

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY



Volume XXV

Winter 1982

Number 4

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

Gary K. Roberts, *Editor*

EDITORIAL BOARD

Mary Ellen Glass, *Chairman*
Oral History Project, University of Nevada, Reno

Jerome E. Edwards, *Secretary*
University of Nevada, Reno

Sheilagh Brooks
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Robert Davenport
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Donald Hardesty
University of Nevada, Reno

James Hulse
University of Nevada, Reno

Eugene Moehring
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Mary Rusco
Nevada State Museum

Wilbur S. Shepperson
University of Nevada, Reno

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

Prospective authors should send their work to The Editor, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1555 E. Flamingo, #238, Las Vegas, Nevada, 89109. Papers should be typed double-spaced and sent in duplicate. All manuscripts, whether articles, edited documents, or essays, should conform with the most recent edition of the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*. Footnotes should be typed double-spaced on separate pages and numbered consecutively. Correspondence concerning articles and essays is welcomed, and should be addressed to The Editor. © Copyright Nevada Historical Society, 1982.

The *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (ISSN 0047-9462) is published quarterly by the Nevada Historical Society at 1555 E. Flamingo, Las Vegas, Nevada 89109. The *Quarterly* is sent to all members of the Society. Membership dues are: Student, \$5; Regular Annual, \$15; Annual Sustaining, \$50; Life, \$500; Corporate Patron, \$100. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Director, Nevada Historical Society, 1650 N. Virginia, Reno, Nevada 89503. Second-class postage paid at Las Vegas, Nevada. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1650 N. Virginia, Reno, Nevada 89503.

NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXV

WINTER 1982

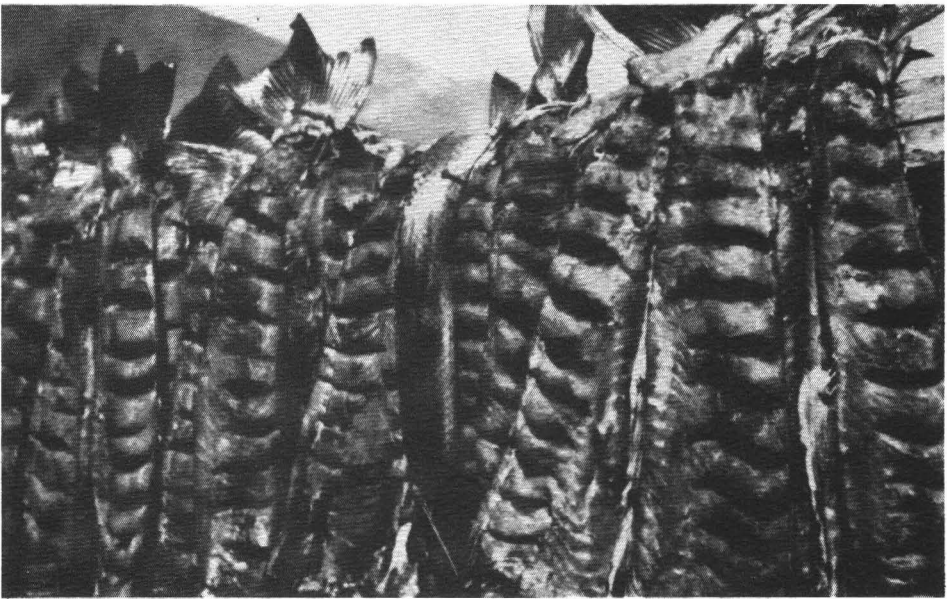
NUMBER 4

Contents

The Effects of Nevada State Fishing Laws on the Northern Paiutes of Pyramid Lake	<i>Martha C. Knack</i>	251
The Chinese in Nevada: An Historical Survey, 1856-1970	<i>Loren B. Chan</i>	266
Eastward the Frontier: Historic Nevada Post Office Locations, 1860-1910	<i>Richard A. Eigenheer</i>	315
The Tonopah Ambulance Regiment	<i>Phillip I. Earl</i>	327
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS Country School Idylls	<i>Carol Ivins Collett</i>	340
BOOK REVIEWS		345
NHS ACQUISITIONS		364
CONTRIBUTORS		366



Fishing at Nixon, Nevada (*Nevada Historical Society*)



Dried and smoked cui-ui fillets (from *The Desert Lake*, by Sessions Wheeler, courtesy of Caxton Printers)

The Effects of Nevada State Fishing Laws on the Northern Paiutes of Pyramid Lake

MARTHA C. KNACK

SINCE THE FOUNDING of the United States, there has been debate over the relative scope of power of the federal government and the states.^o Actions of state and national authorities have been challenged, each by the other, for over two hundred years without clear resolve. One such incident involved an attempt by the State of Nevada to extend its suzerainty to a sector of federal jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Ironically enough, in this desert state the issue was fish.

Law regulating Indian affairs is federal law. This federal jurisdiction has four historical roots — the United States Constitution, Congressional legislation, decisions of the Supreme Court, and administrative structure.¹ The Constitution gives to the federal government the sole right to arrange treaties with foreign nations, implicitly including Indian tribes. In the eighteenth century, native societies were in fact independent, sovereign nations. Looming on the western borders and militarily powerful in relation to the struggling confederacy of disunited states, tribes were potentially extremely important to the newly independent country. Indian treaties were critical matters of foreign policy, a federal concern. Since

^o Previous versions of this paper were read before the American Society for Ethnohistory in San Francisco, 23 October 1980, and the Great Basin Anthropological Conference in Salt Lake City, 5 September 1980. I am grateful for the comments of participants at both of these meetings.

¹ For authoritative discussions of law pertaining to Indians in the United States, see Felix S. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942; reprint ed., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, c. 1972); Monroe E. Price, *Law and the American Indian* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973); and David H. Getches, Daniel M. Rosenfelt, and Charles F. Wilkinson, *Federal Indian Law* (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1979).

one tribe often had lands adjoining or overlapping several states, and since much of the contact between Indians and Anglo-Europeans was commercial, the Constitution explicitly reserved for the federal government all regulation of trade with the Indians.² It would have been far too easy for a real or perceived inequity in a trading transaction to escalate into an international incident and threaten needed military alliances. On the basis of this constitutional authority, Congress immediately began to pass legislation regulating relationships with native tribes, such as the series of Trade and Intercourse Acts. Challenges to and violations of federal laws naturally were decided through the federal court system, all the way to the Supreme Court.

One landmark court decision written in 1831 was fundamental in defining federal-Indian relations. By that time, westward expansion of the states had surrounded several tribes. In 1830, the state of Georgia claimed jurisdiction over the lands of one such enclave of Cherokees and the question eventually reached the Supreme Court. In deciding this case, Chief Justice Marshall asserted a relationship between tribes, states, and the federal government which was to become vital in Indian history for the next one hundred years:

though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable and, heretofore, unquestioned right to the lands they occupy, and that it shall be extinguished [only] by a voluntary cession to our government; yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations³

The declaration that tribes retained ownership of their land until they intentionally yielded it through treaty or other explicit act, was later broadened into a general principle of Indian law. The Court elaborated that a

settled doctrine of the law of nations is, that a weaker power does not surrender its independence — its right to self-government, by associating with a stronger, and taking its protection. A weak state, in order to provide for its safety, may place itself under the protection of one more powerful, without stripping itself of the right of government, and ceasing to be a state.⁴

Therefore, as remnants of previously sovereign nations, Indian tribes retained, in theory if not in practice, all powers not formally abdicated,

² U.S. Constitution, art. I; sec.8.

³ *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1, 8 L. Ed. 25 (1831).

⁴ *Worcester v. Georgia*, 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 8 L. Ed. 483 (1832).

for as long as the tribe retained continuous identity. In addition to recognizing tribal sovereignty, Marshall added that "they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian."⁵ This formalized the previously somewhat vague notion of federal trust responsibility to protect Indian lands, as a trustee does the property of his ward. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), founded in 1824, was assigned the parental role which Marshall also designated for the federal trustee, to tutor tribesmen in culturally acceptable habits and behaviors, during their period of "pupilage."

Thus through the Constitution and custom, Indian affairs rested legislatively, judicially, and administratively squarely within federal jurisdiction. This federal jurisdiction was exclusive and denied state power, as the Supreme Court explicated: "The Cherokee nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter, but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves, or in conformity with treaties, and with the acts of Congress."⁶

Despite the recognition of an exclusive federal-tribal relationship long before Nevada was even a territory, in the particular historical sequence under examination here that state assumed an active role. In constitutional law, those powers not explicitly delegated to the federal government are retained by the states. Thus items not mentioned in the Constitution lie within the jurisdiction of state law. One such omission is the regulation of fish and game. Therefore, Nevada, like other states, did assume control of fishing and passed laws regarding licenses, seasons, and catch limits.

This produced a nearly inevitable conflict. Did Nevada have the right to regulate fishing by Indians on a federally-administered Indian reservation? State jurisdiction over fishing in state waters collided with federal jurisdiction over Indian affairs. This abstract question of governing powers became overt political conflict between 1875 and 1925, as Nevada attempted a series of imaginative maneuvers to circumvent federal jurisdiction and gain control over Indian fishing on the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation.

Before the arrival of Anglo-Europeans in the Great Basin, native peoples had utilized a wide variety of ecological microniches to extract usable resources; each had a specialized technological and behavioral adaptation. One of the least recognized of these specializations was the

⁵ *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1, 8 L. Ed. 25 (1831).

⁶ *Worcester v. Georgia*, 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 8 L. Ed. 483 (1832).

riverine and lacustrine. For over 7,000 years, the sloughs and shallow terminal lakes of the Humboldt had provided edible cattail roots and pollen, building materials, excellent duck hunting, and, of course, water itself.⁷ The other short, shallow, and ephemeral rivers and springs throughout the Basin provided necessary resources, but the two unique river systems of the Truckee and the Walker, with their deep, cool, terminal lakes, provided the extra bonus of abundant fish.

Northern Paiutes at Pyramid Lake had made an elaborate adaptation to their local wetlands.⁸ In addition to extensive use of marsh plants for food and manufacturing, they focused on the capture of two fish species — the Lahontan cutthroat trout and the cuiui. Like its salt water cousin the salmon, the cutthroat trout, a freshwater, anadromous fish, returned upstream between January and March to its birthplace to spawn. The rest of the year, it lay deep in the cool depths of Pyramid Lake, the only place on earth it was native. The cuiui was a bottom sucker, whose soft flesh easily filleted. It also came to the Truckee banks and shoals to spawn. The Paiutes developed a series of specialized tools to harvest these fish — willow weirs, fishing platforms, basketry traps, sloats, sinkers, harpoons, dip nets, prepared fields of white pebbles for night fishing, and compound hooks for single and set lines. While they made tule rafts, these and their other techniques were not usable in the deep, rough lake waters, so that much of the year the primary species of fish were inaccessible to them. But when the fish neared shore to spawn, the shallow-water technology of the Paiutes supplied an ample harvest. Large numbers of fish were then dried and stored for year-round use.

As was common in the Great Basin after American settlement, Northern Paiutes had not signed treaties with the United States. Therefore the tribe never specifically yielded its aboriginal hunting and fishing rights. In 1859, just before the discovery of the Comstock Lode, which would bring tens of thousands of white men into western Nevada, the Bureau of Indian Affairs requested the General Land Office to set aside two large river sinks as Indian reservations — Pyramid Lake, sink of the Truckee River, and Walker Lake, terminus of the Walker River. In other areas of the state white farmers and ranchers were already displacing

⁷ E.g., L.L. Loud and M.R. Harrington, *Lovelock Cave*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 25, 1929; R.F. Heizer and L.K. Napton, *Archaeology and the Prehistoric Great Basin Lacustrine Subsistence Regime As Seen from Lovelock Cave, Nevada*, University of California Archaeological Research Facility Contributions 10, 1970.

⁸ Nellie Shaw Harner, *Indians of Coo-yu-ee Pah (Pyramid Lake)* (Sparks, Nevada: Dave's Printing and Publishing, 1974); Willard Z. Park, Field notes from Pyramid Lake, unpublished ms., in the collections of the University of Nevada, Reno; Catherine S. Fowler and Joyce E. Bath, "Pyramid Lake Northern Paiute Fishing: The Ethnographic Record," paper read before the Great Basin Anthropological Conference, Reno, October 1978.

native populations. The early Indian agents recognized that these two lakes would provide an economic base for the fishing Paiute bands as they progressively lost control of other resource areas. As a chance result, however, the only two major permanent lakes in the state were placed within Indian reservations. Indians thus controlled the dwelling zone of the various food fishes, but not the spawning beds of the anadromous one.⁹

Following the federal policy of teaching Indians Anglo ways, the BIA through its local agents introduced farming to the Pyramid Lake Reservation. Paiutes resisted all attempts to turn them into irrigation agriculturalists, and instead continued active subsistence fishing. Their seasonal surplus, coming in winter, found a ready market in the nearby mining camps whose white residents were too busy "striking it rich" to bother producing their own food. Less than twelve years after the founding of the reservation, Paiutes were already selling \$10,000 worth of fish annually in Reno and Virginia City.¹⁰ Since the sale price fluctuated from three to seven cents per pound, this meant that Paiutes were shipping between 40 to 100 tons of fish each year from Pyramid Lake. Throughout the nineteenth century, fish sales far outstripped the profit from *all* other forms of reservation enterprise combined. It also continued to provide a major portion of the Indian diet.

Paiutes thus rapidly commercialized their one and only significant resource — fish from the lake. Of course, Anglo entrepreneurs were not content to leave this lucrative trade to the Indians. White men soon had nets strung across the Truckee River within reservation boundaries and even invaded the lake itself. During the 1870s, the United States Army was called out repeatedly to clear the reservation of trespassing white fishermen. By 1878, such violations had become so general and flagrant that nine arrests were finally made. These white men were convicted of trespassing on federal property, but were never sentenced, and they eventually received Presidential pardons.¹¹ By pursuing even this inconclusive case, the BIA had indicated, however reluctantly, that it did intend to protect Pyramid Lake from blatant commercial exploitation by non-Indians. Public reaction to this defense of Indian property was exemplified by an editorial in the *Reno Weekly Gazette*:

The decision of the U.S. Courts, that the Pyramid Lake reservation is valid and binding is of great importance to Reno and the whole coast. It ties up the lake

⁹ Lake Tahoe is the only other deep, perennial lake. Because it is an interstate body of water, it does not fall within the sole jurisdiction of Nevada.

¹⁰ C.A. Bateman, letter to Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 30 September 1873. Reprinted as Letter #41, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1873* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1874), pp. 253-256.

¹¹ It was an election year. *U.S. v. John Leathers*, U.S. District Court Nevada, 1 July 1879.

from all but the few lazy Indians who will have a monopoly of the fine fish which have hitherto been shipped to all parts of Nevada and California. This will not only deprive people everywhere of a real luxury, but what is of more importance to us, it will kill a valuable industry, which would in time add materially to our resources. . . .¹²

While the newspaper pleaded the public benefit of free enterprise, it and the state lawmakers were not willing to let that lucrative commerce rest in Indian hands. The legislature soon petitioned Congress to abandon Pyramid Lake as a reservation, arguing that the fish trade was valuable, that Anglos were being excluded from its benefits and prosecuted in federal courts, and that this should be stopped. Meanwhile, the state declared, the BIA allowed Indians to fish on the federal reservation "without regard to the fish and game laws of the State."¹³ Of course, in so doing Paiutes were well within their legal rights. They retained, from tribal sovereignty, the right to hunt and fish as they chose within the boundaries of retained tribal land, for they had never given the federal government or the state authority to regulate these activities. Further, according to the Supreme Court decision, Indian country was not part of any state, and therefore state law had no power on a reserve. Paiute behavior on their own reservation was simply beyond state control.

The Anglo public was angered by this situation, however, and demanded that the state legislature take action. The Nevada Territorial legislature in 1861 had already defined trout as a sport fish, thereby asserting that fish were no longer to provide human subsistence, but to exist as a luxury for those with leisure time for recreation.¹⁴ That legislative body had also imposed a definition of appropriate sporting technique, which was derived from the Anglo-European cultural past. It declared the hook and line only were to be used for trout capture, and it forbade native spears, nets, traps, and weirs, as well as white-introduced methods of grabhooks, poison, and dynamiting. Growing Anglo pressure forced extension of ethnocentric definitions to include when fish could be caught. The spawning season therefore became an unacceptable time to catch fish.¹⁵ This, of course, immediately negated all the native shallow-water techniques, which were only effective when the fish

¹² Anonymous, "The Reservation Fishermen," *Reno Weekly Gazette*, 10 July 1879, p. 1, c. 2.

¹³ Nevada State Senate and Assembly, "Joint Memorial and Resolution relative to Pyramid Lake Reservation in the State of Nevada," 29 January 1877. This and following references to territorial and state laws were taken from the microfiche reprint of *Session Laws of the American States and Territories--Statutes of the Nevada Legislature* (Westport, Conn.: Redgrave Information Resources, 1973), microfiche edition.

¹⁴ *Statutes of the 1st Territorial Session*, p. 32.

¹⁵ *Statutes of the 4th Legislature*, pp. 109-110.

emerged to reproduce. The number of species controlled under state law gradually increased and catch limits were imposed. Nevada laws required fish ladders on dams and forbade anyone to fish at the base of these Anglo-introduced obstructions. However, still unsure of its jurisdiction over native hunting and fishing rights, the legislature specifically exempted subsistence fishing by both off- and on-reservation Indians from these early regulations.¹⁶

It is a peculiarity of most streams in Nevada that they only flow intermittently. They are further reduced by irrigation, damming, and diversion into unscreened irrigation ditches, thus making small streams unprofitable for commercial scale fishing. Only the two major, permanent rivers with deep-water sinks remained profitable, but these were enclosed in Indian reservations. As the 1879 trespass prosecution exemplified, the federal government, by law trustee over the properties of its Indian wards, appeared to be willing to protect these reservation lakes from major non-Indian encroachment. Thus Anglos were prevented by nature and by federal jurisdiction from developing an Anglo commercial fishing enterprise in any of the waters of the state of Nevada. The only politically active lobby interested in fishery matters was composed of the sportsmen. They had proven their strength by getting early general legislation passed. Now angry at the Pyramid Lake situation and evincing clear anti-Indian sentiment, their pressure mounted until in 1891 the Nevada legislature passed the first of a series of restrictive fishing laws directly inimical to the successful Indian fishing industry at Pyramid Lake.

Logically, any trade requires two components — a source of production, which the Indians possessed, and market, which lay outside the reservation and within state jurisdiction. Since the state could not prevent Indians from actually fishing, instead it decreed:

it shall not be lawful for any railway corporation, express company, or other common carrier, or private parties, to ship or transport for sale, any of the river, lake, brook or salmon trout taken from the rivers, lakes, or other waters of this State, during the said [closed] season [from 1 January to 1 June].¹⁷

In and of itself, this law would not appear to be discriminatory. However, since Indians were in possession of the only commercially viable fisheries, and since their technologically useful season was limited to the designated closed spawning season, Indians were essentially the only persons affected by the new regulation.

¹⁶. *Statutes of the 8th Legislature*, pp. 179-180.

¹⁷. *Statutes of the 15th Legislature*, pp. 84.

The railroad which passed through the Pyramid Lake reservation immediately refused to accept shipments of Indian-caught fish for market, from either the Indians themselves, the reservation trader or the agent. The stage line on the western edge of the reserve did likewise. Indians therefore began carrying fish to market in their own wagons. This was dangerous, since, rightly or wrongly, the state claimed jurisdiction over them as soon as they left reservation boundaries. Pyramid Lake fishing profits, then 90% of all reservation income, dropped from over \$8,000 the year before to none, as a direct result of the new Nevada state fish law. Within a single year, two thirds of the cash flow to the Pyramid Lake Paiute community had evaporated.

A BIA inspector recommended that a test case be taken to court immediately to challenge the legality of this application of state law to Indian-caught fish.¹⁸ He argued that Pyramid Lake was in essence a private hatchery, being enclosed completely within the trust property of the federal government. Fish caught in it were not caught in state waters at all and therefore state jurisdiction did not apply. Not only was his suggestion ignored, but also the BIA ordered Indians to comply with state definitions of the proper methods and seasons, and distinctions between commercial versus subsistence fish species. In 1890, the Secretary of the Interior wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

Your action in instructing the Agent at the Nevada [Pyramid Lake] Agency to prohibit his Indians from killing or catching fish in the waters of said reservation, during the spawning season, and to forbid them from taking fish at any time except with hook and line, is approved, and in accordance with your recommendation, California Fish Commission is hereby authorized to take, under supervision of the said Agent, spawn or fish for spawn for the purpose desired. . . .¹⁹

The purpose was to provide sports fishing for non-Indian fishermen elsewhere.

Agents redoubled their efforts to convert Paiutes to farming, but without success; and Indians continued discrete resistance, including smuggling fish to out-of-state markets in California. Nevada closed off this option in 1901 by forbidding interstate traffic in Nevada-caught fish.²⁰ Paiutes continued to provide some of the best Reno hotels with fresh fish year round on a friendly basis, accepting payment only during

¹⁸. C.C. Warner, letter to T.J. Morgan, 4 November 1891. In Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington D.C. BIA Letters Received--Nevada--1891--#40352.

¹⁹. John Noble, Secretary of the Interior, letter to T.J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14 January 1890. In Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. BIA Letters Received--Nevada--1890--#21924.

²⁰. *Statutes of the 20th Legislature*, pp. 119.

the legal season. When discovered by law enforcement officers, the restaurants asserted that the fish had just been taken from the deep freeze where they had rested since last summer. The state then forbade possession by restaurants and cold storage warehouses. In 1909, it prohibited "gifts" of fish, another creative Paiute subterfuge.²¹

By 1910, the general trend of the future was becoming obvious.²² From the city of Reno downstream there was a dead zone where fish could not breathe because decomposing garbage, thrown into the river, was absorbing all the oxygen. Derby Dam and others which had been constructed formed high barriers. Relatively few fish could successfully negotiate the inadequate fish ladders. Fish swam out into irrigation canals and ditches, only to be stranded when the water was turned off. But most of all, the dams and ditches diverted water from the natural streambeds, often as much as 50% of the total flow. There simply was not enough water for fish to maneuver through shallows and get upstream to spawn. Furthermore, many fish, such as trout, were extremely sensitive to temperature, which warmed as the water became more shallow. For these and other reasons, the numbers of fish in the major river systems of northern Nevada began to decline rapidly and noticeably. Despite the proven effects of these Anglo-introduced environmental changes, the sportsmen's lobby and the state legislature chose to blame the fishery decline on the "slaughter" by Paiute subsistence fishermen.

In 1911, all large fish species, except cuiui which Anglos did not regard highly, were declared to be game fish, thus placing them under state management. On the grounds there was a need to conserve game fish for the benefit of the "general public" (which meant non-Indian sportsmen), the legislature attempted to force compliance with Anglo ideas of proper fishery management. Therefore, they declared that no one could, at any time, possess more than ten game fish or ten pounds of fish on any one day for his own use or for sale. Shippers were forbidden to transport, warehouses to store, or restaurants to buy more than this number from any one individual. All game wardens and sheriffs were by law required actively to enforce these regulations and empowered to search cars, camps, barns, and homes anywhere in the state and to seize fish and violators. The prejudiced law even specified that "in case Indians. . . shall be in such numbers as to be beyond the reasonable

²¹. *Statutes of the 24th Legislature*, pp. 38.

²². Since the submission of this manuscript to the *Quarterly*, a new monograph has come to my attention which details nicely this series of events. John M. Townley, *The Truckee Basin Fishery, 1844-1944*, Water Resources Center Publication #43008, Desert Research Institute, University of Nevada System, Reno, November 1980.

power of any fish or game warden of the state fish commission to control, or in case of forcible resistance" wardens could call on all civil authorities for assistance.²³ The law went on to state that "it shall be no defense in any prosecution for violation of any of the provisions of this act that the trout or other fish in question were taken or killed outside the State of Nevada [as on federal property]; nor shall it be any defense . . . that the trout or fish were taken or killed by any one other than he in whose possession said trout or fish were found."²⁴

To test the applicability of this law and to protect his own trade, the federally licensed reservation trader accepted ten fish from each Paiute fisherman in the spring of 1914, separately wrapping and labeling the different lots. The state game warden came into the reservation and arrested him. Because of the Supreme Court decision that reservations are not part of states, the trader argued in court that the fish had not been caught in Nevada state waters, that he had not been in Nevada when arrested, and that the warden had no jurisdiction on federal property. Thus neither he nor the fish in his possession fell under state law. Further, the fish did not belong to him, but to the original fishermen for whom he was merely transporting them on consignment. Despite his arguments, he was found guilty under state law, sentenced, and fined. The BIA never again attempted to challenge the state's jurisdiction over the fish of Pyramid Lake.²⁵

Quite to the contrary, the federal agency forced Indian compliance with state regulations, even to the extent of handing Indians over to game wardens and asking other Indians to inform on violators.²⁶ The Pyramid Lake Indian agent argued that this "voluntary" compliance was a politically useful tool with which to encourage the legislature to reduce pressure against Indians. He habitually accommodated white sportsmen with passes to fish on the reservation.²⁷ He recommended that the lake, reserved for the "use and benefit" of the Indians residing there, be opened totally to whites. Further, he allowed the State Fish and Game Commission to gather spawn at the Truckee's mouth for the benefit of the very sportsmen whose lobby had instigated the restrictive legislation in the first place.²⁸

²³. *Statutes of the 25th Legislature*, pp. 61.

²⁴. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

²⁵. *Ex parte Crosby*, Nev. Sup. Ct. No. 2187, 149 Pac. 989 (1915).

²⁶. James Jenkins, postcard to W.H. Philipson, 2 March 1923. In Record Group 75, National Archives, San Bruno, Calif. BIA Letters Received--Nevada--1923.

²⁷. Washington J. Endicott, Inspector for the BIA report to Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1920, pp. 27-29. Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. BIA--Nevada file 154--#73495-20.

²⁸. J.D. Oliver, letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 12 July 1917. Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. BIA--Nevada file 115--#79423.

Paiutes disagreed with this agency policy of cooperation and began a campaign of non-violent protest. They physically removed Anglo-owned boats from the lake, including one owned by the county sheriff, and deposited them in the surrounding sagebrush.²⁹ They saw denial of white access to the lake as a more effective political policy than the agent's theory of cooperation, but they were censured by BIA authorities. When they attempted to send a delegation to the legislature to express their point of view, it was intercepted by the agent and sent home. Their petition was never forwarded by the agency office. The agent gave orders to his subordinates: "You must discourage 'meetings' of Indians that take them from their work and do nothing but unduly excite them. . . . The 'talk habit' must be stopped wherever possible."³⁰ He blamed the Indians' own persistent fishing efforts for the increasingly repressive legislation. Continued subsistence fishing, smuggling, and expressed resentment of the Anglo-imposed regulations brought on, he said, retaliatory legislation. He continued to act as an agent for the state, enforcing state fish laws on the reservation where state jurisdiction did not extend.

In 1920, the Nevada legislature responded to this pacifistic agency policy by making shipment for sale illegal not only in winter, but year round.³¹ Thwarted in his political maneuverings, the agent then retaliated by closing Pyramid Lake to casual Anglo sport fishing. The public became outraged, and the press called for the immediate allotment of reservation land to individual Indians and destruction of the reserve as a tribal homeland.³² The agent lost his job. His replacement reinstituted a policy of appeasement and negotiation. The new agent declared that "Indians who violate the regulations will not be allowed to fish at all, or to sell fish,"³³ and he ordered tribal police to enforce state fishing laws on the reserve. Promising public access to Pyramid Lake as long as Indians could control boat rental and other service jobs, he won a legislative concession in 1923.³⁴ Indian-caught fish could now be tagged as such and sold directly to consumers in season, but only if caught by hook and line and only to the ten fish limit. Tags were sold to the

²⁹ Anonymous, "Indians in War Paint at Pyramid Lake," *Carson City News*, 15 June 1915, p. 1.

³⁰ J.E. Jenkins, letter to H.W. Philipson, 10 January 1923. In Record Group 75, National Archives, San Bruno, Calif. BIA Letters Received--Nevada--1923. Bill of Rights guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly did not directly apply on Indian Reservations. Indians were not citizens at this time.

³¹ *Statutes of the 30th Legislature*, pp. 361. Interestingly, this law specifically and superfluously disclaimed application to interstate bodies of water, to wit Lake Tahoe, the only deep-water lake with commercial fishing potential still in Anglo hands.

³² Anonymous, "Settle the Reservation," *Reno Evening Gazette*, 11 August 1921.

³³ J.E. Jenkins, letter to H.W. Philipson, 14 March 1923. In Record Group 75, National Archives, San Bruno, California. BIA Letters Received--Nevada--1923.

³⁴ *Statutes of the 31st Legislature*, p. 357.

Indians, and the federal agent persisted in enforcing state law on the reservation. Two years later the daily limit was raised to twenty-five tagged fish per Indian fisherman, which still was not enough for a man to support a family through commercial sales.³⁵

This tentative truce between the Paiutes and the state of Nevada was broken in 1926, when Indians forced closure of the state spawn gathering operation at the mouth of the Truckee River. Nevada had been gathering spawn there since 1914 with the informal permission of the agency, in order to raise trout fry in state hatcheries for distribution to various streams. Indians maintained that the process killed fish and was unnecessary since trout had always reproduced in the river without human interference. State Fish and Game authorities and sportsmen's groups were infuriated by what they saw as an Indian lack of concern over fish propagation. Paiutes had forced the closure of the spawn gathering station several times over the years, but each time they were pacified by the state's hiring more Indian helpers or other short-term economic benefits.³⁶ Each time spawn gathering was stopped however, tempers flared and tensions mounted. State authorities then circulated reports that Indians were exceeding their "privileged" limits and were slaughtering fish *en masse*.³⁷ Reservation rumors were that the only time sales limits were enforced was in retaliation for such denial of access to spawn. The public now called for reinstitution of the restrictive laws to "save the trout from extinction."³⁸

The fish population was indeed declining, but not for the reasons cited by the public. Year after year, Nevada state hatcheries failed to return as many fry to Pyramid Lake as they had promised to do, while at the same time planting the majority of their crop in non-Indian areas. Meanwhile, the very factors which had created the need for artificial fish propagation in the first place were not being corrected. These causes for fish death lay far outside either Indian or BIA control. Industrial and urban pollution was increasing and the state legislature refused to take any effective action. A far greater problem was the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of acre-feet of water by federally-sponsored reclamation projects. These restructured the mouth of the Truckee so that fish physically could not get upriver to spawn. Because of lessened inflow of fresh water, the salinity of Pyramid Lake increased.

³⁵. *Statutes of the 32nd Legislature*, p. 250.

³⁶. Carson Indian Agency, *Annual Report*, 1926, sect. IV, p. 2. Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. BIA--Nevada files--1920 -B-140.

³⁷. Nevada State Fish and Game Commission, *Biennial Report of the Commission, 1925-1926* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1927), pp. 4-6.

³⁸. *Ibid.*

As fish populations declined, the Indians got more angry and less cooperative. The state, in despair, asked the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries to take over spawn gathering duties in 1930, but the same problems arose again. All spawn gathering was stopped temporarily.³⁹ Relations between the Pyramid Lake Paiutes and the state had reached a bitter impasse.

This stalemate was broken in 1934 by passage of a major piece of federal legislation which totally reorganized Indian affairs. Since the abandonment of treaty negotiations sixty years before, the federal government had ignored tribes as total entities. Rather, it had denied that the tribe was a legitimate voice of the reservation community and had chosen to deal with each Indian person privately as an individual. The new Wheeler-Howard Act reversed this trend and once again legally recognized tribes. Reservation groups were authorized to form corporations in order to jointly manage the land and resources remaining to them, remnants of their tribal hereditament. In accordance with the general tenets of Indian law, tribal councils represented previously sovereign entities, and they retained all self-governing powers not historically yielded to the federal trustee in any explicit way. One of the rights which the new tribal councils thus possessed was the power to pass ordinances and regulations necessary to carry out their charge to "own, hold, manage and operate. . . property of every description," real and incorporeal.⁴⁰

The Pyramid Lake Paiutes organized a tribal council under the Wheeler-Howard Act in 1936. Since they had signed no treaties explicitly yielding hunting or fishing rights, they retained tribal powers to regulate these within reservation boundaries. They immediately formed a Fish and Game Committee which began tense negotiations with the state. The major point of contention remained the decreasing number of fish available and mutual recriminations over the cause of that decline. The formal existence of the tribal council with its federally-defined power made it clear that the previous casual extension of state law onto the reservation would no longer be tolerated. To fill the legal void, the tribal council, upon the advice of its fish committee, passed a series of regulations to control on-reservation fishing. To avoid confusion, these closely paralleled state laws concerning seasons and fishing methods.⁴¹ A further power which the Pyramid Lake Tribal Council acquired under its constitution was the ability to issue local taxes and

³⁹ Fred J. Foster, letter to Thomas B. Snoddy, 12 December 1932. Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. BIA--Letters Received--Nevada--1932.

⁴⁰ 25 U.S.C.A. 477.

⁴¹ Pyramid Lake Tribal Council, minutes, 11 February 1937. Unpublished ms. in the Nevada and the West section, Library of the University of Nevada, Reno.

employ a staff. Therefore they initiated a tribal fishing license, which was required in addition to the mandatory state license for non-Indians fishing on the reservation. Then they employed game wardens to enforce tribal regulations. Through a series of formal contracts with the state, a number of administrative solutions were gradually hammered out. Tribal game wardens were recognized as having authority over non-Indians on reservation lands and water.⁴² The state regained the privilege of gathering spawn at the mouth of the Truckee. In turn, the tribe allowed cuiui to be declared a game fish.⁴³

All the while, more water was being withdrawn from the Truckee River upstream for irrigation; the surface level of Pyramid Lake was declining; and the fish population was dwindling. By 1950, it was clear to all parties concerned that historical Anglo actions had brought about a new reality. There was no chance for the Paiute population to use fish as a subsistence base, even on their own reservation. There only were enough fish for sport and recreation.

The tribal council has recently taken action to assure its authority over sport fishing on Pyramid Lake. In 1973, the tribe acquired grant monies to build a small fish hatchery on a tributary stream along the western shore of the lake.⁴⁴ In this way, fish species which normally ran upstream off the reservation to spawn could be artificially propagated completely within reservation boundaries. Interjurisdictional disputes with the state could be avoided. The hatchery opened in early 1975 and a second hatchery was completed in 1981 in order to increase breeding capacity. In 1976, when the tribal fishery management contract with the state came up for renewal, Paiutes chose to break all ties with the state.⁴⁵ The tribal council reclaimed the independence guaranteed them by their constitution and the immunity from state jurisdiction assured them by the entire structure of federal Indian law.

For over one hundred years, the state of Nevada attempted to impose its laws on the Northern Paiutes of Pyramid Lake. It declared which fish could be caught and where, as well as the techniques to be used. At first, the state tried simply to assume jurisdiction over Indians living on reservations, and then it employed a series of circumventions. Indians were cut off from sales markets and arrested as soon as they left federal

⁴². Attorney General, *Opinions*, 28 April 1950, no. 914.

⁴³. Pyramid Lake Tribal Council, minutes, 5 March 1948. Unpublished ms. in the Nevada and the West section, Library of University of Nevada, Reno.

⁴⁴. Doris Cerveri, *Pyramid Lake: Legends and Reality* (Sparks, Nevada: Western Printing, 1977), p. 23.

⁴⁵. David Galat, Research Associate, Colorado Cooperative Fishery Research Unit, personal communication, 10 April 1980.

trust land. Indian agents were encouraged to enforce state law on the reservation itself. The opportunity to commercialize the one productive resource of the reservation was denied Paiutes by the imposition of state law; economic development was thereby blunted, prosperity stopped, and the local economy allowed to stagnate. Meanwhile, Anglo economic developments, dependent on water diversions to agriculture, mining, and urban areas, produced drastic changes in the fishery population. The state defined fish as a luxury suitable only for sport, and subsequent Anglo actions assured that this would be so.

Nevada's attempted intrusion of state power into recognized federal and tribal jurisdiction does not stand alone in history. The United States Supreme Court early observed that Indians "owe no allegiance to the states, and receive from them no protection. Because of the local ill feeling, the people of the states where they are found are often their deadliest enemies."⁴⁶ This adversary relationship is much in evidence today. For instance, the state of Washington is currently embroiled in a controversy over issues of tribal hunting and fishing rights, in this case ones explicitly guaranteed by treaty.⁴⁷ Various states have attempted to extend their taxation onto reservation residents, earnings, resources, and sales.⁴⁸ Public Law 280 allowed states to assume criminal and civil jurisdiction over reservations, initially without tribal consent.⁴⁹ Recent court decisions have eroded tribal claims to jurisdiction over non-Indians violating tribal law on reservations.⁵⁰

The protection of Indian tribes under the law has, since *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1832, always rested on their alliance with and support by the federal government. If tribes are made subject to the whim of state legislatures, well known for their permeability by local interests and hostility to Indian rights, the future may well see more encroachments such as the one Nevada launched against Paiute fishing at Pyramid Lake.

⁴⁶. U.S. v. Kagama, 118 U.S. 375 (1886).

⁴⁷. American Friends Service Committee, *Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup and Nisqually Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970); U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Indian Tribes: A Continuing Quest for Survival* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), esp. chap. 3.

⁴⁸. U.S. v. Rickert, 188 U.S. 432 (1903); Oklahoma Tax Commission v. U.S., 319 U.S. 598 (1943); McClanahan v. Arizona Tax Commission, 411 U.S. 164 (1973); Williams v. Lee, 358 U.S. 217 (1959); Washington v. Confederate Tribes of the Colville Reservation, 48 U.S.L.W. 4668 (1980).

⁴⁹. 25 U.S.C.A. 1321.

⁵⁰. Oliphant v. Suquamish, 435 U.S. 191 (1978).

The Chinese in Nevada:

An Historical Survey, 1856-1970

LOREN B. CHAN

On October 27, 1855, John Reese and his associates were granted a franchise to build a water ditch along the Carson River to bring water to nearby Gold Canyon for mining and other purposes. To construct the ditch, Reese hired forty to fifty Chinese laborers from California in 1856. That marked the initial entry of Chinese into what would become the state of Nevada.¹

These Chinese congregated in a settlement at the mouth of a ravine which the whites called Chinatown (later renamed as the town of Dayton, now located northeast of Carson City in Lyon County). More Chinese were added to the original work crew later in 1856 and 1857. When the ditch was completed in August, 1858, some of the workers moved back to California, but in 1859 there were some thirty-five Chinese still living in small stone, mud, and tule huts at Dayton.²

From this humble beginning, persons of Chinese descent have lived in Nevada continuously to the present. During the second half of the nineteenth century they participated in the economic development of the state, often in the face of discrimination and persecution, and limited opportunities. In China's Guandong province, the "decline" phase of the traditional historical cycle was beyond immediate redemption; there was no way to determine when the cycle would run its course, and whether a new dynasty would quickly improve the quality of life.³ In the meantime, life must go on. Work had to be secured, and families had to be fed even if it meant that many able-bodied men had to go abroad to earn their livelihoods.

Because of their social and economic backgrounds (from the peasantry, with limited educations), and the prevailing discriminatory laws

¹ Fanny G. Hazlett, "Historical Sketches and Reminiscences of Dayton, Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Papers* 3 (1921-1922): 21-22.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 24-26.

³ Traditional Chinese historians generally adhere to the cyclical interpretation of history. They believe that every dynasty goes through a cycle of strengthening, stability, and decline, and that a repetition of this cycle explains China's historical development.

and feelings in the United States, the range of occupational pursuits open to the Chinese in Nevada during the frontier period was quite limited. They could mine only with white permission. Most of the Chinese males became itinerant laborers, cooks, or domestic servants. A small number were doctors, merchants, gamblers, or skilled craftsmen. Virtuous Chinese women were expected to remain in China, so that the few who made their way to Nevada often became prostitutes. In a male dominated frontier society, that was to be expected.⁴

Nevada's frontier society was an extension of California's. After the discovery of the Comstock Lode in 1859, the bulk of the newcomers in the new mining district came by way of California. The white Americans and European immigrants carried with them the prevailing anti-Chinese attitudes of the new Pacific coast state. As Chinese immigration became a political issue in California during the 1870s and 1880s, it also became an issue in Nevada. Ultimately the outcries of the western congressional delegations were enough to persuade the federal government to suspend and then to prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers (see tables 1 and 2). The Chinese thus became the first ethnic group to be barred from immigrating to the United States. Moreover, no first generation resident alien of Chinese descent was eligible to apply for naturalized United States citizenship before 1943 because of racial considerations.

Certainly their different racial appearance set them off as a group apart. Their dress, language, and customs did not allow them to blend in easily with the rest of the population. At first they were few in number. In the 1860 federal census, there were only twenty-three persons of Asian descent (probably Chinese) in Carson, Humboldt, and St. Mary's counties, Utah Territory (Nevada Territory was not organized until the following year). From 1860 to 1880, the Chinese population in Nevada steadily increased, until an all-time high of 5,416 (see table 4) was reached in 1880.

Thereafter and until 1950, the number of Chinese in the state decreased in a linear fashion regardless of the ups and downs in Nevada's total population. The initial settlement of the state was due to the discoveries on the Comstock Lode and the subsequent interest in mining which they spawned. After the Comstock went into decline, it was not until the Tonopah and Goldfield mining booms that the state's population again increased. By the time those booms ended, Nevada had passed from its frontier stage of development to its modern economic dependence on agriculture, gaming and related tourism, and federal spending.

⁴ Gregg Lee Carter, "Social Demography of the Chinese in Nevada: 1870-1880," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1975): 77-78, 83.

The precipitous decline in the Chinese population after 1880 may be attributed to a number of reasons. First, there was the sojourner mentality of the Chinese. They left their homeland to earn their living, but they expected to live out their final days in China. Second, American laws discouraged further immigration and the settlement of entire Chinese immigrant families; and finally, there was the quality of life in Nevada itself. Being the objects of discriminatory laws, periodic racist violence, and scapegoating for economic depressions did not make the Chinese look forward to spending the rest of their lives in the Sagebrush State.

In 1950, Nevada's Chinese population reached its smallest size since statehood had been achieved; there were only 281 persons of Chinese descent still residing in the state: 82 in Washoe County, 56 in Clark, 26 in Elko, 24 in White Pine, and the rest scattered throughout the state. Since 1950, the state's overall population has increased dramatically, and its Chinese population has kept pace, even though it accounts for only two-tenths of one per cent of the total from 1950 to the present. In the post-World War II period, the Chinese must be considered as one of the state's smaller minority groups.

Even so, whatever growth the Chinese community in Nevada has had since 1945 can in part be explained by the lessening of anti-Chinese attitudes nationally and in the state. Chinese can now immigrate legally. Separated families can be reunited. Chinese aliens can apply for naturalized American citizenship. And discriminatory laws affecting employment, housing, and marriage have been dropped nationally and in Nevada. In other words, it is only within relatively recent times that the social atmosphere in the state has been conducive to the development of stable, family-oriented, long-term residence by persons of Chinese descent.

The purpose of this article is to survey the historical presence of the Chinese in each of Nevada's seventeen counties from 1856 to 1970. The pictures which emerge are far from complete, because they are based on fragmentary evidence. Even incomplete pictures, however, are better than none at all.

Carson City (Ormsby County)

On August 29, 1861, Territorial Secretary Orion Clemens reported to the editors of the *Missouri Democrat* that the population of Carson City was 1,466, including 16 Chinese.⁵ The Chinese population increased

⁵ Franklin R. Rogers, ed., *The Pattern for Mark Twain's Roughing It: Letters from Nevada by Samuel and Orion Clemens*. University of California English Studies, no. 23 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), p. 56.

continually until 1880, when Ormsby County had the greatest number of Chinese residents of any county in the state, and when Nevada ranked behind California and Oregon in having the third largest concentration of Chinese in the nation. At its peak in 1880, the Chinese population numbered around 800 in Carson City, and the state capital's Chinatown stretched for five blocks.⁶ It was the largest Chinese quarter of any town or city in Nevada. One could find hotels, restaurants, gaming houses, laundries, houses of prostitution, and even some temples in which traditional Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist rites were performed.⁷ So numerous were the Chinese that Ah For, a Christian convert, raised funds to build the Chapel of the Good Shepherd, the Protestant Episcopal Mission in Carson City. It was completed on September 23, 1874, had a seating capacity of fifty, and cost \$500. The Chinese in western Nevada donated \$300, and the remainder came from sympathetic whites. Attendance at the chapel was spotty. The few who attended services wanted to learn to speak English more than to listen to the Christian gospel. The mission was soon abandoned.⁸

Carson City's Chinese colony was largely self-sufficient. Most of its population worked as laborers, cooks, or launderers for Caucasians. To meet the needs of that large working class population, a broad range of individuals engaged in service occupations, including jewelers, watchmakers, tinsmiths, doctors, dentists, and teachers. One must not conclude, however, that the size of the county's Chinese population was necessarily directly correlated to the size of its white population. In 1880, Ormsby County was only the fifth most populous county in Nevada (after Storey, Eureka, Elko, and Washoe counties), yet it had the largest number of Chinese.⁹

Actually, there were good reasons why the Chinese were concentrated in Carson City. First, they were banned from mining on the

⁶ Phyllis Zauner and Lou Zauner, *Carson City, Nevada* (South Lake Tahoe, Calif.: E-Z Publishing Co., 1977), p. 22.

The authors exaggerate a bit and assert that at its peak, Carson City had a Chinese population of almost two thousand. Ormsby County's Chinese population reached a peak of 988 in 1880. In that year, Carson City accounted for 802 of them, and the other 186 Chinese were spread out in other parts of the county. See Pei Chi Liu, *Meiguo huaqiao shi* [*A History of the Chinese in the United States of America, 1848-1911*] (Taipei: Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, 1976), p. 85.

⁷ Pei Chi Liu, *Meiguo huaqiao shi*, p. 84.

⁸ Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada* (Oakland, Calif.: Thompson and West, 1881; reprint ed., Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North Books, 1958), pp. 197-198.

⁹ Carter, "Social Demography," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1975): 82.

Carter concludes that in late nineteenth-century Nevada history there is a positive correlation between the size of a white population and its Chinese "satellite." He asserts that the relationship was directly proportional: the larger the number of whites, the larger the number of Chinese. Statistics from the 1880 census disprove his assertion. Carson City's population serves as the best example.

Comstock Lode because of the opposition of the white miners' unions. Second, the building of the Virginia and Truckee Railroad introduced Chinese to the area. And third, there was employment to be found in the area.

As first the territorial and later the state capital, Carson City attracted politicians and others who could tolerate the Chinese, benefit from their presence, and not feel threatened by them. That was not the case elsewhere in Nevada. During the late nineteenth century, anti-Chinese agitation in Carson City and elsewhere in the state was usually led by men who themselves were immigrants, and who felt so insecure about their own places in Nevada's frontier society that they seized upon the issue of race to make places for themselves.

When E.D. Sweeney, an Irishman, and Robert Fulstone, an Englishman, cried that "the Chinese must go" in 1860, they were but the first of a nineteenth-century procession of European immigrant rabble-rousers. Eight years later when the so-called "Woodchoppers War" occurred, it was the Irish and the French-Canadian immigrants who tried to drive the Chinese from cutting timber in the Sierra and to expel all of the Chinese from Carson City and the state of Nevada.¹⁰

Under the United States naturalization law of 1870, however, white immigrants were eligible to become naturalized American citizens and thus voters. The Chinese immigrants, on the other hand, were barred from obtaining American citizenship until 1943. European immigrants and native-born white working class Americans often made a common cause of hating the Chinese. When such hatred was expressed at the polls, the politician listened and acted accordingly. In the 1880 general election in Nevada, 17,259 voters indicated their approval of abolishing further Chinese immigration. Only 193 voters opposed such an abolition.¹¹

Generally speaking, Nevada's white politicians joined their California counterparts in the incessant late nineteenth-century clamor for Chinese exclusion. Their demands bore fruit in the forms of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the Scott Act (1888), the Geary Act (1892), the 1902 Chinese Exclusion Act, and subsequent anti-Chinese measures down to the time of World War II. Nevada's senior United States Senator Francis G. Newlands best summarized white Nevada's racial and political attitudes when he wrote in 1909:

History teaches that it is impossible to make a homogeneous people by the juxtaposition upon the same soil of races differing in color. Race tolerance,

¹⁰ Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970), pp. 117-119.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

under such conditions, means race amalgamation, and this is undesirable. . . . Our country, by law to take effect upon the expiration of treaties, should prevent the immigration of all peoples other than those of the white race, except under restricted conditions relating to international commerce, travel, and education.¹²

In the case of Ormsby County, the anti-Chinese laws accomplished their intended effects. After 1880, the Chinese started leaving—slowly at first, but then in droves apparently between 1890 and 1900. By the latter year, all of Nevada was economically depressed. The free coinage of silver was no longer a hot national political issue, and the Comstock was well into its period of decline as a mining district.

Between 1900 and 1950, Carson City's Chinese continued to leave—most likely either for northern California or Guangdong province. By 1950, only six persons of Chinese descent were left living in Ormsby County. After 1880, more Chinese left the county than entered it. The Chinese surnamed population could not increase because of Nevada's anti-miscegenation law, and because of the exclusion laws which inhibited the reuniting of Chinese husbands with their wives and families in America.

As late as 1910 and 1920, Carson City still had a Chinatown, but it was only a shadow of its former self. About the biggest news in the community during the 1920s was the sparing of the life of Hughie Sing, a Chinese-American teenager, who was involved in a tong murder in 1921. His confederate Gee Jon, the actual murderer, was executed in 1924 in the gas chamber at the Nevada State Prison as the first man to be executed by lethal gas in the United States.¹³

By the decade of the 1930s, the Chinese population of Ormsby County was down to somewhere between 20 and 31 inhabitants. In August of 1938, Thomas W. Chinn of San Francisco visited Carson City, and recorded his impressions of what he saw and the Chinese people with whom he conversed. Only two rows of dilapidated wooden buildings remained in Chinatown. Most of the structures were empty and abandoned. Chinn concluded that most of the Chinese inhabitants had died or moved elsewhere between 1888 and the time of his visit.¹⁴

The Chee Kung Tong building still stood, complete with its two Chinese altars. It was in a sorry state of repair, and the inside was

¹² Francis G. Newlands, "A Western View of the Race Question," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 34 (September 1909): 50-51.

¹³ Loren B. Chan, "Example for the Nation: Nevada's Execution of Gee Jon," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1975): 90-106.

¹⁴ Thomas W. Chinn, "Notes on California Chinese, 1935-1941," *Chinese Historical Society of America Bulletin* 7 (December 1972): 7.

covered with grime and dust. Since taxes had not been paid on the building for years, the city assumed ownership of the property.¹⁵ Eighty-one-year-old Wong Toy slept in the building and acted as its caretaker. A former laborer, he arrived in the United States in 1882, and by 1938 was a recipient of county welfare relief funds.¹⁵

Chinn saw other buildings in the Chinese quarter which indicated how lively it had been in the past. The Wui Hsien Low building, a ramshackle two-story structure, was once used as a house of prostitution. Yee Bong, a man over 70 years of age and who claimed to have been born in Virginia City, still ran his restaurant, although it was usually devoid of customers. And the Sun Quong Chong merchandise store, a surviving building from the early days of Chinese settlement in Carson City, still was there despite being abandoned by the Lai family, who left for San Francisco in 1936.¹⁷

All of the Chinese with whom Chinn conversed were oldsters. In addition to Wong Toy and Yee Bong, he also talked to an old lady around 75 years old with the surname of Ho. These old-timers recalled when Dr. Sun Yat-sen visited Carson City's Chinatown to raise money for the 1911 republican revolution in China. He stopped at the Chee Kung Tong building in his quest for funds and political support from the Nevada Chinese.¹⁸

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Chinn, "Observations: 1935-1941," *Chinese Historical Society of America* 7 (November 1972): 7.

¹⁷ Chinn, "Notes on California Chinese," *Chinese Historical Society of America Bulletin* 7 (December 1972): 7-8.

¹⁸ During the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty, no overt political opposition was tolerated. In south China, people loyal to the overthrown Ming dynasty, a Han Chinese ruling house, organized the Triad Society in 1674. As an underground, secret society, its slogan was "Overthrow the Ch'ing and restore the Ming." It was organized along the lines of a fraternity or brotherhood, complete with its own ritual and veneration of Kuan Kung, a Confucian deity (the "god of war") and patron of the society.

The Triads established their first lodge in the United States at San Francisco in 1853. The organization was incorporated in that California city in 1879 as the Chee Kung Tong. The word "tong" itself means "hall." Other tongs were formed in the United States as offshoots of the Chee Kung Tong. During the late nineteenth century, the tongs shared an interest in overthrowing the Manchus; but they also engaged in gambling, narcotics, prostitution, extortion, murder-for-hire, and other criminal activity. They feuded with each other to control specific areas ("turf"), and by and large might be considered roughly analogous to the Sicilian Mafia, albeit on a much more modest scale and within the limits of American Chinese society. On the positive side, the tongs provided their members with personal and business protection, medical care, payment of funeral costs and widow's pensions, and also offered them job opportunities.

But as the Chinese exclusion acts started to take effect, memberships in these organizations gradually declined. The last repercussions of a California-initiated "tong war" in Nevada occurred in 1921, when Gee Jon, a Hop Sing Tong gunman, was sent to murder Bing Kung Tong member Tom Quong Kee at Mina. Gee was later executed in the gas chamber at the Nevada State Prison for his crime.

At the cemetery, Chinn found twenty Chinese buried. The plot where the burials were located belonged to the Yan Wo District Association, the organization of the Hakka-speaking people from Guangdong province. Apparently none of the Guangdong district associations (including the Yan Wo group) had visited Carson City since 1923 to disinter the remains of the dead for shipment back to China for the customary final burial.¹⁹

Three years after his first visit, Chinn revisited Carson City's Chinatown. By 1941 several of the old wooden structures were razed. He saw Wong Toy again, and met Mrs. Lau Kau On, then 90, who had once been a prostitute in Virginia City. Naturally the handful of old-timers respun a few of their old yarns, but they also told Chinn a few new ones. They mentioned two of the Chinese temples which were once in Carson City, as well as the many brothels, four lottery shops, and over twelve opium dens which Carson's Chinatown boasted in its heyday.²⁰

After 1940, Carson City's few remaining old-timers either succumbed to old age or moved away. The 1950 census showed only six Chinese inhabitants still living in Ormsby County. Since then the number of Chinese has increased. The number of persons of Chinese descent living in Carson City (Ormsby County was consolidated with Carson City in 1968), however, still remains small. In 1970, only 25 Chinese lived in Nevada's capital city: 16 males and 9 females.

Clark County

Clark County was not established as a separate political entity until 1909. Its creation was in response to the rapid growth of the city of Las

Since the 1920s, the tongs have largely curtailed their involvement in illegal activities and violence. In the 1970s, they function primarily as social and fraternal organizations for older, Cantonese-speaking immigrants. In the twentieth century, the Chee Kung Tong was active in Carson City, the Hop Sing Tong in Reno (it became somewhat of a guild of Chinese gaming operators), and most recently, the Ying On Tong in Las Vegas. None of the tongs refer to themselves anymore as "tongs" per se, but instead label themselves as Chinese Free Masons or merchants' and laborers' associations.

For further reading consult John King Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1978), pp. 467-486; Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 177-181; Him Mark Lau and Philip P. Choy, *Outlines: History of the Chinese in America* (San Francisco: Chinese-American Studies Planning Group, 1973), pp. 123-125; Stanford M. Lyman, *The Asian in the West*, Social Science and Humanities Publication, no. 4 (Reno and Las Vegas: Desert Research Institute, University of Nevada System, 1970), pp. 33-46; Betty Lee Sung, *Mountain of Gold: The Story of the Chinese in America* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967), pp. 137-138; Chün-tu Hsüeh, *Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 77, 84, 86; and Chan, "Example for the Nation," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1975): 90-106.

¹⁹ Chinn, "Notes on California Chinese," *Chinese Historical Society of American Bulletin* 7 (December 1972): 7-8.

²⁰ Chinn, "Observations," *Chinese Historical Society of America Bulletin* 7 (November 1972): 7.

Vegas, which itself was not founded until 1905. Prior to the county's creation, that part of southern Nevada that bordered on the Colorado River was a part of Lincoln County.

Las Vegas was established as a fueling and watering stop on the newly-completed San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad. At first it was just a tent town, but it quickly grew to be a stable (albeit small) town. Chinese pioneers were present when the town was founded. When Charles P. ("Pop") Squires, founder of the *Las Vegas Age*, arrived in February of 1905 and when Leon H. Rockwell arrived in the following year, both men observed Chinese businessmen already established.²¹ Among the first Chinese in Las Vegas were Wong Kee and Ong Loy, restaurant owners; and Ying Lee, a laundryman.²²

Ying Lee tried his hand at the restaurant business briefly. In February of 1908 he and his partners, Man Ying and Chin Yee, purchased the Arrowhead Restaurant from Mrs. Albert Simmons. After only four months as a restaurateur, however, Lee sold his share in the partnership and returned to his laundry, which was located on an alley running from Fremont to Carson Street between First and Second.²³

Wong Kee gained his food service experience in Las Vegas by first conducting the restaurant at the Colorado Hotel. In August of 1909 he purchased the Arrowhead Restaurant, which became a popular eating place frequented by railroad workers.²⁴ In 1913 he was fined for providing liquor to minors.²⁵ Also in that year, Clark County canceled its contract with Wong, whereby the restaurant owner had fed the county jail inmates for twenty cents per meal. Sheriff Sam Gay complained that Wong's stingy portions of food were insufficient and even cause of illness in some of the prisoners. Wong apparently ignored the sheriff's complaints, and the matter was brought to the attention of the county commissioners, who promptly canceled the contract. The commissioners then ordered Gay to feed his prisoners elsewhere at a cost not to exceed twenty-five cents per meal.²⁶

In addition to the few Chinese in Las Vegas, there were also a small number involved in cooking and the restaurant business at Goodsprings. In 1916 the *Las Vegas Age* reported that Fong Don, Mon Gow, and Lee

²¹ Stanley W. Paher, *Las Vegas: As it began—as it grew* (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1971), pp. 70-71; Leon H. Rockwell, "Recollections of Life in Las Vegas, Nevada, 1906-1968," typed transcript, Oral History Project, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1968, pp. 27, 74-75.

²² *Las Vegas Age*, 14 April, 3 June, 15 July, 21 October 1905; Rockwell, "Recollections," pp. 74-75.

²³ *Las Vegas Age*, 1 February, 13, 27 June 1908.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21 August 1909; Paher, *Las Vegas*, p. 129.

²⁵ *Las Vegas Age*, 5 July 1913.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 8 November 1913.

Ping had a restaurant there and that Charley Ching, an old-time cook, was in charge of the Bullion boarding house.²⁷

The decade of the 1920s did not bring any drastic change. There were a few Chinese restaurant owners in Las Vegas including Woo Weget, proprietor of the A.C. Kitchen,²⁸ and the first of the Fong clan, Sui Mon Fong and Gim Fong, who arrived in the city in 1926 and opened the Silver Cafe. Fewer than twenty Chinese lived in the county at any time during the decade.

As Nevada entered the depression years of the 1930s, the Chinese population remained numerically constant in the Las Vegas area. The great public works project in Clark County, the building of Hoover Dam, induced thousands of Americans to move to the state in search of work. Federal specifications, however, prohibited the use of Asian labor.²⁹

The overall size of the Chinese population in Clark County, therefore, remained quite small until relatively recently. From 1910 to 1950, there were fewer than 100 Chinese in Las Vegas and environs at any one time. Not until 1960 did the number of Chinese exceed 100. By then there were 225 Chinese in the county (154 males and 71 females), with the incorporated area of the city of Las Vegas accounting for 170 of them (117 males and 53 females). In the years since 1960, the Chinese population has kept up with the area's overall population growth and has remained at about two-tenths of one per cent of the total population. Nevertheless, by 1970 Clark County achieved the distinction of having the largest Chinese population of any Nevada county in the twentieth century.

Elko County

The first Chinese entered what became Elko County as laborers constructing the Central Pacific Railroad across Nevada in 1868. Many had been recruited in the mining districts of northern California (about 65 per cent), and others were new immigrants hired in China expressly for the purpose of building the railroad. While construction of the railroad took place in Nevada, they were paid \$35 per month (not including meals) for working six days a week from sunrise to sunset.³⁰ Usually they were assigned to work gangs of twelve to twenty men each.³¹

²⁷ Ibid., 22 January, 15 April 1916.

²⁸ Ibid., 19 June 1928.

²⁹ Loren Briggs Chan, *Sagebrush Statesman: Tasker L. Oddie of Nevada*. Nevada Studies in History and Political Science, no. 12 (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), p. 143.

³⁰ Lai and Choy, *Outlines*, p. 57.

³¹ Thomas W. Chinn, H. Mark Lai, and Philip P. Choy, eds., *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969), p. 44.

After laying the rails through the Sierra from California with considerable loss of life due to cliff falls, avalanches, and tunneling with high explosives, the work across the Great Basin was considerably easier and quicker. Clad in blue denim overalls and shirts, and wearing straw hats, thousands of Chinese workers drilled, graded, leveled, laid ties, drove spikes, and built culverts. They were responsible for erecting several timber bridges across the Humboldt River.³²

The Chinese workers were fed a varied diet of Chinese foods. The railroad camps were well stocked with Chinese provisions: dried oysters and fish, sweet rice, crackers, dried bamboo shoots, salted cabbage, Chinese sugar, dried fruits and vegetables, vermicelli, dried seaweed, Chinese bacon, dried abalone, dried mushrooms, peanut oil, tea, rice, pork, and poultry. Most of these provisions were dried; prior to the age of refrigeration, only these types would keep well in Nevada's harsh desert climate. White railroad workers usually consumed a monotonous diet of beef, beans, bread, butter, and potatoes. The Chinese drank lukewarm tea, whereas the whites frequently drank contaminated stream water. All in all, the Chinese railroad laborers probably had a more balanced diet than the white workers did. They certainly did not have a lower living standard.³³

After completion of the Central Pacific to Utah, the railroad's approximately 10,000 Chinese workers were *not* suddenly discharged to flood the western labor market, to serve as unfair competitors to white workingmen, and thus to stimulate growth of the anti-Chinese movement in the west. No such things occurred. Instead, a boom in railroad construction occurred in California after the completion of the first transcontinental line. After Leland Stanford drove the celebrated golden spike at Promontory Point, the demand for Chinese railroad builders continued unabated for at least one more decade.

At times, it seems there were relatively few reliable, industrious white workers willing to blast rock, shovel dirt, and perform the rest of the drudgery of railroad building. After 1869, the Chinese built the Southern Pacific line linking San Francisco to Los Angeles by way of the San Joaquin Valley through Tehachapi Pass (completed in 1876). They also built the Southern Pacific line linking Los Angeles with Yuma, Tucson, Lordsburg, Deming, and El Paso, where the connection was made in 1882 with the Texas and Pacific Railroad. By that time the second transcontinental railroad was completed.

³² Richard G. Lillard, *Desert Challenge: An Interpretation of Nevada* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), p. 158.

³³ Chinn, Lai, and Choy, eds., *A History of the Chinese in California*, pp. 44-45.

Not more than a quarter to a third of the Chinese who laid the rails across Nevada elected to stay in the state after 1869. During the 1870s, approximately 5,000 Chinese were employed by the railroad in California. Most were veterans of building the Central Pacific across Nevada. In addition, California offered employment opportunities to the returning railroad workers in other industries like agriculture (seasonal planting and harvesting, sharecropping, truck gardening) and the manufacturing of shoes and cigars. The increase in Nevada's Chinese population from 1870 to 1880 had more to do with the state's general economic growth which completion of the Central Pacific created, rather than to a horde of former railroad workers suddenly becoming enamored with Nevada. Moreover we must remember that after the Central Pacific was completed four other important railroads in Nevada were built by the Chinese: the Virginia and Truckee, Eureka and Palisade, Carson and Colorado, and Nevada-California-Oregon. Constructing these shorter railroads, along with the rather limited opportunities in mining, hard manual labor, cooking, laundering, domestic service, and ethnically-oriented businesses were enough to keep the state's Chinese population growing through immigration.

After 1869, the Chinese who remained in Elko County settled either in the towns along the railroad (Carlin, Elko, Wells, Toano, and Montello) or headed north of the railroad to the mining camps (Cornucopia, Tuscarora, Mountain City, Gold Creek, and Contact).

RAILROAD TOWNS

Carlin

Even before the town was started in December 1868, Chinese railroad workers were present at Carlin meadows on the Humboldt River. They planted vegetable gardens in the area, and the town in its early days was sometimes referred to as "Chinese Gardens." A considerable number settled in town, including railroad workers, cooks, laundrymen, and even a few women.³⁴ When the Chinese Minister to the United States, Ch'en Lan-pin, passed through Carlin on the train in 1876 on his way to Washington, D.C., he observed three hundred or more Chinese in the town, including wives and families.³⁵ Most likely many of the Elko County Chinese learned that Ch'en would be passing through, and were present in Carlin to welcome the visiting dignitary.

³⁴ Edna B. Patterson, Louise A. Ulph, and Victor Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier* (Sparks: Western Printing and Publishing Co., 1969), p. 592.

³⁵ Pei Chi Liu, *Meiguo huaqiao shi*, p. 85.

Elko

Because it was the biggest town along the Central Pacific in the county as well as the county seat, Elko was sure to attract a fair number of Chinese settlers. In Myron Angel's *History of Nevada*, five homicides involving Chinese in Elko were recorded in 1870. Most of the early Chinese lived on Commercial Street between Fourth and Fifth. This area, which also included a portion of Silver Street, was Elko's first Chinatown. It was struck by fire on October 19, 1871.³⁶

During the 1870s the Chinese colony in town grew in size. Sun Wah established a laundry in 1875; and the Hi Loy general store, established in 1878 at the corner of Fifth and Silver, was one of the largest in town. Whites as well as Chinese patronized it, and its proprietor did a brisk business in importing and exporting in coöperation with Chinese firms in San Francisco.³⁷

In addition, the Chinese had their own hospital in Elko attended by a Chinese physician. White patients were admitted to it, since it was quite common for Caucasians to place greater faith in traditional Chinese medicine than in conventional American medicine.³⁸

The Chinese also contributed to frontier Elko's well-being in another way. They grew almost all the vegetables which the townspeople consumed during the 1870s and 1880s. Potatoes, carrots, and turnips were the principal crops. The most successful of the early gardeners was Wah Sing, a potato grower. After his sojourn in Elko, he returned to China.³⁹

Despite their contributions to the community, however, the Elko Chinese were not spared from anti-Chinese feeling. In April of 1876 the town's whites passed a resolution opposing further Chinese immigration, but no violence or other direct action was aimed at any of Elko's Chinese.⁴⁰ Nevada historian Wilbur S. Shepperson has pointed out that "When aroused, Nevadans could show great feeling for a particular man and yet condemn hundreds of his fellow nationals."⁴¹ The experience of the Chinese in Elko during the 1870s supports this contention. Whites accepted and even praised the Chinese in town as individuals, yet were

³⁶ Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 349, 397.

³⁷ *Elko Independent*, 10 November 1878.

³⁸ Lester W. Mills, *A Sagebrush Saga* (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing Co., 1956), p. 89.

³⁹ *Elko Free Press*, 6 March 1886.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 23 April 1876; Mills, *A Sagebrush Saga*, p.90.

⁴¹ Wilbur S. Shepperson, "Immigrant Themes in Nevada Newspapers," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 12 (Summer 1969): 20.

almost universal in their condemnation of the Chinese as a national group.⁴²

Wells, Toano, and Montello

Each of these railroad towns had temporary Chinese populations in the 1870s; nearly all of the Chinese worked on section gangs, as members of roundhouse crews, and on roadbeds. In Wells, the Chinatown was located near the roundhouse, and it included cafes, stores, a Chinese temple (joss house), and laundries; Montello had a Chinese store, temple, and several Chinese homes.⁴³

MINING CAMPS

Tuscarora

During the 1870s, Tuscarora had the largest Chinese population in Nevada outside of the Comstock area, and its Chinatown was the largest one in the state. In 1869, approximately two hundred Chinese released by the Central Pacific were introduced into the area to work some white-held placer claims. Other Chinese arrived later to work placer claims which whites had abandoned.⁴⁴

In 1870, they built a water ditch for their placers, and were making about five to twenty dollars per day for their work. Tales about the early days in Tuscarora abound, but their factual accuracy cannot be confirmed. According to one account, Chinese miners supposedly extracted \$500,000 in gold there in 1871.⁴⁵ After 1876, however, the area became the destination of a stampede of white miners, as boom conditions developed. From that point onwards, the Chinese changed from a majority to a slightly tolerated minority.⁴⁶

⁴² For example:

"The Chinaman is a problem. He is all over the Pacific Coast, in every State and Territory which comprises that region, and forms the most undesirable and disturbing element of the population. His good qualities are very few, and may be summed up in three words: Industry, frugality, and patience. His vices are legion, and comprise, in part, dishonesty, cruelty, filth, idolatry, and opium smoking. He has no home ties, and seeks none; he lives in a hovel in the villages and towns, and, crowded like sheep in a pen, in filthy buildings in Chinese quarters in the large cities. His women are all prostitutes, brought from China as slaves. To steal is his creed; to lie, his religion. I will not say that there are no Chinamen whatever better than this picture; but where there are such, they form notable exceptions to a general rule. . . ."

The above passage may be found in Fred H. Hart, *The Sazerac Lying Club: A Nevada Book* (San Francisco: Henry Keller & Co., 1878), p. 210.

⁴³ Patterson, Ulph, and Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier*, pp. 581, 653, 638.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 660; Lai and Choy, *Outlines*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ *Elko Independent*, 23 October 1870; Lai and Choy, *Outlines*, p. 51.

⁴⁶ John M. Townley, "The Tuscarora Mining District," *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 2 (Summer and Fall 1971): 26.

In 1880, only five per cent of the 214 Tuscarora Chinese listed in the manuscript census were miners. Because placer mining was declining and the white anti-Chinese movement in town was trying to curtail economic opportunities for nonwhites, the Chinese started to move into other occupations. The greatest number became servants or cooks in white households. Other occupations besides mining represented in Tuscarora's Chinese community in 1880 were woodchopping, laundering, gambling, retail trade, traditional medicine, and barbering. There were only sixteen Chinese women residing in Tuscarora's Chinese quarter, more than half of whom were employed in Chinese-owned brothels.⁴⁷

Those who worked as woodchoppers had to cut sagebrush on the desert and haul it by team and wagon to the white-owned mines; it was used to fuel the steam-operated machinery at the mines. Competition developed between the Chinese and white woodchoppers, and the Chinese did not back down from a fight when provoked. In 1878, they fought with axes, pitchforks, and whatever other weapons they could lay their hands on when whites threatened them. By 1881, the areas closest to Tuscarora were almost completely cleared of sagebrush, and it became necessary to scour the countryside up to fifteen to twenty miles away.⁴⁸

By the 1880s, Chinese mining was on the decline in the Tuscarora area, but it was not completely dead. The last significant activity occurred in 1884, when a Chinese company built an hydraulic machine for washing gold in Eagle Ravine. More than a thousand feet of flume were used to bring water to the placers. Other Chinese companies built sluices in Gardner, Canton, and Half Moon ravines. For their labors, the Chinese recovered about \$30,000 in gold; but that was not enough for them to break even. Thereafter the placers and Old Tuscarora (the Chinese quarter) were gradually abandoned.⁴⁹

From a high of about 500 people in 1880, Tuscarora's Chinese population steadily decreased in size as mining and other related activities declined. In 1890 there were about 250; in 1893 the number was down to 85; and six years later, only 12 Chinese were left. The water ditches were abandoned by 1900, and the last Chinese miner in Tuscarora died in 1927.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁸ Patterson, Ulph, and Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier*, p. 662; Townley, "Tuscarora," *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 2 (Summer and Fall 1971): 27; *Elko Independent*, 3 March 1878.

⁴⁹ *Elko Free Press*, 25 April 1884; Patterson, Ulph, and Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier*, pp. 658-659.

⁵⁰ Townley, "Tuscarora," *Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 2 (Summer and Fall 1971): 11, 28; Patterson, Ulph, and Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier*, p. 659.

Mountain City, Gold Creek, and Contact

During boom periods in these mining camps, a few Chinese were active. In the 1870s, former Chinese employees of the Central Pacific operated placer mines; only one remained by the early 1890s. Chinese prospectors joined the rush to Gold Creek beginning in 1873, and engaged in rudimentary placer mining. Some Chinese merchants were active there also; the Li family operated a general store for almost forty years, doing its greatest volume of business during the late 1870s and 1880s, when Gold Creek was a flourishing camp. Finally, a few Chinese mined at Contact for copper, silver, and gold on a commission basis.⁵¹

As can be gleaned from the above accounts, the Chinese played important roles in railroading and mining in Elko County during the late nineteenth century. With the passing of time, however, their number steadily decreased. As the railroad workers grew older, they yearned for the companionship of other Chinese and especially for their families. Many of them moved to San Francisco or returned to Guangdong province.

The Chinese miners also moved elsewhere when placer mining no longer paid adequate returns for diligent labor and group investments in equipment and supplies. Added to these considerations were the various Chinese exclusion acts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It should come to us as no surprise that Elko County's Chinese population has remained at under 100 at any one time since 1920, and under 30 since 1940.

About the only occupational pursuits which the small number of Chinese in the county have embraced in recent years have been in the food and beverage businesses (especially the operation of small Chinese restaurants, cafes, and bars) in Carlin and Elko, and dealing at the several casinos in Elko. Because of the county's relatively small overall population, the size of its Chinese population has remained small and in the future will probably continue to be small.

Esmeralda County

Until 1911, Esmeralda County also included the area that now comprises Mineral County. Chinese were present in the area around Aurora, the first county seat, during the early 1860s. In Myron Angel's *History of Nevada*, mention is made of a homicide committed by a

⁵¹ B.F. Miller, "Nevada in the Making: Being Pioneer Stories of White Pine County and Elsewhere," *Nevada State Historical Society Papers* 4 (1923-1924): 360; Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 394; Patterson, Ulph, and Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier*, pp. 606, 615; Nell Murbarger, *Sovereigns of the Sage* (Palm Desert, Calif.: Desert Magazine Press, 1958), 178-179.

Chinese near the town. On April 17, 1863, a Chinese stabbed an Irishman with the surname of McKinty at Winters' Mill, located half a mile south of Aurora. McKinty died on April 24.⁵² This incident helps shatter the stereotype of the meek, passive, nonresistant Chinese. The Chinese could fight, brawl, seek vengeance, and kill just as well as anyone else on the Nevada mining frontier; as with any ethnic group, the Chinese had their share of thieves, murderers, and rogues.

Besides Aurora, Chinese also lived in Candelaria and Columbus. Their presence at the latter location had to do with the Pacific Coast Borax Company, which began its operations at the Columbus Salt Marsh in 1872. Several hundred Chinese workers toiled at the marsh, where borax and other minerals were concentrated by heating the marsh water in evaporation boilers. Borax mining started to decline in 1875, but production in the area went on until about 1890.⁵³

In the early twentieth century, the Chinese were largely excluded from participating in the mining boom at Goldfield. Labor unions like the American Federation of Labor, the Western Federation of Miners, and the Industrial Workers of the World were all active in the new mining district, and all were unabashed advocates of white supremacy. As a consequence, the Chinese were banned from working in the mines or in related activities.

Anti-Chinese feeling was so strong that Minnie P. Blair, a participant in the Oral History Project conducted by the University of Nevada Library (Reno), recalled that during the period from about 1909 to 1918, no Chinese were allowed to get off the trains of the Las Vegas and Tonopah Railroad at Goldfield. The town followed a strict policy of "no Chinese allowed."⁵⁴

The United States census figures for Esmeralda County for 1920 show the size of the population after the detachment of the old north county area (which became Mineral County in 1911) and the 1919 mill closure of the Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company.⁵⁵ By 1920 the county seat, Goldfield, was already declining as a significant gold mining center. No persons of Chinese descent were reported as residents of Esmeralda County in the decennial federal censuses after 1920.

⁵² Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 344.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 419; Chinn, Lai, and Choy, eds., *A History of the Chinese in California* p. 36.

⁵⁴ Minnie P. Blair, "Days Remembered of Folsom and Placerville, California: Banking and Farming in Goldfield, Tonopah, and Fallon, Nevada," typed transcript, Oral History Project, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1967, p. 45.

⁵⁵ Guy Louis Rocha, "Radical Labor Struggles in the Tonopah-Goldfield Mining District, 1911-1922," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (Spring 1977) 26.

Eureka County

Eureka County was not organized until 1973. Its formation had to do with the discovery of silver and lead in the area where the town of Eureka was later built. According to Nevada historian Russell R. Elliott, the Eureka mining district was the most productive region in the state outside of the Comstock Lode between the 1860s and the 1880s.⁵⁶

Chinese first entered what later became Eureka County in the early 1860s. White prospectors established a silver mining camp at Cortez (about sixty-eight miles northeast of Austin) just at about the time people were rushing to Austin in the hopes of finding another Comstock. Simon Wenban, a mining entrepreneur, discovered deposits of silver chloride and silver bromide near Cortez. He started preliminary mining operations, and hired a Chinese foreman. However, Wenban lacked the capital to mine his claim in earnest. He approached some Chinese merchants in San Francisco, who grubstaked him to the tune of \$20,000.⁵⁷

Wenban's operations at Cortez lasted from the early 1860s well into the 1870s. His mine workers were mainly Chinese, and he paid them at fixed wage rates: \$1.50 a day for mines; \$2.50 for twelve hours for millmen; and \$2.50 per cord of wood for woodcutters.⁵⁸

In addition to work in mining, the Chinese were very much involved in railroad construction and maintenance in Eureka County. They were responsible for building the Central Pacific and the Eureka and Palisade railroads, which gave the county east to west and north to south transportation links. Along the Central Pacific, Chinese resided in towns like Beowawe and Palisade, where in 1880 they accounted for ten to twenty per cent of the townsfolk.⁵⁹

From the Central Pacific line in the northern part of the county, Chinese laborers built the narrow gauge Eureka and Palisade Railroad, which ran from the Humboldt River Palisades (ten miles southwest of Carlin) south to the county seat at Eureka--a total of ninety miles. Work on the roadbed began in December of 1873 with a crew of 58 whites and over 100 Chinese veterans of the Central Pacific. By January of 1875, 52 miles of track were in place.⁶⁰

Further grading of the roadbed resumed in June of 1875, with a work force of 500 men. Almost all were Chinese, except for the scraper

⁵⁶ Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 106.

⁵⁷ Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 428-429; Charles Labbe, *Rocky Trails of the Past* (Las Vegas: Charles Labbe, 1960), p. 93.

⁵⁸ Labbe, *Rocky Trails*, pp. 93-94.

⁵⁹ Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 438, 443.

⁶⁰ Gilbert H. Kneiss, *Bonanza Railroads* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1941), pp. 84-85.

drivers. During construction, the Chinese staged a strike. It was broken by withholding their drinking water. The railroad was completed to Eureka on October 22, 1875.⁶¹

Even before completion of the railroad, the county seat, Eureka, had a significant Chinese population. The Chinese worked as cooks, domestics, and laborers. Five of them lost their lives in the disastrous flood which struck the town on July 24, 1874.⁶²

Along with their compatriots elsewhere in Nevada, the Eureka Chinese had to endure racist persecution. Anti-Chinese feeling in the county started heating up in February of 1876. By March it became a crusade. At that time, two Chinese were killed in Eureka, and another one suffered a similar fate on a wood ranch in Diamond Valley (about twenty-five miles northeast of Eureka). On May 23 and December 15, anti-Chinese public meetings and demonstrations were held, and a number of Chinese were driven from their work on the Eureka and Palisade Railroad.⁶³

But despite the racism and the decline in mining output, a steadily decreasing number of Chinese remained in the county seat and elsewhere. A longtime resident of the county, Peter Merialdo, remembered the existence of a Chinese temple (joss house) on Bateman Street in Eureka as late as 1912 or 1913.⁶⁴ Since 1930, there have been fewer than ten Chinese residents in the entire county at any one time. They have usually resided in the town of Eureka, and have operated small restaurants, cafes, or bars there.

Humboldt County

Humboldt County was established in 1861 before Nevada attained statehood. Until 1919, it also included what is now Pershing County. During the nineteenth century, most of the important mining activity in the county was in the vicinity of Unionville.

That town became the county seat in 1861. It was the site of a mining boom from 1863 to 1870, during which time its white inhabitants distinguished themselves by exhibiting an especially virulent variety of anti-Chinese racism. For example, the Democratic party organ in town, the *Humboldt Register*, equated "Chinamen, baboons and trained monkeys."⁶⁵ A segment of Unionville's population was also responsible for

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 87-89.

⁶² Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 441.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 437.

⁶⁴ Peter Merialdo, "Memories of a Son of Italian Immigrants, Recorder and Auditor of Eureka County, Nevada State Controller, and Republican Party Worker," typed transcript, Oral History Project, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1967, p.6.

⁶⁵ *Humboldt Register* (Unionville), 27 April 1867.

forcibly expelling all of the town's Chinese residents in the middle of January 1869. The Chinese, outnumbered and outgunned, did not resist. The sheriff and the various white social, religious, and fraternal organizations in town did nothing to prevent the expulsion. Charges against the perpetrators of the unlawful act were subsequently dropped.⁶⁶

This kind of experience, however, did not permanently dissuade persons of Chinese descent from working and living in the county. After Unionville declined as a white mining center, scattered Chinese returned to the environs to mine. In American Canyon, Wong Kee (most likely not directly related to any other person with the same romanized name) placer mined from the 1880s onward with the help of many fellow Chinese. They tunneled through 10 to 90 feet of bedrock, and hit a vein in the first half of a claim that stretched for 10,000 feet in the canyon. Water was at a premium at the mine site. With only enough water to achieve a depth of six inches, sluices could not be used. Instead, Wong and associates used rockers. As late as 1905 there were still Chinese mining in the canyon. By that time there were fewer than ten, and all were quite elderly. Remains of the once-flourishing mine littered the hillsides: scraps of rock, mud, adobe, lumber, and a few dugouts.⁶⁷ In addition, one or two other old Chinese were still placer mining in Barber Canyon in 1905.⁶⁸

Elsewhere in Humboldt County, the Chinese lived in Winnemucca, near Golconda, and even in remote McDermitt. A Chinese tenant farmer grew vegetables on a small parcel of ranch land near Golconda. His produce was well received in Winnemucca. Seventy-five miles to the north of Winnemucca, Tom Low and his wife owned a general store at McDermitt. They supplied the many sheep camps and ranches in the area. Not only did the Chinese merchant sell supplies, but he also bought what the local ranches and rangelands produced: hay, grain, and wool. Mrs. Tom was also an unusual lady on the Nevada frontier. She was fluent in Cantonese, English, and Paiute, and thus was a great help to her husband in the conduct of the family-owned business.⁶⁹

In the southern half of Humboldt County prior to its organization as Pershing County, a small Chinese population lived in Lovelock. In 1870, there were 18, and ten years later the town had 31 Chinese residents. Most were railroad workers or farm laborers. By the turn of the century,

⁶⁶ Shepperson, *Restless Strangers*, p. 118; *Humboldt Register* (Unionville), 16 January 1869.

⁶⁷ Allen C. Bragg, *Humboldt County, 1905* (Winnemucca: North Central Nevada Historical Society, 1976), 20-21; *Silver State* (Winnemucca), 23 April 1905.

⁶⁸ Bragg, *Humboldt County*, p. 32; *Silver State* (Winnemucca), 27 April 1905.

⁶⁹ Bragg, *Humboldt County*, pp. 58, 66; *Silver State* (Winnemucca), 15 May, 5 June 1905.

the number of Lovelock Chinese increased to 39, and by far the majority of them were cooks or restaurant operators.⁷⁰

Among the early Chinese merchants in Lovelock were Ah Foo, who ran a restaurant during the late 1880s, and the Lee family, which operated the cafe at Young's Hotel. Between 1900 and 1919, several Chinese laundries operated in town: the Lovelock Laundry (owned by Kim Lung), the Wah Lung Company, and other establishments run by Hop Lee, Wong Kee, and Kee Kin.⁷¹

Undoubtedly old age and the Chinese exclusion laws took their toll on Humboldt County's Chinese population. Since 1950 the county's number of Chinese residents has dwindled to the point of insignificance, and the few who have been occasionally counted in the decennial censuses since 1950 are not old-timers, but instead scattered representatives of a new generation.

Lander County

The history of Lander County is largely a tale of two towns: Austin in the south, and Battle Mountain in the north. The distance between them is about ninety miles.

Austin, located close to the geographic center of Nevada, got its start as a silver mining camp in 1862. It became the center of the new Reese River mining district, and was made the county seat in 1863. Most of its early inhabitants came from the Comstock, including the Chinese. An English visitor to the town during the period from 1866 to 1867, Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, observed several Chinese laundries and a small Chinese temple (joss house) in town. Most of the Chinese worked as peddlers, cooks, or laundrymen. This member of Parliament arrived at the following conclusion regarding the Austin Chinese: "All were quiet, quick, orderly, and clean."⁷²

Such a sweeping observation by a traveler was bound to be inaccurate. Approximately one decade after Dilke visited Austin, one of the town's more notorious killings took place in June of 1877 when Mann Tonn killed Ah Hoy. The killer was sentenced to serve twenty-five years in the Nevada State Prison.⁷³ Based on these types of fragmentary evi-

⁷⁰ Mary K. Rusco, "Counting the Lovelock Chinese," *Report of archaeological and historical investigations at Ninth and Amherst, Lovelock, Nevada*, ed. E.M. Hattori, M.K. Rusco, and D.R. Tuohy (Carson City: Nevada State Museum, 1979).

⁷¹ Philip D. Hart, "Chinese Community in Lovelock, Nevada: 1870 to 1940," *Report of archaeological and historical investigations at Ninth and Amherst, Lovelock, Nevada*, ed. E.M. Hattori, M.K. Rusco, and D.R. Tuohy (Carson City: Nevada State Museum, 1979).

⁷² Wilbur S. Shepperson, ed., "Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke: A Republican Baronet in Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 3 (October-December 1960): 19-20.

⁷³ Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 354.

dence, it is difficult to piece together an accurate picture of Chinese life in frontier Austin. Most likely past reality is to be found somewhere between these two types of images. To assume that the town's Chinese were either all angelic or all plagued by internecine feuding would be perhaps to miss the ordinary for the unusual or the spectacular.

Five years after the Ah Hoy affair, a Jewish visitor to Austin estimated the town's total population at around 2,300, including 6 blacks and approximately 100 Chinese. The Chinese had a virtual monopoly on the laundry business, and also worked as servants and cooks. Austin had a Chinese temple and at least one of the tongs maintained a branch in town. This description of Austin depicts the Lander county seat at the historical height of both the county's total population and Chinese population. While lacking in minute details, it is nevertheless generally accurate.⁷⁴

In the northern portion of Lander County, the Chinese first arrived in Battle Mountain as railroad construction workers for the Central Pacific. After completion of the rail line to Utah, Thomas Nelson hired some of the former railroad employees to tend his flocks of sheep in the vicinity of Battle Mountain. So adept did the Chinese become at herding that other sheepmen began hiring Chinese. For a good number of years during the late nineteenth century it was common to see Chinese herders and camp—tenders in Nevada where sheep were grazed on the open range. Their role as immigrant herders was later assumed by the French and Spanish Basques.⁷⁵

In the town of Battle Mountain, a small Chinese quarter developed. Its few businesses served the Chinese shepherds and miners who worked in the area. Apparently there were quite a few Chinese miners in Lander County at one time, because when the Chinese Minister to the United States, Ch'en Lan-pin, passed through Battle Mountain in 1876 on his way to Washington, D.C., he was definitely impressed by the number of Chinese who arrived in town to greet him.⁷⁶

Fire destroyed Battle Mountain's Chinese quarter during the autumn of 1878, but most likely it was rebuilt.⁷⁷ Throughout the decade of the 1880s, the town had a relatively large Chinese population for a settlement of its size. White merchants considered the Chinese as good credit risks, because most of their debts were ultimately paid in full. Moreover,

⁷⁴ "The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Community of Austin, Nevada," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 9 (October 1976): 88.

⁷⁵ Clel Georgetta, "Sheep in Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 8 (Summer 1965): 15-39; Dale L. Morgan, *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1943), p. 316.

⁷⁶ Pei Chi Liu, *Meiguo huaqiao shi*, p. 85.

⁷⁷ Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 471.

it was a Chinese custom to pay off all loans each year before the arrival of Chinese New Year.⁷⁸ According to Chinese belief, failure to do so could bring about misfortune during the new year.

During the twentieth century, the Chinese have not been numerous in Austin and Battle Mountain. Since 1920, the decennial federal censuses have consistently reported fewer than 20 Chinese residents at any one time in Lander County.

Lincoln County

Before 1909, Lincoln County also included the land area of what is now Clark County. Never did the county's Chinese population exceed 100 at any one time. Even in 1880 at the peak of Nevada's nineteenth-century population growth and when the Chinese accounted for 8.7 per cent of the total population, Chinese only accounted for 3.8 per cent of Lincoln County's population.

Most of the Chinese lived in the county seat, Pioche, and smaller numbers resided in mining camps like Bullionville, Delamar, Fay, and Caselton as new mineral discoveries were made at those sites.⁷⁹ During the 1870s, Pioche's Chinese residents lived in two parts of town: on Pioche Street, and on lower Main Street. Almost all of them hailed from the Taishan (Toishan) district of Guangdong province. In 1874, a newspaper article reported only two members of the Hop Wo District Association living in Pioche, which meant that they were most likely from either the Kaiping (Hoiping) or Enping (Yanping) districts.⁸⁰

Principal occupations of the early Pioche Chinese were washing and ironing. To break the monotony of everyday life, the town's Chinese smoked opium, gambled, and patronized the few Chinese prostitutes on lower Main Street. Seldom did they encroach upon the "turf" of other ethnic groups. Instead, they stayed to themselves, and often even fought with each other.⁸¹

One such fight, which perhaps was typical, was reported in the *Pioche Daily Record* on August 30, 1873:

Yesterday afternoon, at three o'clock, a Chinaman named Ah Cue, and familiarly called "Sam," was seen approaching the rear end of Sam Wo's wash-house on Lacour street, north of the court-house. He bore in one hand a pistol,

⁷⁸ Murbarger, *Sovereigns of the Sage*, pp. 37-38.

⁷⁹ *Pioche Daily Record*, 20 February 1874, 30 January 1896; *Lincoln County Record* (Pioche), 19 October 1900; Georgia Lewis, "The Dragon that Rides the Wind," *Nevadan Magazine, Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 5 March 1972.

⁸⁰ *Pioche Daily Record*, 4 December 1872; 12 March 1874.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 4 December 1872; 17 May 1873.

in the other hand an eight-inch knife, and under one of his arms another pistol. When he had approached to within a short distance of the house another Chinaman named Ah Fan, and commonly known as "Charley," fired at him, the ball striking within two or three yards of Ah Cue's feet. Ah Cue stood his ground and fired five shots at his opponent, none of them, however, taking effect. Just then officer McManus laid hands on him, and he was prevented from using the other pistol and the knife. The whole affair did not take more than a minute, and within three minutes after the first shot [.] the fiery Ah Cue was safe within prison walls. Ah Fan, however, had fled to some place unknown, and no one saw him more.

The cause of the difficulty was, as near as we could learn, as follows: Ah Fan had been a cook in a restaurant. By some means he lost his place, and Ah Cue was engaged to fill it. In consequence of this a quarrel occurred between the parties in Chinatown, and shortly after Ah Cue "heeled" himself with the weapons described, and with a laudable desire of imitating Caucasian manners as practiced in Pioche, went after his enemy. . . . Verily the "Heathen Chinese" is becoming civilized.⁸²

Altercations between whites and Chinese, however, were a different matter. On October 6, 1877, the *Record* carried a story about a Chinese cook whose arm had been wounded after he had been shot at by a white assailant. The newspaper commented: "No action was taken in this matter to find out the perpetrator of the outrage as our officials don't get paid salaries to bother about whether a Chinaman is shot and killed or whether he is allowed to live and eat rice."⁸³

But even though the Chinese were not considered the equals of whites in Pioche, that did not preclude development of friendships

⁸² Ibid., 30 August 1873. The expression "Heathen Chinese" comes from a poem by the late nineteenth-century American writer Bret Harte (1836-1902) entitled, "Plain Language from Truthful James." First published in 1870, it was frequently quoted throughout the ensuing decade by both the advocates and opponents of Chinese immigration.

The poem's plot was quite simple: deceivers can be deceived. Truthful James and Bill Nye, both Caucasians, attempted to swindle a supposedly naive Chinese, Ah Sin, out of his money by cheating him in a card game. Ah Sin, although seeming to be unaware of the conspiracy, was completely prepared to beat the cheaters at their own game by even better cheating! After being beaten, Nye yelled the familiar battle cry, "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor," which had utterly no relevance to the card game.

Harte's poem showed the universality of evil and served as a satire on Caucasian selfishness and racism, which indeed were the main elements behind the various anti-Chinese slogans which were so popular in late nineteenth-century America. Those who participated in harassing and persecuting the Chinese, however, felt that the poem supported their view of the Chinese as inherently treacherous and sinful. They quoted the lines from the poem which said: "That for ways that are dark, And for tricks that are vain. The Heathen Chinese is peculiar. . . ."

The full text of the poem may be found in any of the many editions of Harte's collected works. For an insightful analysis of the place of the Chinese in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American literature, consult William Purviance Fenn, *Ah Sin and His Brethren in American Literature* (Peiping: California College in China, 1933).

⁸³ *Pioche Weekly Record*, 6 October 1877.

between individual whites and Chinese. The editor of the *Record* reflected the ambivalence of one who frequently employed anti-Chinese clichés in his writing, yet still had to admit that the Chinese and whites could coexist amiably once they became more familiar with each other. For example, the 1877 marriage of a Pioche Chinese merchant nicknamed "Charley Beene" to Miss Sen Choy proved to be one of the great social events in town. The white participants in the wedding ceremony—including the witnesses, justice of the peace, and the newspaper editor who covered the story—all took turns kissing the bride. Then it was the turn of "the rest of the boys," and a champagne party followed.⁸⁴

In addition, it seemed that Pioche's Caucasians looked forward to the annual Chinese New Year celebrations with almost as much anticipation as the Chinese. In 1887 when Miss Fong Chop was named queen of that year's celebration, the *Record's* editor remarked that "during their New Year, the Chinese are social beasts even if they are heathens. Many of our beaux and belles joined in the festivities with a vim."⁸⁵

These and other news items in the *Record* show that the Chinese were fair game to be stereotyped as a group, but often were respected as individuals and friends.

This dichotomy between word and deed was also illustrated by the case of Wo Ling, a Pioche Chinese associated with the Ong Chung Lung store, who in 1887 left for a visit to China. In his absence from the United States, the American government approved of the Scott Act, which prohibited the re-entry of Chinese laborers to this country from abroad unless the Chinese had families in this country or property in the United States valued at one thousand dollars. When Wo Long tried to return to Pioche in the fall of 1888, he was detained in San Francisco by American immigration officials and threatened with deportation. Upon learning of his plight, his compatriots in Pioche promptly approached Lincoln County officials and asked them to issue an affidavit with Wo Ling's photograph on it attesting to his eligibility to re-enter the country and to return to Pioche as a Chinese merchant and property owner.⁸⁶ The county authorities, known for their support of the anti-Chinese movement, complied with the Chinese request. After more than a month of detention in San Francisco, Wo Ling was allowed to land and return to Nevada.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Ibid., 1 December 1877.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 29 January 1887.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 1 December 1888; 17 September 1896; Lewis, "The Dragon that Rides the Wind," *Nevadan Magazine, Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 5 March 1972.

⁸⁷ *Pioche Weekly Record*, 15 December 1888.

As the decade of the 1890s approached, the number of Chinese residing in Pioche started to decline. The first Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) and Scott Act (1888) were both taking effect by that time. After passage of the Geary Act (1892), the true effect of these various laws was felt. In compliance with the new law, all Chinese laborers in the county had to be registered. In Pioche, that meant only about 25 to 30 persons by 1894.⁸⁸ Two years later the *Pioche Weekly Record*, commenting on the depressed state of mining in the area, the effects of the panic of 1893, and the gradual departure of the Chinese from town said:

The celestial observance of Chinese New Year has not been so demonstrative this year as in the past. This is due to the prevailing hard times and the comparatively few Chinamen left hereabouts. The joss house has been repainted however, a flag pole erected and the dragon on the yellow ground has floated over the place for a number of days past.⁸⁹

After the turn of the century, the Chinese population of Lincoln County decreased as the years passed. Only a few still remained, such as Tom Wah and his wife Gue Gim Wah, who operated a boarding house and restaurant for the mine workers of the Combined Metals Reduction Company at Caselton. Tom Wah was many years older than his wife, and after he died she continued to operate the boarding house and restaurant. As late as 1980 she was still residing in Caselton, and operating Wah's Cafeteria there. During the decade of the 1970s, Gue Gim Wah accounted for one of only two Chinese known to be living in Lincoln County.

Lyon County

Mention has already been made of the first Chinese introduced to Nevada and Lyon County in 1856. The northern portion of the county was on the periphery of the Comstock mining excitement, and settlements like Dayton (previously known as Chinatown), Silver City, and Johntown (named after the white label for "John Doe" Chinese as "John Chinaman") all had small Chinese populations. The early Chinese sojourners worked as laborers, woodchoppers, fruit and vegetable peddlers, and also placer mined for gold in areas abandoned by whites.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 12 April 1894.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 13 February 1896.

The term "celestial" refers to the Celestial Empire, a name commonly used by American writers for China when it was under the rule of the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty.

"Chinaman" was the way most whites referred to the Chinese during the late nineteenth century and a good part of the twentieth century. Use of the term is now considered in poor taste, and offensive to Chinese ancestry. The proper term is "Chinese."

Mention of "the dragon on the yellow ground" refers to the design of the Chinese national flag during the time of the Ch'ing dynasty.



Shop at Dayton (*Nevada Historical Society*)

After the decline of Comstock mining, a small number of Chinese remained in Dayton working as domestic servants in white households and as cooks in the town's hotels. There were also two Chinese laundries operating in town during the late 1890s.⁹⁰

Elsewhere in the county, the Chinese helped to build the Carson and Colorado Railroad. In June of 1880, labor contractor Ah Quong provided 200 Chinese laborers who joined with about 300 whites in starting construction east of Mound House. These Chinese workers were hired in Reno; but because of the strongly anti-Chinese feelings which the white population on the Comstock still harbored, they could not travel to the construction site by way of the Virginia and Truckee Railroad (a line that had already been built by Chinese laborers). Instead, they were transported from Reno to Wadsworth and then south to the work camp in Churchill Canyon.⁹¹ Eventually the railroad connected Reno and the Comstock region (via the Virginia and Truckee Railroad) with northern Esmeralda County (later detached as Mineral County) and the Owens Valley in eastern California.

Besides working in occupations directly or indirectly linked to mining in the northern parts of the county, a small number of Chinese also worked as cooks on some of the many farms and ranches in the Smith and Mason valleys in the southern portion of the county. In the twentieth century, however, the Chinese did not participate in the greatest mining enterprise in Lyon County, the Anaconda Copper Corporation's open pit operations at Weed Heights (just outside of Yerington). Copper mining at Weed Heights lasted from 1952 until 1978.⁹² By then the Chinese population in the county had declined numerically to the point of insignificance.

Mineral County

Prior to 1911, the land area of what is now Mineral County constituted the northern half of Esmeralda County. The presence of Chinese at Aurora and Candelaria has already been mentioned (see the section of this article about Esmeralda County). The Chinese worked as laundrymen, cooks, servants, and laborers in the various mining camps which dotted the region from the 1860s onwards.

⁹⁰ Clark J. Guild, "Memories of My Work as a Lyon County Official, Nevada District Judge, and Nevada State Museum Founder," typed transcript, Oral History Project, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1967, pp. 33, 37-38.

⁹¹ David F. Myrick, *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1962), 1:168.

⁹² Lee Adler, "Anaconda Closure Doesn't Dampen Yerington's Spirit," *Nevada State Journal* (Reno), 2 July 1978.

When the Carson and Colorado Railroad was built through northern Esmeralda County in the 1880s, more Chinese entered the region as railroad workers. At Mina, a stop on the railroad, a small Chinese community existed during the period from about 1905 down to the 1920s.⁹³ It was there in 1921 that Gee Jon, a member of the Hop Sing Tong, murdered Tom Quong Kee, a seventy-four year old laundryman and nominal member of the Bing Kung Tong. That notorious incident marked the last occurrence of "tong warfare" in Nevada.⁹⁴

By the decade of the 1930s there were very few Chinese still residing in Mineral County. From 1930 to 1970 only a half dozen or fewer Chinese have lived in the county at any one time.

Nye County

Nye County never had a large Chinese population. Even during peak periods of mining activity, the county had fewer than one hundred Chinese residents at any one time. Traditionally, life in the county meant working at some task connected with mining or ranching. During the late nineteenth century, the county's small number of Chinese were dispersed at the various mining camps which sprang up. The Chinese worked at the few occupations open to them like cooking and laundering. A few were miners, but they usually only worked claims which whites had abandoned. Even at the height of Chinese residence in Nevada in 1880 when the Chinese accounted for 8.7 per cent of the state's total population, only 3.5 per cent of Nye County's population was Chinese. In cases when the Chinese tried to join whites in developing new mining districts in the county (as occurred at Tybo in 1888), the white miners rudely and violently excluded them from participating.⁹⁵

After the turn of the century, a small number of Chinese moved to the new boom town of Tonopah. A small Chinatown developed, complete with laundries, food stores, and lottery shops. The Chinese were not allowed to work in the mines; instead, they were expected to work as cooks, laundrymen, and domestic servants in white households. Among the members of Tonopah's newly-rich elite it was "quite the thing" to have at least one Chinese servant.⁹⁶

⁹³ Stanley W. Paher, *Nevada Ghost Towns and Mining Camps* (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1970), pp. 437-439.

⁹⁴ Chan, "Example for the Nation," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1975): 91-92.

⁹⁵ Labbe, *Rocky Trails*, p. 64.

⁹⁶ Henry Hunt Atkinson, "Tonopah and Reno Memories of a Nevada Attorney," typed transcript, Oral History Project, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1967, pp. 36-37; Marjorie Moore Brown, interview with author, San Francisco, Calif., 22 August 1970.

Tonopah was also the scene of the last outbreak of anti-Chinese mob violence in Nevada. On the night of September 15, 1903, a mob of white workingmen destroyed Chinese homes, inflicted bodily harm on individual Chinese, and was responsible for the death of Chinese laundryman Chong Bing Long, age 66. Fifteen Caucasians were arrested after the incident. Ultimately nine of them were released, and the remaining six were acquitted of charges of wrongdoing supposedly because of insufficient evidence.⁹⁷

Not all of the town's whites approved of what happened. After the mob action, the more solid citizenry passed a resolution condemning what had happened. In addition to showing some concern for the unfortunate Chinese, these more stable elements of the white community were fearful of the possibly negative effect that the incident might have on potential investors in the area's mines.⁹⁸

Tonopah's silver mines reached their peak period of production between 1910 and 1914. Thereafter they declined, even though four of them continued in operation until World War II.⁹⁹ Reflecting these facts, Nye County's total population declined between 1920 and 1950, as did its Chinese population.

Aside from employment in Tonopah, a few Chinese worked as cooks and hired hands on the ranches in the Smoky and Monitor valleys; and in more recent times, a small number of persons of Chinese descent have been employed at the Nevada Test Site at Mercury. During the decade of the 1970s, about the only visibly Chinese-owned business in Nye County was a small restaurant in Tonopah.

Pershing County

Before 1919, the land area of what is now Pershing County comprised the southern half of Humboldt County. During the late nineteenth century, Chinese resided at Unionville and mined in American Canyon (east of Oreana Station), Barber Canyon (northeast of Mill City), and Spring Valley (east of Oreana Station and north of American Canyon).¹⁰⁰

After 1919, the small Chinese population of the new county was concentrated in Lovelock. The Woo, Chang, and Yup families were all active in running various business enterprises. During the 1920s, many of the town's Chinese lived in family households with several children.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Shepperson, *Restless Strangers*, p. 120; *Tonopah Times-Bonanza*, 4 November 1977.

⁹⁸ *Tonopah Times-Bonanza*, 4 November 1977.

⁹⁹ Paher, *Nevada Ghost Towns*, p. 341.

¹⁰⁰ Rusco, "Counting the Lovelock Chinese," *Report of archaeological and historical investigations*; Hart, "Chinese Community in Lovelock," *Report of archaeological and historical investigations*.

¹⁰¹ Hart, "Chinese Community in Lovelock," *Report of archaeological and historical investigations*. See two recent articles by Mary Rusco: "Counting the Lovelock Chinese," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 24 (Winter 1981): 319-328; and "Chinese in Lovelock, Nevada: History and Archaeology," *Halcyon* (1981): 141-151.

The Woo family originated in the Kaiping (Hoiping) district in Guangdong province. During the 1920s and 1930s, it owned a bar, the Savoy Restaurant, the Lacey Barbershop, the Pershing Hotel restaurant in Lovelock, and shared ownership in an eighty-acre farm in the area with a Chinese farmer, Hom Slew.¹⁰²

The Chang family centered around Jim Chang On, who was born in San Francisco in 1876, and his China-born wife, Chaw See. Chang moved to Lovelock shortly after China's 1911 republican revolution, and engaged in many types of business activity. He owned the Elite Hotel, the Northern Cafe, and the Wing Lee Company (which specialized in Chinese products and general merchandise); operated a *bak gop biu* (Chinese lottery or keno) game in partnership with the Woo family; developed mining properties in partnerships with white miners; and made investments in landholdings in Pershing County. His three sons (Lewis, William, and Frank) were all born in Nevada.¹⁰³

The Yup family traced its origins to Yup Shen Soon, a partner of the Woo family. During the 1920s, the Yups operated the Temple Cafe, located on Main Street (near Broadway) in Lovelock.

These three families formed the backbone of the small Chinese community in Lovelock during the 1920s and 1930s. From 1920 onwards the size of the community gradually decreased, due perhaps to the exclusion laws, a lack of social acceptance of Chinese in Lovelock, and the urges of the American-born to seek their futures elsewhere. Overall, the Chinese left very little in the way of an enduring legacy in the history of Pershing County. Their number was quite small. At best they were tolerated as merchants and laborers.

Storey County

Much has been written about the place of the Chinese on the Comstock during the region's bonanza days. Unfortunately, a good deal of it is inaccurate. Most common is exaggeration of the size of the Chinese population. Never did the resident Chinese population exceed one thousand at any one time. In fact, if federal census figures are to be believed, Storey County never achieved the historical distinction of having the largest Chinese population in Nevada. At best it only had the second largest concentration of Chinese, and that only during the 1870s and early 1880s.

The Chinese entered Storey County during the year of the initial Comstock discovery in 1859. Fearing Chinese competition, the white

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Gold Hill Mine Workers' Union passed a resolution on June 11, 1859 prohibiting Asians from holding claims in the new district.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless there were tasks other than mining which had to be performed, and the Chinese moved in to do the laundering, cooking, vegetable gardening, and woodchopping.

When plans were made to link the main Central Pacific Railroad tracks in Reno with Carson City and the Comstock cities (Silver City, Gold Hill, and Virginia City), it was assumed that the Chinese would help construct the new line. In this regard the *Territorial Enterprise* remarked on June 5, 1869:

... in case a company is formed to make a railroad or dig a canal, outsiders do not trouble themselves much about it—they are allowed to use Chinamen, jackasses or whatever is best and cheapest for them. . . . On this coast it is quite certain that the Chinese will be our railroad builders; in fact, there are few white men who care to work as common laborers on railroads for railroad wages, as they can do better. . . .¹⁰⁵

Work began on April 1, 1869. Four hundred and fifty Chinese, just released from constructing the Central Pacific as far east as Reno, were hired. Whites served as superintendents and bosses, and Chinese served as work gang overseers and laborers. The overseers were paid one dollar per day per laborer, but oftentimes they did not pass on the full amount to each worker.¹⁰⁶

Construction of the railroad was not easy. Timber for the ties had to be cut from nearby mountainsides; and erection of the Crown Point trestle, which measured some 500 feet in length and was 85 feet high, required the full energies of many men. The difficulty of building the Virginia and Truckee Railroad can only be partially fathomed today. There was no modern grading or track-laying equipment in 1869. Seven tunnels had to be blasted and dug.¹⁰⁷

On September 29, 1869, approximately 350 Virginia City and Gold Hill miners marched to the Chinese construction camp near the Overman Mine. They drove the Chinese out of their wooden huts despite a warning from the Storey County sheriff. None of the Chinese were

¹⁰⁴ Pei Chi Liu, *Meiguo huaqiao shi*, p. 84. For a recent, comprehensive treatment see Russell M. Magnaghi, "Virginia City's Chinese Community, 1860-1880," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 24 (Summer 1981): 130-157.

¹⁰⁵ *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City), 5 June 1869; Cecil G. Tilton, *William Chapman Ralston: Courageous Builder* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1935), p. 151.

¹⁰⁶ Tilton, *Ralston*, p. 151; Gordon A. Sampson, "Memoirs of a Canadian Army Officer and Business Analyst," typed transcript, Oral History Project, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1967, p. 142.

¹⁰⁷ Sampson, "Memoirs," pp. 142, 149.

injured, but their huts were all destroyed. The mob leaders were mostly Irish immigrant miners active in the white labor union on the Comstock. William Sharon, who was building the Virginia and Truckee, finally had to make a deal with the union: he promised that none of his Chinese laborers would ever be allowed to work in the mines.¹⁰⁸

With that assurance, construction was allowed to continue. The railroad reached Gold Hill on November 12, 1869, and Virginia City on January 29, 1870. After the new line was in operation, the Chinese were routinely discriminated against. The railroad's management provided regular passenger coaches for whites, but Chinese passengers could only ride in cabooses. In fact, the Virginia and Truckee Railroad made a point of retaining cabooses on its passenger trains in order to provide segregated seating.¹⁰⁹

Life on the Comstock for the Chinese during the 1860s and 1870s was in some respects far from attractive. Life in Storey County was at times rude, crude, and violent. The Chinese themselves sometimes settled their differences with fists and guns.

For example, Yuk Lee was shot and killed by another Chinese on Ophir Road four miles from Gold Hill on October 26, 1863.¹¹⁰ And in 1872, it was necessary for authorities in Virginia City to arrest fifteen Chinese for brawling. Apparently an argument developed between some men from the Taishan and Xiangshan (Zhongshan) districts, resulting in two of them being wounded. Even though most of the Comstock Chinese were confronted with the indignities of racial discrimination, that in itself did not mean that all Chinese got along well with each other. Differences in their places of geographic origin in Guangdong province were enough to keep the Comstock Chinese from developing any strong sense of racial solidarity.¹¹¹

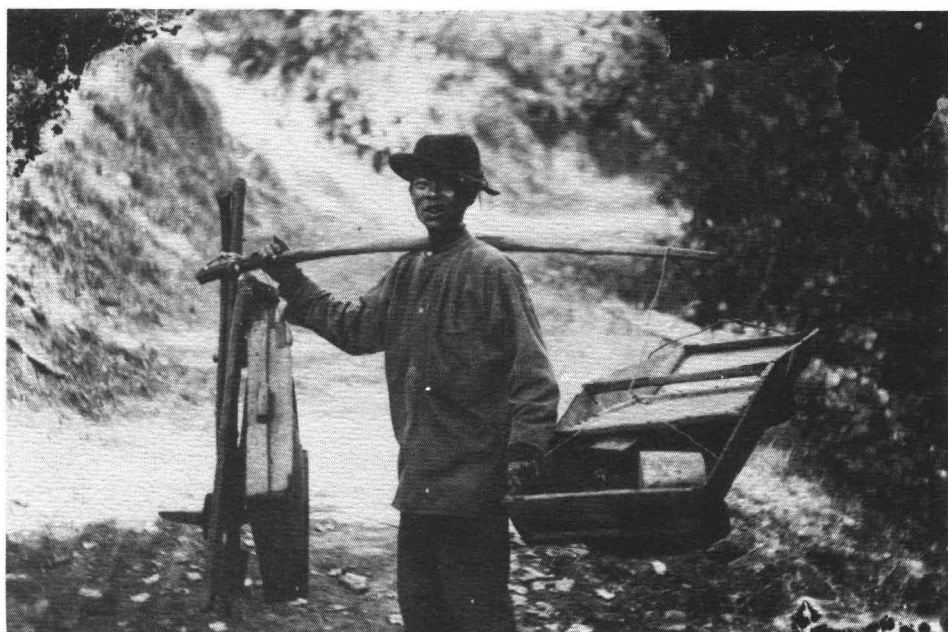
Most of the Chinese on the Comstock resided in Virginia City. In 1870 the federal census showed 749 Chinese living in Storey County, and 539 were inhabitants of Virginia City. The majority were itinerant laborers or cooks. There was a small elite of doctors, merchants, gamblers, and skilled craftsmen who owned personal property of value. Probably the most highly esteemed Chinese were the physicians, who treated Chinese and white patients alike. At the bottom of the class structure were the Chinese prostitutes, who were segregated from their white counterparts and held as virtual slaves. Most of them had been

¹⁰⁸ Shepperson, *Restless Strangers*, p. 117; Kneiss, *Bonanza Railroads*, pp. 57-58.

¹⁰⁹ Kneiss, *Bonanza Railroads*, pp. 61, 63, 65.

¹¹⁰ Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, p. 345.

¹¹¹ *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City) 19 June 1871, 25 June 1872; Francis P. Weisenburger, "God and Man in a Secular City," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 14 (Summer 1971): 6.



Chinese miner (*Nevada Historical Society*)

sold once in China, and again on their arrival in California. In Virginia City their earnings were kept by Chinese male brothel keepers who were members of the San Francisco-based tongs. Besides prostitution, opium addiction was also a bane in Virginia City, as it was in China.¹¹²

It seems that only a minority of the Comstock's white population showed much sympathy for the Chinese, or tried to understand them, but there were attempts. In 1875, the Episcopal Church encouraged a Chinese convert, Ah For, to build a chapel in Virginia City. Ah For translated gospel messages into Cantonese, preached on alternate Sundays, and taught religion classes on weekday evenings. Part of the cost of maintaining his chapel was assumed by the Sunday school of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. This unique experiment in missionary work, however, only lasted for about one year. Fire struck the chapel in October of 1875, and the structure was not rebuilt. Ah For later received a missionary appointment from the Church of England, and returned to China.¹¹³

¹¹² Pei Chi Liu, *Meiguo huaqiao shi*, p. 85; Carter, "Social Demography," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1975): 83; William Wright (Dan De Quille), *The Big Bonanza* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1876; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p. 291; Marion Goldman, "Sexual Commerce on the Comstock Lode," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 21 (Summer 1978): 110, 113; Hubert Howe Bancroft, ed., *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 25: *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890, p. 292.

¹¹³ Angel, ed., *History of Nevada*, pp. 197-198.

In addition to the Episcopal Church, the Chinese had a friend in Mark Twain, who during the 1860s worked as a reporter for the *Territorial Enterprise*. He later wrote about the Chinese in *Roughing It*, published in 1872. Twain's sympathy for the Chinese was certainly unusual for the time, but in compensating for the slurs of his fellow whites he tended to stereotype the Chinese *positively*:

They are a harmless race when white men either let them alone or treat them no worse than dogs; in fact they are almost entirely harmless anyhow, for they seldom think of resenting the vilest insults or the cruelest injuries. They are quiet, peaceable, tractable, free from drunkenness, and they are as industrious as the day is long. . . .¹¹⁴

Any white man can swear a Chinaman's life away in the courts, but no Chinaman can testify against a white man. Ours is the "land of the free"—nobody denies that—nobody challenges it. (Maybe it is because we won't let other people testify).¹¹⁵

A disorderly Chinaman is rare, and a lazy one does not exist. . . .¹¹⁶

All Chinamen can read, write, and cipher with easy facility—pity but all our petted voters could. . . .¹¹⁷

They are a kindly disposed, well-meaning race, and are respected and well treated by the upper classes all over the Pacific coast. No Californian *gentleman or lady* ever abuses or oppresses a Chinaman, under any circumstances, an explanation that seems to be much needed in the East. Only the scum of the population do it—they and their children; they, and, naturally and consistently, the policemen and politicians, likewise, for these are the dust-licking pimps and slaves of the scum, there as well as elsewhere in America.¹¹⁸

What Twain had to say about California also applied to Nevada. The Comstock's frontier society was little more than an extension of California's.

Virginia City's Chinese community similarly was tied to San Francisco's Chinatown. Chinese foodstuffs, herbal medicines, and other products from the homeland all had to pass through San Francisco. The Bay city was also where all the Chinese social organizations were headquartered: the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (or Chinese Six Companies) and its component district associations; the clan (family or sur-

¹¹⁴ Samuel Langhorne Clemens (Mark Twain), *Roughing It* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1872; New York: New American Library, 1962), pp. 291-292.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

name) associations; and the tong¹⁹. San Francisco was probably the first place in America that a Nevada-bound sojourner would see. It was the city that financed the Chinese businesses on the Comstock. It was also the city through which the remains of Nevada's deceased Chinese passed on the way home to final burial in Guangdong province.

In 1878, Virginia City's Chinese community consisted of nineteen businesses, including the following:

1) Restaurants:

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| a) Hong Hing Low | 4 "I" Street |
| b) Yune Fong Low | 5 North "H" Street |

2) Herb shops:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| a) Hin Sang Hong | 103 Union Street |
| b) Hoy Yuen Tong | 111 Union Street |
| c) Man Fook Tong | 6A North "H" Street |
| d) Quong Song Tong | 6 North "H" Street |
| e) Yet Song Tong | 105 Union Street |

3) Groceries:

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| a) Quong Wo Lung | 110 Union Street |
| b) Yuen Lung | 6 "I" Street |

4) Physician:

- | | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| Dr. Gin Hin | 9 North "C" Street |
|-------------|--------------------|

5) Other businesses:

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| a) Fook Sing | 101 Union Street |
| b) Gung Wo | 1 "H" Street |
| c) Kwong Hi Loy | 2 "H" Street |
| d) Po Chin | 6A "I" Street |
| e) Quong Yuen | 107 Union Street |
| f) Ty Chong | 8 North "H" Street |
| g) Wo Chong | 106 Union Street |
| h) Yee Chung | 15 "I" Street |
| i) Yee Lon | 4A "I" Street ¹¹⁹ |

Between 1878 and 1882, the city's Chinese population decreased due to decreasing yields from the Big Bonanza mines, which affected all

¹¹⁹ Wells Fargo and Company, *Directory of Chinese Business Houses* (San Francisco, 1878), pp. 84-86; idem, *Directory of Chinese Business Houses* (San Francisco, 1882), p. 132.

sectors of the Comstock's economy. By the latter year, only four businesses from 1878 remained: Fook Sing, Gung Wo, Hin Sang Hong, and Kwong Hi Loy. In addition, three new businesses had been started since 1878: Chung Kee, On Tai, and Sam Sing. Overall, the number of Chinese-owned businesses declined—an accurate reflection of the decreasing size of Virginia City's Chinese population. Aside from operating businesses, of course, the Chinese continued to work as cooks in the white-owned hotels and as domestics in well-to-do white households. Some even were bold enough to engage in quartz mining when there were no immediate threats from whites.¹²⁰

From the 1880s onward, the size of the Chinese population in Storey County began to decline quite precipitously. The Chinese, like others on the Comstock, remained in the area in considerable numbers only when there were chances for economic advancement. As the ore bodies became exhausted, people left Virginia City in droves, including the Chinese.

In the 1970s, the history of the Chinese on the Comstock as presented to tourists who visited Virginia City was little more than a hodgepodge of distorted, stereotyped, commercialized schlock.¹²¹ On page 372 of the "Yellow Pages" in the 1979-1980 *Nevada Bell Telephone Directory* there was an entry under the "Historical Places" heading that read:

CHINATOWN VIRGINIA CITY: ORIGINAL OLD CHINESE TOWN BUILT IN 1860's—bordellos, gen. stores, laundries, blacksmith shop, graveyards, old casino halls, original artifacts, famous Tong dynasty building—tickets at Red Garter Saloon—
FOR TICKETS CALL 115 South C VCty 847 0655.

¹²⁰ Bancroft, ed., *Nevada*, p. 292; Wells Fargo and Company, *Directory of Chinese Business Houses* (San Francisco, 1882), p. 132.

¹²¹ There are two excellent studies on this subject: Jeffrey Schrank, *Snap, Crackle, and Popular Taste: The Illusion of Free Choice in America* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1977); and Gillo Dorfles, *Kitsch: An Anthology of Bad Taste* (London: Studio Vista Ltd., 1969).

Washoe County

Year	Total population, Washoe County	Chinese population, Washoe County	Chinese percentage of total
1870	3,091	221	7.1
1880	5,664	526	9.3
1890	6,437	217	3.4
1900	9,141	246	2.7
1910	17,434	155	0.9
1920	18,627	155	0.8
1930	27,158	195	0.7
1940	32,476	119	0.4
1950	50,205	82	0.2
1960	84,743	249	0.3
1970	121,068	411	0.3

In 1964, Woo Loung Wah, age 105, was honored in Reno as the sole survivor of the Central Pacific Railroad's Chinese work crew which laid the tracks through the Sierra from California to Nevada. He symbolized the thousands of Chinese who built the steel road which enabled Nevada to develop her rich mineral resources during the late nineteenth century. The Reno section of the Central Pacific was officially placed in use on June 19, 1868, and the presence of Chinese in the Reno area dates from that time onward.¹²²

When Ch'en Lan-pin, Chinese Minister to the United States, passed through Reno in 1876 on his way to Washington, D.C., he observed that there were one hundred or more Chinese living in Reno.¹²³ Two years later, a white Workingmen's Party convention held in the city called for a prohibition on the use of Chinese laborers in the city.

Prejudice against the Chinese, however, did not prevent the Nevada-California-Oregon (N-C-O) Railway from hiring dependable Chinese railroad builders to help connect Nevada and California with the Pacific Northwest. Reno was the base of operations during construction. Work

¹²² H.K. Wong, "Forging a Link," *Chinese Historical Society of America Bulletin*, 15 January 1966; Pei Chi Liu, *Meiguo huaqiao shi*, p. 85.

¹²³ Pei Chi Liu, *Meiguo huaqiao shi*, p. 85.

began during the spring of 1881 with a work force of 80 Chinese out of a total of 240 men. Labor contractor Ah Jack supplied the Chinese workers. The Chinese did most of the grading of the roadbed. After the railroad was in operation, the N-C-O Railway continued to employ Chinese to work on its track crews. Their job was to clear winter snows off the tracks with shovels.¹²⁴ Partially because of the labor of the Chinese, Washoe County was linked to the towns of northeastern California and eastern Oregon.

The county did not achieve the distinction of having the largest Chinese population in the state until 1900. It was second to Humboldt County in that regard in 1910, but regained and held its primacy in every decennial census thereafter from 1920 to 1960. To a great degree the growth of Washoe County's Chinese population reflected Reno's position as Nevada's largest urban center from 1900 until the 1950s, with only brief challenges from Tonopah and Goldfield while those cities enjoyed mining booms. Also, Reno's Chinese community survived because it was an extension of San Francisco's, and supplied virtually all of the Chinese scattered throughout the Nevada hinterland with ethnic goods and services.

But Reno was also the scene of the last overtly anti-Chinese incident occurring in Nevada. In November of 1908, city officials ordered most of the buildings in Chinatown (located east of Virginia Street and north of the Truckee River) destroyed, supposedly for reasons of public health. Many elderly Chinese were left homeless as the winter season began. Curiously though, Chinese-owned houses of prostitution frequented by whites were allowed to remain.¹²⁵

After the turn of the century, Reno was viewed in San Francisco's Chinatown as a city that was especially amenable to gambling. Depending on the honesty or corruptibility of Bay Area police forces, gambling was not always a "sure thing" in California. In Nevada, public acceptance of gambling was much more widespread than in California, and a considerable number of Chinese gamblers moved to Reno to ply their craft.

The Chinese were responsible for introducing their lottery game, *bak gop biu* ("white pigeon ticket") to Nevada. Tickets used in the game originally used Chinese characters. Today, the game flourishes in virtually every major Nevada casino, and is known as keno. Numbers have replaced the Chinese characters on the lottery tickets, but the game is still basically the same.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Myrick, *Railroads of Nevada*, 1:342, 344, 352.

¹²⁵ *Reno Evening Gazette*, 11 November 1908.

¹²⁶ Stewart Culin, *The Gambling Games of the Chinese in America*, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology, vol. 1, no. 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1891; reprint ed., Las Vegas: Gambler's Book Club, 1969), p. i.

As early as 1918, Bo Wah ran a lottery game in Reno at the corner of Second and Lake streets. He held two drawings per day at eight o'clock in the morning and eight o'clock at night. Needless to say, his players were not limited to Reno's small Chinese community.¹²⁷

The modern methods of conducting the game using numbers, pellets, and a drum were not common in Reno until about 1925. During the 1930s and 1940s, *bak gop biu* as played by non-Chinese in Nevada was known as "race horse keno," since the Nevada state constitution prohibited lotteries. In 1951, the state passed a law placing a wagering tax on off-track horse race betting, and the "race horse" part of the Chinese-invented Nevada lottery game was dropped. Since 1951, *bak gop biu* has been known as keno in virtually all of the state's major gaming establishments.¹²⁸

From 1910 until 1950, Washoe County's Chinese population was less than two hundred. Besides gamblers, there were a small number of merchants, craftsmen, manual laborers, domestic servants, cooks, railroad maintenance men, and occasionally a few Chinese physicians. The community was big enough to support a branch of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (Chung Wah Wui Gwoon, *Zhonghua huiguan*, or Chinese Six Companies); a local unit of the Hop Sing Tong; a temple (joss house); and a Chinese language school. Most of the Chinese-occupied buildings during those years were either on the west side of North Virginia Street, on East First Street, or on Lake Street between First and Second.

In August of 1938, Thomas W. Chinn of San Francisco visited Reno's Chinatown, and dined on chow mein at a restaurant called Choy Bux, owned by a Mr. Choy. The proprietor was originally from the Zhongshan (Chungshan) district, of China's Guangdong province, and had lived for eighteen years in Carson City before purchasing his business from another Reno Chinese. Chinn observed that Reno had a total of four Chinese restaurants at that time.¹²⁹

By then, of course, China and Japan were at war. The War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression (the Chinese phase of World War II) lasted from 1937 to 1945. Since 45 per cent of Reno's Chinese were resident aliens ineligible to become naturalized American citizens, it was only natural for them to be active in patriotic activities on behalf of their

¹²⁷ Raymond I. Sawyer, *Reno, Where the Gamblers Go!* (Reno: Sawston Publishing Co., 1976), p.12.

¹²⁸ Culin, *Gambling Games*, p. i.

¹²⁹ Chinn, "Notes on California Chinese," *Chinese Historical Society of America Bulletin* 7 (December 1972): 7.



Former Chinese Freemason Hall in Reno (*Nevada Historical Society*)

mother country.¹³⁰ Led by the older men who were community leaders, the Reno branch of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association engaged in war relief fund-raising on China's behalf throughout the wartime period.

During and after the war, however, Washoe County's Chinese population decreased to its lowest numerical level since the time the Chinese first settled in the Truckee River region. The 1950 census showed only 82 Chinese still residing in the county (with 68 of them living in Reno). A Chinese-American study, conducted about 1946, arrived at a figure of only 56 Chinese residents in the city of Reno, divided among seven families.¹³¹ Many of the older first generation Chinese immigrants died, returned to China, or moved to San Francisco.

¹³⁰ According to the 1940 census, 106 Chinese lived in Reno, and another 13 resided elsewhere in Washoe County. Of the Reno Chinese, 48 (45.28%) were foreign-born, and 58 (54.72%) were American-born.

¹³¹ Lew Ling, ed., *The Chinese in North America: A Guide to Their Life and Progress* (Los Angeles: East-West Culture Publishing Association, c. 1946), appendix.

Leadership of the Benevolent Association passed to the American-born second generation, some members of which were not fluent in Cantonese, unable to read the Chinese written language, and more interested in being Americans than being concerned with China and things Chinese. Whatever cohesion the Benevolent Association had provided for Reno's small Chinese community began to crumble during the 1950s as the Association's building—the Chinese temple at 46½-48½ East First Street—fell into disuse. Nature supplied the finishing blow in 1958 when the Truckee overflowed its banks and did irreparable damage to the brick building. It was later declared structurally unsound, and demolished.

Since 1950, the Chinese population of Washoe County has steadily increased. Most of this growth has been due to immigration from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and California. The old, immigrant, Cantonese-speaking Chinese community is no more. The surviving members of the old branch of the Benevolent Association (many of whom are American-born and whose deceased parents were once members) associate with each other as friends rather than as members of an organization. The Hop Sing Tong still has members in Reno, but the organization no longer has its own building in the downtown area; in fact, there is no longer an identifiable Chinatown in Reno. Its last vestiges, the New China Club building and the adjacent Hop Sing Tong building, both located at the corner of Lake Street and Commercial Row, were razed during the 1970s to make way for parking for Harrah's downtown casino complex. By 1970, Washoe County finally lost to Clark County the distinction of having the largest Chinese population in the state—a distinction which the northern county had held continuously since 1920.

White Pine County

Year	Total population, White Pine County	Chinese population, White Pine County	Chinese percentage of total
1870	7,189	292	4.1
1880	2,682	107	4.0
1890	1,721	46	2.7
1900	1,961	31	1.6
1910	7,441	25	0.3
1920	8,935	32	0.4
1930	11,771	40	0.3
1940	12,377	18	0.1
1950	9,424	24	0.3
1960	9,808	19	0.2
1970	10,150	9	0.1

For the most of its history, White Pine County has had a small Chinese population. The greatest number of Chinese were present during the 1870s, the period when the Hamilton mining district was booming. Occupations open to them included cooking, laundering, woodchopping, water-carrying, and vegetable gardening.¹³²

A few hardy Chinese pioneers in the county were merchants. Among them was Charles Wah, who arrived at Cherry Creek in 1874. He was one of the first merchants to settle there, and started the town's first restaurant and Chinese merchandise store. Thereafter he was identified with the town for fifty years, making a reputation for himself as a grubstaker of prospectors and a charitable feeder of penniless men.¹³³

During the late nineteenth century, White Pine County's Caucasian population reacted to the Chinese in two ways. It scorned the Chinese as a group for political reasons, yet tolerated and even respected individual Chinese. For example, when President Chester A. Arthur vetoed a twenty-year Chinese exclusion bill in 1882, he was burned in

¹³² *White Pine News* (Treasure City), 11 August 1869; *White Pine News* (Hamilton), 18 June 1870; W. Turrentine Jackson, *Treasure Hill: Portrait of a Silver Mining Camp* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963), p. 92.

¹³³ Miller, "Nevada in the Making," *Nevada State Historical Society Papers* 4 (1923-1924): 311, 322-323.

effigy throughout the White Pine mining district.¹³⁴ Yet the Chinese continued to work in the county unmolested.

In the 1890s and early 1900s, most of the county's Chinese were cooks. There was a Chinese cook working at the McGill Ranch, and virtually all of the hired cooks in Ely were Chinese. There were enough Chinese living in Ely for the town to support a small Chinatown prior to 1900.¹³⁵

Aside from the cooks, there were also a few Chinese herb doctors. These physicians were highly regarded by whites, since they offered alternatives to western medicine in the treatment of disease. Some whites felt that Chinese doctors were more effective than their white counterparts. Moreover, Chinese doctors were usually consulted as physicians of choice by those whites afflicted by venereal diseases. Such individuals would be too embarrassed to face a white doctor, and generally knew that the Chinese doctors had better reputations for effecting cures. Since demand for the services of the Chinese doctors far outran the small number of such physicians present in the county, it was necessary for the herbalists to circuit-ride the county in order to reach as many patients as possible.¹³⁶

Since 1900, there have been forty or fewer Chinese residents in White Pine County at any one time. Some of them have engaged in the restaurant business. Most, however, have moved elsewhere because of the limited economic opportunities which the county has to offer. This has been especially true since termination of the Kennecott copper mining operations at Ruth and McGill in 1978.¹³⁷

The records of the past as summarized in this article serve to illustrate the bitter-sweet nature of the historical experience of the Chinese in the state. Most of today's Chinese residents of Nevada, however, do not have any direct ties to that experience for they, like the vast majority of other Nevadans, are recent immigrants from somewhere else. Nevertheless as Chinese and as Nevadans they *should* know about the history of their ethnic predecessors in the Silver State. The Chinese still comprise a small minority of the population, and they occasionally encounter other people whose mistaken attitudes toward and images of the Chinese—based on past stereotypes—still persist. If any of the information presented in this article can shed some light on such mistaken attitudes and images, then its major purpose will have been achieved.

¹³⁴ Russell R. Elliott, ed., "Letters from a Nevada Doctor to His Daughter in Connecticut," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 1 (September 1957): 24-25. Later the same year, President Arthur signed a ten-year exclusion bill.

¹³⁵ Charles D. Gallagher, "Autobiography and Reminiscence," typed transcript, Oral History Project, University of Nevada Library, Reno, 1965, pp. 18, 50.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹³⁷ *Nevada State Journal* (Reno), 30 June 1978.

TABLE 1
CHRONOLOGY OF AMERICAN HISTORY, 1848-1898

- 1848 American discovery of gold in California
- 1860 Abraham Lincoln is elected president
- 1861 Civil War begins.
- 1863 Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation.
- 1864 Nevada achieves statehood.
- 1865 Civil War ends.
- 1868 The U.S. signs the Burlingame Treaty with China, which allows free immigration between the two countries.
- 1869 Chinese laborers finish building the Central Pacific Railroad
- 1870 U.S. naturalization law excludes Chinese aliens from eligibility for naturalized citizenship.
- 1873 Banking panic starts an economic depression that lasts for five years.
- 1877 Crash of the San Francisco stock market
Decline in Comstock silver production
Growth of the anti-Chinese Workingmen's Party in California
- 1882 President Chester A. Arthur signs the first Chinese Exclusion Act, which suspends the immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years.
- 1888 The Scott Act is passed, which prohibits the re-entry of Chinese laborers to the U.S. from abroad unless such Chinese have families or property valued at \$1,000 in the U.S.
- 1892 The Geary Act is passed, which renews the suspension on the immigration of Chinese laborers for another ten years and requires all Chinese laborers in the U.S. to obtain residence certificates or face deportation.
- 1893 A financial panic begins a depression that lasts for four years.
The U.S. Supreme Court upholds the Geary Act in the case of *Fong Yue Ting v. U.S.*
- 1894 In a treaty with China, the U.S. renews all exclusionary legislation against the Chinese except the Scott Act.
- 1898 After the Spanish-American War, the U.S. annexes Hawaii and the Philippines and extends its Chinese exclusion laws to the new possessions. Persons of Chinese descent born in the U.S. are guaranteed American citizenship by birthright as a result of a court decision in the case of the *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*.

TABLE 2
CHRONOLOGY OF AMERICAN HISTORY, 1902-1976

- 1902 A new U.S. law renews all existing Chinese exclusion legislation.
- 1904 China refuses to renew its 1894 treaty with the U.S. America retaliates by making all of its Chinese exclusion laws permanent. Anti-American trade boycotts are staged in Guangzho (Canton) and Shanghai.
- 1907 Beginning of a financial panic and depression.
- 1917 The U.S. enters World War I.
- 1918 World War I armistice.
- 1924 The National Origins Act prohibits American-born Chinese from bringing their foreign-born wives or children to the U.S.
- 1929 The Great Depression begins, and lasts until 1943.
- 1941 The U.S. enters World War II as an ally of China.
- 1943 The U.S. repeals its Chinese exclusion laws and allows a racial (rather than a national) immigration quota of 105 Chinese per year. Chinese resident aliens are allowed to become naturalized American citizens.
- 1945 End of World War II.
- 1950 Beginning of the Korean War.
- 1952 The McCarran-Walter Act retains a Chinese racial immigration quota of 105 persons per year. It allows Chinese aliens who marry American-born Chinese, other native-born or naturalized Americans to immigrate with nonquota status.
- 1953 Korean War armistice.
- 1961 President John F. Kennedy begins direct American military involvement in Vietnam.
- 1962 Kennedy signs a presidential directive that permits 15,000 Hong Kong refugees to enter the U.S. between 1962 and 1965.
- 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson signs an amendment to the McCarran-Walter Act that abolishes the national origins (or in the case of the Chinese, the racial) quota system. Under this law, aliens of Chinese descent are eligible to immigrate to the U.S. under their respective national quotas. Maximum national quotas are set at 20,000 persons per year.
- 1969 President Richard M. Nixon begins American troop withdrawals from Vietnam under his "Vietnamization" policy.
- 1972 Nixon visits the People's Republic of China.
- 1974 Nixon resigns as president of the U.S.
- 1975 American and military personnel are evacuated from Vietnam.
- 1976 The U.S. celebrates the bicentennial of its political independence.

TABLE 3
CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHINESE PRESENCE IN NEVADA, 1856-1978

- 1856 First Chinese moved from California to Nevada to build water ditches on the Carson River.
- 1859 Discovery of the Comstock Lode.
White miners in Gold Hill prohibit Chinese from holding claims in the district.
- 1860 Anti-Chinese movement begins in Carson City.
- 1868 Unsuccessful attempt of European immigrants to expel all Chinese from Carson City and other parts of the state.
Central Pacific Railroad enters Nevada with thousands of Chinese laborers.
- 1869 Completion of the Central Pacific Railroad at Promontory Point, Utah.
Chinese build the Virginia and Truckee Railroad.
First Chinese miners arrive in Tuscarora, Elko County.
White mob expels Chinese inhabitants from the town of Unionville.
- 1872 Approximately 1,000 Chinese workers in the employ of the Pacific Borax Company work at the salt marshes near Columbus in Esmeralda County.
- 1873 Chinese workers begin construction of the Eureka and Palisade Railroad.
- 1874 Chapel of the Good Shepherd, the Protestant Episcopal Chinese Mission, is established in Carson City.
Charles Wah, a Chinese merchant, is one of the first to settle at Cherry Creek in White Pine County.
- 1875 Fire destroys Virginia City's Chinese quarter.
Construction of the Eureka and Palisade Railroad is completed.
Sun Wah establishes one of the first Chinese businesses in Elko—a laundry.
- 1876 Two Chinese are killed at Eureka, and others are expelled from town.
Chinese mine for copper, silver, and gold on a commission basis in the Contact area, northeastern Elko County.
- 1877 Mann Tonn kills Ah Hoy at Austin and is sentenced to serve 25 years in the Nevada State Prison.
- 1878 Virginia City has nineteen Chinese-owned businesses.
Workingmen's Party convention in Reno demands a prohibition on the use of Chinese laborers in the city.
- 1880 Nevada general election results in the abolition of further Chinese immigration: 17,259 in favor, 193 opposed.
- 1881 Chinese begin construction of the Nevada-California-Oregon Railway.
- 1882 Virginia City only has seven Chinese-owned businesses remaining.
- 1888 Chinese are excluded from the lead, silver, and gold mining operations at Tybo in Nye County.

TABLE 3 (Continued)

- Wo Ling, associated with the Ong Cong Lung store in Pioche, has difficulty re-entering the U.S. because of the Scott Act.
- 1903 White mob attempts to expel all of the Chinese from Tonopah. As a result, Chong Bing Long, age 66, is murdered there.
- 1905 Chinese pioneers take part in the founding of Las Vegas: Wong Kee and Ong Loy, restaurant owners; and Ying Lee, a laundryman.
- 1908 Reno city officials destroy most Chinatown buildings because they are a "public eyesore."
- 1909 No Chinese are allowed to get off the trains of the Las Vegas and Tonopah Railroad at Goldfield, Esmeralda County.
- 1912 Most Chinese businesses in Reno are located on the west side of North Virginia Street in buildings with tin roofs.
- 1913 Clark County terminates its contract with Wong Kee to feed jail inmates.
- 1921 Gee Jon, a member of the Hop Sing Tong, murders Tom Quong Kee, a member of the Bing Kung Tong, at Mina, Mineral County.
- 1923 Chinese workers build a tramway for the Pacific Portland Cement Company just outside of Empire in northern Washoe County.
- 1924 Gee Jon is executed at the Nevada State Prison in the nation's first lethal gas execution.
- 1931 No Chinese are permitted to work in the construction of Hoover Dam.
- 1937 Reno's branch of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (the Chinese Six Companies) begins war relief fund-raising activities to aid China's struggle against Japanese aggression.
- 1938 Reno has four Chinese restaurants in operation.
- 1952 Bill Fong is elected president of the Nevada Casino Association.
- 1958 Reno's Chinese temple (joss house) is demolished after flood damage.
- 1964 Woo Loung Wah, age 105, the sole surviving Chinese worker who helped build the Central Pacific Railroad through the Sierra to Nevada, is honored during the Nevada statehood centennial celebration in Reno.
- 1966 The Las Vegas Chinese American Benevolent Association is founded.
- 1973 Dr. Lok Yee-kung demonstrates acupuncture to the Nevada state legislature.
- 1974 Lilly Fong wins election to the University of Nevada Board of Regents.
- 1977 The Ying On Merchants and Labor Benevolent Association establishes a branch in Las Vegas.
- 1978 Lilly Fong is re-elected to a second term on the University of Nevada Board of Regents.

TABLE 4
NEVADA'S CHINESE POPULATION, 1860-1978

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total population, Nevada</u>	<u>Chinese population, Nevada</u>	<u>Chinese percentage of total</u>
1860	6,857	23	0.3
1870	42,491	3,152	7.4
1880	62,266	5,416	8.7
1890	47,355	2,833	6.0
1900	42,335	1,352	3.2
1910	81,875	927	1.1
1920	77,407	689	0.9
1930	91,058	483	0.5
1940	110,247	286	0.3
1950	160,083	281	0.2
1960	285,278	572	0.2
1970	488,738	955	0.2
1978	660,000 (est.)	1,320 (est.)	0.2 (est.)

Eastward the Frontier: Historic Nevada Post Office Locations, 1860-1910

RICHARD A. EIGENHEER

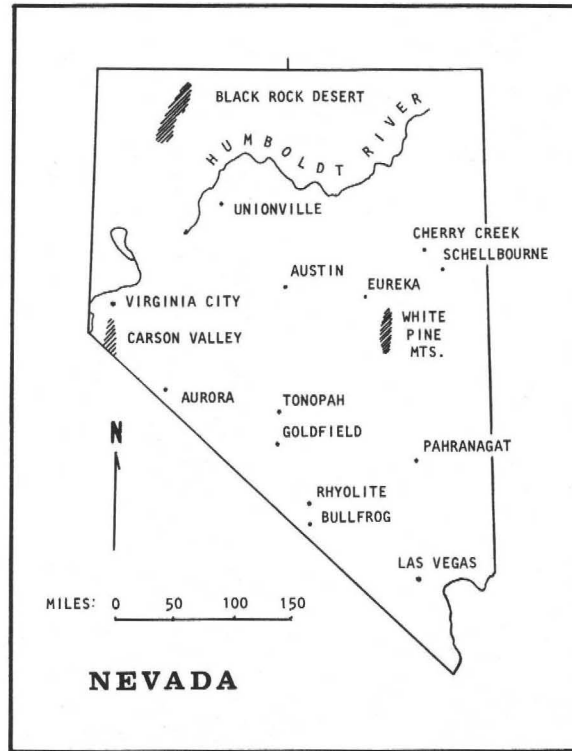
THE ADVANCE OF PIONEER SETTLEMENT into previously unoccupied areas has long interested historical geographers. The differentiation between settled and unsettled areas has usually been accomplished through the use of various census data such as population statistics. The census, however, has limitations since it does not cover the smaller agglomerated settlements. The changing patterns of frontier expansion can be traced by other means, including church, newspaper, and post office locations. In this study the advance of pioneer settlement across Nevada is traced by historic post office locations with the objective of testing their validity as a tool supplementing the census and other data.¹

The early expansion of Nevada's post office frontier coincided with the expansion of its mining frontier. Contrary to the Turnerian notion of a steadily advancing westward frontier, the mining frontier of the Far West expanded eastward from California's Mother Lode region into Nevada and other mineral rich areas west of the Great Plains. Nevada's frontier expanded from a core area centered on Virginia City and

¹ Three previous studies which include post office data for settlement mapping are G. Ellen Adams, "Two Isochronic Maps of Settlement in Oregon," *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*, XXVI (1956), 36-41; John A. Alwin, "Post Office Locations and the Historical Geographer," *Professional Geographer*, XXVI (1974), 183-186; and James R. Shorridge, "The Post Office Frontier in Kansas," *Journal of the West*, XIII (1974), 83-97.

Post office locations for this study were obtained from Walter N. Frickstad and Edward W. Thrall, *A Century of Nevada Post Offices* (Oakland, California: Philatelic Research Society, 1958). The 1977 map was added in order that the reader can compare the current highly concentrated pattern with the more dispersed pattern of the frontier period. The 1977 post office locations were obtained from U.S. Postal Service, 1977 National Zip Code Directory (Washington: United States Postal Services Retail Operations Division, Customer Services, 1977), 989.

The mapping of several of the post office locations is approximate because of the ephemeral nature of most mining camps. The most frequently consulted sources in mapping the post offices were Francis Church Lincoln, *Mining Districts and Mineral Resources of Nevada*, (Nevada Newsletter Publishing Company, 1923) and Stanley W. Paher, *Nevada Ghost Towns and Mining Camps*, (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1970).



Carson Valley, advancing in a series of irregular leaps—at first toward the east, and after 1900 toward the south.

Also contrary to the usual frontier pattern, the miners occupied not the fertile valleys or rich farm lands but the most unattractive parts of the Far West, such as steep mountain sides, parched deserts and arid highlands. In Nevada they occupied an area described by John C. Frémont as “more Asiatic than American in its character.”² Nevada’s post offices were usually located in ore bearing gullies rather than on fertile agricultural plains.

The 1860 map reveals one core region surrounding the Comstock Lode and the Carson Valley. The Carson Valley post offices reflect Mormon settlements established during the 1850s, while those of Virginia City and surrounding settlements represent the vast mineral discoveries that were to propel Nevada into statehood. The isolated dot in the south at the present site of Las Vegas represented a small population left in the area after a Mormon outpost had been abandoned.

² John C. Frémont, *Geographical Memoir upon Upper California in Illustration of His Map of Oregon and California* (Washington: Tappin and Streeper, 1849), 7.

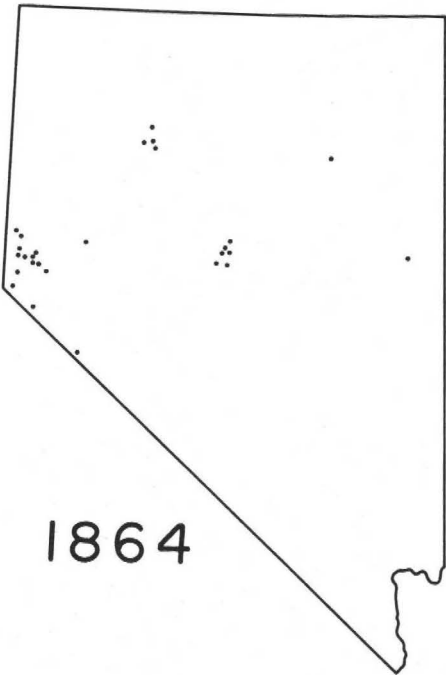
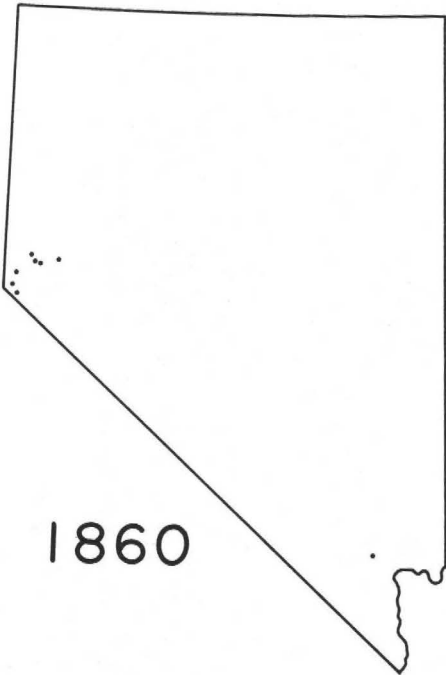
Nevada was admitted to the Union as a very sparsely settled state in 1864. The post office map for that year displays the very isolated nature of the early mineral discoveries, with three lonely clusters of settlements evolving: Virginia City, Unionville and Austin. The latter two clusters represent an eastward leap of 120 miles from the original nucleus of settlement surrounding Virginia City across some of the most inhospitable land in North America. Such clusters developed when prospectors spread out from the site of the original discovery and made new discoveries in neighboring canyons and established new settlements. However, most of these discoveries (like the settlements established around them) were not of a lasting nature.

The 1870 postal map indicates that settlement had spread eastward across the state. The wavy line of dots across the northern part of the state represents the recent completion of the Central Pacific Railroad which followed the valley of the Humboldt River. Some ore-bearing regions of northern Nevada were made accessible by the railroad, and the resultant mining activity stimulated town development near the railroad. The 1870 map shows that settlement throughout eastern Nevada was very diffuse. One camp, Austin, located in Central Nevada, served as a node from which prospectors spread out, making new discoveries and creating new settlements throughout eastern Nevada.³ Mining excitements such as those in the White Pine Mountains, at Eureka and Pahranaagat resulted in very isolated settlements in eastern Nevada. Several dots along the California-Nevada border indicate the expansion of the excitements in or near Aurora during the 1860s.

The 1880 map indicates an increase in the density of settlements, especially along the Humboldt River Valley. Two minor appendages of settlement developed northward toward the Oregon border, and numerous settlements were also established south of the Humboldt River. Austin continued to serve as the point from which other settlements in eastern and southeastern Nevada were established. Like Austin, Aurora served as a node from which other mining camps were developed. Although Aurora as a mining center had virtually died by 1870, this community continued to play a vital role because of the important transportation linkage that grew up to serve it.⁴ During the 1870s the group of settlements that originated in the discoveries at Aurora continued to expand southeasterly along the California-Nevada border.

³ W. Turrentine Jackson, *Treasure Hill: Portrait of a Silver Mining Camp* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1963), 9.

⁴ Earl W. Kersten, Jr., "The Early Settlement of Aurora, Nevada, and Nearby Mining Camps," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, LXIV (December, 1964) 490-507.



The 1890 and 1900 postal maps do not indicate significant movement into previously unsettled areas. The postal locations instead indicate an increased density of settlement particularly in the eastern and north-eastern portion of the state. The 1890 and 1900 maps may easily be misinterpreted because they may lead one to conclude that significant population increases took place during this time span. During the period 1880-1900 the number of post offices in Nevada increased from 127 to 188, an increase of 48%. However, during the same two decades the state's population decreased from 62,266 to 42,335, a decrease of over 32%.⁵ These statistics call for further examination of the census data. The number of persons involved in mining dropped from 6,647 in 1880 to 2,741 in 1900, a reduction of 59%. Miners, who had comprised 21% of the work force in 1880, formed only 13% of the work force in 1900. An opposite shift took place in agricultural pursuits; in 1880, 13% of the work force was involved in agriculture, and by 1900 this percentage had dramatically shifted to 30%.⁶ Nevada had entered a twenty-year depression. The decline of the Comstock Lode and the passing of other mining booms caused severe economic repercussions.

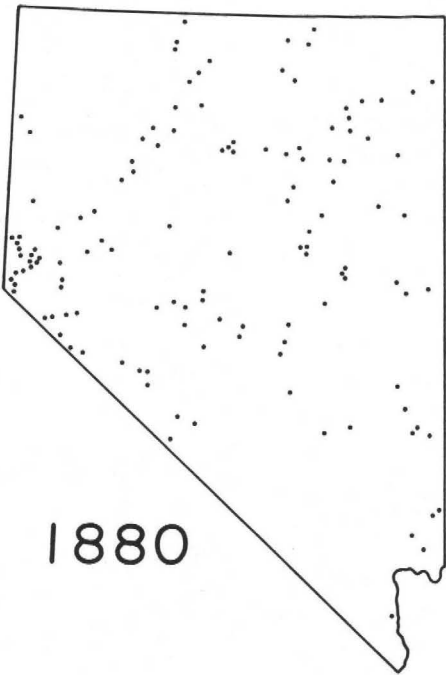
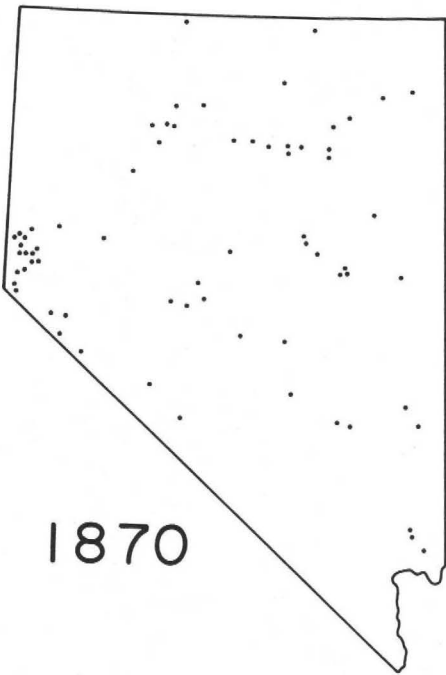
The increase in post offices is accounted for by two trends. First, many of the frustrated miners shifted to agricultural pursuits, which led to a more dispersed type of settlement pattern. Ranchers moved into the valleys of the Great Basin and local postal service had to be provided for the newly-established ranches. Second, the new post offices shown on the 1890 and 1900 postal maps reflect the hopes of wandering miners. From time to time, as prospectors uncovered small deposits of valuable metals, the newspapers reported these events in such a way as to create a rush to each newly-found deposit; this frequently resulted in the formation of a new mining camp. The formation of such communities resulted in requests to the U.S. Post Office Department for the establishment of new post offices. However, many mining camps did not last long; often postal service to such camps was discontinued within a few months. The following statement by John Muir describes the ephemeral nature of Nevada mining camps:

Nevada is one of the very youngest and wildest of the States; nevertheless, it is already strewn with ruins that seem as gray and silent and time-worn as if the civilization to which they belonged had perished centuries ago. Yet, strange to say, all these ruins are results of mining efforts made within the last few years.⁷

⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, Population, Part II* (Washington: U.S. Census Office, 1902), 2.

⁶ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Tenth Census of the United States, Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 835; *Twelfth Census: Population - Part II*, 534.

⁷ John Muir, *Steep Trails*. Edited by William Frederic Bade. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 195.



Sometimes the post office in such a camp was not discontinued immediately; the postal service would be maintained for a few hangers-on. For example, the town of Schellbourne, north of present-day Ely, was abandoned before its mines were ever worked because of the excitement created by the discovery of the Cherry Creek mines across the Valley.⁸ Nevertheless, the post office at Schellbourne, established in 1871, continued service until 1925.⁹

The 1910 postal map reveals a new shift in the post office frontier. For the first time there was a dramatic shift to the southern one-third of the state. A series of discoveries, such as those at Tonopah in 1900 and Goldfield in 1902, shifted interest to the parched and inhospitable lands of southern Nevada. Tonopah and Goldfield were the nodes from which other mining camps in southern Nevada developed, particularly along the California-Nevada border, and including the mining settlements of Bullfrog and Rhyolite. The discoveries at Goldfield and Tonopah rekindled mining interest throughout the entire state; the 1910 postal map reflects this with the increased number of settlements throughout the state. Most of the dots on the map represent new mining camps resulting from the renewed interest in mining following the slump of 1880-1900.

With the revival of mining, the number of post offices increased from 188 in 1900 to 251 in 1910, an increase of 34%. During the same decade the population of the state increased even more dramatically, from 42,335 in 1900 to 81,875 in 1910, an increase of 93%.¹⁰ At the end of the study period, the postal map indicates only two large areas of Nevada that were not yet settled — an area in the northwestern part of the state, which includes the Black Rock Desert, and a large expanse in south central Nevada used for nuclear testing since the 1950s.

CONCLUSIONS

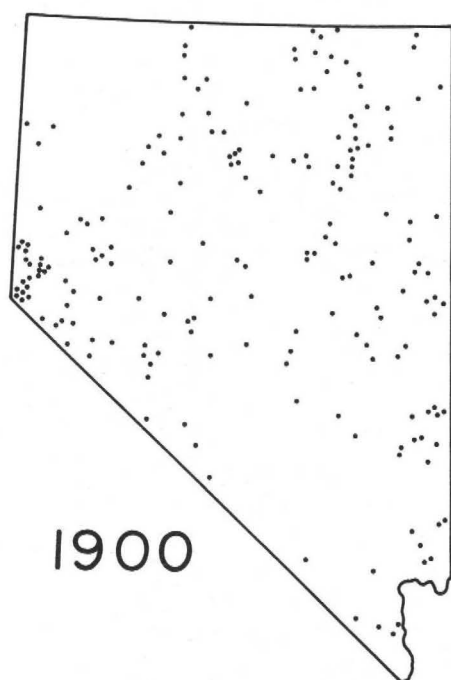
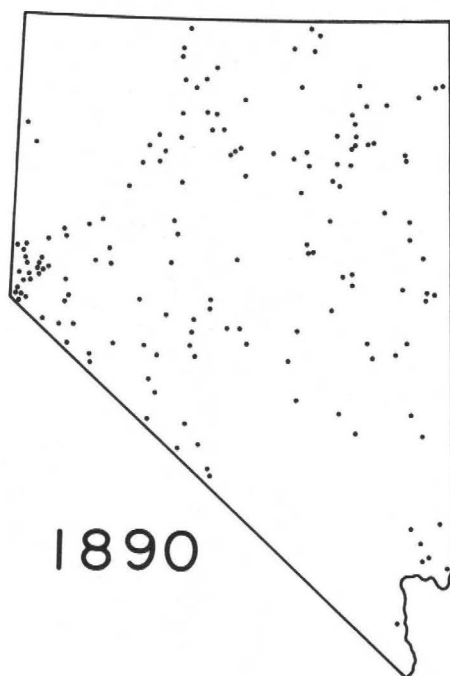
Historic post office locations serve as valuable tools for mapping settlement expansion. A major advantage is that they can be used in years other than census years. For example, in this study a map indicating post office locations for 1864 (the year Nevada became a state) is included.

The density of postal locations should never be correlated with population figures. Throughout this study the number of postal locations increased steadily from 1860 to 1910, and yet the state's population

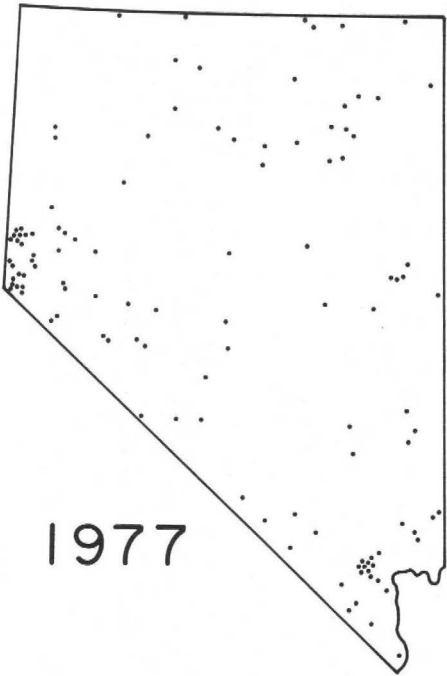
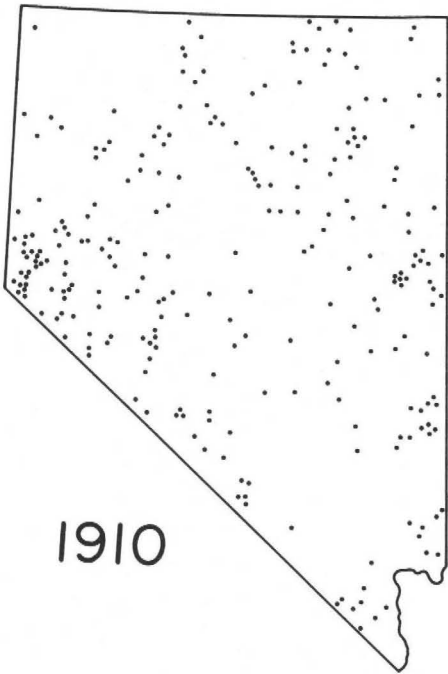
⁸ *Ibid.*, 198-199.

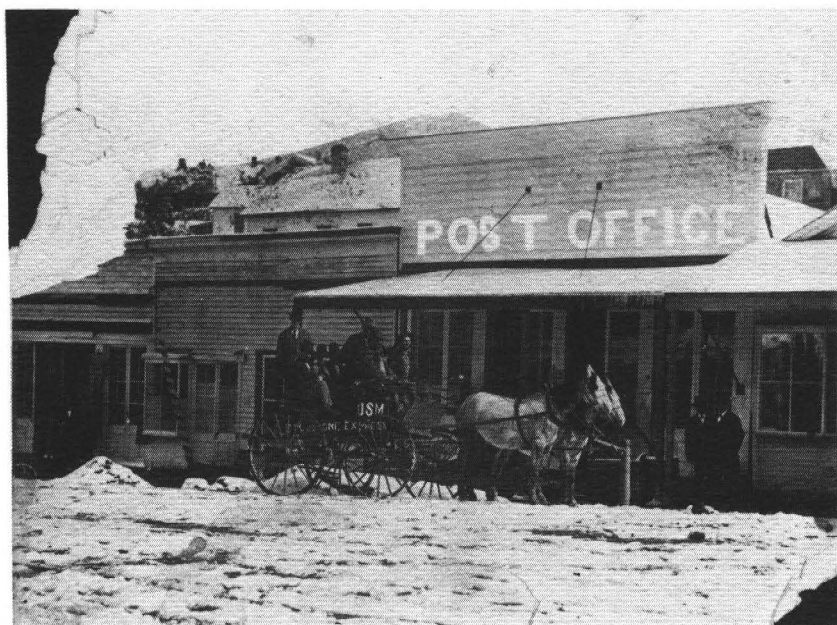
⁹ Frickstad and Thrall, 25.

¹⁰ Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. 3, Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 74.



fluctuated drastically according to the fortunes of the mining industry. Mining frontiers are more difficult to trace than agricultural frontiers. The latter normally indicate a steadily advancing frontier; the former normally occur in a series of erratic leaps. While an agricultural frontier continues to advance, a mining frontier may fluctuate between periods of marked settlement expansion and periods of retreat. Periods of decline in a mining frontier are difficult to map because there is a tendency for offices to remain even after much of the local population has left. In Nevada the increase of postal locations during a period of population decline was reflected by a dispersion of settlement. The expanding agricultural frontier necessitated post offices on the state's isolated ranches. On the other hand, the mining frontier was an urban frontier and was especially so in Nevada. It resulted immediately in an agglomerated settlement pattern because the mineral deposits were normally concentrated in very small areas. The silver veins in Nevada required a relatively large labor force and their development brought many miners into the mining camps. In addition, the mining camps became central locations which required a variety of goods and services including postal services for the new population. The postal maps of 1860, 1864, 1870 and 1910 are indicative of the advance of the mining frontier in Nevada. Historic post office locations thus serve as a valuable tool for the historical geographer in mapping advancing frontiers and in differentiating settled areas from unsettled areas; in cases of declining frontiers they may be utilized in conjunction with available census data.





U.S. Post Office, Austin, in the 1870s or 1880s (*Nevada Historical Society*)





Ernestine E. Fullington Bush delivering mail to a central Nevada mining camp, c. 1910 (*Nevada Historical Society*)



Store and Post Office in Mina, Nevada, early 1900s (*Nevada Historical Society*)

The Tonopah Ambulance Regiment

PHILLIP I. EARL

AMERICA FIRST EXPERIENCED World War I through newspaper dispatches, accounts of events "far away in distance and even further in spirit," as one American journalist later wrote.¹ However, events were not so remote that the American people were left untouched by the plight of those directly affected by the war. Organized relief efforts were thus underway within weeks of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, and most of the American population would eventually become involved in "war work" of some kind on the home front during the succeeding four years.²

During the earlier Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913, many Nevadans of southern and eastern European descent had been called back to their homelands to fight, and there had been some organized relief efforts in the state at that time. The first to go from Nevada were a number of Greek, Serbian and Montenegrin miners from Goldfield in November, 1912. Some fifty Bulgarian and Montenegrin laborers on the Lahontan Dam project left for their respective mother countries at the same time, and Mike Cosich, a Goldfield Serb, organized a local chapter of the Balkan Red Cross and raised \$274.75 to be sent to Europe.³

Other Nevadans departed in small groups in 1913 and 1914 and news of their adventures occasionally filtered back, but the major thrust of subsequent war-related relief activities was directed toward Italy, France, Belgium, England, Ireland and other allied nations. The people of Tonopah contributed to the Belgian Flour Fund in December, 1914 and Reno's Italians formed a relief committee in January, 1915. Reno Jews began collecting relief funds for their co-religionists in Poland in early 1916 and Mrs. Sid Moore headed a Tonopah drive in March of that year to raise money for The American Fund to Assist the French Wounded. She also collected sheets, pillowcases and pajamas to be forwarded to the headquarters in San Francisco and interested several Tonopah

¹ Mark Sullivan, *Our Times, 1900-1925*, V, *Over Here, 1914-1918* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p.2.

² Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press 1963), Chap.X; cf., Edward Robb Ellis, *Echos of Distant Thunder: Life in the United States, 1914-1918* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1975).

³ *Goldfield Daily Tribune*, November 11, 1912, 4: 3; November 12, 1912, 1:2,2:5.

⁴ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 16, 1914, 1:1; January 26, 1915, 1:1; March 16, 1916, 4:3; July 12, 1916, 4:2; *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 9, 1915, 3:3.

housewives in making bandages and absorbant cotton dressings. Non-combatants of another sort were also remembered in Tonopah. On July 12, 1916, a dance was held at the Airdome Theatre to raise funds to relieve the sufferings of the families of Irish separatists jailed by British authorities for their part in the recent Easter Rebellion.⁵

In February, 1917, Mrs. Hugh H. Brown, the wife of a prominent Tonopah attorney, became the local representative of the Fatherless Children of France, an organization devoted to the welfare of French orphans, and raised enough money to "adopt" Madelinne Didat, a two-

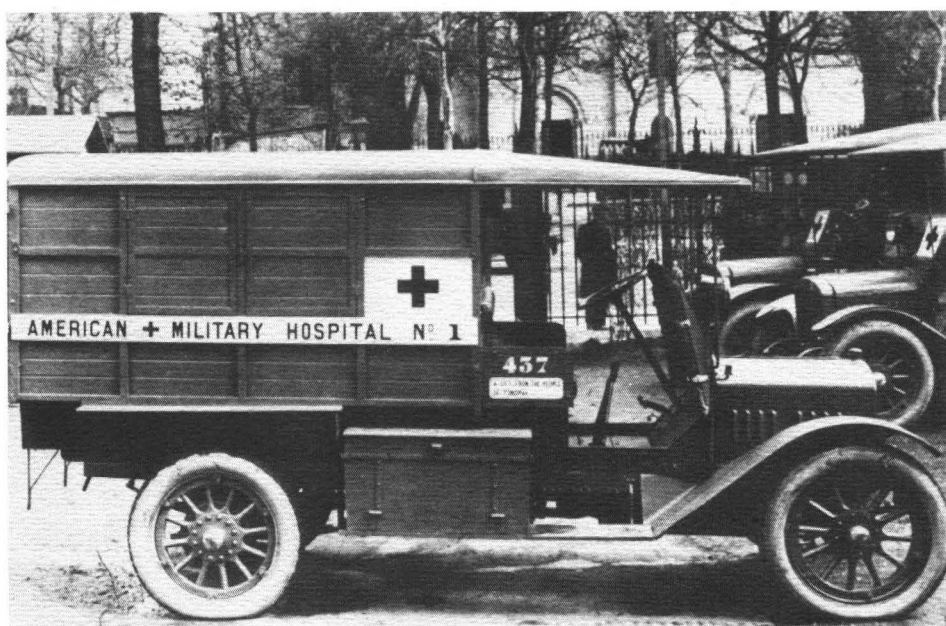


Mrs. Helen Richardson Grigsby (*Nevada Historical Society*)

year-old Paris girl whose father had been killed at Verdun. Mrs. Brown carried her campaign to Reno, Carson City and Lovelock and she was able to convince the people of the latter community to sponsor a child of their own. John T. Reid, a Lovelock mining man, was so impressed with Mrs. Brown's efforts that he donated sixty pairs of shoes to be sent to her orphans.⁶

⁵ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, December 19, 1914, 1:3; March 17, 1916, 4:2; July 6, 1916, 4:5; July 11, 1916, 4:3; July 13, 1916, 4:4 *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 25, 1915, 8:3; January 22, 1916, 8:4; January 26, 1916, 4:1-2; January 27, 1916, 8:3; January 29, 1916, 6:1.

⁶ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, February 2, 1917, 4:5; February 23, 1917, 4:4; February 24, 1917, 4:4.



The Tonopah Ambulance at a hospital motorpool in Paris (*Nevada Historical Society*)

When President Woodrow Wilson signed the Joint Congressional Resolution declaring war upon Germany and her allies on April 7, 1917, patriotism, preparedness and support of the American war effort replaced foreign relief. Four days after America became a formal belligerent, the people of Tonopah celebrated Loyalty Day with the largest parade in the town's history. Other parades were held in Reno, Goldfield and Lovelock within the next two weeks, but support for the war soon took a more practical form with the establishment of Red Cross chapters throughout the state, the organization of war bond sales campaigns and the implementation of military conscription.⁷

Mrs. Hugh Brown was a central figure in the organization of Tonopah's Red Cross chapter, and was one of the women appointed to serve on the Nye County branch of the Ladies' Liberty Loan Committee. Mrs. Helen Richardson Grigsby, the wife of a prominent Tonopah physician, Edward Grigsby, was placed in charge of the loan committee and she announced plans in June to conduct a house-to-house campaign to secure subscriptions. Dr. Grigsby was instrumental in arranging for first aid courses to be conducted by personnel of the U.S. Bureau of Mines Rescue Car. Forty Tonopah matrons were in training by the end of May and the first class of thirty-five graduated in June.⁸

⁷ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1917, 1:3-5, 3:1-3; April 28, 1917, 4:2; April 30, 1917, 4:1-2; *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 18, 1917, 1:1, 3:3-4; May 15, 1917, 6:4.

⁸ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, May 24, 1917, 4:2-3; June 1, 1917, 4:3; June 2, 1917, 4:2-3; June 8, 1917, 4:2.

Mrs. Grigsby, a member of that first class, had other projects in mind as well. At a meeting of the Red Cross Auxiliary she proposed that the women of Tonopah raise money for the purchase of an ambulance for use in Europe. Ambulances had been purchased by several American relief organizations, she told the assembled women, and many of the vehicles were being operated by American volunteers. A discussion of the proposal ensued and the ladies decided to take up the project. Mrs. Grigsby then suggested that The Tonopah Ambulance Regiment be the name of the new group and that of the Red Cross Auxiliary be dropped. The matter of continuing the work of the Red Cross was then brought up for discussion and the women went on record as being willing to do whatever they could. A Mrs. Sherwin, the director of the Red Cross Work room, did not accept this pledge and she spoke out against the Ambulance Regiment, but Mrs. Grigsby prevailed. Before the meeting concluded, she suggested that funds to purchase the ambulance could be raised by putting on a series of public entertainments and that a continuing maintenance fund could come from a contribution of ten cents a week by every woman in Tonopah and five cents from each child. Mrs. Grigsby also offered some thoughts on the organization of childrens' groups, drills and ceremonies, regimental colors, a flag and a mascot. As the meeting broke up, the women stood and filed by the speaker's rostrum before passing out the door, each in turn gently touching the American flag and reverently laying her hand on the Bible momentarily as a sign of allegiance to God and country.⁹

As acting president of the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment, Mrs. Grigsby rented office space in the Richard Merchantile Building and appointed other members to begin planning for an open house and a fund raising function. She notified Tonopah's younger set and a meeting was held at the Butler Theatre for those interested in becoming members. Sergeant Frank Koyle, the local army recruiting officer, spoke to the teenagers of the need for ambulances at the front in France, Italy and Belgium and a membership sheet was circulated and signed. Like their elders, these youngsters were involved in Red Cross work and several of them turned in their money and cash receipts to a Red Cross representative who had come to the meeting for that purpose.¹⁰

⁹ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1917, 4:1; July 13, 1917, 4:5; *Tonopah Daily Times*, July 3, 1917, 4:3-4; Odessa Davenport, *History of the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment* (San Francisco: Privately Published, 1917), pp. 8-14; Helen Richardson Grigsby, *A Short History of the T.A.R.* (Tonopah: Tonopah Miner Publishing Co., 1917); Mrs. Hugh Brown, *Lady in Boomtown* (Berkeley, California: American West Publishing Co., 1973), p.121; Interview with Mrs. Hugh Brown, San Francisco, July 26, 1976. For the background on the American Ambulance Field Service, see Curti, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230; cf., J.R. McConnell, "With the American Ambulance in France," *The Outlook*, CXI, No. 3(September 15, 1915), 125-32, 141-44, and "The American Ambulance," *The Outlook*, CXIV, No.14(December 6, 1916), 747.

¹⁰ *Tonopah Daily Times*, July 6, 1917, 1:6-7; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 13, 1917, 4:5.

Another meeting was held on July 9 and Mrs. Grigsby was formally elected President. Mrs. Letson Balliet was elevated to the position of Secretary and a full slate of officers was chosen. The remainder of the meeting included a discussion of an open house and arrangements for furnishing and decorating the offices at the Richard Building. On July 16, Mrs. Grigsby told the members that Mrs. Harry Atkinson, the wife of Nye County's District Attorney, was to be in charge of the first public function. Mrs. Jess Simmons would arrange the entertainment, Mrs. Odessa Davenport the refreshments, and Mrs. Paul Revert the publicity. Mrs. Grigsby also told the ladies that Miss Dorothy Tregloan had designed and fabricated a number of small ambulance savings banks to be placed in local stores. Mrs. Grigsby had also decided upon a design for an ambulance lapel button and a flag, and she reported that work on decorating and furnishing the offices was nearly completed.¹¹

Mrs. Grigsby had meanwhile initiated a correspondence with William R. Hereford of the American Ambulance Field Service in New York City. She was informed that there were no ambulances available for purchase at that time and no space aboard ships to transport the vehicles. This news upset many of the members of the Tonopah relief organization, but Mrs. Grigsby promised to see that any monies raised in Tonopah would be used in some manner to further the war effort.¹²

The childrens' divisions of the Ambulance Regiment were formally organized later in July, and the open house was held. The members of the Butler Theatre Orchestra played for the festivities, and several ladies offered vocal solos, duets and instrumental selections.¹³

Electric fans and screen doors had been installed at the Richard Building and the offices were opened for those who might wish to stop by to make a donation to the ambulance fund, but other war-related projects were soon on the minds of the members. Mrs. Grigsby appointed a committee to provide "comfort bags" for those Tonopah boys who would soon be going off to war. These small kits were to contain needles, thread, sissors, thimbles and buttons. The members of the girls' division took on the project and were assisted by the girls of the domestic science class at Tonopah High School. The first of the kits were completed and were presented to three men who left for American Lake, Washington in late July. Inside the flap of each kit the emblem of the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment was sewn so as to remind the recipient of who made it.¹⁴

¹¹ Grigsby, p.2; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 17, 1917, 4:2; *Tonopah Daily Times*, July 17, 1917, 4:3-4; letter to the writer from Mrs. Ruby Dunsdon Jones, Clearfield, Utah, August 22, 1976.

¹² *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 19, 1917, 2:4-5, 4:2-3; *Tonopah Daily Times*, July 19, 1917, 1:3-4.

¹³ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 14, 1917, 1:4; July 16, 1917, 1:6-7; July 19, 1917, 2:4-5, 4:2-3; July 20, 1917, 4:2-3; July 23, 1917, 3:5-6; *Tonopah Daily Times*, July 22, 1917, 1:7.

¹⁴ *Tonopah Daily Times*, July 27, 1917, 4:3-4; July 28, 1917, 1:1-2; August 2, 1917, 4:3; August 5, 1917, 4:2; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, July 27, 1917, 4:2; July 28, 1917, 4:4; August 2, 1917, 4:2; letter to the writer from Mrs. Ruby Dunsdon Jones, June 16, 1976.

Plans were also afoot to make fracture pillows and surgical dressings to be shipped to Europe and to begin work on the knitting of sweaters and scarves for those Americans who soon would be in France. Several mine machinists had meanwhile finished the fabrication of the ambulance savings banks from small cyanide canisters and a meeting was held to distribute them to the children to be painted and placed in local stores. The music for the regimental song, "The Call of the Ambulance," was played for the first time at this meeting and sheet music was passed out. Written by Mrs. Grigsby to music composed by Miss Dorothy Murette, the song was arranged by Herman Albert:

From the hills of old Nevada
Where the silver bullion grows,
Comes this ambulance to succor
Those sore wounded by our foes.
On our banner waves our motto
"Tis "To Know, To Will, To Dare."
Therefore thru the thickest fighting
We shall give our soldiers care.

CHORUS

Hurry up, hurry up to the poor wounded man,
Yes, we are coming, yes, we are coming
Just as fast as we can;
When you hear the toot of that big auto car,
You'll know 'tis our ambulance from far Tonopah.
Don't you hear our engines chugging?
Don't you see our colors wave?
Bringing comfort to the wounded,
To the soldier grand and brave.
And above us waves Old Glory,
Bidding us to keep it there,
And we bow our heads in silence
For our Father's loving care.

CHORUS

And when the war is over
And the awful debt is paid,
We shall love our boys so dearly
for the sacrifice they made.
And we know our land shall blossom
Like a garden after rain,
Because of that closer brotherhood
Which humanity shall gain.¹⁵

¹⁵ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, August 2, 1917, 4:2; *Tonopah Daily Times*, August 5, 1917, 4:2; August 7, 1917, 4:4; Davenport, pp. 1, 13.

The surgical dressing project got underway in August. Under the supervision of Miss Elizabeth McGregor, a trained nurse, thirty-five women and girls began to sew tampons, bandages and linen compresses. The children were meanwhile at work on the savings banks and several boys had begun the construction of a miniature battlefield on a table at the Richard Building. A second reception was held at which a display of surgical dressings was featured. The miniature battlefield, complete with toy soldiers, a tiny nurse doll, an ambulance and a Red Cross hospital, was an object of considerable interest that evening and Mrs. Arthur Neth sang "The Call of the Ambulance" for the first time. The women in charge of the surgical dressing project explained the nature of their work to others attending and urged them to help.¹⁶

Miss Francis James, only twelve years old, wrote a play entitled "Sweethearts" and began rehearsals for the first performance. A drama with a battlefield background which featured other Tonopah youngsters, it was first staged at the Butler Theatre on August 31 to raise funds for the surgical dressing project. Parents and friends jammed the theatre that evening and \$38.00 was turned over to Miss McGregor the next day.¹⁷

The ladies of the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment still had no assurance that their efforts to raise funds for an ambulance would actually get them a vehicle, but Mrs. Grigsby was untiring in her efforts to carry through on the project. At a September meeting she read a letter from William Hereford informing her that some vehicles would be available later in the fall at a cost of \$2,000. This news encouraged the members since they had thought that a much larger sum would be required, but little had been done as yet to raise the required amount. Mrs. Grigsby also reported on the plans being made for a fund-raising bazaar, and the group decided to move the offices from the Richard Building to the club rooms and ladies' parlor of the Mizpah Hotel. Specifications for the regimental flag were also discussed that evening. The banner was to be forty by forty-seven inches in size and done in the regimental colors. The shield of the organization was to be embroidered in the center and it was to carry the motto of the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment, "To Know - To Will - To Dare." Before the meeting broke up, Mrs. Odessa Davenport passed out postal cards to be filled out and sent back to the Federal Food Administration offices in Washington D.C. to enable the senders to receive information on food conservation.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, August 16, 1917, 2:3-4; August 20, 1917, 4:5; August 21, 1917, 4:2; *Tonopah Daily Times*, August 16, 1917, 4:1; Davenport, p.13.

¹⁷ *Tonopah Daily Times*, September 1, 1917, 4:3.

¹⁸ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 5, 1917, 4:2-3; *Tonopah Daily Times*, August 16, 1917, 4:1; September 5, 1917, 1:1-2; Davenport, p.7.

September 5 was celebrated as Draft Day in Tonopah and the ladies of the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment took part in the parade and patriotic exercises which marked the departure of the first full contingent of Nye County men bound for American Lake. They also put up sack lunches for the men and put several jugs of lemonade aboard the train. Prior to their departure, the men marched in a body to the Richard Building to thank the ladies in person for all they had done for them. Governor Emmet D. Boyle was in Tonopah for a speech that day and he visited the office and left a donation.¹⁹

Boyle also talked to Mrs. Grigsby about taking charge of the Womens' Liberty Loan Committee for Nye County and she accepted. Her appointment was announced three days later and she told newsmen that she was making plans to organize women throughout the county to conduct bond sales campaigns, but that she did not intend to neglect the ambulance project.²⁰

The first reception at the Mizpah was held on September 20. Among those who entertained that evening was Ryder Ray, a Tonopah lad who had received his notice and was scheduled to depart with the second Nye County contingent. He offered two vocal selections, "A Long, Long Way From Home" and "Send Me Away With a Smile," a song written by Russell Hexoc, a friend who was also being inducted:

Little Girl, don't cry
I must say good-bye;
Don't you hear the bugle call?
And the fife and drum
Bid the fellows come
Where the flag waves over all.

Though I love you so,
It is time to go
And a soldier in me you'll find,
When on land or sea,
They need boys like me,
You would not have me stay behind.

Send me away with a smile,
Little Girl,
Brush the tears from eyes of brown.

¹⁹ *Tonopah Daily Times*, September 2, 1917, 1:1; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 7, 1917, 1:5-7, 4:5; September 9, 1917, 4:3.

²⁰ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 9, 1917, 4:3; September 12, 1917, 4:2-3; *Tonopah Daily Times*, September 9, 1917, 1:7; September 12, 1917, 4:4.

Its all for the best, and I'm off
With the rest
Of the boys from my own home town.

It may be forever we part, Little Girl,
And it may be for only a while;
But if fight, dear, we must,
In our Maker we trust,
Send me away with a smile.²¹

Among the other fund-raising activities planned by Mrs. Grigsby was the publication of a souvenir booklet which was to contain a short history of the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment and a touching poem, "The Song of the Ambulance," from the pen of Mrs. Hugh Brown:

In my body see the sacrifice that brought me into life;
In my lamps you see the searching eyes of every loving wife;
My springs are arms of mothers seeking still to shield their sons;
My bandages are fingers snatching life-stuff from the guns!
Hurry, hurry, hurry to the poor wounded soldier!
Hear my engine throbbing with impatience from afar!
Oh, I sing a glorious song
As I boldly roll along,
I'm the symbol of compassion from the T.A.R.

Tell me not that men are slackers - women eager to pull down,
For I'm the living symbol that has unified a town.
Let me spread my peaceful presence o'er this place of
noise and pain.
For I come with "living water" from the land of
little rain.
Mercy shall not be forgotten in the blood and hate of
strife;
I will go where death is thickest, bringing men the
hope of life;
"For my country" is my motto - and my nerves are
made of steel;
God grant me life immortal, for my mission is to heal.
Hurry, hurry, hurry to the poor wounded soldier!
Hear my engine throbbing with impatience from afar!
Oh, I sing a glorious song
As I boldly roll along,
I'm the symbol of compassion from the T.A.R.²²

²¹ *Tonopah Daily Times*, September 13, 1917, 4:2; September 15, 1917, 1:3; September 23, 1917, 1:5; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 15, 1917, 2:5.

²² *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 15, 1917, 2:3-4; Davenport, *op.cit.*, p.3.

On September 28, Jules Smith of the Butler Theatre turned his facility over to the ladies for a fund-raiser. The children's play, "Sweethearts," had been re-written to include several new roles and the children performed for their parents twice that day. Two motion pictures were shown and the evening festivities featured a number of musical selections, one of which was a musical rendition of Mrs. Brown's poem. Manager Smith gave the ladies fifty percent of the days' receipts instead of the thirty-five percent previously agreed upon and \$120 was added to the ambulance fund.²³

Mrs. Grigsby was busy with plans for the bazaar to be held at the Airdome on October 19, and was also trying to find a publisher for the souvenir booklet; Mrs. W.C. Hunter, a former Tonopah resident then living in San Francisco, heard of the problem and took it upon herself to arrange publication. She also told other former Nevadans of the project and was thus responsible for a number of additional sales.²⁴

Articles to be sold at the bazaar were collected and stored at the Mizpah, and the proprietor of Klinger's Variety Store put a selection on display on October 13. A local carpenter was reported to be building a horse-drawn ambulance to lead the children's parade (which was to precede the bazaar), and Mrs. Bert Whitney was preparing 120 children for a marching drill to be staged at the Airdome in connection with the event.²⁵ Mrs. Thomas Lindsay, the wife of a local merchant, wrote two poems to promote the ambulance fund campaign. The first, "The Poor Wounded Soldier," was a tribute to the contributions of the people of Tonopah to the war effort and the second, "T.A.R.'s Appeal," recounted the deaths of two of her nephews in France and appealed for an ambulance which might save the lives of another mother's sons.²⁶

Donations came in daily, and those in charge of the various booths recruited their husbands to do the framing, string up electrical wiring, and install extra lighting. The girls of the Commercial Department of Tonopah High School prepared tickets and publicity circulars; the members of the local Elks lodge offered to take charge of the punchboards and paddlewheels. Billy Young's Orchestra was engaged to play that evening, and editor Booth of the *Bonanza* gave the ladies ar

²³ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 27, 1917, 2:5; September 28, 1917, 4:5; September 29, 1917, 4:2-3; October 3, 1917, 4:5; *Tonopah Daily Times*, September 27, 1917, 4:2; September 28, 1917, 4:3; September 29, 1917, 4:2; October 3, 1917, 1:5.

²⁴ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 4, 1917, 4:6; October 8, 1917, 4:2-3; October 12, 1917, 4:3; October 13, 1917, 4:2; October 13, 1917, 4:2; October 16, 1917, 4:2; *Tonopah Daily Times*, October 5, 1917, 4:2; October 9, 1917, 1:1-2; October 13, 1917, 4:1; October 16, 1917, 4:5.

²⁵ *Tonopah Daily Times*, October 5, 1917, 4:2; October 14, 1917, 4:6; October 18, 1917, 4:3; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 12, 1917, 4:3; October 13, 1917, 4:2; October 15, 1917, 4:6; October 16, 1917, 4:2.

²⁶ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 17, 1917, 4:2-4; October 18, 1917, 2:3-4.

editorial boost in his column of October 18: "It is a noble task they are undertaking," he wrote, "and every man jack of us who is too old or too deficient to fight must get into the harness and help them out. God bless them. The Tonopah Ambulance Regiment needs financial assistance If you are not in shape to purchase a Liberty Bond, you can aid in getting that ambulance to France."²⁷

The Airdome opened at 6:00 p.m. on the appointed evening and a large crowd was on hand within the hour. The children were gathered downtown to organize the parade; led by two youngsters carrying the American flag and the new Tonopah Ambulance Regiment banner, they trudged through town and were greeted by thunderous applause and shouts as they entered the hall. The children went through their drill, all the while singing "The Call of the Ambulance." The crowd then moved to the booths as dancing got underway. The high school girls in patriotic costumes kept busy at the booths all evening and the boys sold raffle tickets. As the strains of the orchestra floated across the hall, the auctioneers carried on their work near the rear entrance.²⁸

At a Liberty Loan meeting held the next evening, the food, drink, punchboard prizes and household items not sold the previous night were again offered and an additional \$227.50 was added to the ambulance fund. Mrs. Grigsby and her treasurer, Mrs. J. Wesley Stewart, totaled up the receipts, and the first rough estimates indicated that some \$1,900 had been raised. At a meeting held on October 1, Mrs. Stewart reported that the final total stood at \$2,380.50. Mrs. Grigsby then rose to read another letter from William Hereford. According to his communication, five ambulances had recently been shipped to Paris. He offered to let the ladies of Tonopah have one at a cost of \$1425 and have a metal plaque attached which would read "A Gift From the People of Tonopah." The membership voted to purchase the vehicle, and Mrs. Stewart was directed to draw a check and forward it on to New York. Mrs. Grigsby then announced that John G. Kirchen, President of the Nevada First National Bank and General Manager of the Tonopah Extension Mining Company, had donated silver for a permanent plate for the ambulance and had made arrangements to have it engraved in San Francisco and shipped to France. Near the end of the meeting, further war work was discussed and a decision was made to purchase \$300 worth of material for the local chapter of the National Surgical Dressing

²⁷ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1917, 2:1-2, 4:3; October 19, 1917, 4:2-3; *Tonopah Daily Times*, October 19, 1917, 1:6-7; Grigsby, pp.3-4.

²⁸ *Tonopah Daily Times*, October 20, 1917, 1:2; October 23, 1917, 4:7; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 20, 1917, 4:3; October 22, 1917, 4:2-3; Interview with Mrs. Hugh Brown, July 26, 1976; Interview with Mrs. Lillian Ninnis, Reno, Nevada, October 14, 1976.

Committee and to allow the members of the group to use rooms at the Mizpah.²⁹

Officials of the American Ambulance Field Service eventually received notification the Tonopah ambulance had been assigned to the American Military Hospital No. 1 at Nully-Sur-Seine, a suburb of Paris. At a meeting on November 8, Mrs. Grigsby informed the members of the T.A.R. She also brought up the matter of thanking the people of Tonopah for their support and the members decided to hold a dance at the Mizpah on November 15. Publicity went out the next day and the dance was such a success that the ladies were asked to put on another later in the winter.³⁰

Some two months later, March 8, 1918, Tonopahites organized a local chapter of the Blue Cross, a national organization established to provide care and veterinary services for dogs and horses serving with the allies in Europe. Mrs. Grigsby was named to the post of honorary chairman and several women who had taken an active part in the ambulance fund campaign took other positions. Among these was Mrs. Hugh Brown, who helped organize a Junior Blue Cross chapter. A dance to raise funds was planned at this initial meeting and offers of assistance came in during the following week.³¹

On the afternoon of March 13, a few hours before the Blue Cross dance, Mrs. Grigsby met with the members of the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment for the last time. She spoke to them of their contributions to the war effort and made two motions, one to formally disband the organization and the second to donate the remaining funds in the treasury to the Blue Cross. Both were approved unanimously and Mark Averill, the President of the Blue Cross chapter in Tonopah, was informed. Billy Young's Orchestra played for the dance that evening and the entertainment provided by the children was particularly touching. Gathering around the flag, they sang "The Star Spangled Banner," then formed up in a procession and marched the length of the dance floor behind their canine mascots, "Nig" Booth and "Flippy" Moore. Blue Cross officials totaled up receipts of \$58.85. They added this to the \$645.25 donated by Mrs. Grigsby and forwarded a check in the amount

²⁹ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 20, 1917, 4:3; October 22, 1917, 4:2-3; October 24, 1917, 1:5, 2:1-2.4; *Tonopah Daily Times*, October 23, 1917, 4:7; October 24, 1917, 1:1-2; October 25, 1917, 4:2.

³⁰ *Tonopah Daily Times*, November 9, 1917, 1:3-4; November 14, 1917, 4:5; November 15, 1917, 2:3; *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, November 9, 1917, 4:2-3; November 13, 1917, 4:2-3; November 14, 1917, 4:4; November 15, 1917, 4:2-3; November 16, 1917, 4:2; December 24, 1917, 1:1; cf. "The American Hospital at Neuilly," *Scribner's Magazine* LXI, Nov.5 (May, 1917), 531-38.

³¹ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, January 16, 1918, 4:2-3; January 18, 1918, 4:7; February 5, 1918, 4:2-3; March 6, 1918, 4:3-4; March 7, 1918, 4:2; March 9, 1918, 1:6; *Tonopah Daily Times*, March 7, 1918, 4:3; March 8, 1918, 4:3.

of \$704.10 to the central headquarters in New York City that afternoon.³²

The records of the French hospital to which the Tonopah ambulance was assigned are incomplete and information on the vehicle could not be located at the National Archives in Washington D.C.,³³ but there is ample evidence that it saw active service. In September, 1918, Mrs. Grigsby wrote a letter from Berkeley, California to editor Booth in which she told of having received a letter from Colonel George Peed, the commanding officer of the hospital. According to the letter, she wrote, the Tonopah ambulance had been in use at the front for some time. She also informed Booth that Colonel Peed had sent several photographs of the ambulance and that she planned to forward copies to Tonopah in a few days. In closing, Mrs. Grigsby penned a touching reminiscence of the ambulance campaign. "It may be very much like the school boy who wanted to place his class number on the hillside," she wrote, "but nevertheless it is satisfaction to know that way over there in the thick of activities and in the heart of Paris, the name of Tonopah can be seen daily and that it stands as a symbol of love and mercy."³⁴

³² *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, October 26, 1917, 2:3-4; March 14, 1918, 4:3-4; March 18, 1918, 4:2.

³³ Letter to the writer from Timothy K. Nenninger, National Archives and Records Service, Navy and Old Army Branch, Military Archives Division, Washington D.C., May 11, 1976. For the history of this hospital, see *Historical Report*, James P. Hutchinson, Commanding Officer, A.R.C. Military Hospital No. 1, to Chief Surgeon, American Expeditionary Forces, France, March 19, 1919, Records Group No. 120, Records of the American Expeditionary Forces, National Archives and Records Service, Navy and Old Army Branch, Military Archives Division, Office of the Adjutant General, Washington, D.C.; cf., A. Piatt Andrew, "For Love of France," *The Outlook*, CXIV, No. 17 (December 27, 1916), 923-31. For a French view of American medical assistance during the war, see J. Roussel Lepine, "Une Ambulance de Gare," *Revue de Deux Mondes*, XXVII(Juin 1-15, 1916), 663-84, 910-34 and L. Georges-Renard, "Ambulanciers Americains," *Revue Politique et Litteraire*, LV(Septembre 29, 1917). 604-06.

³⁴ *Tonopah Daily Bonanza*, September 3, 1918, 4:3. Those to whom this writer has talked in the course of researching this story had all but forgotten the ambulance campaign, but they were able to furnish a few sparse details when asked specific questions. Without exception, they remembered the men marching off to war, but thought little of whatever it was they did to hasten the ultimate victory. Mrs. Hugh Brown, who mentioned the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment in her published reminiscences of life in Tonopah, (Brown, p.121) told this writer that the women of her community were always raising money for some civic cause - a public library, a local drama society, a park or whatever - and that the ambulance campaign was conducted in a similar fashion to the others.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Country School Idylls

CAROL IVINS COLLETT

THE FIVE IVINS SISTERS, Lillis, Bliss, Carol, Pearl and Fawn, taught in seven different one-room schools in Nevada, from 1917 through 1930. Their hometown was Lund, in White Pine County, Nevada.

Lillis, the first to get her teacher's certificate, taught at Bothwick (Bradley's Ranch) west of McGill and in the next valley. In her diary she doesn't say how many children or what grades she had, but the first day, 17 September 1917, she was so nervous she forgot the prayer. With all her worry of doing a good job, they did ask her to come back so she felt she had been somewhat of a success. However, she did not return but taught school in Preston the next year.

The fall of 1919, Lillis and Bliss traveled to Rigby, Idaho to teach. There in the late winter the flu epidemic raged. Lillis did not survive and Bliss suffered intensely but was able to return to our home in Lund. Later that spring the school in Cave Valley, the next valley to the east, had enough money for a six month term, which they would lose if a teacher could not be found. Bliss consented to take the job and rode horseback over the mountains, through deep snow, to her new position on the tenth of March, 1920.

There were six students (two in the first grade, three in the second, and one in the sixth) from the O'Donnell and Riordan families. She had to do her own janitor work. I visited her for a week and we had a wonderful time with many pictures for recall.

The way I acquired a teacher's certificate is interesting. My sister, Bliss, planned on taking the teacher's examinations in Ely and not wanting to be there alone persuaded me to go with her. I didn't have anything else to do so I went with her and took the exams, passing them all with grades from 85 to 98! What an exciting prospect! Now I could teach, save money, help my brothers with their schooling and realize my own dream of going to college.

My first school at White River was only fifteen miles from home at Lund. I stayed at the elder Caziers and rode their beautiful horse, Peaches, home for many weekends with my family.



Students dressed for Thanksgiving program, Ione School, 1929 (*Nevada Historical Society*)



Bliss Ivins, in Cave Valley, 1920 (*Nevada Historical Society*)

The schoolhouse, to be equidistant from the different ranches, was situated over a hill in a grassy little valley. That winter turned out to be the worst in memory, but I don't think we missed a day of school. Mr. Cazier would take a horse and drag a big log over the hill, making a narrow trail sometimes with the snow three or four feet deep on each side.

There were five children, Lona and Alvin Cazier, Walter Rosevear, Ned Pasterino and an Indian boy, Arthur Lee, who turned out to be a true artist and won my admiration for his talent and sweet disposition. Two Walsh boys came for a while. I had heard they were incorrigible, but there was no trouble except to convince one of them, taller than I, that I had only an interest in his horse, a beautiful black and white paint. My salary was \$105 a month.

The next year at \$140 a month I signed a contract to teach at the Goshute school, near Cherry Creek. One interesting condition, spelled out in the contract, that I board equal time with the Greens and the Cordanos (an Italian family), rather intrigued me. I found out that in the earlier years when the teachers seemed to prefer living with the Greens, grandfather Cordano had felt he was losing a chance for extra money, and challenged Grandpa Green to a duel.

The solution was to spend equal time at each ranch. My stay with the Cordanos was an education in itself. I learned to shear sheep, wash, card and spin the wool. With the yarn I knitted my Dad a pair of socks of which he was very proud and so was I. The one thing I missed there was desserts. We always had fruit, cake, or pudding at home to end our dinners. I satisfied this sweet tooth by eating a couple of pieces of candy which I tried to keep on hand. In those days I could stop at two!

There were seven children—four Cordanos and three Greens—ranging from the third to the eighth grade. At that time seventh and eighth graders were required to take state examinations, so much attention had to be paid to them.

The train going down the valley always whistled at Green's Siding, and that sound excited such longings for home that many weekends the children would take me to the siding after school on Friday night, my folks would meet me in Ely and I would have two wonderful days and three nights at home. It meant getting up at four a.m. Monday morning to catch the train back in time to be met and go straight to school.

From a distance I could see the little one-horse buggy waiting, with hot bricks for our feet in winter. The school grounds boasted a small stable with hay, plus "his" and "her" private holers. The kids usually said "hisn" and "hern" in spite of my instructions to the contrary.

All of us had experiences (some exciting) of amorous advances from

cowboys, surveyors, engineers, trappers etc. Mine was the driver who carried the mail between Lund and Preston (where he lived), Ely and Duckwater, going right past the Cazier house. He had a Ford truck with a white canvas top. Very snug and cozy for winter. Sometimes a little too cozy to put across the fact I was there just for the ride. He was handsome and personable but had no ambition beyond carrying the mail, so in the spring I abandoned him for Peaches and felt much safer.

Fawn started teaching next and her first school was in Spring Valley with twelve children in attendance, but a case of scarlet fever ended that in a few weeks.

After recuperation at home with tender loving care she was offered the school at Ione. The teacher had quit and they needed someone to finish the year for the seventeen children from Ione and surrounding ranches. A house was furnished for living quarters and the school building proved very adequate.

Since there was very little social life, some times were lonely, so she persuaded Pearl to come for a visit and they asked her to teach there the next school year. Fawn provided money for a session at summer school and then Pearl sent Fawn to her freshman year at BYU. Change about—Pearl attended the following year. That year at Ione turned out to be Pearl's only teaching adventure since she married the fall after her year at the "Y". Both Fawn and Pearl remembered the Cislini Family with great fondness.

Music helped to wile away the lonely hours for the three of us. Fawn remembers singing away her blues with every tune she could think of. For Pearl, they found an old organ in an abandoned building and Sundays especially were spent pumping and singing the hymns. We were a church-going family and Sunday seemed particularly lonesome when we could not attend. My source of enjoyment was an old phonograph and a few records; they are still some of my favorites. Also the Greens had a swing and I spent many happy hours with my thoughts tuned to its rhythmic motion.

Fawn went on to teach at Hamilton where the year started with five children and ended with three. At 8000 feet elevation, it would be expected to be cold and it was. Fawn's feet were frostbitten during the walk to school, until she wrapped them in gunny sacks. Melted snow had to be used for drinking and culinary purposes. I didn't ask her what they used for bathing. Sometimes she rode the sixty miles to Ely for a weekend at dear friends, the Shellenbergers.

In 1949-1950 she taught twenty-nine students in a one-room school at Moccasin, Arizona. She and her family lived in a trailer in the nearby Indian village where the schoolhouse was. Some of her students were

her own children—a good experience for them as it turned out. A school bus gathered the students from the surrounding territory, and the older children did the janitor work. The road to Kanab was terrible so she did most of her shopping at the local Aunt Maggie Heaton's home store. The mild climate made the year quite enjoyable, especially for field trips.

There you have the Ivins sisters' school teaching idylls—memories which we all treasure to this day.



Pearl (l) and Carol (r) Ivins at Goshute school (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Book Reviews

Basque Americans: A Guide to Information Sources. Edited by William A. Douglass and Richard W. Etulain. (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1981. xvi 169pp.)

THIS WORK IS VOLUME VI of the Ethnic Studies Information Guide Series. The editors are both well known authorities in the field of Basque studies. William A. Douglass, an anthropologist, has been the coordinator of the Basque studies program at the University of Nevada, Reno since its inception. He has authored a number of important works and has edited others. Of particular significance is a work published in 1977 with Richard W. Etulain entitled *Anglo-American Contributions to Basque Studies: Essays in Honor of Jan Bilboa*.

Etulain is a historian and serves the University of New Mexico as professor of history and editor of the New Mexico Historical Review. His forte is history and literature of the American West both as an author and editor.

The work is more than a "book of books." It is a most authoritative and complete compendium of sources for the study of the Basques. As one might expect, the diverse categories of sources include such areas as Basque collection libraries, general works (old world and new world, except U.S. and Asia), History of Basques in the United States, Literature, Language, Physical Anthropology, Social Sciences, Bibliographies and Reference Works, Periodicals, Art and Music, and Education. Some rather unique categories, but most appropriate for the study of Basques, are folklore, sports, games, festivals, cookbooks and hotels, film and documentary, and finally a selective section on the plethora of popular accounts in books, magazines, and newspapers.

The most extensive listings are those which have received the most attention from researchers, and these three are "General Works on Old World Basques," "History of the Basques in the United States," and "Language." All told there are 413 different sources listed; entries are numbered — a useful tool for the researcher. All of the listings are annotated. The annotations are direct, useful and to the point. When the contributors do not believe works to be particularly useful they say so honestly and concisely.

Since this is so important to a work of this nature, a sample illustration follows:

- 131 Eagle, Sonia Jacqueline. "Work and Play Among the Basques of Southern California." Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1979. 232 p.

Social anthropologist Eagle argues that play and recreation are the key contexts in which the Basques of the Los Angeles area define and express their ethnic identity. She asserts that in an urban megalopolis like the greater Los Angeles area such socializing becomes particularly important both in the maintenance of ethnicity and as a hedge against urban-induced anomie. The play forms, which place emphasis upon stamina and physical prowess, are themselves reflective importance of the Los Angeles Basque colony as the oldest in the American West. She also maintains that it is currently more occupationally diversified than any other. Considerable attention is given to historical reconstruction of Basque involvement in the area's sheep, citrus, dairy, and meat packing industries. Biographic profiles of John Leonis and Domingo Bastanchury and brief histories of the area's three Basque clubs are welcome additions to the literature.

The thrust of this thesis is description rather than theory, the data are too narrowly derived from published secondary sources and a limited number of interviews; consequently, its conclusions are asserted rather than demonstrated. Stylistically, there is considerable redundancy and many Basque terms and place names are misspelled. Such weaknesses notwithstanding, as one of the few treatments of urban Basques (cf., Decroos, no. 175; and Dunn, no. 130 for two others), this thesis does make a contribution to the literature.
WAD

The annotations do not have the stylistic evenness that one would expect if one writer had prepared all of them, but this is more than compensated by the fact that authoritative contributors were responsible for the review of each work and the preparation of the annotation. A list of these contributors, with a short sketch, is included at the beginning of the work. Also included to assist the researchers are separate author, title, and subject indexes for ease of access to information of interest to scholars or casual readers of this fine work.

If it is not already apparent, I should say that this reviewer is most highly enthusiastic about this work. It is a must for anyone interested in Basques. This subject is still so new that it is difficult to criticize anything that will provide as much assistance as this volume will. Also,

there is nothing else with which it will compete since there is little else available. Consequently, one can only applaud its appearance and contribution. Its usefulness can best be anticipated by quoting the authors in their introduction:

If the bibliography provides a summary of what work has been done on the Basques, we also hope it makes clear some topics on the Amerikanuak that need further attention. Scholars have completed community studies on some of the most significant Basque colonies, but we still lack monographs on the Basque groups of New York City; Boise, Idaho; and Reno, Nevada. Nor have many research projects been carried out on leading Basque persons, ranches, and business concerns. This bibliography should be a beginning point for interpreters who wish to undertake some of these much-needed projects. Other persons, for example, lay historians, journalists, and Basques interested in tracing the stories of local Basques, family histories, or general trends in Basque history, should also find herein the points of departure for their research.

Richard O. Ulibarri
Weber State College

Goldfield. By Hugh A. Shamberger. Historic Mining Camps of Nevada, Vol. 10. (Sparks, Nevada: Western Printing & Publishing Company, 1982)

IN 1967, THE AUTHOR OF THIS SERIES retired from a demanding position of leadership and policy-making with the State of Nevada and looked about for something to do. Ignoring that time-honored tradition among those who gathered wealth or a pension from the Great Basin, only to spend their declining years at some California place of resort, he characteristically undertook a project which drew upon his career and experience. First as a mining engineer, then as State Engineer and Director of the Nevada Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, in almost four decades Hugh Shamberger built a personal network of friendships in government, business, and among private individuals throughout the West, but particularly among those on farms, ranches, or mines and wholly dependent on water for an uncertain future. At a time in life when most of his contemporaries chose to forget the pressures of career through cruises or daytime TV, he resolved to distill his own and others' experience in a series of studies on individual Nevada mining districts, the bulk of which were most active in the twentieth century at a time when the young engineer saw them firsthand, or knew those who did.

One of the most frequent laments within the historical community in Nevada is the lack of individuals working with state or local topics. Many counties are without a single person engaged in actively collecting or writing local history and not one county history is presently in print. Yet, there is the occasional example of the nineteenth-century gentleman-historian who crops up to confound the experts, and such is Hugh Shamberger. Not for him a geriatric dawdle, he quietly and knowledgeably organized a group of equally talented mining engineers and earth scientists to cooperate within his proposed program: John Schilling's Nevada Bureau of Mines and Mineralogy, Paul Gemmill of the Nevada Mining Association, and Hugh's old Natural Resources Department. The U.S. Geological Survey participated by footing the series' printing costs. Victor O. Goodwin proofed manuscripts and offered editorial comment. Friends active in districts surveyed were thoroughly interviewed and contributed photographs and insights unavailable to any other writer. They, in turn, suggested other and further sources that all have taken their places in ten detailed, illustrated studies of Nevada bonanza camps. It seems safe to conclude that no one lacking Shamberger's background and broad scope of personal contacts could have been so effective in garnering together the data compiled in each volume. An engineer's efficiency in shaking the tree of source materials has yielded a bumper crop of detail. This assemblage of personal and statistical information is the author's bequest to fellow historians.

Goldfield is the last of these studies, and despite these comments being more valedictory than review, a look at this particular work and its predecessors is obligatory. Modestly, Hugh frequently concluded his prefaces with the hope that "other historians" might complete the story of Nevada mining. If his series, which was treated as a hobby, might help future interpreters, this was his reward. The full experience of Nevada's mining industry has not yet been written, but its author will certainly acknowledge Shamberger's contribution to such a volume right up there with *The Big Bonanza* and *Comstock Mining and Miners*. Still, the value of this series is in its facts and flavor, not analysis. The author took two tasks upon himself, that of marshaling a body of information derived from unique sources, and recording for us the optimism, aggressiveness and pleasantly criminal nature of the mining frontier in the words of its fast-disappearing fraternity. Others will have the benefit of attitudes captured in quotations from Hugh's interviewees. Still, as one who anticipates using these works frequently, it would be beneficial to have annotated bibliographies and more detailed indexes.

Because of budgetary and other limitations, the printwork varies from volume to volume. A designer would have been an asset, but since the

book-making effort was all volunteer, the author pragmatically used what assistance was available. As a result, organization suffers, there is repetition, and typographical errors are occasionally found. More common are mistakes in final printing; inking intensity varies abruptly from page to page and line spacing varies inconstantly from paragraph to paragraph. But these flaws can be discounted when compared to the subject matter. Graphics collected from private collections unknown to most historians form a particularly strong point, despite occasional errors, such as a photograph of Austin on p. 8, labelled as Tonopah.

But enough of this petty nit-picking. Hugh Shamberger has set us a laudable example of an individual seeking out a means of benefitting his state and posterity through utilizing talents unique to himself. If he chooses to hang up his stamps after fifteen years, it's not because the boiler blew. Come on, Hugh, Emma Nevada made at least three "farewell" tours of the concert circuit — and there are at least a hundred more camps out there still unheralded.

John M. Townley, *Director*
Great Basin Studies Center,
Reno

Clio's Cowboys: Studies in the Historiography of the Cattle Trade. By Don D. Walker. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1981. 210 pages, index, endnotes)

CLIO'S COWBOYS BY DAN D. WALKER is more than a critical study of range historiography; it is an indictment of the literary and philosophical methodology employed by historians in their approach to cattle trade history. Few writers remain unscathed by Walker's probing pen, from Douglas Branch and *The Cowboy and His Interpreters* to J.B. Frantz and J.E. Choate in *The American Cowboy: The Myth and the Reality*. Walker does not chide them for the validity of their concepts or theses; rather he is concerned that historians of the cowboy and cattle range have been influenced by their own ideological pressures and naiveté.

Basic to the problem, as the author acknowledges, is the scarcity of primary sources and the traditional mythic and romantic view of the cowboy within American society. Decrying the lack of a psycho-historical approach that would probe the inner thoughts and feelings of the cowboy, his society, and social structures, the author's inherent message is that in-depth analyses would help dispel the myth of cattle trade history as anti-intellectual and unphilosophical.

To remedy the problem, Walker suggests the critical use of cowboy "Bibles" such as *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade* and *The Trail*

Drivers of Texas, recognition of the value of the western novel, and the scrapping of the superficial and traditional emphasis upon cowboy trappings and salty lingo. A more analytical approach, he claims, would uncover the "historical person" beneath the romantic facade.

Starting with works written from the perspective of the personal observer such as J.G. McCoy's *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, which Walker terms "history by epithet," he supports their validity but notes that they must be studied with the author's special vision in mind. The fact that McCoy, for example, lacks objectivity and reveals history through his own sense of destiny does not eliminate the historical worth of his contribution. The major value of *Historic Sketches*, Walker contends, is that the work captures the character and spirit of the West—those intangible elements that oftentimes do not shine through the maze of fact and detail compiled by the researcher of documents years after the fact. Based upon his ranching experiences, Theodore Roosevelt's *Sketches of the Cattle Trade* presents another personalized view of history. Like McCoy, Roosevelt was a firsthand observer, and his account enables the reader to get a feel for the loneliness of such a life when he writes of herds that meander "among the great, dreary solitudes" or "down the valleys of lonely rivers."

In contrast to the firsthand observer approach is that of the traditional historian who, although exposed to the West, seeks to remain objective. By analyzing certain classics—Webb's *The Great Plains*, Osgood's *Day of the Cattlemen*, and Dale's *The Range Cattle Industry*, Walker concludes that these individuals were unsuccessful in their attempt at objectivity because they were unable to divorce themselves from their backgrounds. In a stance that appears to be contradictory in view of his support for the western novel, Walker chides these authors for using literary terms such as "American sage" and "history picturesque" rather than terms associated with writers of twentieth-century economic history. He criticizes Webb, for example, for writing romantically of "men in boots and big hats . . . camp cook and horse wrangler," calling this "prose in the spirit of Whitman, not in the style of a practical social scientist." Walter Webb, of course, would have considered the charge a compliment since he regarded *The Great Plains* more as literature than history, economic or other brand.

In view of Walker's concern it appears somewhat paradoxical that in "The Fence-Line Between Cowboy History and Cowboy Fiction," Walker envisions a converging frontier in the nexus of history and "some" fiction, wherein both Owen Wister's *The Virginian* and Ernest Osgood's *Day of the Cattlemen*, for example, would have a definite value in cattle trade history. The underlying moral of this position (paradoxical or not) is that fiction contains within it factors that make history palatable to

John Q. Citizen—that representative of the general public who looks to literature for a sense of place and cultural identity. Basic to the success of such a philosophy, of course, is that the writer, whether novelist or historian, must undertake seriously the task of understanding what sources mean and must rely on perceptions as well as the habits of methodology.

After taking a Marxist view of the cowboy, termed “The Left Side of the Range,” Walker proposes that the cowboy be further invested with a past by delving into “official histories” and autobiographies such as *Prose and Poetry of the Livestock Industry* and James Cox’s *The Cattle Industry of Texas and Adjacent Territory*, which place the cowboy back in anthropological and scriptural time. Concluding with a notice that “the gate is still open,” Walker points to other trails of inquiry.

In sum, *Clio’s Cowboys* is a controversial but well-written and thought-provoking study, destined to raise the hackles and the consciousness of traditional Western scholars—in essence a book well worth the reading.

Necah S. Furman
University of New Mexico

Indian Policy in the United States: Historical Essays. by Francis Paul Prucha. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981. ix + 272 pp., index)

THESE COLLECTED ESSAYS, lectures and articles span nearly two decades of scholarly effort and are a fitting testimony to Francis Paul Prucha’s significance as an historian of United States policy toward the Indians. For all those interested in Indian-white relations Prucha’s books on government policy have been essential reading, starting with his *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962) and progressing to *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976). In addition, he has produced a superb reference work, *A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977, that now has a supplement, *Indian-White Relations in the United States: A Bibliography of Works Published 1975-1980* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982). These four volumes are excellent examples of Prucha’s many contributions to scholarship and research.

Prucha’s essays, of course, are also important contributions, and their collection in one volume is a great benefit, especially to those interested

in nineteenth-century Indian affairs. Yet from these ranks of interested readers have risen some of Prucha's most intense critics. The standard complaint is that Prucha's work does not focus enough on the Indian side of government policy. In his preface to this book, Prucha forthrightly responds to such complaints by stating, "My concentration has been on white action. Although it used to be customary to call what I was doing 'Indian history,' I have not attempted to write the history of Indian groups and only to a limited extent have I attempted the history of Indian response to white programs. It seems to me that the history of white policy is a legitimate enterprise, even though, like all history, it presents only part of the story." (p. viii) Some might say that Prucha, therefore, is no longer in the mainstream of "Indian history," but it is more accurate to say that he is so prolific and important a scholar that he has created his own mainstream in the study of Indian policy.

These essays take the reader into Prucha's mainstream and reveal both broad currents and fascinating tributaries. The first two chapters of the book are important guides to all scholars who wish to study and work on the history of Indian policy. In fact the second chapter is a marvelous shopping list of research topics for historians interested in the administration of Indian policy. In more general terms, Prucha gives sound advice on "Doing Indian History." In particular he advocates rigorous discipline and the avoidance of biases. The purpose of history, he believes, "... is not to serve the special interests of any group or doctrine, not to furnish ammunition for polemics and propaganda. It is a scientific study based on finely honed techniques." (p. 6) Similarly, he feels that the historian's "... inability to eliminate biases altogether does not justify the abandonment of all efforts to minimize or to surmount them in the search for truth. Perhaps the goal cannot ever be attained, but we will assuredly not get closer to it if we fail to strive for it." (p. 11)

Prucha certainly strives to be fair and balanced in his own writings. Indeed, his best known essay, "Andrew Jackson's Indian Policy: A Reassessment," (Chapter 10) is still criticized as an overexerize of fairness. His conclusion that "Jackson himself had no doubt that his policy was in the best interest of the Indians," (p. 151) has not revised the opinions of all scholars but is close to the view of Jackson presented in Robert V. Remini's recent multivolume biography. (see *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832*, especially pp. 257-279.)

In addition to his essay on Old Hickory, Prucha has included chapters on Lewis Cass and Thomas L. McKenney as well as an essay on the somewhat obscure but fascinating Mrs. O.J. Hines, the leader of the Wisconsin Indian Association who was an outspoken friend of the Indian

in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Other essays are thematic considerations of such topics as "The Image of the Indian in Pre-Civil War America," "The United States Army and the Fur Trade," and "Indian Removal and the Great American Desert." The book's twelfth chapter examines "Scientific Racism and Indian Policy." It is a response to an article by Reginald Horsemann. Prucha's arguments indicate that the debate over racism in Indian-white history is in an early stage of intellectual exchange and has not reached the level of insight evident in the writing of George Fredrickson in Afro-American history or of Edmund Morgan in colonial American history, among others.

For many readers the most impressive writing in this volume will be found in the two essays that consider the role of Christian reformers in shaping Indian policy and in the two chapters that place Indian policy in broad historical context. This latter topic may be an indication of the direction in which Prucha's scholarly writing is headed. His major study of federal policy from George Washington's administration to the present should appear in the next few years. As with this book under review here, it will deserve a wide readership.

Clyde Milner II
Utah State University

Knights of the Green Cloth: The Saga of the Frontier Gamblers. By Robert K. DeArment. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. xiv + 423 pp., illustrations, maps, footnotes, bibliography, index)

WE KNOW HIM. WE THINK. He is tall, dignified, perhaps handsome, unquestionably self-assured; a devout hedonist who lives for the eternal contest. He is, of course, the western gambler. His image, however, bears inconsistent resemblance to the reality. As one very successful, quite physically unimpressive gamester allowed, "I gamble only to make money. I don't think I have any of the so-called gambling instinct. I'm like the guy that plays the big bass viol in the orchestra, who comes home at three or four o'clock in the morning and his wife asks him to play a little tune, and he says, 'Go to hell.' I feel that way about cards. They're my business, not my pleasure." (p. 257)

This is the first book-length study of gambling in the West. In it we are introduced to practitioners celebrated and unheralded alike, from conscientious craftsmen to outright thieves. Their activities are chronicled from 1850 to 1910, from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from the

Gulf of Mexico to the Klondike. We follow their peregrinations through railhead, mining camp, cattle town, and military post. In the process we learn much about who they were, what they did, and how they did it, but little of what it all meant. DeArment's book is, regrettably, a largely anecdotal account, frequently enjoyable but ultimately unsatisfying.

From the thousands of gamesters who plied their trade in the West, DeArment has selected those he considers to have been the most famous in their time. He has organized the retelling of their stories around the implied themes of the court cards of the deck. The aces are those gamblers who were the consummate professionals, solitary figures of commanding presence and unexcelled technique. The kings are those who successfully used their gaming talents to acquire substantial economic or political power. The queens are the few feminine wagerers who achieved fame either in spite of their sex or because of it. And the jacks are the crooked gamblers, arguably the most interesting members of the profession, likely the most numerous. Within this framework the careers of many western notables are considered, most prominently Charles Cora, Dick Clark, Ben Thompson, John King Fisher, James Butler, "Wild Bill" Hickok, John H. "Doc" Holliday, Luke Short, Wyatt Earp, William B. "Bat" Masterson, Ed Bradley, George Lewis "Tex" Rickard, Ed Chase, Dona Maris Gertrudis "La Tules" Barcelo, Eleanore "Madame Mustache" Dumont, Lottie Deno, Alice "Poker Alice" Ivers, George Devol, Jefferson Randolph "Soapy" Smith, Jr., and William "Canada Bill" Jones.

As an organizational scheme, DeArment's use of the court cards proves to be more interesting than effective. Indeed, some of his categorizations seem arbitrary if not spurious. Why, for instance, is the infamous dance house proprietor Joseph "Rowdy Joe" Lowe accorded ace status while "Wild Bill" Hickok is relegated to the ranks of the jacks? Whatever his faults, Hickok was never a common cheat; and Lowe, by his nature, was a man of raw force, the very antipathy of ace-like finesse and demeanor.

There is also the matter of consistency in definition and subject. Granted, the line between gambler and confidence man is often a thin one, and so the inclusion of individuals like "Soapy" Smith and "Canada Bill" Jones is justifiable. But to also include others whose "games" admittedly consisted of luring "a well-fixed sucker in, accuse him of cheating, . . . 'find' a hold-out card on him, . . . [and] then take his money under the threat of exposing him as a cheat," (p. 320), or simply enticing "two men into a big stakes game and hold . . . them up with revolvers" (p. 320) surely is not. Gambling is one thing, and armed robbery is quite another.

Perhaps the primary problem with this work lies with the sources. They are largely secondary, somewhat limited in scope, and are too often used uncritically, the author readily accepting and repeating rather than analyzing their content. Additionally, the footnoting is woefully inadequate, with less than six pages of notes to support almost four hundred of text. More interesting quotes are simply left uncited, and on more than one occasion a gambler's life and career is described in considerable detail but the sole accompanying footnote lists nothing more than the rudiments of the gambler's favorite game.

On the other hand, DeArment has a fine feel for the gamester's life style and the ability to effectively communicate it. A man who can write that "A snowy white shirt adorned with overlapping layers of ruffles covered the chest and disappeared in an embarrassment of inadequacy beneath a garish flowered vest" (pp. 23-4) clearly understands his subject.

Still, memorable descriptions and well-told anecdotes, in themselves, are not enough. The dearth of developed social context, of analysis of the gambler's ultimate significance in western history, both as a symbol and as a factor, are keenly felt. Despite its strengths, *Knights of the Green Cloth* can only claim to advance our interest in a fascinating and important subject, not our knowledge.

Gary L. Cunningham
University of California,
Santa Barbara

American Notes: Rudyard Kipling's West. By Rudyard Kipling. Edited and with an Introduction by Arrell Morgan Gipson. (1910; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981. 173 pp., \$9.95)

"PROTECT ME FROM THE WRATH of an outraged community if these letters be ever read by American eyes," Rudyard Kipling wrote in a dispatch to the *Alahabad Pioneer* in India. The *Pioneer* had sent Kipling to America in 1889 to write his impressions; in the tradition of earlier English writers—Charles Dickens and James Bryce, most notably—he largely derided what he encountered. In fact, with the important exceptions of salmon fishing, women, and Mark Twain, Kipling seems not to have cared for anything American. An American publisher soon pirated his letters and printed them together as *American Notes*. American eyes *did* see Kipling's comments, and most who read them were incensed. Modern American readers of the University of Oklahoma Press' new edition, however, are more likely to feel disappointment.

One can hardly blame either. Kipling arrived at San Francisco to begin his tour, which he clearly considered a lark. Piqued at a poor reception, he describes San Francisco as provincial, rapacious and, therefore, controlled by Irishmen. His tone is condescending: "The American has no language. He has dialect, slang, provincialism, accent, and so forth." Probably many of Kipling's observations bear some truth, but he delivers them in so fastidious a manner, straining oftener for wit than insight, that he sounds callow and priggish. During the rest of his tour—he traveled through Portland to Vancouver, then to Yellowstone, Salt Lake City, Denver, Chicago, and finally the East Coast—the tenor of his remarks changes little. That is a shame. Kipling visited the West when significant political and social changes were underway; he recognized the changes but spent little effort in analysing them. He preferred sardonic humor, and were it fresh and entirely just, it would be valuable. But Kipling said little that had not been said by others before him; and his long travelogue now tells us nothing more about America than what F. Scott Fitzgerald later captured in a single phrase: "the vast, vulgar, and meretricious beauty."

Some Americans, however, he found affecting. Kipling was twenty-three years old when he visited, and brilliant as he was, he was also susceptible. American women completely captivated him:

. . . The girls of America are beyond them all. They are clever; they can talk. Yea, it is said that they think. . . They are original, and look you between the brows with unabashed eyes as a sister might look at her brother.

Moreover, he found many of them astonishingly beautiful. Such remarks lend a small, spontaneous charm to *American Notes*—all the more so because he later married an American.

About Mark Twain Kipling was almost fawning. He went to Twain in Elmira, New York, as a neophyte to a master. Kipling was unknown at the time, and Twain was surprised and pleased to entertain so intelligent—and complimentary—a visitor. "He is a stranger to me, but he is a most remarkable man—and I am the other one. Between us we cover all knowledge; he knows all that can be known, and I know the rest."¹

In other words, Kipling struck Twain as brilliant but too full of himself. Kipling's praise was less reserved and less witty:

Some of you are Commissioners and some Lieutenant-Governors, and some have the V.C. and a few are privileged to walk about the Mall arm in arm with the Viceroy; but *I* have seen Mark Twain this golden morning. . . Understand clearly that I do not despise you. . . I am only very sorry for you, from the Viceroy downward.

¹ Quoted in Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: a Biography* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1912), p. 881.

American Notes would have little to recommend itself to general readership were it not concluded with the Twain interview. Here one both enjoys the writing and sees clearly what he might have only guessed before, that the book in tone and style borrows heavily upon Twain's own travelogues.

The principal problem with *American Notes* is that it has little in it to remind readers of Kipling's later, justly prized books and stories. In his somewhat apologetic introduction, Gibson, who also edited and provided scanty notes for the new edition, makes large claims for this travelogue. His arguments are not persuasive. For instance, because Kipling traveled from west to east, countering the traditional visiting European's itinerary, Gibson thinks the book has an intriguing "narrative direction." Simple direction can hardly rescue a commonplace text. Kipling scholars may want to read *American Notes* to study the genesis of his style; historians may find his observations of some curious significance to American-English relations of the time. The rest of us might just as well turn to Trollope or de Tocqueville for an outsider's insight into nineteenth-century America.

Roger Smith
Carson City, Nevada

Town Planning in Frontier America. By John W. Reps. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980. 328 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$9.95)

THIS BOOK IS AN UPDATED and abridged version of the author's earlier work, *The Making of Urban America*, a landmark survey of American town planning before 1850. The original volume, published in 1965, contained over 300 illustrations and 550 pages but retailed for over \$70. This paperback edition offers most of the key maps, plates and chapters of the original book and at a more affordable price.

Reps' coverage is thorough. He begins by examining the town planning traditions popular in Renaissance Europe. He finds a rich architectural literature in every major country promoting the need for large public plazas (Italy), wide boulevards (France) and enclosed residential squares (England). He thus concludes that by the time of Columbus, "European city planning, on which our own [town plans] were based, exhibited a rich variety of elements and influences." With the discovery of America, imperial authorities sought to transplant this city-making expertise to the New World. To this end, Spain's King Philip II promulgated the "Laws of the Indies" to establish "uniform standards and procedures for

planning towns and their surrounding lands." As a result, in South America, Mexico, Florida, and our own Southwest, the design of no settlement was left to chance. Regulations specified the location of the central square, the church, fortifications, and all public buildings as well as surrounding farms and homes. Whether it was *presidio* (military settlement) or *pueblo* (civil community), order governed the layout of Spanish towns.

Similar though less stringent practices also ruled French urban designs where a propensity for narrow, long lots retreating from the river's edge dominated the plats of towns along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi. Thanks to the abundance of maps provided by Reps, a comparative view of French town planning is easily drawn. Clearly, the original townsites of Montreal and St. Louis bear many resemblances to each other, as do the initial sections of New Orleans, Detroit and other French settlements.

Not surprisingly, New England town plans often resembled those of their counterparts in the mother country. Most interesting are the villages in rural New England designed by the Puritan oligarchs in Boston as agricultural units where everyone lived in town! The purpose of this unusual scheme was to permit residents to observe each other's behavior to make sure it conformed to Calvinist ideals. Yet, despite the supposed uniqueness of these villages, Reps is able to draw comparisons with communities in other regions. Indeed, one is struck by the physical similarities between small New England towns and the *pueblos* of Spanish California.

After 1700, as the Indian menace eased, trade with Europe grew, craft industries developed, and the frontier line moved west, eastern Americans began preparing more sophisticated plans which confined noisy and odorous industries to peripheral zones, allotted more land for parks and extended gridiron street networks far into the countryside. Gradually, too, control over planning passed from imperial authorities to colonial legislatures, city surveyors, local landowners, and real estate speculators. According to Reps, this pluralistic trend in urban planning resulted in a greater variety of designs which, in turn, added to the richness of the American building tradition.

As town development moved west of the Appalachians in the years after 1790, the "physical environment, isolation and inadequate resources" of virgin territory continued to prevent the "wholesale transplanting" of European and even eastern designs. In every region the unpredictable frontier forced modifications in even the most pragmatic of plans. In more than one river town rocky banks, marshes, low muddy sinks, and other topographical peculiarities combined with an undulating terrain to shape the original street system. As Reps demonstrates,

whether in the Midwest, Northeast, Deep South or the Chesapeake Tidewater, geographical and frontier factors often conspired to influence the physical development of towns.

Reps' ability to capture these effects graphically makes his work an outstanding scholarly achievement. Not only does he present capsule biographies of over 100 towns representing every region of the nation, but for big cities like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia he traces their plans through subsequent revisions and additions to provide a needed perspective on change over time. While there are few lengthy, in-depth studies of any one city, this book is still indispensable to anyone interested in the "laying out" of frontier communities. One caution, however: Reps' coverage ends at 1850, and therefore much of the far western experience (except for a few brief sections on Spanish California and Mormon Utah) is missing. This story, of course, can be found in Reps' equally monumental and expensive (\$85) *Cities of the American West* (Princeton University Press, 1980) or in the new abridged version, *The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in the American West before 1890* (University of Missouri Press, 1981). When taken together, Reps' books represent the best introductory survey of American town planning yet written.

Eugene P. Moehring
University of Nevada,
Las Vegas

Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881. By David Fridtjof Halaas. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981. 146 pp.; illustrations, map, bibliography, index. \$14.95)

FEW INDIVIDUALS ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER equaled the local newspaper editor in their importance to the community's present and future. He, and occasionally she, took a large risk in establishing and maintaining a business, and it was only natural that he sought to insure its growth by creating and stabilizing permanent settlement and a solid crop of readers. Author David Halaas was right when he wrote:

If they sometimes became impatient with the backward ways of some of the people or if their demands for improvements became increasingly strident, it was because they had set their standards high and because they had a genuine faith in the land. Many times their labors were in vain. But as long as there was a 'shot in the locker' they stood as the camp's most committed voice for reason and civilization. (p. 99)

Halaas, a member of the staff of the Colorado Historical Society, has dissected this fascinating individual in a book that covers all aspects of the job, from reporting to hand press to crusader in print. He focuses on the territories of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona in the years from 1859 to 1881. Like many of his subjects, the author is skilled at turning a clever phrase and presents the information in an entertaining style. The reader will learn much about the business and the individuals who were its heart; *Boom Town Newspapers* will not disappoint the student or the casual reader.

This 103-page volume comprises six chapters and a short conclusion. Its conciseness is misleading—it is crammed with information and insights, more than many books twice its length. From the Preface (which should not be overlooked, as it nicely sets the tempo) to the Conclusion, Halaas does not let up. He obviously has fallen in love with his subject but still retains a scholarly objectivity. He is able to see both the good and the bad and pulls no punches in telling the story.

Each chapter deals with a separate topic; for example, the first discusses the problems of newspapering in a frontier situation, weighed against the goals of the editors. The second examines the editors, who were usually young and male and sometimes lacked much formal education. Halaas's capsule biographies of some of these people are well drawn and provide personal glimpses often lacking in this type of survey. In an era of personal journalism, editors needed to be willing to back up their words with actions, if necessary, against rivals and disgruntled readers. As community gadflies, "chambers of commerce," political spokesmen, and local boosters, they often found themselves at odds with one faction or another. The risks might have been worth it had the pay been more rewarding. Money was always a nagging problem. Finances became the first order of business, and the editor who failed to heed this dictum soon found himself out in the cold and moving on.

"Moving on" constituted their way of life. Both the editors and their papers were a transitory lot, who moved with the crowd in search of a home. In the end the west, and certainly history, were richer for their having been there.

Halaas moves on from one chapter to another in an easy, smooth style, taking the reader along with him effortlessly. The conclusion summarizes the main points and perhaps should be read first, followed by the individual chapters that expand on those points. However one cares to approach the book, *Boom Town Newspapers* gives new insights, strength-

ens older ones (and challenges some cherished beliefs), and furnishes a better understanding of the fascinating world of the urban west.

Duane A. Smith
Fort Lewis College

Showdown: Confronting Modern America in the Western Film. By John H. Lenihan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980. 214 pp.)

THIS BOOK, based on the author's doctoral dissertation, attempts to prove the thesis that Western films produced in the years after the Second World War reflect faithfully the changing American political and social attitudes, from Korea and the Cold War to the integration struggle. Film, like all popular art, quite obviously has to follow the changing values of its audience, if for no other than purely pecuniary reasons. But film is more than merely a celluloid litmus strip indicating social attitudes: at best—as art—it frequently stands above the daily battles; at worst it is trash, reflecting nothing at all, merely filling the screen with mindless action.

Assuming for argument's sake that commercially produced theatrical releases and television films indeed reflect society and its temporary concerns, one must still wonder about the author's insistence to select from all film genre—such as comedy, detective, gangster or horror films—the Western, the most conservative of all. Confined by historical limits, traditional cinematic structures and themes, the Western is the least likely of all film genre to reflect societal changes in the second half of the twentieth century. This traditionalism of the Western in a time of experimentation and transformation accounts for its demise from the screens of our theaters, where it now only appears as an occasional novelty item, such as *The Long Riders* or *Barbarosa*, the first American film of the Australian director Fred Schepisi.

Lenihan's method consists of the examination of a large sample—in this case roughly 450 films—rather than concentrating on an individual film: "The significance of an individual film, in terms of either artistic merit or popularity, matters less than the recurrent pattern of themes and ideas in other Westerns" (p. 7). The scope of this method differentiates *Shootout* from Will Wright's *Sixguns and Society: a Structural Study of the Western* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), which attempted "to show that there is redeeming social value in this seemingly barren intellectual wasteland." Wright determined the social significance in Westerns from a relatively small sample of major films which were also popular successes.

Attempting to tie nineteenth-century historical events to 1950s politics, Lenihan frequently has to strain, as he does in his discussion of Sidney Salkow's *Sitting Bull* (1954): "In the spirit of Eisenhower's peace mission in Korea, President Grant agrees to visit the West and meet with Sitting Bull" (p. 44). The meaning of many of the films mentioned in this study is distorted by being forced into the author's thesis. Vidor's *Duel in the Sun* (1947) and Lang's *Rancho Notorious* (1952) are cited as examples of post-war alienation. Already in his silent film *The Crowd* (1928) King Vidor had featured an alienated hero, who is far more divorced from society than any of the characters in *Duel in the Sun*. Fritz Lang's *Rancho Notorious* does not take its inspiration from contemporary tendencies in the United States of the 1950s, but expresses merely the same determinism which can be seen already in his films of the twenties and thirties such as *M*, *Fury* and *You Only Live Once*.

Other films misread by the author are Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch* (1969) and Samuel Fuller's *Run of the Arrow* (1956). Lenihan writes about the Peckinpah Western: "*The Wild Bunch* contains no romantic interludes. . .to suggest boyish innocence on the part of his badmen, but shows them as hardened violent men" (p. 161). The film offers different evidence: one of the film's main locales is Angel's village, located in a paradisiacally verdant grove, where two members of the Wild Bunch, Lyle and Tector Gorch, frolic like children. Pike Bishop, their leader, finds this difficult to believe. Don Jose, the village elder, answers with the most memorable line from this film: "We all dream of being a child again; even the worst of us—perhaps, the worst of us most of all."

Run of the Arrow depicts the refusal of O'Meara, a confederate soldier, to accept the defeat of the south. In protest against the "new" United States, in which he merely sees the loathsome Yankees of the Civil War, he joins a tribe of Sioux. In Lenihan's view the protagonist is motivated by racial rather than political considerations: "O'Meara joins the Indians out of defiance for his own race" (p. 71). Lenihan further links Fuller's film to "the headlined resistance to school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas" (p. 71), although the theme of the lone white man living among Indians has been a staple of Western literature and film since their beginnings.

How forced this thesis is becomes obvious when the author reports on an interview he conducted with Delmer Daves, the director of *Drum Beat* (1954), a dramatization of the career of the Modoc renegade Captain Jack: "Like most other writers and directors I have interviewed in Southern California, Daves had no recollection of intending any analogy with contemporary problems" (p. 43). In spite of this denial,

Lenihan sees in Captain Jack's dispute over the Lost River region "the domino theory and the dread of another Munich appeasement translated into a frontier setting" (p. 41).

If Lenihan's theory appears unsound when applied to the studio-produced Westerns of the forties and fifties—all too often low budget B-pictures, turned out in assembly line fashion—his argument becomes more convincing when he examines the Westerns of the 1970s. In films such as *Dirty Little Billy* (1972), *Bad Company* (1972) or in Robert Altman's *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), the references to society and political concerns are consciously incorporated into the material by writers and directors and the Western functions indeed as social criticism.

Hart Wegner
*University of Nevada,
Las Vegas*

NHS ACQUISITIONS

A LARGE COLLECTION of previously unknown photographs depicting early twentieth-century Nevada mining camps has been donated to the Society by the Santa Catalina Island Company of Avalon, California. The majority of the 193 prints and negatives are of Tonopah and Goldfield during their formative years, c. 1903-1908, while a smaller number record the appearance of such smaller camps as Columbia and Diamondfield.

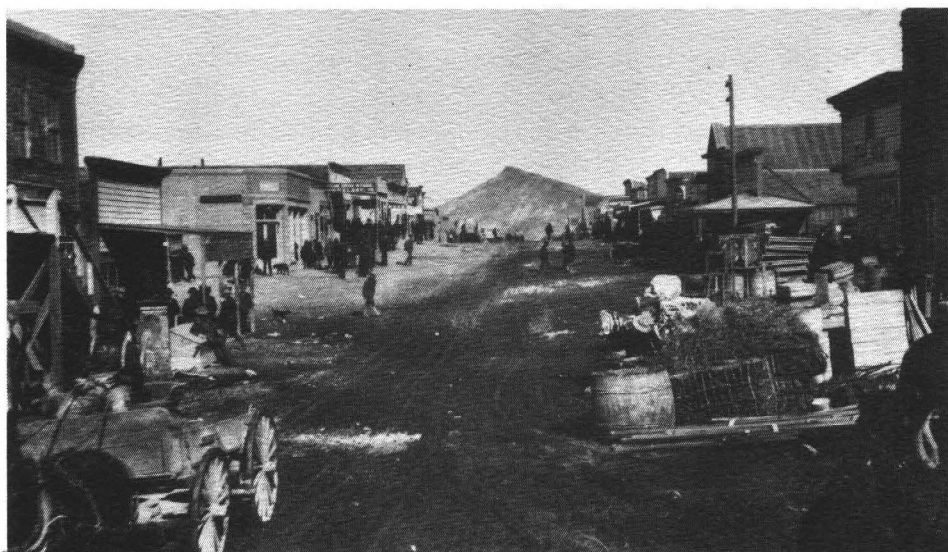
Although not much is known about its origin, it is probable that the collection consists of photographs taken by or compiled for William Wrigley (1861-1932), the chewing gum magnate and original owner of the Santa Catalina Island Company. Wrigley was a heavy investor in mining properties and the photographs may have resulted from trips to Nevada to inspect properties he owned or was interested in.

The many pictures of street scenes, mines and mills, commercial and residential structures (including dugouts and gas can houses), parades, automobiles, fires, and floods, add rich new detail to our knowledge of Tonopah and Goldfield during their first booms.





Man building a house of gasoline cans, Tonopah



Street scene in Goldfield

Contributors

Martha C. Knack received her Ph.D from the University of Michigan, and is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. She previously taught at the University of Texas, Permian. In addition to articles appearing in *Ethnohistory* and other journals, she is the author of *Life is with People*, a study of the Southern Paiutes of Utah. Her study of the water rights of the Northern Paiutes, *As Long as the River Shall Run*, will be published in 1983 by the University of California Press.

Loren B. Chan received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles, and taught for a decade at San Jose State University. His biography of Tasker Oddie, *Sagebrush Statesman*, was published by the University of Nevada Press in 1973. Dr. Chan has also published "Example for the Nation: Nevada's Execution of Gee Jon," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1975): 90-106, and other articles.

Richard A. Eigenheer holds the Ph.D. in Geography from the University of California, Davis. He teaches for the Sacramento City School District, and has taught part-time for a number of institutions, including the University of Nevada, Reno. His research interests include the historical geography of the American West, especially early agricultural perceptions of the California Central Valley.

Phillip I. Earl is the Curator of Exhibits of the Nevada Historical Society, and the author of a number of publications on Nevada history. He is a part-time lecturer in history at the Truckee Meadows Community College, and is currently working on a book-length study of famous prize fights held in Nevada.

New Publications from the Nevada Historical Society

NEVADA ARTICLES IN DESERT MAGAZINE, 1937-1977

Marion Ambrose

This publication provides a comprehensive index to the 364 articles dealing with Nevada that appeared in *Desert Magazine* from 1937-1977. The alphabetical listing of articles by author is accompanied by a subject index. An excellent guidebook for those interested in exploring Nevada's historical and scenic areas. \$4 ppd.

TERRITORIAL NEVADA: A GUIDE TO THE RECORDS

Robert Armstrong

This bibliography covers the manuscript and archival sources available in libraries and collections throughout the United States which relate to Nevada's Territorial Period, 1850-1864. Collections are listed by state and library, and many are described in considerable detail. An indispensable research aid for this era, and a must for Western libraries. \$5 ppd.

OVERLAND CHRONICLE: EMIGRANT DIARIES IN WESTERN NEVADA LIBRARIES

Frank J. O'Brien

Emigrant diaries located in five Western Nevada libraries are classified by author and title, and by year of passage. Included also are cross-indexing sections that refer the researcher to emigrant origins, major trails and routes followed, and final destinations. Seven maps are included. \$2.95 ppd.

HISTORIC SITES OF CLARK COUNTY, NEVADA

Dorothy Ritenour and M. Katherine Tipton

This publication contains an alphabetical listing of historic sites in Clark County from the 1850s to 1928, together with locations by section, township and range. There is a listing of all townships within the county and the sites located within each. A valuable guide to the inventory of historic sites located at the NHS Las Vegas office, and an important reference for researchers, governmental agencies, and libraries. \$4.95 ppd.

**Nevada Historical Society
1650 North Virginia St.
Reno, NV 89503**