyes of the author, merit lengthier analysis. Most of the annotations are lively, some are anecdotal, and a few are distractingly editorial in nature. An evaluation of each title is usually rendered in the last sentence or two of the annotation. The main text of the work is followed by a separate section, largely unannotated, dealing with theses and oral histories. An addendum follows which briefly notes last-minute discoveries and reflects the author's belated decision (after the compilation of the index) to include an additional number of federal and state mining bulletins. A useful, but brief, narrative chronology of the state concludes the text of the work. An admittedly general index provides adequate but crucial subject access via accession numbers to the author format.

Several features of the bibliography are disappointing. The decision to omit all mention of the size of each publication as well as the pagination of the introductory material is unfortunate and will be sorely missed by collectors and bibliophiles. Equally perplexing is the omission of even the briefest explanation of the Oral History Collection (an archive which is the source of over sixty entries in the bibliography) at the University of Nevada, Reno. Another disconcerting aspect of the bibliography is the uneven coverage of official government publications. Most Nevada publications of major significance are included, but the titles of federal publications are not representative of the vast quantity or quality of material produced on aspects of Nevada life. The greatest disappointment may be the failure on the part of the compiler to trace the bibliographic history of the state in an introductory essay. Having presumably examined the mass of literature, the compiler was in a position to best be able to make such important observations. Paher, under a tantalizing subheading in the preface entitled "Overview of Nevada Literature," provides little insight. Instead he dwells on a familiar controversy--the proper role of the "professional" versus the "amateur" historian--and contends that it is a major impediment to writing Nevada history and that the "problem" is an explanation for the paucity of Nevada historical literature.

Despite these shortcomings, *Nevada: An Annotated Bibliography* is clearly without peer in the state and compares favorably to the bibliographic efforts to compile historical literature in other states. The work represents a considerable biliographical effort as well as a significant contribution to the reference literature available to a far broader audience than just the student of Nevada history.

Steven D. Zink
University of Nevada, Reno

Early Nevada: The Period of Exploration. By F. N. Fletcher. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, Vintage Nevada Series, 1980. xi + 195 pp., notes, appendix, map, $5.25)

THIS SMALL, SOFTCOVER VOLUME in the University of Nevada Press "Vintage Nevada Series" is a 1980 reprint of the 1929 hardcover edition, originally published in Reno by A. Carlisle and Company. So far as this reviewer is concerned, and confining the issue entirely to the book's intrinsic value to the researcher or serious Nevada historian, the University of Nevada Press should have left well enough alone, and put the money used in the reprinting of the 1929 edition to work on better-merited and more urgently needed efforts.

This writer is in complete agreement with Dr. Russell R. Elliott's summing-up of the merits of Fletcher's book in the former's bibliographical essay on the sources he used in his excellent and indispensable *History of Nevada,* published by the University of Nebraska in 1973. Dr. Elliott there characterizes the Fletcher opus as "A still useful overall summary of exploration in Nevada." That is most certainly is, but what it most certainly is *not* is "helpful to the researcher," to employ the wording of Dr. Everett Harris, the author of the Foreword to this new edition.

Dr. Harris goes on to sugar-coat Fletcher's mistakes as "modifications," and describes some of them, at least, as "...of minor significance." I do not quibble with the opening part of that sentence; however, the remainder of the statement, that "...others may vex the purists," makes the hackles rise.

It is true that the general reader will find much of interest in Mr. Fletcher's well-written little volume. However, the book cannot be consulted as one which is either a deeply-researched or a remotely up-to-date secondary source of material; if one approaches it with those features in mind, the effort will be largely wasted. At the time it was written, except for Angel's classic *History of Nevada,* not much was

known or had been written concerning the white man's early activities in the state, at least until the Comstock period. Accordingly, since Fletcher was one of the first to venture into this practically pristine field, he had the territory pretty much to himself as an authority on the period. This is no longer the case. Many excellent historical researchers have in later years come upon the scene; one might cite Gloria Griffen Cline on Peter Skene Ogden and other Great Basin explorers; Paul C. Phillips' two volume *The Fur Trade;* E. E. Rich's definitive four volume *Hudson's Bay Company;* Bernard De Voto's *Across the Wide Missouri;* and many others.

Before proceeding further with at least an abbreviated cataloguing of some of the most serious errors, this reviewer feels compelled to comment upon several seemingly minor but annoying geographical errors and place-name faux pas. Many of the latter are commonplace enough in ordinary day-to-day usage, but, so far as this writer is concerned, cannot be condoned in a work of the calibre Mr. Fletcher intended his book to be.

Among the geographical errors to be noted is the placing of the Seeds-Kee-Dee River (the Green River) in Colorado, rather than in southwest Wyoming and eastern Colorado. Fletcher places the death of Joseph Paul, Ogden's trapper on the Humboldt River, between present-day Winnemucca and Beowawe, instead of in the Carlin Canyon area, just east of Elko. Since Joseph Paul was the first man to die and be buried in the Humboldt Basin country (1828-1829), a more exact location of his burial site should have been described. Another instance of poor geographical sense on the author's part is to be found in his reference to the lower Lovelock Valley/Humboldt Lakes area as the Humboldt Sink, whereas the real Humboldt Sink (more properly called the Humboldt-Carson Sink) lies below the Humboldt's natural dike, which lies between the Humboldt Lakes and the White Plains playa.

Geographical name miscues include references to the Pit River of northeast California as the Pitt River, and Markleeville Creek on the East Carson River drainage as Markleville. Furthermore, Fletcher annoyingly names the Sierra Nevada as the Sierra Nevada Range, or the Sierra Nevadas, or the Sierra; each is incorrect.

The foregoing errors and miscues are only a sampling of almost 100 such items noted in a reading of this book. As such, they lead one to conclude that the Fletcher reprint, although "still useful," must be used with a keen eye out for its many limitations.

Victor O. Goodwin
Carson City, Nevada

The Ranchers: A Book of Generations. By Stan Steiner. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980. 241 pp.; $13.95)

AMERICAN FASCINATION with the minutiae--not to say the trivia--of the odds and ends of the Western experience provides the curious onlooker with observation of a cultural phenomenon not often to be met with. The seemingly endless flow of pioneer reminiscences, consisting primarily of anecdotes of often doubtful authenticity and generally minimal importance, has in recent years been supplemented by a particularly bizarre form of what one might call the "I Was There" school of narration: anecdotes concerning the last people to cross the Great Plains on the Oregon Trail, to ride the rods on the C. B. & Q., to cobble cowboy boots in the old way, and the like. To this admittedly harmless, yet (in this reviewer's opinion, at least) peculiarly irritating narcissistic form of writing, Stan Steiner's *The Ranchers* forms a worthy recent addition. For the ranchers of Steiner's title exemplify the last of the stalwart and dying breed who originally ranched the West. Steiner unabashedly tells us the purpose of his book, which to his view offers "an appreciation of a way of life, a homage, a requiem and a celebration, an invocation of the spirit" (p. 24). The reader may well be wary, even this early on, of precisely what this invocation of the spirit entails, since only twenty pages previously Steiner has told us of a visit with some of the informants whose bucolic wisdom fills this volume in which all "praised the superiority of the old ways and lamented with a cheerful melancholy the spiritual decline of the rest of America and extolled the moral virtues of living without 'store bought' electricity" (p. 4). This uncritical celebration of what B. F. Skinner has called, in *Walden Two,* the fallacy of the goat and the loom, provides what minimal intellectual framework *The Ranchers* possesses.

The Ranchers is organized in a series of chapters, each containing a set of short interviews with assorted ranchers concerning a single general aspect of ranch life: "The Old Days," for instance, offers a kind of ranchers' descant on the popular *Foxfire* books, concerning itself with ranching expedients for "making do"; and "School Days" concerns pioneer education, which seems uniformly to have been conducted in one-room schoolhouses bathed in a roseate glow. Within these chapters occur occasionally fascinating bits of trivia: who ever would have thought, for instance, to remove the hair from a deerskin simply by soaking the hide in a fast-flowing mountain stream; or to cure skin outbreaks with a used diaper, being careful first to make certain that it has only been urinated in and, if such is not the case, to discard it? These sometimes bizarre, universally charming vignettes reward the

reader after many a dusty haul through second-hand feelings and third-rate philosophy, but they are unfortunately too rare. What is far too often present is a tedious litany of how the salt of the earth has lost its savor because of the evil influences of the modern world, most notably of the internal combustion engine, of appliances (especially when powered by electricity), of bleeding heart liberals who are soft on coyotes, and above all, of THE GOVERNMENT. At times *The Ranchers* reads almost as if it had been ghost-written by a less literate and, in fairness, less malevolent, James Watt.

There is, of course, another side to the story, and if it had been better represented *The Ranchers* would be a far more interesting volume than it is; for any curious observer of the "nostalgia cult" must have at some time asked himself why it is that, if the old ways were so much better, they have been uniformly rejected. Numerous answers to this hypothetical question occur, most of them peculiarly flattering to all men of sound principle who believe in firm allegiance to those tried and true precepts which have always failed; but one rancher suggests a more disenchanted evaluation of his colleagues which they might not find uniformly pleasing. "I can't help but say that I almost . . . feel sorry for them," he says. "Because there is a big world around us. . . . But they want to stick by the kerosene lantern. They just want to go out in the cold and suffer" (p. 46).

This side of the argument is admittedly every bit as prejudicial as the other; yet it ought to be taken into account and even perhaps refuted, for the gentleman may have a point. Bewailing the passing of the good old days is all very well in its place; but it offers little, other than the opportunity for a good cry, by way of practical advice for the present. If the best a book can do is metaphorically ask "What is the cause that the former days were better than these?" it should at least acknowledge the Preacher's jaundiced rejoinder that the question is better left unasked, for one does "not enquire wisely concerning this" (Eccl. 7: 10).

Steiner assures us at various points in the volume that his work is not "nostalgic." Technically he is quite right; it is sentimental. *The Ranchers* is a handsomely produced book with many fine line drawings by way of illustration.

James K. Folsom
University of Colorado, Boulder

Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880. By Julie Roy Jeffrey. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979. xvi + 240 pp. Bibliography, index. $11.95 cloth, $5.95 paper.)

THIS BOOK PROVIDES a flawed but useful introduction to an important subject, the experiences of white American women on the western frontier. Jeffrey deals with women in many roles and in many locales--as wives, mothers, prostitutes, teachers, missionaries, and reformers; in wagon trains, on farms, in mining camps, urban centers, and Mormon towns. Although hers is an ambitious work, rich in detail and analysis, the quality of her writing is extremely uneven. Sometimes her prose is energetic and provocative, at other times it seems laborious and dull.

Unfortunately the first four chapters fall into the second category. After a tantalizing introduction, Jeffrey seems to lose her way. For example, the material in chapter one seem peripheral to the author's story, less because of the subject itself (the kinds of expectations women had about the West are important) than because of the author's rambling discussion of it. Similarly, in the chapters on the migration westward, the farming frontier, and the urban frontier, Jeffrey's treatment lacks focus.

Still, even in the early chapters, Jeffrey succeeds in communicating a number of important ideas and compelling images. Repeatedly she emphasizes the gulf between nineteenth-century prescriptions for appropriate female behavior and the realities of life on the frontier. Women, taught from childhood to be pious, pure, and submissive, initially shrank from the frontier's challenge to move beyond the domestic sphere. Yet as necessity and their husbands demanded, they began to expand beyond their accustomed role. Gathering buffalo dung for fuel, they soiled their white gloves; and cooking over open fires, they burned their skirts to shreds. As the wagons crossed the mountains, the women were forced to part with treasured items. Knickknacks, trunks, even stoves were discarded in an effort to lighten the load. In addition, the women pitched tents, loaded wagons, yoked cattle, and carried guns. Though a few women enjoyed their involvement in manly pursuits, most longed to return to a simpler definition of woman's place. Thus, Jeffrey avoids over-romanticizing women's experiences on the frontier. The freedom the frontier brought women, she says, was mainly the freedom to work harder.

While such insights make the book's first half worth reading, the last three chapters are particularly absorbing. In these chapters Jeffrey explores the situation of women in mining camps, in Mormon communities, and as moral crusaders. Here she provides information that stimulates the reader to further study. On which of the various frontiers were

women's circumstances best? Where were they most comfortable in material terms, most secure in psychological terms, and/or most free in terms of economic opportunity?

The mining frontier, with its lopsided male-female ratio, proved a mixed blessing to women settlers. While women could easily acquire work as prostitutes, cooks or nurses, the most profitable of these professions took its toll in danger and degradation. Besides, women grew tired of the gawks of men and came to miss the company of women. Yet in selecting their female friends, they could not afford to be priggish. While careful to distinguish between respectable women and known prostitutes, they did not inquire deeply into the pasts of their female associates. In this and other ways, women in the mining camps moved beyond the confines of accepted female behavior into a realm which offered greater freedom but less security.

Surprisingly, the Mormon frontier may have provided nineteenth-century women with the most congenial environment. The religious purpose of the Mormon migration appealed to women's own understanding of their role. The nearly equal numbers of men and women, together with the Mormon tendency to settle in villages, not on farms, provided women with a sense of belonging. The leaders' desire for self-sufficiency put a premium on each member's working to the extent of his *or* her ability. Even the institution of polygamy seems more comprehensible in the context of nineteenth-century American culture, which had not developed the ideal of companionate marriage and which emphasized the importance of sisterhood among women. Clearly Mormon culture respected women's contributions as workers and *as women.* This last point was particularly significant at a time when people believed in the existence of separate spheres for women and men.

In conclusion, *Frontier Woman* is a valuable book for both readers of western history and readers of women's history. While the inclusion of footnotes would have enhanced its usefulness for scholars, Jeffrey's book helps to open for discussion a topic that has long been slighted.

Carol O'Connor
Utah State University

Ho for California! Women's Overland Diaries from the Huntington Library. Edited and annotated by Sandra L. Myres. (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1980)

"WOMEN'S HISTORY" REPRESENTS a modern revisionist view in historical literature. Writers in this genre wish readers and scholars to know

certain female stereotypes did not exist except in various sorts of popular publications including novels, exaggerated personal reminiscences, and recently and more dramatically on television. Sandra Myres symbolizes the new women's historian in her *Ho for California! Women's Overland Diaries* .... The foreword to the book notes that for Myres, the false female stereotypes include the "trail drudge" and the "sunbonnet saint," who appeared among the westering pioneers along the various routes to California.

To support her thesis, Myres presents the diaries of five west-bound women: one from 1849 on the Panama Isthmus route, two from the 1850s along the standard California Trail, and two following the southwestern road in 1869 and 1870. In every case, the editing and annotation of the diaries is excellent. Myres's editing has retained the flavor of the diarist's expressions while making the text readable by eliminating erratic punctuation or spelling. The annotations contained in voluminous footnotes also are exceedingly well done, showing acquaintance with most of the significant trail literature; a bibliography of nearly two hundred published sources indicates that scholarship.

The book is divided into appropriate sections, each with a nicely-written introduction, setting the stage both historically and biographically for each of the five women. Illustrations are ably-selected, showing pages from the diaries, and hand-drawn portrayals of various camping sites by western writers and artists J. Goldsborough Bruff and William Hays Hilton. A full and formal index completes the volume. The maps on the inside covers are well-executed and adequate to follow the trail routes. The paper is excellent, the printing is clear, and careful proofreading has eliminated most of the typographical errors. The linen cloth binding is attractive. In short, a pleasant addition to a library shelf.

For this reader, however, the major problem with the book is that the editor succeeds too well. Except for Jane MacDougal, the diarist of the Panama route, the women's accounts of their trips are tiresome, repetitive, and uninspiring. The salvation of the MacDougal diary lies in the fact that its scenery is different from the others. The women on the California trails, both north and south, show themselves in their journals not as trail drudges or sunbonnet saints, but as mere (and virtually sexless) travellers. They see the identical scenery, comment on similar problems, demonstrate about the same interest in finishing the trip as anyone might. The road is dusty, the cattle wander away, water is scarce or plentiful according to the site, and so is grass for the animals or wood for the cook-fire. They worry about Indians most of the time, but seldom encounter any, and even more infrequently do battle with them. The people eat, sleep, sicken and die, or plod on. In only one case (Helen Carpenter's) are readers told by the diarist that the party had arrived at

its destination and settled down, or how she viewed her new home and her future. Although Myres provides careful outlines of the women's subsequent lives, the abrupt endings in these journals seem only to underscore the rather purposeless focus of this book. The diarists themselves apparently regarded their contributions as finished with recording their arrival in sight of a goal.

Perhaps this is the way women's history should be, essentially no different from anyone's--everyday, plodding, sexless. Perhaps that is indeed what it has meant to be a woman in any era: unique only in certain physical aspects, trudging along through life in double harness with an equally ordinary and sexless human being. This reader would like to think, however, that women's history should have something unusual enough to offer to warrant producing books about it, or conversely, that authors would stop writing "women's history" and admit that we are all in this life together.

I recommend *Ho for California!* for readers who have not seen "trail diary" books before. This book is excellently done. But please, don't call it "women's history."

Mary Ellen Glass
University of Nevada, Reno

National Parks: The American Experience. By Alfred Runte. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. xiv + 240 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical note, index. $16.95.)

AMERICA'S NATIONAL PARKS have been the subject of numerous scholarly books and articles, but few such works focus on the significance of the national park idea within a cultural and intellectual context. In *National Parks: The American Experience,* Alfred Runte at last provides that perspective, as he discusses the evolution of the park idea from its origins in the nineteenth century to the present. This unique concept, he argues, evolved from a small group of Americans who contended that "the natural 'wonders' of the United States should not be handed out to a few profiteers, but rather held in trust for all people for all times."

America's national parks owe an obvious debt to the city park movement of the nineteenth century. New York's Central Park, for example, set a precedent for preservation in the common interest. But city parks were an eastern development, designed as refuges from the noise and pace of urban life. The national park idea, in contrast, was developed against the backdrop of the American West. "Grand, monumental scenery was the physical catalyst," Runte writes.

It was one thing to admire such phenomena, but preserving them required stronger incentives, such as the commercialization and near destruction of Niagara Falls presaged. In discussing the factors that culminated in the decision to preserve national parks, Runte emphasizes the impact of cultural nationalism. Unlike Europe, America had no long artistic or literary traditions, nor could it trace its origins back into antiquity. It lacked, according to James Fenimore Cooper, landscape with "the impress of the past."

Appeals for cultural identity through nature coincided with the opening of the Far West in the mid-nineteenth century and marked an important stage in the growth of the park idea. The discovery of the Yosemite Valley and the Sierra redwoods in the early 1850s provided the first evidence since Niagara that the United States had a valid claim to cultural recognition through natural wonders. By dramatizing on canvas and in photographs the scenic treasures that the nation might lose through indifference, such artists as Albert Bierstadt and Carleton Watkins contributed to the growing awareness of the need to preserve such monuments.

The country's cultural anxiety crystallized into realization of the national park idea in 1864, when Congress passed the Yosemite Act to protect the Yosemite Valley, its encircling peaks, and the Mariposa Grove of redwoods from private abuse. The grant embraced only forty square miles and ignored the ecological framework of the region, leading Runte to conclude that "monumentalism," not concern for the environment, shaped the legislation. He similarly describes the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 as "Monumentalism Reaffirmed" and explains that its geysers, waterfalls, canyons, and other curiosities repeated both the cultural anxieties and the ideals of the Yosemite Act. Thereafter, the precedents of Yosemite and Yellowstone changed little until the twentieth century. National parks included only commercially worthless terrain and emphasized the towering, rugged, spectacular landforms of the West. Boundaries conformed to economic rather than ecological dictates, and only in a few instances, as in the creation of Everglades National Park in 1934, did the country adopt the concept of total preservation.

Alfred Runte has written widely on conservation and environmental topics and is Assistant Director of Baylor University's Institute of Environmental Studies. *National Parks* reflects his extensive research in Congressional sources, Interior Department reports, various national park hearings and reports, and such collections as the McFarland Papers, as well as a thorough survey of the vast secondary material in the field. By focusing on the park idea, the author has provided a needed social-intellectual framework for understanding the significance of America's

national parks. Although the book is essentially a scholary work, it assumes added importance because the political climate of the 1980s has led many Americans--from the Secretary of Interior to sagebrush rebels and harried taxpayers--to question the expansion of the country's national parks.

George M. Lubick
Northern Arizona University

Seeking the Elephant, 1849: James Mason Hutchings' Journal of His Overland Trek to California Including His Voyage to America, 1848 and Letters from the Mother Lode. Edited and introduced by Shirley Sargent. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1980. 209 pp. $30.00)

"OUR BEDS WERE HARD but the stars peeped at us through the branches of the tall pines, and our sleep was sweet. It's a severe life, but then we are after *gold!*" (p. 152). In this fashion, James Mason Hutchings described the ambivalent feelings of the 49'ers as they headed for California to "seek the elephant," a phrase commonly used at the time to denote a quest for adventure in far-off places. Certainly the overland journey to California was severe, but the ever present lure of the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow served to revive flagging spirits when the adversities encountered on the trail appeared unbearable. Fortunately, in the preparation of a journal describing his travels, Hutchings exhibited a keen eye for the observation of memorable occurrences. The blending of this quality with a sprightly sense of humor and an articulate literary style have provided an excellent account of this epic era in the history of the American West.

James Mason Hutchings was born on February 10, 1820 in Towcester, Northamptonshire, about sixty miles northwest of London. When he was ten, he went to live with his sister and her husband in Birmingham, where he spent six years continuing his education at a proprietary school. Returning to Towcester, he learned the family trade of cabinet making and general carpentry, skills that served him well in his later travels. In 1844, he viewed an exhibit in Birmingham of the works of the American artist George Catlin. Fascinated by the paintings of Indians, Hutchings became so obsessed with a burning desire to visit the homeland of the native Americans, that his family finally convinced him in 1848 that a trip to America could be arranged to satisfy his wanderlust. When he boarded the ship *Gertrude* in Liverpool on May 19, 1848, he commenced the journal entries which now appear published for the first time in this delightful volume.

Hutchings' vivid description of the hardships experienced on the crowded ship during his month at sea leaves no doubt that an Atlantic crossing at the midpoint of the nineteenth century was hardly a pleasure cruise for the average immigrant. Arriving finally in New York, Hutchings' perceptive first impressions of Americans and their society compare favorably with the penetrating observations found in de Tocqueville's classic *Democracy in America*. These opening chapters, although they are replete with priceless vignettes of days gone by, are still only preambles to The Great Adventure. Moving on to New Orleans, where he worked several months for a newspaper, Hutchings responded in the spring of 1849 to the cry of Ho for California, and on May 16 he headed for St. Lewis on the steamboat *Grand Turk* to join the thousands of others determined to seek their fortunes in the new Eldorado.

From St. Lewis, Hutchings elected to travel by steamboat up the Missouri River to St. Joseph, Missouri where, with several companions, he purchased supplies, horses, and a wagon for the overland journey. On June 7, the party headed out across the plains, following the familiar Oregon Trail along the Platte River and through the famous South Pass in southern Wyoming. Then turning to the southwest, the travelers proceeded to Salt Lake City where wagon transportation was abandoned for a pack train. After a number of harrowing experiences crossing the deserts of Nevada and then the Sierra Nevada, where he encountered deep snow, Hutchings arrived on October 15 at Dry Diggings, soon renamed Placerville, where he immediately bought a claim, started mining, and ended his journal.

Certainly this skeletal itinerary does not do justice to the full story told by Hutchings in his narrative. His fascinating descriptions of encounters with Indians, struggles to overcome geographical obstacles along the trail, problems with survival through burning heat and freezing cold, and the ever present need to obtain food and water along the way, are all related with a clear dedication to "telling it like it was." When Hutchings died in California on October 31, 1902, after a colorful career as miner, writer, publisher, and hotel keeper, one could surely have assumed that he had, indeed, found the elephant.

The only flaws in the publication of this otherwise excellent volume pertain to an inconsistent and annoying editorial policy in annotation. Some of Hutchings' references to people and places receive adequate identification in footnotes; others of equal import are regrettably ignored. And too often, for no apparent reason, a footnote numbered in the text cannot be found on the page where cited, but on a preceding or following page. An unfortunate omission must also be noted in the absence of maps. Periodic insertions of pages charting Hutchings' travels would have been very useful. Still, even with these limitations, a tribute

must be paid to the editor and publisher for adding this gem to the growing treasury of published eyewitness accounts of the real West.

Norman J. Bender
University of Colorado, Colorado Springs

The Mormon People: Their Character and Traditions. Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, No. 10. Edited by Thomas G. Alexander. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980. 136 pp.; maps and graphs. $6.95)

A CENTURY (1880-1980) of Mormon thought and ideology form the unifying fabric of this loosely woven anthology. Like most anthologies, *The Mormon People* is composed of articles representing a variety of styles and orientations. Unlike most works "by Mormons about Mormons," however, this volume contains some disarmingly personal–almost confessional–essays.

First and foremost in this genre is the provocative "Chiaroscuro of Poetry," by Emma Lou Thayne, who tackles the thorny question why such a great people as the Latter-day Saints have produced such mediocre poetry. The answer is bound up in Mormon history and the dominance of "light" to the exclusion of "darkness" in literary characterization. This element of darkness, Thayne contends, is necessary in good poetry and, for that matter, literature in general.

C. Mark Hamilton's "The Salt Lake Temple: A Symbolic Statement of Mormon Doctrine," provides a fascinating documentation of the symbolic anatomy of the Temple. Of importance is the fact that the design and structure of the building reaffirm the physical manifestation of spiritual ideals in a landscape feature which stands at the center of [Utah] Mormonism.

Being historical in orientation, the anthology does not fail to provide yet another in the series of articles dealing with the distribution of Mormons in time. Lowell Bennion asks, and answers, the question: How "Mormon" was Utah in the late nineteenth century? Bennion's "Mormon Country a Century Ago: A Geographer's View" assumes the spatial (as opposed to environmental and place orientations) perspective. Using church records, Bennion paints a picture of a "Bi-cultural Beehive" which had formed by ca. 1890–a pattern which to some extent persists today. The cartograms in this article are of value in their own right; Bennion's essay contains some perceptive insights into the meaning of Utah's population distribution a century ago.

"One wife or several..." by Phillip R. Kunz, provides a sociological perspective to the persistent question of the physical and psychological impact of polygamy on the late nineteenth century Mormon population. The conclusion that polygamy (read polygyny) was fraught with much the same problems that face monogamous marriage arrangements (only that, to paraphrase Kunz, one multiplies by number of spouses to arrive at the likelihood of achieving the additional marital stress!) is not new, but is based on sound historical research projects and presented in a cogent way.

"Sisters and Little Saints: One Hundred Years of Mormon Primaries" by Jill Mulvay Derr deals with an important but neglected aspect of church organization which experienced changes in orientation and emphasis during the last century.

In orientation, *The Mormon People* is historical, western (and especially Utah) oriented, and embodies some rare, critical analysis. It is a welcome addition to the fine Charles Redd "Monographs in Western History Series."

Richard Francaviglia
SouthEastern Arizona
Governments Organization

NHS ACQUISITIONS

Tasker Oddie Letters

Allen L. Oddie, nephew of former Nevada Governor and U.S. Senator Tasker L. Oddie, has donated a substantial collection of his uncle's correspondence. The largest group in the collection consists of several hundred personal letters written by Oddie to his mother, his brother Clarence, and other family members, between February, 1898 and April, 1902. These letters describe Oddie's activities while employed by the Nevada Company at Austin, his own early mining ventures (chiefly through the Pacific Mining and Development Company, which he established in 1899), and the development of Tonopah. The letters throw new light on Oddie's relationships with Walter Gayhart, Fred Siebert, James Butler, and others associated with Tonopah's beginnings, and indicate that his role in the initiation of Nevada's first twentieth-century mining boom was hardly accidental.

Also included among the donated materials are personal letters written by Oddie during his 1910 gubernatorial campaign and miscellaneous personal and official correpondence from his later senatorial career.

We wish to thank Allen Oddie for his gift of an extremely significant collection of letters from one of the state's major political figures.

Nicholson Donation

Mining records, photographs, maps, rare books, and documents relating to Comstock mining in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries form the bulk of a recent acquisition from the estate of Mary Ruth Douglass Nicholson, who, with her late husband, Craig, was a longtime resident of Virginia City.

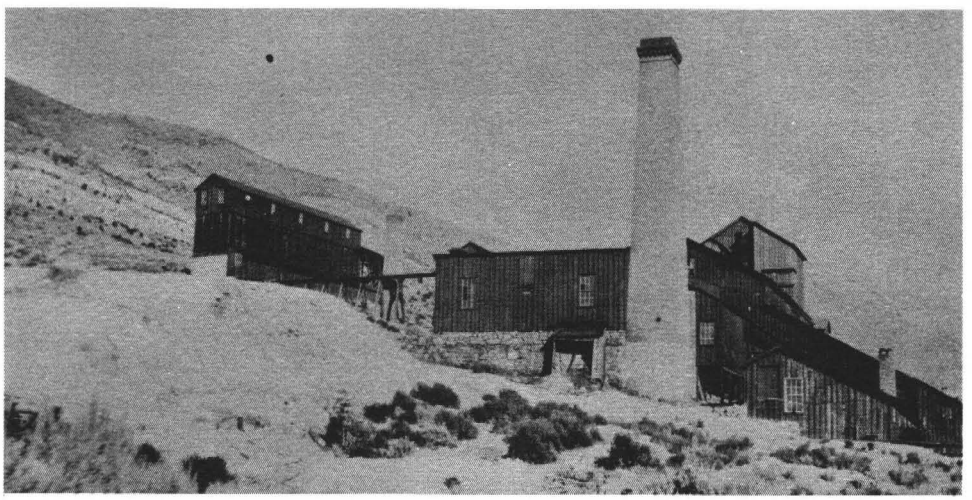
Among the donated materials are letterbooks of the Gould & Curry and Best & Belcher mining companies in the 1860s and 1870s, receipts for ore shipments from the Gould & Curry mine, lease agreements for various mining properties, stock cyphers, a fine copy of ***Parkinson's Map of the Comstock Lode and Washoe Mining Claims*** (1875), and many photographs depicting street scenes, mining operations, and Comstock residents and visitors. Especially notable are two snapshots of a dungaree-clad Theodore Roosevelt visiting the Virginia City mines.

We gratefully acknowledge the generosity of Eleanor Douglass Scofield and Mary Douglass Osburn, executrices of the Nicholson estate, in donating these valuable items. They have also made available to the Society papers and business records of former Nevada Secretary of State William Gilbert ("Gib") Douglass, and a number of excellent photographs of early automobile racing scenes. The latter were collected by their father, Robert L. Douglass, who, besides filling a long career with notable business and civic accomplishments, was a leading automobile enthusiast in the days when the first "horseless carriages" were appearing in the state.

Cortez and Tenabo Photographs

Late in 1907, an unidentified visitor to the eastern Lander County mining regions stopped to look around the camps of Tenabo and Cortez. Probably drawn to the area by the silver rush then in full swing at Tenabo, he photographed that half-wood, half-tent community in its first months of life. He also took pictures at Cortez, an older, once illustrious mining center to the south, where mines and mills were then held by small leasers.

We have been fortunate in obtaining a set of eight of these photographs of Tenabo and Cortez. One of the views is reproduced here. These evocative prints increase our knowledge of the development of Tenabo, which proved to be an ambitious but short-lived camp, and tell us much about the environment of both mining towns in the first decade of this century.



Garrison Mill, Cortez (1907)

NHS NEWS AND DEVELOPMENTS

Director's Column

Several exciting things have happened in the months since I last communicated with you in this column. First and most important, the contractors finally completed our new storage building in November, and the Board of Public Works has given us complete possession. In the meantime we have been able to move all of our library, manuscript and photographic materials into the new building and completely refurbish the reference and office areas, including new paint, new carpets and new library furniture. Not only has all this given us a whole new look, but with the aid of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Local No. 971, we have built a new gallery in our Museum in Reno. The first exhibit focuses on the centennial anniversaries of the Carpenters' Union and the American Federation of Labor. Funded by a grant from the Nevada Humanities Committee, it is entitled "The Union Movement in Nevada" and will run through March of 1982.

To celebrate our changes we have scheduled a gala evening in our Museum on January 29 for members and guests. This occasion of music and refreshment will provide a good opportunity for you to see the improvements we have made.

As many of you know the new Nevada State Museum and Historical Society facility in Las Vegas is already under construction, with a completion date set for next summer. Both in our Reno and Las Vegas offices we are hard at work designing the historical gallery, which will portray the fascinating history of Southern Nevada. We are cooperating with the Exhibit Staff of the Nevada State Museum, who will do the actual construction.

This column marks the last time I will be writing to you in the pages of the *Quarterly.* Starting in January 1982, we will be publishing a monthly newsletter, "The Trestle." With a more timely format we hope to keep you better informed about the many activities we are planning for the coming months.

Contributors

Donald L. Hardesty is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Nevada, Reno. Since receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Oregon in 1972, he has split his research interests between human ecology and historical archaeology. Research in the latter has varied from eighteenth-century rice plantations in South Carolina to pony express stations and silver mines in Nevada. At present, he is also actively involved in the Comstock and Cortez mining districts and serves on the Board of Directors of the Society for Historical Archaeology and on the State of Nevada Review Board for Historic Preservation and Archaeology.

Newell G. Bringhurst recently has accepted an appointment with the Division of Social Science, College of the Sequoias, in Visalia, California. His book *Saints, Slaves and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People Within Mormonism* is forthcoming from the Greenwood Press. In addition, Dr. Bringhurst has published a number of articles in the *Quarterly* and elsewhere.

Mary K. Rusco is a Staff Archaeologist at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City. She is the author of articles and reports on the ethnohistory and archaeology of the Humboldt Valley, and co-edited *Archaeological and Historical Studies at Ninth and Amherst, Lovelock, Nevada.* Another of her articles on the Lovelock Chinese appears in the 1981 edition of *Halcyon* (Reno: Nevada Humanities Committee).

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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